

urban reform

and

the new squatters movement

metin yegin

merve tuba tanok



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Metin Yeğın

Writer, documentarian, filmmaker, journalist, director, lawyer, traveler, worker... He made television programs and more than 100 documentary films for CNN-Türk, NTV, Kanal Türk, Tarih TV, Hayat TV, Al Jazeera, Telesur... channels. He wrote and directed the scripts of independent feature films, including films such as 'D', 'Grev', '3 Women 1 Strike'. He wrote columns for newspapers such as Cumhuriyet, Radikal, Birgün, Gündem, Gazeteduvar, Artı Gerçek in Turkey, and Il Manifesto and Rebellion in the world. He made radio programs for Açık Radyo and BBC. He has more than 10 books in which he describes the streets of the world, resistances and rebellions. England, Spain; In many countries such as France, Ecuador, Nicaragua, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Bolivia and Morocco, he worked as a worker in many places, from dishwashing, taxi driving, construction, to octopus hunting, and taught at three universities... In many countries of the world, he was subjected to land and factory occupations, slums, He participated in movements, ecological resistances and collective works. He also directly witnessed guerrilla movements and rebellions in many parts of the world. He built houses with the poor, pioneered cooperative organizations. And he still continues to try to change the world...



Merve Tuba Tanok

She was born in Karamürsel in 1988, but grew up in Adana and is a member of Adana Demirspor. He graduated from the Department of City and Regional Planning at Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University and decided that defending the city was not a good idea. She started his master's degree studies at the University of Barcelona and Boğaziçi University, continued at the University of Seville, in the Sustainable City and Architecture program, and completed her master's thesis on the right to the city and the ecological reconstruction of Kobane. She is a PhD candidate at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia, Barcelona School of Architecture, with her thesis examining the feminist political ecology of the right to the city and the urban space production practices in Istanbul over the last twenty years. Above all, she is a woman trying to survive in a man's world.



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PREFACE FOR 10th YEAR



All over the world, the last remnants of cities are being taken away from people and abandoned to banks and construction monopolies. "Gentrification" has become the locomotive of neoliberal capitalism. The City, the symbolic signifier of concentration and power, has become Capitalism itself. In this book, while we describe this change all over the world by living directly in the resistance, we defend the destruction of cities!

Urban Reform, the democratization of urban lands by distributing them to the homeless and women, is not only the only solution and reconstruction of the right to housing, but also a dynamic of the reconstruction of the world through this basic need.

Building our own houses ourselves without the need for banks and construction monopolies, the right to free land for houses for everyone, the 'New Slum Movement' is the only way to make everyone a homeowner.

Therefore, we hope that the English edition of the book will be more than a radical urban critique, but part of a radical transformation...

Metin YeğİN ~ Merve Tuba Tanok

Authors' Note

The 10th Anniversary edition of Urban Reform and the New Slum Movement does not include the "Build Your Own House Guide" that was previously included in the book. The reason for this is that we are preparing the Guide for publication as a separate book that has been developed and expanded. Thus, the "Do It Yourself Guide", which in previous editions was a pamphlet within the Urban Reform and New Squatter Movement, will become a book in its own right.

We wish you to use it against the contractors, while building your own house yourself.

Metin Yeğın ~ Merve Tuba Tanok

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1

Notes on Eco-Town Alternative and Eco-Community against Capitalistic Urban Perception... ¹

¹ In my previous writings, I was using the definition of “Ecology and the City” as the title, not “Eco-City”. This was a title used with the concern of “Can an eco-logical city be an ecological city?” or in other words, when we think of it by limiting it to today’s concept of “City”; it was related to the question “Can a city be ecological?”. Although this situation has not disappeared, I preferred to use such a title because the discussion in this direction needs to expand.

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*“An Indian was lying on the ground
by wreathing herself with newspapers
Under the lies of the world,
The reality of the world is lying, naked...”*

Yevgeny Yevtushenko

∩

I was talking with a hip-hop band in a “favela” of Campinas which is near to Sao Paulo of Brazil. We, 32 people, were in a one-roomed flat. It was a famous hip-hop band. In their last song, they were telling about the toilet they couldn't finish building yet in this shanty house. It was built with advertising signboards, portage packing cases, needless to say, with battens that could be removed from billboards on which there are smiling politicians and tree trunks which can grow despite everything. They were answering “We are music workers. Some people are pointing us with saying 'they are marginal, they are living in *favelas*, and they are making music in shanties. That's right, we are living in *favelas*. We are marginal. You just came here by passing through a marginal neighborhood. Two third of Sao Paulo is marginal, three fourths of the world is marginal.”²

Capitalistic urban hegemony is starting on this exact point. In fact, how the things which build only one quarter of the world can be perceived ideationally as the *sine qua non*, the ideal one according to almost every political

² Despite the intellectual hegemony of the capitalist structure and all kinds of obstacles, 3/4 of the houses in the world are still houses that people build for themselves. It is the capitalist city that is marginal.

opinion? Actually, the ideational power of this hegemony is more influential than thousands of residential buildings, twin towers, viaducts and crossroads. Besides, even though they are in the minority and that the planned and built cities have no problem at all; this image of “ideal city” can be valid. However, the cities which have been pointing as the best cities of the world are already the cities which have built on an organically developed structure within their own dynamics. Almost every city that is built after drawing on papers will be doomed primarily to fall outside the plans or to planlessness and then to the destiny of all cities after a few years later. The problem and the repetitive fact here are not about the unplanned development of the city but, quite the contrary, the fact that any plan can't limit the city. More precisely, because of that every planned, measured and sketched city is also a “marketable” thing, namely its limits have identified, classified, and then it started to create its own reality, its own city because of that it transformed into a commodity. This urban notion is essentially a natural (!) result of the thought of the concentration of public service. There is no difference between challenging the concentration of capital and challenging capitalist city, in fact the city itself. Therefore, it is needed the radical construction monopolies, radical information and radical specialized knowledge, such that nothing changes when these “monopolies” are owned by the state which calls itself as the “public”. We have to say simply but directly that if you build multi-storey structures, there will always be “those below and those above”.

The greatest handicap of the cities sketched on papers is that they suppose that these streets are self-sustained things. They ignore that the streets have a soul. Even a perfect constituted city have to be swept up every day. The first simple question is about that where these

sweepers will live. Even though the thoughtful planners plan worker housing –because of that every piece of land is very valuable within neoliberal urban building, one moves as these people do not exist– these houses will absolutely be either very limited or outside of the city. This will then deepen the transportation problem which we will analyze in a broad sense. In the simplest term, it has to be provided public transportation vehicles that they can use. And this means new bus stops and a traffic which is getting heavier. Because of that these people have to take the road at early morning and eat something like all people, some stalls or peddlers start to emerge right next to the bus stops. “Those below” who are here for carrying out every service of this planned city; the sweepers, gardeners, housekeepers, babysitters, their families, those who want to get a job like them, namely the reserve labor force; the bus drivers who carry all of them, police who secure (!) the city, guards, similar security forces, other peddlers who feed them, cigarette and newspaper sellers and of course the robbers who want to rob, teachers, decision maker judges, hookers and pimps; all of these can not be calculated on the paper of the urban planner and they all exist certainly in every city. This situation is quite creative: It brings into new slums, large and small shops, and new municipal police officers for prohibiting these and new slums for these new municipal police officers. An urban chain which triggers and feeds each other emerges.

In almost everywhere in the world and also in the Portuguese- and Spanish-speaking parts of Latin America, the name of the site-neighborhoods of new urban building was “Country”. These “Countries” which were built all over the world are the real slum-eaters. Even the basic idea which is reflected outside of these is that they are “privileged” and “secure”, namely that they are based on

anti-slum. However the truth of the matter that there is a slum neighborhood stuck on every Country is that there will always be a Country raised from every slum. Namely, we can not talk about “pop up slums” next to every Country; on the contrary, Countries are parasites which stick to the back of the slum.



Villa 31 is a slum neighborhood in Buenos Aires. It got stuck in the highway and the railroad. Every point of it was utilized wisely. All slums were built single-storey at first; then they climbed to second, third and fourth, fifth storey... The neighborhood is not expending only upward, but also it is expending laterally from its top. It was quite an organic neighborhood which was overlaying the highway crossing under. Sometimes the municipality was distributing paint buckets for the embellishment of the neighborhood – it was such a bourgeois attitude; perfume was also for not smelling their stinks. The slums were playing camel wrestling by humping each other. The roofs of some slums were the base of the viaduct. They were raised up the viaduct and they were fallen right next to the highway and they were built a room on three-and-half square meter area. They were hanging their clothes at the roadside. One can say that “I saw your pants while coming from work.” The skyscrapers can be seen between the abutments of the viaduct and you can see sky in the middle of it. There were full of skyscrapers behind Villa 31. There was a Chinese restaurant right below the viaduct. It was smelling chicken with soy while passing across the viaduct with car. You were longing for it while travelling. It was an ideal spot for a Chinese restaurant. In a word, viaducts also have benefits.

Why the municipalities build roads and why don't they build houses? Are they our municipalities or of the cars? Are the cars paying their wages, air-conditioned office expenses, letterhead stationery expenses? I would like to pay my municipality tax not for this road that I want to pass as soon as possible, but for a house in which I can sleep. Not to mention parking lots. Whose city is this? 60% of New York belongs to automobiles. Namely, it belongs to those who mostly white, male and young. Let the municipalities build houses and let us build the roads. Also we don't have enough money for highways. We would build beautiful bicycle roads. Besides the road don't build for going somewhere far away. You go somewhere far away because there is a road outgoing. My vote in the next elections will go to the municipalities which will build houses upon the highway.



It was a meeting for “struggle against World Cup urban renewal”. The residents of three areas will be evicted from their houses by the World Cup. This will affect 23.000 people in total. This meeting had an interesting mixture. There were people ranging from the poorest land squatters to middle class people whose houses will be demolished on them and even to the people from upper middle classes. These differences were showing themselves while everybody was introducing oneself. They were introducing themselves as “I am a delegate of MLNM-National Housing Right Movement” or “I am a spokesperson of middle class residents of Cristal region.” It was a struggle in which people from different classes hardly act together but also, if one can overcome this difficulty, it can become an advantaged situation thanks to its broader scope. Middle class was rather siding with negotiation but they were forgetting that if it

would not be resisted the dominant ones would not come to the negotiation table. They didn't attend the first rally at all. They preferred to go out to their balconies and applaud. Well, it is a little better that the struggles with e-mailing.

It has to be mentioned about some basic delusions. The biggest and common delusion is the persuasion about that unless there are high buildings; we would run short of houses. When we think of Turkey, if we build single-storey houses within gardens across the country, namely approximately over a 1.700 kms and over a line with a width of just 27 kms., everybody, yes you heard correct, everybody in Turkey would have a house without a need for any high apartment. From another perspective, if we continue to build high buildings, the housing problem would never end and the poor would never have a house.

Consequently, the concern about “building houses on agricultural areas” which have been propounding in Turkey will go away. When this happens, it would not only produce an area in which everywhere outside of the mentioned line with a width of just 27 kms would be quite balanced, and a people who are not alienated to the land can be engaged in permaculture, but also would resolve the mistake of the children about supposing that the apple is brought by the stork by seeing the apple only on the supermarket shelves.³

³ Another misconception is that plastic windows, which shamelessly market themselves as environmentally friendly, lie that if we use wooden windows, the trees will die. On the contrary, if we use wooden windows, wood will increase in value and become more protected and produced. The best example of this is Finland, a country that sells the most wood products, yet its forests have increased by 40%.

The advertisements of the Countries, Eco-Cities, all aside, expose the very fact that the capitalist city has already admitted its own failure. Needless to say that this situation can't hide the reality about that the capitalist can never build an Eco-City. Radical construction monopolies may build structures with organic materials. These structures may be built according to conditions of lower energy consumption which is one of the benchmarks of eco-structure as a result but they are not ecological structures. The key feature of the ecological structures is not only building with organic construction materials but also building freely, together and with an equal will without any need to radical construction monopolies; and this also involves the right to access to this structure form of everybody. Therefore, for example, when you think of that a holiday resort which is built with “traditional native methods” but by a construction monopoly, this would never be an ecological structure. These structures which are built –and I underline this “built” word– with organic materials will only be a caricature that have been trying to market for capitalistic counter urbanization. In fact, the “traditional native method” is already a construction form which performs with togetherness and solidarity without needing any radical expertness. It would definitely never be the same. Any capitalistic commodity production can't be realise without feeding and inciting a new selling ground. Namely, the condition of being ecological would disappear even with a construction form in which there is a calculation about how many shanties can be built at most in a field.

The biggest ecological city (!) named “Masdar City” which have been building in Abu Dhabi desert nowadays is a quite good example for this. This city in which only solar energy will be used and wind towers and water vapor will chill the streets is defined as an ecological city.

As it can be understood at first glance, there is a Faust hiding inside again. The idea about turning the desert into a heaven is the humanity seduced by the devil one more time. This urban construction worth billions of dollars is continuing with an intense exploitation especially of Indian and Pakistani worker as it is about all magnificent construction. The materials using during the construction, the monopoly to owe them and finally, the privilege of living here; all of these reflect an exemplary situation that exposes the fact we have been trying to tell. Moreover the most important thing is that even if everything they say will be real, namely, this city produces the energy it spent, this would not change the situation. It is because the amount of energy which is spent to build this city is horrible. When we add the energy that is spent for producing the equipment which built this city to this amount, the situation becomes worse. If one uses the energy that is spent only for building this city for building Bedouin settlements in which ten times more people than the number of privileged people who will live in this city can live, this energy would keep them alive for 300 years without doing anything. Comparing that so-called ecological city with the housing form which have been using by Bedouins for centuries is enough to shut the ecological Faust up.⁴

Also, this city will not be ecological anymore with the existence of a capital accumulation that have a power to realise this construction. Capital can only build things which are similar to it. Capital that is the concentration

⁴ For Masdar City-Ecological city (!) See: "Planned to cover an area of 6 square kilometers (2.3 sq mi), the city will be home to 45,000 to 50,000 people and 1,500 businesses, mainly commercial and manufacturing facilities specializing in environmentally friendly products, with more than 60,000 workers expected to commute to the city every day." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masdar_City

of force establishes its power on architecture. One can see the power which symbolizing by the tower in the myth of falling of Babel Tower which exists in almost every culture. In other words, the God doesn't want any other power but him and devastates the tower. In this myth, believe it or not, the God is right. Babel Tower and all towers are always power one each and they have to be devastated.⁵

The city itself, the concentration of land and the central authority are also energy consumption centers. A need for a giant energy mill will be created by reaching to downtown whatever you do for work, then returning back to the local, doing this within an expanding circle everyday and creating a bureaucratic operations total.

Concentration or centralization of urban land is not an energy saving as to the popular belief, on the contrary, it is a huge energy consumption. The multiple needs, unconditionally, is the thing which breeds, improves and feeds the radical monopolies. Concentration of the urban or in other words, authority building means the control of the energy and the concentration of the distribution. In a sense, the force of the power based on urban construction and energy need, energy monopolies, energy wars and energy domination shows itself in a quite key

⁵ The 9th century Islamic historian al-Tabari's "History of Prophets and Kings" gives more detailed information. According to the story, Nimrod built a tower in Babylon. God destroyed this tower and divided the language of the people who had spoken the same language until then into 72 languages. Abu al-Fida, a 13th century Islamic historian, mentions the same story and adds that Hud, Abraham's ancestor, was allowed to keep his language (Hebrew). Hud did not participate in the construction of the tower. (http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Babil_Kulesi) Another interesting fact is that the 90-meter-high Tower of Babel was made of mudbrick, according to the Quran.

point of the problem we are discussing. Namely, a skyscraper is not only the thing that rises on the urban land, which seizes the land, the water and the air of the city and that pollutes it. It is also an energy-eater within its all steps ranging from energy of high amounts that is spent in building it to warming and cooling it every day, to its elevators and even to the process to keep its total defecate away from itself. This shows that there is the same incest relationship between energy and the power like is between speed and the power. High energy consumption and need means more monopolized power, more intense authority, more control and less freedom.

In other words, every new dam construction, every produced Watt electricity is driving our freedom to further away. Even though it is quite important from where the energy is producing, it is not enough to clarify everything. Even a completely renewal energy production do not exclude authority of the power when accessing to and distribution of it are at stake. A ecological city have to be a less energy consuming city and a city which creates its own energy. In my opinion, it is not a coincidence that the disappearing process of the emancipatory utopia of Soviet revolution is synchronic with the slogan of electrification.

A common misleading situation of capitalistic construction form is at stake about time and energy. We were facing with this situation frequently while we were building the adobe houses in Viranşehir. Adobe-*Alker* production is cheap and fast but it is a labor-intensive process and it requires a decent team work. Even if only one person in your working team is slow, the building process would continue in the speed of that person in time – I think of a motto of Mao Zedung saying that “An army moves with the speed of the slowest person.” In such circumstances, anybody could say that “it would be

faster if we lay up it with bricks.” That was not the case and also, nobody was considering the other side of the coin. When our participants work outside, in a job, they could earn 20-30 liras in a day. And a brick was nearly 1 lira. namely, when they work in a job, the only can earn a money with which they can buy 20-30 bricks. Adobe-Alker in the same size was 10 *kuruş* at most. If it can be laid up it with bricks faster –well, a good team can lay up the Adobe faster– when we add the working time to buy those bricks to the price of the bricks, Adobe building is ten times faster than brick building. Since the capitalistic production form shows its face as divided time frames and because of that every production is in a abstract relationship with its own result, this situation could not be told integrally and clearly. In the very same period, while the terminal building which was building by the municipality with every kind of modern equipments, we were building in a 1.500 m² area in total with merely with the families –and we were using the digger only for infrastructure– and despite we were building in a larger area, we finished our houses before the terminal building. However while the unfinished of the terminal building were not attracting any attention, it has always been asking to us that “Isn't there any other way?”

What keeps capitalism alive are the lies and its radical mythic power. One of these could be seen very conspicuously on the streets of Peru-Lima which can be regarded as the poorest neighborhoods of the world. On one hand, there were spliced together, pounds each other and stacked up houses (!) made up of only cardboards, package boxes, tinsplate parts if they can be found, billboards if they can be stolen and certainly of human breath, ropes and wires, plastic forks and spoons which wed out from garbage.

There was an archeological site right next to there. Thousands year-old structures of Inkas were extracting under this city. We have to say again that these structures which were extracted from soil and made up of adobe were still solid after thousands of years. While these adobe-soil structures which are built by the skillful hands of Inkas with elaboration have been extracting among our bewildered glances, how can we express the terrible poverty of the places in which the grandchildren of Inkas are living with the words other than “bullshit”? While there is an essential and simple solution for building the healthiest houses of that region without needing any radical construction monopoly on the very same land as it was before thousands years ago, how else we say about the existence of this kind of archeological site view cardboard houses aside from a capitalism myth which made us blind?⁶

“Will we live in tree hollows, in the caves?” The block-lovers are supposing that they have everything settled with this glib question. I want to enter into a discussion about housing with this question: What is a house? Is that the F-type mass housing in which you live without seeing each other? The kindness of only saying has a nice day to each other while you were getting off the mostly out of order elevators? Kitchen cabinets and bathroom porcelains? The guest rooms which are only open in feasts and bring for women nothing but more dusting and carpet washing? – and do we still have house guests anymore? Namely, a couple of people who aren't our relatives can come and stay at our homes and what are we doing but that sitting with silence and not share anything

⁶ This was something Özgür emphasized and reminded me of when we were talking about this in Argentina.

in front of a television⁷ when they come? Finally, what is a house?⁸

We realized while we were working for *Ax u Av* in Viranşehir; we are foreseeing a democratic architecture. Men and women were gathering separately and deciding how their houses should be. The children over six years old were also gathering separately and deciding how their houses should be. Whereas the children are arresting because of throwing stones to the panzers, then they should decide how their houses will be. We recommended 3 house type in 225 m² gardens. They were 80, 90 and 110 m² and improvable architectures. In other words, a person who chose a 80 m² house can improve her/his house when necessary. She/he can add one or more rooms to the house. The plan designed on these purposes. So, the sizes of the gardens of everybody were equal. We thought this for that nobody choose the bigger house types only for “big is better”. Since we already went to the houses of the participants many times, we know well that nobody's house is big except one family. Also the people who choose smaller houses will have smaller expense. Namely, in the smaller houses, it will

⁷ Television has recently been replaced by the computer and the telephone, which serves the same function. People standing next to each other without speaking, which Walter Benjamin said started with public transportation, has moved to people who come home to “visit” each other. A humanity that sits side by side and each “communicates” with a cell phone...

⁸ In Ankara, which is experiencing an Urban Transformation-Looting that should be investigated on its own, the first thing that caught the eye in the apartments of those who were forced to move from their slums to TOKİs was the elevators that did not work because they could not pay the 60 lira elevator fee. This was the reminder of a woman friend whose name I could not make out during a panel at METU.

be used fewer wood for doors and window; and the number of the roof boards will be less because of the size of these houses. Again, when the houses get bigger, the overall the effort spent will increase and the construction period will be longer because of that we are all working together. However we couldn't convince our friends. All friends demanded the biggest houses. Moreover the size of some houses reached to 140 m². So the construction period and the expenses increased. Not in a linear way but in a curvy way. Because, for example, when the length of the wooden poles for roof exceeded 3.60 cm and became 4.50 cm, despite it was getting only 90 cm longer, the expense of the pole was doubled. The reason why everybody was choosing the biggest houses despite all is that a house is not just a house. It was a matter of prestige and one of the most important criterions is about how many square meters is the house.⁹

They showed me a house in one of the villages of Viranşehir. It was 450 m². It was a single storey house made up of briquette. It had a tiled roof. It is built a arbor in front of the house. For sleeping in summers. It was 4 meters to 5 meters. In other words, there was a 450 m² house but the people couldn't sleep inside because of the

⁹ The question of what kind of city we want is inseparable from the question of what kind of social ties, relationship with nature, ways of life, technologies and values of the senses we desire. The right to the city is much more than the individual freedom to access urban resources: It is the right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is also a collective rather than an individual right because this transformation inevitably relies on the exercise of collective power to reshape processes of urbanization. I would like to argue that the freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is one of our most precious but also one of our most neglected human rights. See Harvey, D. (2008). "The Right to the City," *New Left Review* 53, Trans: Meriç Kırmızı -Sendika.Org-

how weather. Well, what did this house even do all but flaunting to someone? What is a house?

Democracy can not be come true with F-type houses. The precondition of democracy is to actualize a housing right in which everybody can participate to the decision about building of the future houses.

Can you see any article that discusses the city itself among the discussions which emerge after every earthquake? There is hardly any article except the ones about the dysfunction of the control mechanism under the title of “crooked housing” and with making reference to the greed of the building contractors. However an “ecological city” minimizes and even dispels the damage of an earthquake.

First of all, you can not interpret the city by leaving the capitalist rent aside. Capitalist rent is not only about the ingredients stealing of the rapacious building contractors and in fact, this rent is a mere flea when compared to the real rent. Capitalist rent is the result of the commoditization of the housing right. If we say with the words of the talentless commercial actor Ağaoğlu, it is a “capital investment on the land.” The housing right which commoditize and transforms into the capital investment leads to the concentration of interest and therefore to the concentration of the land. The value within the capitalist city, even in its most well-organized development, is measured according to the distance to the chateau of the feudal landlord. On other words, the public service has been systematically integrated into the concentrated land; it strengthened by periphery's feeding the center; and then it is resulted with center's absorption of the periphery. This concentration of the center extends over metropolitan cities with the center's creation of a

new environment for itself and its takeover this new environment.¹⁰

As we mentioned above, “when we build single-storey houses within gardens across the country, namely approximately over a 1.700 kms and over a line with a width of just 27 kms from one side of Turkey to the other” the damage of an earthquake will mostly be dispelled. This attempt will mean that the land will never be a means of rent as well as that the single storey houses are stronger against earthquakes and will make the construction of 7-10 storey weirdo buildings under which we gather our people as meaningless. Otherwise, the lie about that the land is not enough and we have to go upward will continue to kill people.

The loss by earthquakes alone is a valid reason for creating an “ecological city”. We can say here that “solid high buildings can be constructed” but why do we have to do this? Solid high buildings lead to the concentration of the value of the land, to more expensive house construction, namely to production only for the rich and to more commoditization of the housing right. More importantly, these high buildings, from its construction to the life inside and I have to say again, even to the process to keep its total defecate away from itself, lead not to a saving of land but to a consistent energy and natural resource consumption. And for obtaining these energy and natural resources, it is needed that the radical construction monopolies, new hydroelectric power plants, the

¹⁰ The leading actor of this advertisement was later put on trial in a bribery investigation that led to the arrest of ministers, the prime minister, and the arrest of ministerial children in order to get permission for more floors in their buildings. This was literally not just corruption, but the inevitable end of the transformation of urban land into rent. In other words, “capital investment on land”...

disappearing Hasankeyfs and lakes and see to which the total defecate can be sent.

The high buildings, the big skyscrapers are also male-power (patriarchal) urban designs as they show well enough. Capitalist city is masculine. A possible “ecological city”, on the other hand, will be feminine.

For now, the very first precaution that can be taken is expropriation of urban land. The expropriation of urban land means to limit the commoditization of the housing right. You can not set this commoditization back as long as every added storey creates a rent – Please don't regard these word as the known radical, communistic anarchistic offer of this man. I am saying that let's overthrow the entire urban system of the dominants. This is rather a reformist offer.¹¹

This is an offer which is valid in Amsterdam, Holland. Namely, it is valid in one of the motherland of capitalism. By the way I have to write a lie which the dominants convince us. This lie is the “Crowded population creates poverty” lie. Crowded population is not the reason of the poverty. It is the result of the poverty. Otherwise one of the most overpopulated countries is not, for example, Brazil in which the streets are full of poor people and which have a population of 185 millions but is Holland. While the population per square kilometer is 22 in Brazil, it is 397 in Holland. For that the expropriation of the urban land precludes at least the entire land in the urban center from becoming a means of unjust enrichment for the people, the greed for rent is limited by the

¹¹ In many countries in Europe, the city center is public land.

governments. This is a solution when you think the necessity of associating the “Public” with the “social control”.¹²

The expression about that the old and loadbearing houses are instable to earthquake is another prime minister and building contractor lie. This part of the book is written in such a centennial house in the capital city of Chile, Santiago de Chile. In other words, this house survived from 5 earthquakes measuring higher than 8.0 on the Richter scale including the second destructive earthquake with 9.1 in this century and from tens of earthquakes measuring higher than 7.0 on the Richter scale. And this house is not an exception. Also the wooden houses in another city of Chile, Valparasio survive from many major earthquakes until 140 years contrary to many more ferroconcrete houses. These houses with their wooden girders and multicolored galvanized walls are extraordinarily beautiful with regard to their substantiality and aesthetic.

It is also a lie that the adobe buildings are not earthquake resistant. The adobe cities which survive for hundreds of years are the examples for this. The *Adobe-Alker* building in Maslak Campus of Istanbul Technical University is an example for this. After the '99 İstanbul Earthquake, while all the other “controlled, non-contraband, non-crooked housing” ferroconcrete buildings had to receive uninhabitable reports, this *Adobe-Alker* building stood up. *Adobe-Alker* buildings (the houses we built in Viranşehir, Diyarbakır with *adobe-alker*) acquitted themselves well from the earthquake table in Ankara and

¹² I first came across this proposal in TMMOB's journals in the early 1970s. I do not understand why TMMOB does not embrace this proposal today.

I should say for who science lovers that this is a Tubitak project.¹³



We were building a school with adobe. It was one of the poorest places of Buenos Aires. It was the neighborhood of garbage collectors. We were building it one size longer without demolishing the old wooden classrooms. I have convinced a Piqueteros movement; namely, a barricader movement. They were blocking the roads and demanding rights. Our construction which is made up of Adobe-Alker, lime and working together was very beautiful. Very beautiful not only for a garbage collector neighborhood but also for almost three fourths of Buenos Aires and Porto Alegre and Rio de Janerio and Istanbul...

It was a garbage neighborhood. Burning smell was always in the air. There were everything in the fire including plastics wrapped with wires full of carriages, something with a copper-stem and a hole which I couldn't understand what for it is, a table lamp and a car steering wheel which appears anew maybe for only it was blue. When the fire set, only the ones that sellable were remaining inside. I was talking with a gold digger woman in Venezuela. They were extracting gold from the well she dig with her husband in their garden. She said that "Gold can be jewelry for everybody but for me, it is bread and butter." – The bread was in the garbage. The dustcart has been pulling by horses of all sizes. And there were ponies. I don't know why but I supposed that the ponies are the horses only for rich children. That's how

¹³ Witnessing the 1999 earthquake from the Kandilli observatory, seismologist Miktad Kadioğlu observed this situation directly and therefore recommended adobe houses for Van to the local authorities. (Mentioned by Bilge Işık.)

it was writing in fairy tales. I guess a princess or a lady had a pony. Anyway, we cleaned up the place where we build the school. We looked for a garbage dump. Well, there wasn't.

We were going with a carriage to buy some plaster. It had a small case and a pony. We bought a beer, one of the dry quart ones. I didn't already see here a smaller size. We were passing by a middle class neighborhood. The dogs started to bark. They were attacking to the people from other classes like all dogs do. A megaphone was wired at the side of the carriage. It was working with an accumulator. It was playing a salsa. Maybe it was a merengue. Well, I was not good at this. The carriage was careening. Our hairs were flipping by the wind.

As it will be understood easily from the examples we gave from all over the world, what matters is not about that the structure is ferroconcrete or not but about that where and how the structure is built. Those who couldn't pitch a tent after Van earthquake are leaving us to the hands of radical construction monopolies. On other words, the dominants are suggesting us to be homeless in order that our houses do not crumble onto ourselves. Let us build our houses and the future...



“Transportation” is one of the basic problems of the capitalist city. The concentration of the land creates the transportation problem. The interesting thing here is that the transportation always born with a problem. Namely, where there is transportation there is transportation problem. Otherwise in the past, the name of going from a place to another is not transportation but journey. In other words, journey is a travelling action which can be done for itself beyond only reaching a place. However transportation is the hours which every urban slave have

to overcome. In the last century, the migrants had to spend 8 percent and the villagers had to spend only 5 percent of their lives to the road. We, the modern people have to sacrifice 20 percent of our lives to the road, to the transportation.¹⁴ Namely, if you can live to the age of 80, you would spend 20 years in minibus queues, in bus seats or in a luxury car with a 250 kms speedometer but with moving 12 kms per hour in traffic and stoplights or your life is aircraft cabins with bounding to your seats with seatbelts.

The classical socialist-communist solution, “public transportation” is also not enough for overcoming this problem. Public transportation can solve the problem partly but if it is not limited with the lack of opportunities, it would also fall victim to the traffic. Moscow which is the best example to this was in a situation in which the life, fell victim to the “transportation” although to a lesser extent when compared to its Western akin. Because when you exceed a certain speed limit, the “bicycle speed”, the speed starts to work against you. Even if you have fast vehicles, the time you spend to road would not fall below 20 years; in fact it would be increase. Because now you have to go further. Even in London in which public transportation and the subway which is the high esteem of socialist-communist solution are quite advanced, the average speed of the transportation is 11 kms per hour. This speed is slower than the speed of horse carriages which were in use in nineteenth century in the same city. In other words, the average speed of the car with a 250 kms speedometer is lower than the bicycle which has a speed of 15 kms per hour.

¹⁴ See Ivan Illich, “Festive Society”, Ayrıntı Publications, 2011, Istanbul. The perfect radical critique of industrialism.

Planned cities, the width of the roads or the bridges, the viaducts don't have an impact on this at all. The center always have a traffic problem. When the city and the city dwellers start to flee to the peri-urban, this center expands and the traffic problem come after you no matter how much you run away from it. The motto "People have to leave the city" is therefore a wise one. It will sound striking when you learn that this motto belongs to Henry Ford, namely the supreme boss of automotive industry. We can give an example about that these roads and bridges go for nothing through Istanbul. At the time the Bosphorus Bridge is not built, the number of people who go across from one side to another was 113 million and the number of vehicles was 5 millions. After the bridge is built, while the number of vehicles who go across from one side to another increased to 14 millions, the number of people was only 118 millions.¹⁵⁻¹⁶

Capitalist city always carry the traffic problem with itself. As for the "ecological city", because of that there is no center, there is no transportation and its problem. In other words, everywhere have the characteristics of

¹⁵ See TMMOB, Chamber of City Planners Istanbul Branch, "3rd Bridge Project Evaluation Report", Istanbul, September, 2010.

¹⁶ As in every election, in 2014 there were candidates claiming that they would solve the traffic problem. These were all projects that wanted to build more roads, highways, bridges and viaducts and leave the city to automobiles. If they were sincere, if they had only filled a funnel with oil once in their lives, they should have known that all of their proposals would only create more traffic jams. By the way, as a partial solution, we had suggested that all public transportation should be free. Free public transportation, of course, could not eliminate the problem of inaccessibility arising from the urbanization of the city, but it had the chance to slightly reduce the hegemony of the automobile and its unquestionable occupation of the city. The loss of fuel and time resulting from a partial reduction in traffic congestion would more than pay for free public transportation.

the center. Overthrowing the concentration of land means overthrowing the transportation and its problem of the ecological-woman city. This also means that 250.000 dead and 15 millions wounded people from traffic accidents are no more. Namely, it is equal to preventing the deaths of people which is more than the number of people who died in the world wars.

Modern urban transportation seem like it is based on “not arriving anywhere”. The city center was ragged with the authority buildings, namely the government buildings, courts, schools, offices, workplaces and the places which are founded for giving service to them, hotels, restaurants and entertainment venues. These are all similar in all big or small cities vis-à-vis their sizes. The authority centers are not monadic. Factories and their peripheries, markets, bazaars and their peripheries, temples and their peripheries, especially in recent years the financial centers and their peripheries; all of these are the concentration fields of the city. The human living spaces –if we keep the entertainment venues and parks separate– particularly the housing fields are swept away from the center when the city become modern. Hereafter, the overvalued central buildings are either very expensive to use for housing or, under very negative conditions, they can exist as the fields which will swallow by the authority. If the poor of the city can not find a place for them within limited marginal fields, then they start their daily migration toward the center for cleaning offices, cooking in the restaurants, peddling, working as security guards for securing themselves from the other people who have similar destinies and for similar jobs.¹⁷

¹⁷ When dogs were frequently seen traveling with humans on the morning and evening trains from Moscow's suburbs to the center, research revealed that stray dogs traveled to the center on the morning trains to feed themselves and returned to their neighborhoods

The high income people also get involved to this migration convoy for coming back to their works from another center which they left for getting free of the disturbance of the city. Workers, public laborers peddlers, bosses, judges and summoners, the prosecutors, police, pickpockets and murderers of the state take their place on the same road with different comfort standards. All of them wait for the change of the red traffic light in their assigned cells in the convoy with shouldering each other or sprawling a little on their seats but –all of them– sleepily in the busses, minibuses, taxis and cars.¹⁸

When you rid yourself of your habit and the sense of necessity, you can see how a nonsense migration convoy movement at stake. The most intelligent creatures of the world who spend 20 percent of their lives for sticking in one place! If the people have been monitoring by a supreme being, I guess even this being would also have serious difficulties to understand them. This journey starts to process backwards in the evening hours with the same rank range and disruption. This daily migration is the torture of the concentration camps which is created by the authority centers, namely the cities and this circumambulation around them also feeds the authority centers. It is a radical stupidity to feel such a pain for managing to do wage slavery, to be exposed to nail and hair controls, to be accuses in courts and to be in prisons.

In ecological city or in other words, in the non-city, however, the free citizens of free communes in which nobody spends their lives on the roads because there will be no need for hierarchical structures and concentration,

in the evening to sleep. The dogs of the poor share their fate: lives wasted on transportation...

¹⁸ Partially aware of this absurdity, in recent years the rulers have been building residences in city centers as a castrated solution (!) for a very privileged group.

namely nobody objectified will come together not for the caprice of the bureaucrats, judges and prosecutors but only for their belief rituals, traditions and contemporary bazaars and in any case for dancing. As Emma Goldman said, a revolution without dancing is not a revolution worth having...

The power of this radically stupid myth could be seen in Bolivia. The streets of the adobe cities in highlands which many of them have an astounding aesthetics have started to change. Some of them were built with bricks over again. These red spot bricks were not plastering for showing that the building made up of the bricks. Well, because these were the modern buildings of the city – I have to make a little note of that these buildings were commercial buildings in everywhere. They were show-rooms and offices. The adobe buildings on the main street which want to compete with them about modernity covered themselves with concrete plasters. This was the shyness of adobe in the face of the capitalist modern city myth. More interestingly, some people were demolished only the front walls of their houses and were built them with red bricks once again. And what is more is that it is started to glaze the colored windows of the plazas, somehow became trendy. The buildings which have adobe downstairs and backs, front walls with red bricks and windows with plate glasses were outlining the process very well.

Even if capitalism and the capitalist city conception are actually based on a minor but effective hegemony, they are drawing their real strength from an ideational hegemony. Therefore if we don't put emphasis on the "Capital", the issue will be incomplete and meaningless. Capital is the constituent element and also the result of the modernist, capitalist city. It began with the concentration, enclosure and measurement, namely conquest of

the land and it still continues. Hence when we go back to Marx a little, the “Commodity-Money-Commodity (MCM)” circulation in pre-capitalist society has turned into “Money-Commodity-Money (CMC)” circulation, namely into the capital in the capitalist society. Since then the capitalistic capital became MCM differently from the previous accumulation forms, it transforms into a subject. In other words, a plus-value is not a fragmented thing but a whole. This means that beyond that the money is only an exchange value and a plus-value total, the “money” is something in itself.¹⁹ Money has an abstract meaning since its birth. Namely, capital is not only the aggregation of the money or purchasing power but also a social relation form. The relevant result of this is that capital can not be associated with an ecological city (!) in any case. Because the “social relation of capital” can not be thought and also exist without land concentration or land rent.

This is not about the good or bad intention of the capital owners. If the capital has to be identified with humanistic values in any case, but in fact it can not; it is a bastard, an egoistic and a thief inarguably. It is male and power. Therefore when you look at the skyline of a capitalist city, you can see all the things I am saying clearly. Even a skyline can tell how a minor part of the city is using the biggest part of the values of the city; the repression and power distribution of the authority; and the share taken from the wealth. Consequently, the things which were built by the capital in recent years may be built by organic materials but they are not ecological. As we said before, because the ecological structures can be only built by a democratic architecture and in a non-hierarchical form without any need to expertness and to

¹⁹ “Money as money being a 'thing' in itself”; Zizek's writings reminded me of this.

radical construction monopolies. Capital and ecology are non-compatible. The claim about building an ecological city with capital is like painting a flower on an atomic bomb before launching it. Ironically, the bomb will drop on the painter of the flower.

I was screening a part from the beginning scene of *Slumdog Millionaire* movie while I was lecturing the “urban renewal” in the university.²⁰ The rush, the scamper of children which began in the airport was passing through two cities.²¹ The rich and the poor had two different cities which were intertwined and rough-and-tumble but completely apart. If you visit a rich person or if you stay in hotel chains such as Hilton in India, you can generally slide over the viaducts and cloverleaf junctions which were built for you with a little traffic jam and without the faintest notion about what is happening below. Then it can be written articles about the glaring cities of this new miracle, India. While the cities of the capital were rising above, the poor were trying to stick to the city in these viaduct abutments, even in bridge arches and wherever they can find a place to live. Those who climb to the upper city from viaduct abutments and cloverleaf junctions in the first hours of the day in nightfall

²⁰ After a while, I first started to show a piece from the movie *Idler*. It was a 1951 movie. Again, it was about the poor, but when you looked at the “city” behind the movie, you could not see the horrible abyss like in the movie “*Slumdog Millionaire*”. The very interesting thing is that the only thing that “*Avara*” and “*Slumdog*” with its modern urban backdrop had in common was that in both movies poor women washed their laundry in the river. *Avara* -1951-, Raj Koopar. *Slumdog Millionaire* -2008-, Danny Boyle.

²¹ I should put a footnote here to the previous footnote that in reality not everyone in the whole world can have a washing machine. Steel is not enough. One of the radical lies of capitalism is to make it everyone’s dream, as if it could be. To paraphrase an old radio commercial in Turkey, “Every young girl’s dream is a washing machine”.

were gathering the remainders, plastic, carton and cardboard boxes, bottles, sports and tabloid magazines, daily newspapers full of smiling politician faces and with all that the lies of course. After a while, the peddlers were in position. They had to feed the workers, the outcasts of the city. Because the people who would sweep the streets of the upper city, those who would prepare, bake and carry the bread dough, those who would clean the houses of the rich, those who would wait at the doors of the rich for security, the workers, the cooks and the cops had been nourishing from the peddlers just like everywhere.

There was a nonstop circulation between the lower and the upper city. Upper city was above by riding the lower city and sucking the blood of the lower city from its throat. Upper city was appropriating the people, the labor, the water and even the air of the lower city; it was stealing the sea or the river of the lower city. Those who go up unseasonably from the lower city have been grounding. When a person from the lower city walks around on the streets allocated to the upper city, it is certainly a very suspicious situation. They were right; it made no sense to live in such an order and not being a murderer. Even worse, they could be troublemakers. They could talk about subverting the system of highways, viaducts and cloverleaf junctions. There was no other civilization like this in which two worlds are so close but also there is such a deep gap between. Subverting was a good word.



We were in a shantytown in Porto Alegre, Brazil. It was surrounded by at least 50-storey buildings. The neighborhood was like an island in the middle. A police car was waiting on the entry of the neighborhood. It was keeping the skyscrapers safe from the neighborhood. The squatter were here for years before the skyscrapers

and a garden with trees next to them was survived because it was their land. Even a couple of goats were tethered there and there was a chicken coop. All of the complaints of the residents were about the police. When anything happens, the police raid the neighborhood directly. The police was always searching the residents. The children of the neighborhood were rejected by the new built school. The funny part is that the entire neighborhood was working for the skyscrapers. They were cleaning their stairs, they were going for repair, even they were waiting on their doors as security guards and they were probably selling drugs. All of them are the needs of the skyscrapers.²²

The upper city of India couldn't tolerate to talk about a climate agreement with countries like China and Brazil before the year of 2020 during the last climate meeting. They were saying that "We are developing". When you don't believe them, they were showing you some numbers.²³

²² We went to that neighborhood with our friend Leandro Anton, who has been involved from the beginning in the struggle against urban transformation in Porto Alegre. In remembrance of him too.

²³ David Harvey similarly describes neoliberal city-building in Asia, particularly in India: "...Meanwhile, in Mumbai, 6 million people, officially considered slum dwellers, sit on the land without a legal name; all maps of the city leave these places empty. In an effort to turn Mumbai into a global financial center to rival Shanghai, the real estate-development boom has accelerated and the land occupied by slums looks increasingly valuable. Dharavi, one of the most prominent slums in Mumbai, is estimated to be worth \$2 billion. Pressure to clear it is mounting every day, citing environmental and social justifications that mask land grabbing. State-backed financial forces are pushing for forced slum clearance, in some cases violently claiming land that has been inhabited for an entire generation. Since land is acquired at almost no cost, capital accumulation is stimulated by real estate mobility". See Harvey, D. (2008). "The Right to the

At the very the same time, those who had to migrate from their villages daily were flowing to the human altar of the lower city. Ten thousands of people who would climb to the streets of the upper city were continuing to migrate to the city by leaving their substantive agricultural activities. They didn't interest in the numbers shown at all. They were engaging in non-intellectual activities such as earning their bread. I don't know if I was in an impression but the upper and lower cities seemed to wait for being run upside down.

City construction has become the fundamental dynamic of the capitalism unlike the previous terms of it.²⁴ Therefore, it is not possible to build another social structure without overthrowing the capitalist city or the capitalist city system. Building an eco-city is necessarily intertwined with the building of an eco-society. When you skin over a Matryoshka doll; the same smiling capitalist doll shows up. You can not remove the Matryoshka doll by breaking it. We would face with the fragmented smile in every broken part of it.

Didn't Harvey draw the urbanization of the consciousness with the capitalization of the consciousness by saying that “not only the capital but also the consciousness had urbanized”? No matter how poor they were, The participants in Viranşehir were dreaming of having houses like apartment blocks for a long time. While we were saying that we can not grant ownership and they were confused between the idea of that we can

City,” *New Left Review* 53, Translated by Meriç Kırmızı-Sendika.Org

²⁴ Lefebvre said as early as 1978 that “space itself has become constructed as commodity production”. I think this commodity production of “space”, in other words neoliberal urban construction on a large scale, has become the fundamental dynamic of capitalism, especially in the last 20 years.

have the ownership/the rent of the land and the idea of that it is enough to have a shelter at first, the situation turned into a contest which involves the entire city. Those who were despising and sneering at the participants vs. the adobe builders who were struggling for winning against them. However the fundamental criterion here was still the urban consciousness (!) – the capital. Because the thing it had to be reached were the apartment houses in the commercials. WE used the weapon of the capital against this; we downloaded from web and hand the pictures of the “earth houses” –adobe villas– of the rich in Arizona, USA on the walls. However nobody believed them for a long time. Everybody were thinking that there are something that can not be became reality while the adobe houses were about to finish. Some of the participants were trying to change the houses into apartment houses despite the financial difficulties for continuing the dispute. They were even abolishing many advantages of the adobe houses in this regard. The floors of nearly all adobe houses were tiled and one of them was furnished with a very ugly dropped ceiling.

If Lefebvre who defined the barricades and school occupations in 1968 actions as something which points to the spatiality could see, he would probably attach the occupations of the landless, factory occupations and Zapatista communes in Latin America which made a mark to ensuing years to his thesis as the alternative powers (!) of the space. Therefore the *Ax u Av* adobe houses experience in Viranşehir was an attempt for creating such an alternative spatiality. It was an experience which was trying to actualize the housing right of the poor without any need to radical construction monopolies and by benefiting from the ecological democracy paradigm of Kurdish movement.



Finance towers in the main arterial roads of the city are exactly the semiotic structures of neoliberalism. The towers reminiscent of glass penises which are guarding by camera trenches took the place of the castle walls surrounded by trenches of the Middle Ages. Castells said that “the squares, monuments and monumental structures are the bearers of the ideological structure” and the towers were precisely taking the place of these structures and the height of their walls were built against its own people instead of those who come from outside like all feudal chateaus.

The destruction and reconstruction of the cities in the imperialist division wars which were declared for overcoming the crisis of capitalism have been performing under the name of “Urban Renewal” nowadays. For example, the only difference of the “Urban Renewal” in Istanbul in which nearly 2 million people will be replaced from a World War is the using of the bulldozers and diggers instead of bomber aircrafts and more interestingly, those who demolish the buildings are not the enemy states but the “friendly” governments.

For me, when the New Urban Construction or the city construction for itself becomes the fundamental dynamic of capitalism, the discussion about the relationship between the urban struggles and class struggles disappears because this urban struggle against the very fundamental dynamic of capitalism is the pitched battle of the class struggle. The urban renewal of Haussmann set the stage for Paris Commune. This pitched battle that we're in is also including an order-clasticism like every trauma. A clasticism which eliminates the smile of the Matryoshka.



The increase in the number of houses doesn't solve the housing problem in substance. This claim is like the “eat insects against hunger” solution of United Nations.²⁵ This will turn into a process of commodification of the coleoptera including the establishing of insect farms, in-

²⁵ The United Nations has announced an alternative food source to fight hunger, boost nutrition and reduce environmental pollution: Insects.

ROME - Locusts, ants and other members of the insect kingdom could be alternative sources of food for humans, farm and household animals, the UN Food and Agriculture Organization has announced.

Announced at a press conference at the Organization's headquarters in Rome, Italy, “Edible Insects: Proposals for the Future of Food and Feed Security,” the 200-page report said that 2 billion people in different parts of the world already include protein and mineral-rich insects on their tables.

The report pointed out that cattle consume 8 kilograms of feed to produce 1 kilogram of meat, while insects consume only 2 kilograms.

Most of the insects, which produce less greenhouse gases that cause great damage to the environment, can feed on human and animal waste as well as rotten plants.

Insect farms can be established to ensure food and feed security, the report said, emphasizing that “insects can live almost anywhere, reproduce easily and do not harm the environment.”

The organization pointed out that insects, which are extremely rich in protein compared to red meat and fish meat, can be a very good food source for malnourished children.

The report underlined that insects are also rich sources of iron, magnesium, manganese, phosphorus, selenium and zinc.

The organization said that the nutritional value of beetles, ants, grasshoppers and cicadas in particular is almost equivalent to red meat and fish meat in terms of protein, adding that the nutritional value of spiders and scorpions was also examined in the Edible Insect Program.

The report also responded to questions about the taste of insects, reminding that some caterpillars in southern Africa and weaver ant eggs in Southeast Asia are considered extremely tasty and sold at high prices. (AA.)-13-05-2013.

sect trade and insect sections in supermarkets. The fantasy of United Nations about overcoming the hunger by eating the brown blattellidae for which everybody purchase insecticides for killing today would turn the insects into the objects of desire of the appetite metaphor which we could only look behind the shop windows. The thing that will change the ground of the housing problem will be the maximum increase in the number of house owners; when we say from the true point of view, the democratization of the land. Otherwise the increase in the number of houses or the commoditized houses will be mostly empty because of that they are valuable only when they are commodities. It is like leaving the surplus tomatoes in the fields or throwing the surplus fishes to the sea (of course, with killing them) so that the prices can be stable. Maybe some guards can be employed for guarding these empty houses from homeless people and some families of these guards have a roof over their heads but this is also the necessary result of commoditized houses. The increase in the number of houses can only create a space for festively squatting days.²⁶



Sweeping the garbage away by recycling is like cleaning the site of the murder. It is certainly important that nobody sees the body, which the crime scene seems clean and that minimizing the destruction for producing energy but this doesn't change the fact that there is a dead there. There is a paradox similar with the insect fantasy of United Nations here. More garbage for more energy means that you have to produce more material which

²⁶ Something that does not exist at the time of writing was proposed when we were in Spain. The demolition of 800,000 new houses, like dumping excess tomatoes into the sea, was one of the ways to avert the crisis.

will turn into garbage produced with more energy; and this is a paradox for the very reason. The nature lover (!) sensitivity of the advanced countries like Sweden brings a lump to all throats. This “sensitive” country, when it is considered that this country is the world leader in iron production with 90 percent and in lead production with 33 percent; the second of the world in zinc production with 21 percent; and the third of the world in silver, gold and copper production, the importance of nature sensitivity and recycling in energy consumption would be more clear. The starting point of recycling is not the sensitivity about nature but the profitability of producing energy from garbage. Nothing would be change in case of buying garbage from other countries. Now these countries have to be involved in the calculations. The thing happening here is not different from giving alms on Ramadan month in Islam or distributing food in *iftar* tents or on Thanksgiving Day in USA. Of course this is not that bad; at least a couple of people can eat their fill but this is nothing. Besides, we can clearly see that this is not an important thing when we think of the origins of this garbage, of waste industry, of this “tarred with the same brush”. Finally when you consider the ideological aspect which is trying to show capitalism as a sustainable system as well as its obvious profitability, there is nothing left. Believing that radical consumption-centered capitalist economy can reproduce itself by delving into its own garbage is like believing the recirculation machine of Con Ahmet²⁷; and even if this recirculation machine really works, it would have to obtain ten times

²⁷ “A perpetual motion machine is a machine that is claimed to run by itself indefinitely. The engine starts, the dynamo turns, the electricity generated turns the engine... Or water flows, the tribune rota-

more energy from the garbage it used. You can believe it for consoling yourself but this may not prevent the world from becoming reproducible garbage.²⁸

Concentration

Indeed when you understand the “city”, namely when you consider that the city is nothing but a concentration as the main ground, every situation that dissolves “the city and the concentration” can be deemed better than the previous situation. While the objection of “how about the agricultural lands?” which we have frequently been facing with are the friendly objections, it is nothing but

tes, the energy generated carries the water back up, and it flows again...” See. <http://ozeski.blogspot.com.es/2011/10/con-ahmet-devir-daim-makinasi.html> for this good definition.

²⁸ There was a news article in the newspapers; the Swedish government, which provides electricity and heating for over 250,000 homes by using garbage as fuel, has a garbage recycling plant with a capacity larger than the garbage produced in the country. This has forced Sweden to import garbage from neighboring Norway. Sweden will now buy (initially) 80,000 tons of garbage from Norway annually.

According to Yesilist.com, only 4% of the waste generated in the country of 9.5 million people is non-recyclable. The fact that citizens are so sensitive to recycling is the main reason why Sweden is running out of garbage that can be used as fuel and is now recycling garbage from neighboring countries.

In the current scenario, Norway pays Sweden to dispose of its excess waste. Sweden, in turn, gets paid to recycle this garbage to provide electricity and heating for its citizens. In other words, they get electricity and heating for free and make money on top of that.

Sweden's next plan is to buy garbage from countries that do not have recycling infrastructure, such as the Balkan countries, Italy, Romania (maybe us), and try to reduce their polluted areas.

Congratulations to Sweden, which has given a slap in the face to all those who do not see recycling as a skill.

(We should emphasize this last sentence as a reminder; it is a sentence in the news article and of course not our own).

an urbanist point of view. Because the urbanist point of view is an approach that categorizes with concentration, that is “scientific” and classifies as the name implies. We have to underline that the agricultural fields have to be resolved. Just like the city itself has to be resolved. The distinction between agricultural fields and urban settlements is nothing but a realization of the “alienation”. The “alienation” which is identified by Marx as the ground of capitalist production is coming into existence directly within the city which is the space of capitalist concentration. Only a “Non-City City!” which is not classified, categorized and above all, fragmented in this manner has such a potential. Once again, we can say that overthrowing capitalism or alienation can only be possible by overthrowing the “city” and the “agricultural fields” and vice versa... In sum, when you resolve the “concentration”, the freedom emerges or in other words the beautiful motto of France '68 “the beach under the flagstones” emerges!²⁹

Myth of Rural-Urban Migration

“If we build single-storey houses within gardens across the country, namely approximately over a 1.700 kms and over a line with a width of just 27 kms., everybody in Turkey would have a house” offer or alias Eco-City! It is deemed something that can not be became reality, something impossible. Here is the mistake of this thought. Thinking the things which are only possible for today. Therefore many friends were saying that “You're right but this is utopia”. Actually the thing they don't aware of is that the world we're in today is a distopia.

Let's dwell on the thought about that the notion we are upholding is a quite great-radical change and therefore

²⁹ Original in French Sous les pavés la plage!

can not be became reality: First of all, we are already living through an upending change today. This great but destructive (as contrary to our offer) migration or in normalized terms, this “urban-rural migration” is continuing like greased lightning. For example, the population of Istanbul increased 1 million only in the last 4 years.³⁰ The rural regions started to empty. Small farmers are almost completely disappeared. Neoliberal policies are dispossessing the small farmers especially in agricultural sector; the lands remained from them are turning into the plundering field of neoliberal agricultural companies. All over the world, the farmers who were deterritorialized by transnational agricultural monopolies like Cargill or Monsanto and the people who were exiled from their lands which were submerged or dried by dams or the hydroelectric power plants are middle of a far-reaching change or rather a destruction.

The myth of “those who migrated to urban from rural areas with the development of industry in cities” is indisputable today. The industry which is getting involved the radical monopolies a little more day by day is not employing permanent worker at all. In other words, even though it was already not true, the dream about the worker who works in factory and receives a satisfying salary is collapsed. The real reason of “migration” is the dams and hydroelectric power plants of radical construction monopolies; the agricultural policies of the radical construction monopolies which destroy small farmers and appropriate their lands; and a “deterritorialization”³¹

³⁰ According to the news dated September 2013; 1 million 157 thousand 576 people were added to the population of Istanbul in the last 4 years. Istanbul's population cannot be stopped. See Hurriyet-<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/24714890.asp>

³¹ I am not using this concept in the sense of Deleuze-Guattari's notion of “displacement and de-territorialization”, but as “negative” in

operation. We also have to keep in mind the state of emergencies like wars which are the direct reason of migration.

This exile is certainly a battle of identity too. We are not only talking about the war which ruptures Kurdish people who are defending their identity from their villages and even their towns and throws to the cities by bombs, rifles, gendarmerie and police. We are also talking about the destructive “deterritorializing” attacks of the radical monopolies in the place where “Peace” exists or in rural areas.

As we said, the myth of “those who migrated to urban from rural areas with the development of industry in cities” is not true to the degree that it have been supposing in 1960s as it identified by the clean acceptance of everybody. In the 1960s, the industry, especially the assembling industry was advanced but attributing the migration only to this reason is nothing but marking the option that serves the progressive logic in good stead. The main question is the destruction of the subsistence farming under the name of “Green Revolution”³² after 1945 all over

the full sense of the word. This is actually an exile of “uprooting” in the full sense of the word. Unlike previous exiles, that is to say, worse than the worst, it is an exile that drives them to the edge of the “city” with a definite isolation, that directly eliminates whatever is left of tradition and custom, and is therefore a holistic rootlessness. The homeland is destroyed physically, politically and culturally. Thanks to Alişan Şahin for reminding us of this and preventing a conceptual misunderstanding.

³² The “green revolution” was the surrender of agriculture to industry, a new mechanized agriculture in which the nerve gases left over after the Second World War were diluted and used in agriculture. Contrary to the claim that it saved 1 million people from starvation by increasing crops, it was a counter-revolution that drove the small peasantry to the city, standardized agriculture and rapidly destroyed the diversity of crops, directly poisoned the soil, reducing yields in a very short time and constantly weakening the soil,

the world and after 1950s in Turkey. However the elephant in the room is the integration of the subsistence farmers³³ to capitalist market by the massive exile of the rural by digging the land deeply and filling it with DDTs, that is to say killing it. The photos of a happy farmer over the tractor are also the other faces of the farmers who were exiled to the city.³⁴

The discourse about that those who came to city are living in better conditions is exactly another myth. Is it the better condition that the farmer who were working hard for only 2 months in cultivating her/his own land start to work for 12 hours every day? This is such an exaggerated myth that one is telling as these people's own choice to struck in a briquette cottage in city periphery instead of living in a bigger house with garden and with trees and land. The “Green Revolution” in agriculture exiled to the city peripheries much more people than war exiles and genocides.

requiring new chemical materials and thus obliging the peasantry to capitalist companies, that is, directly integrating the peasantry into capitalism.

³³ I use this term “subsistence agriculture” not only in the sense of self-sufficient agriculture, but as a definition against “capitalist agriculture”. Otherwise, this production did not only feed the family. It was a form of agriculture that extended to the town and city bazaar and was “productive” enough to meet the other needs of the family.

³⁴ At the same time, the contraction of the world market was certainly a factor that accelerated this process. After the second world war, a significant part of the world became “socialist” and left the imperialist market. Capitalism then set out to maximize the profits of capitalism by expanding the shrinking market horizontally from within. Moreover, the methods of rational persuasion and forms of propaganda used by Fascism were rapidly being used in new products and new marketing techniques. People whom the Nazis had persuaded to go to war with these methods could be persuaded to buy any product much more easily. Our thanks to Alişan Şahin for adding this to our discussions.

These years are also the years in which the recent indisputable ideational hegemony of capitalism on the construction form had been built for the first time for Turkey. These are the years in which the magical power, concrete was secured in our minds influentially instead of the traditional architecture which consists of soil, adobe, rock or wood. The excluded and humiliated traditional architecture get drowned under cement by “architecture's, engineer's” hands of those who have the title of “educated” by sending to schools.³⁵

This is certainly a holistic “capitalist reconstruction” and it is as destructive as the steam revolution. Even the eating forms and choices of the people were reconstructed on the basis of this ideational hegemony. The black bread which is eaten in villages was destructed in the city with a racist aggression on behalf of the refined white bread. * These years are the years in which the *tandır* or wafer breads that were producing by the people in their homes were humiliating prolonged until the invention of the “orient rooms” by middle class. As usual,

³⁵ Concrete may have existed before and may have been admired by those who came to the city, but it was never until these years that the intellectual hegemony of concrete had the power to shatter tradition. The main tool for the construction of this hegemony is the universities (!), the centers of enlightened science.

* In Viranşehir, a place that experienced this change later, a teacher told me about a memory he had as a small child with his grandfather. When the first bread bakery opened in Viranşehir, they passed by and he asked for bread because he was hungry. His grandfather bought bread and was surprised when he was asked for money in return. It was the first time he had seen bread as a saleable commodity. The teacher was telling the story that his grandfather was very angry at this, and they left the bakery shouting, “You can't even charge money for bread!”

when the “black bread” face with extinction, it was re-born first in the special places and eccentric restaurant and then in cuisine of the rich factitiously.³⁶

This transformation or rather destruction emerges in the food culture not only for the bread but also for almost every food. For example, “Sana” or “Vita” branded margarines are also the results of this “deterritorialization” exiles. The villages who were deracinated from their subsistence farming and their land were also humiliated for using their indigenous “butter” and “olive oil”. An idea of a Western family is at stake: A “mother” with pale skin and colored eyes which we can understand even from a black and white photo was spreading “Sana” margarine to her child's bread. This hegemony is so powerful that the margarine is calling as “Sana butter” which is only a brand in Turkey. The modern medicine which is always the closest ally of the capitalist city has come into play and has convicted the “butter” and “olive oil” with the word of “cholesterol” which was newly introduced by everyone in those years. Contrary to these days, the modern doctors were recommending “light” oils such as “Sana” margarine in breakfasts and “Vita” oil in dinners.³⁷

³⁶ This falsity is such that, for example, “wholemeal bread” is produced by mixing bran, which has been removed from the flour, which has been whitened and stripped of bran and all other elements. In fact, it is a great example of the pitiful state of industrial production.

³⁷ I remember my grandmother's conversations from those days, from the 1960s; Müteyyem (it was the name of a friend of hers) used to eat bread dipped in olive oil all the time, saying that she had neither cholesterol nor anything else. Aunt Müteyyem lived until her 80s, but she did not live to see the years when olive oil was good for cholesterol, that is, when it was re-consecrated. In addition, a 104-year-old grandfather I met in the Black Sea mountains while making a documentary film said, “I slice a piece of warm bread, put a lot of

This doesn't mean that everybody suddenly start to use these products but this example essentially cracks the role of the ideational hegemony in the new city construction wide open and strikingly. Moreover the actual migration reached to its final point with the ideological resignation of the village against the city. The villager who got sucked into the city was denigrated about her/his accent, behaviors and new identity; what was happening was the assimilation of all languages and the dialects of Kurdish, Laz, Thracian, Sivasian, Aegean, Turkmenian; in other words, a holistic deterritorializing operation. Due to these reasons, sociological specifications such as "the urban-rural migration emerges from the development of industry in cities" or "swarming in honeycomb" are actually the discourses of a capitalist urban myth. People have always been exiled to the cities. Only the folk songs about homesickness and absence from home give adequate evidence of this regardless of where they refer.

The villager has actually resisted for a long time before this ideological resignation. For example, Turkmen workers who went to cities for working in building of sugar factory, state buildings, neighborhoods like Subayevleri and Yenimahalle or cement factory were returning their homes by leaving the city in their first breaks in Ankara in 1950s.³⁸ It should be underlined that the peo-

butter between it and eat it," when describing what he ate every day. Although he could get around quite well, he said, "My health is not so good these days". Because 10 years ago, at the age of 94, he fell from a tree.

³⁸ The direct source of this is Ahmet Ateş, author of the book "Thoughts on the Way". Apart from this book, which reveals the collective and "anarchic" side of the Alevi-Turkmen tradition, the spirit of all that Ahmet Ateş went through, from the martial law years when he was searched on the streets with posters, to Palestine, from

ple were continuing to live in their villages as the primary home for a significant time before the “ideological resignation”. Moreover, the families of the workers who migrated to the city continued to live in the village even if these workers can find a secured job. The breaking point here is the migration of the worker despite having an unsecured job or the birth of the myth of “Istanbul is paved with gold”; this is the ideological resignation.³⁹

A similar exile occurred in Ireland in 1800s. Ireland turned into a potato field for the market of the poor in England during the process of its impoverishment by English colonialism. Irish villagers lost their subsistence farming with the invasion of “profitable potato planting” especially by the big landowners; and then, they totally crumpled up with the pandemic in potato at the end of 1800s. 1 million people starved to death and 1 million

the mountains of Turkey to the boring German cities, all the experiences, the basements rented under false names, the books I stole and he bought with his last money, and the discussions we had in Istanbul under many different names we carried around, permeates almost the whole book. With honor and love. - Ahmet Ateş, “Yol Üzerine Düşünceler”, Notebene Yayınları, 2014, Ankara.

³⁹ Two women in the village describe the city as follows: “You press a button and it becomes daytime. You turn the faucet at home and the water flows”. This narrative is the destination of this ideological surrender. This situation, which seems right to everyone at first, means forgetting that almost none of those who migrated from the village to the city had access to electricity or especially to healthy water in the early years. A lot of water has to flow under the bridge in order to get from a village where you can access healthy water from a stream where you may carry water but no one charges you for it, to a village where you can access healthy water when you turn the tap. In addition, the price paid for this water is actually overlooked in the capitalist categorized, alienated mode of production. It is forgotten how much money it costs to buy that water. It was Ahmet Ateş who recounted this conversation from years ago in our conversations.

people fled from their country.⁴⁰ The greatest migration to USA occurred at this very same time. There was not “gold rush” but an “escape from death” at the bottom of this great exile to USA as it is in every migration. The story of hunger and exile in Ireland is one of the first indirect slaughters of capitalism and industrialism. A domino effect is at stake.

Workers who had to work for 12 hours a day and eat something just before sleep; the people who severed all their ties with subsistence farming; the merchant who preferred cheap and decay-proof product to sell them; the miracle plant potato which is easy to carry, durable and a churn out product; each of these were a domino. The invasion of Ireland by potato from the lands of the new world is totally a story of industrial production. This industrial production means not only the industrial and factory production but also the massive production in the fields, in other words, the industrial-capitalist agriculture. “Massive, enblock and monocultural” production or commoditization of food became a reality for the first time with industrialism and capitalism. It is started to plan “potato factories” by destroying the small farmers' gardens and by turning everywhere into fields.

The domino game proceeds by backing of one to another for mounting. The villagers whose subsistence farming lands were invaded by potato migrate to the city. One reason of this was that the villagers were out of even a piece of land for their subsistence because of the profitable potato production of big landowners. Again, the products which could be sold by villagers in town bazaars once a month or every 15 days out of the daily food of the villagers have become unsalable. Every food

⁴⁰ See. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irish_famine.

started to lose their salability because of the commoditized potato. As a follow up of the same domino game, the only food which is eaten in the city became only the potato. Potato which can be cooked in a short time between the workplace and sleep times and can be filling for a long time was the only food ever after.⁴¹ This part of the domino game ended with the greatest hunger and exile when a pandemic started in potato production in the continent.

The striking thing here which proves that the industrial or monistic or “concentrated” production causes hunger and death is the situation in South America. The same disease was there too but it didn't cause any death or exile because there were 20.000 species of potato in the lands of the new world. It has to be noted that the monistic production is the concentration of everything and it also bears the risk of obliterating that product from the world – we will discuss this issue hereafter.

A similar game with the “Ireland and potato” game occurred in Anatolia too. This is the story of the villagers who were exiled to the city peripheries with industrialized, the agriculture which is done for the capital, the destruction of diversity and the destruction of subsistence farming by integrating it to the capitalist market. The exile to the city peripheries occurred with cotton and American wheat instead of the “capitalist potato” which was exiled to the cities in Ireland – well, we can't blame the unfortunate potato which is already an exile. In other words, what is at stake is the counter-revolution of mechanized agriculture and toxication called as the “green revolution” which is based upon the common urban

⁴¹ A striking example of this is the fact that the most common, perhaps the only common, national dish in the UK today is fish & chips, in other words, fish and potatoes have become a staple food in England, an island country.

myth “green space”, more precisely, the re-concentration of the land with machines and toxic substances. I want to repeat for establishing a connection that the fact called urbanization is an exile story almost always.

Another minor detail of this exile which is still understandable today is about “gilette”. When the people who were shaving on feast at best came to the city, they had to shave everyday as one of the conditions of being the “clean-cut” citizens. The razorblade which eliminates the barbers emerged in this very period with the “gilette” brand and came into our lives. This razorblade which is still calling with the name of the brand (“gilette”) is a proof of how directly our daily lives have changed and integrated to the market as a vital detail and a detail of the industrialized daily life.

The thing that comes to my mind is that in the cities which didn't become a “capitalist city” yet, the barbershops were also one of the places in which the people were discussing on political issues and taking decisions. Sultan Abdulhamid who is famous with his repressive authority was placing his informants to the coffee houses as well as barbershops. It is also an example to this situation that the barbers were quite influent in anarchist movement during Spanish Revolution. Again, a great example from a far end of the world is that there were insurgent barbers among the characters of the stories of the Guatemalan Nobel-winning writer Miguel Ángel Asturias and it shows how the importance of barbershops as social meeting spaces is disregarded.⁴²

⁴² There was an example of this in Saudi Arabia, which is also a peculiar authoritarian country. Saudi Arabian citizens despise working in other professions, and if they do, they almost exclusively work as barbers and taxi drivers. This shows that these should not only be perceived as jobs, but also as having a social, social aspect.

Olive is also one of the vanguard actors of the daily life which reflects this change process. The “soup” which is generally a part of almost every meal in a person's nutrition way in the village gave its place to other things when one is gone outside for working because of it is not a hand-held food. Before the villager run to the “honeycomb city”, the distance between workplace and home was short. However those who came to city had to travel to another end of the city for earning their bread. When they can not carry the main meal, soup with themselves, they discovered the olive alongside the easily affordable and hand-held cheese. So the olive which is only the cheap eating habit of the temperate coasts became the honor guest over table, more precisely over the newsprint papers spreading as table sheets on the ground. Olive and bread became a subject of the songs and poems as a poverty and a “worker” food.

The benefits of the same olive which are discovered today by the modern medicine deprived the poor from it. Another point of this process is the prominence of the “countries” nested with nature; terrace balconies which were greened with sizable flower pots; namely the gentrified urban models which return to nature as well as the re-establishment of the olive, olive oil, black bread and the butter. In other words, it indicates the actualization of the great change or the capitalist hegemony. Therefore it is not true that a change that much big is impossible with the “urban reform”. On the contrary, an urban reform can only be possible in this way and even if a change is that much big.

Portable food container was the integral part of the general image of workers for a long time. The foods which have been carrying in two- or three-fold containers attached to each other were travelling across the city day and night. The food right gotten from the employers

with worker resistances as well as the extending roads and the crowded inner city transportation put the portable food container away. This fact also gave rise to portable snack bars and bistros next to factories. This was a reflection of the fact that the city separates the basic need of people and turns each one into different professions. In other words, while the industrial agriculture which offers to plant every product in different fields creates cotton fields at first and then cotton villages and cotton cities, it also cause the classification and the separation of the needs as compartments in daily life. Namely, even if the city seems like aggregation of everybody, in fact it causes relation forms which dissociate each other and fragmented; and an alienation and commoditization of everything including satisfying the basic needs by snatching them from the people. The city is not a space in which the people are living together but is a place in which the people are living above each other.

The integration of agriculture into capitalism turned into the commoditization of the daily life, the food, the “eating and drinking” in a short time. The beginning of fabricated “eating and drinking” and the capitalist city construction process were one and the same thing and the commoditization of “eating and drinking” was the most important constituent of the ideological resignation of the village. The entrance of the biggest radical beverage monopoly Coca Cola to Turkey was also in the year of 1964 which was the one of rapid urbanization years. “Here is the taste of life” and “This is the happiness” Coca Cola destroyed the fruit stew which was the beverage of villagers for hundreds of years and took a great share from the *ayran* which still can hold a part of the market. Coca Cola swept the urban beverage sherbet away. It became the accessible and urban taste especially of the youth and the children. The yearly sale of Coca

Cola which entered to Turkey in 1964 reached 547 million cases today.⁴³ Turkey became the 9th most Coca Cola consuming country of the world. About the rising of Turkey from 13th to 9th place especially from 2010 to 2012 in Coca Cola consumption, some main reasons were the exile of the people to the cities by neoliberal policies, corporated agriculture, dams, hydroelectric power plants, highways, highway constructions and the war as well as other factors.

Coca Cola which is the most appropriate beverage with hurry food, the beverage in haste became the “real taste of life” with the shrinking of the time because of the city. It was such a capitalist city beverage. The vanguard of the fast food Coca Cola and Pepsi with a little market share were the symbols of the capability of being city dweller and that everybody can be a city dweller. Hence whereas one can reach the “real taste of life”, a belief was emerging about that one can benefit from all privileges of the city in some way. Quite successful commercials of Coca Cola were made mainly in Brazilian *favelas* and the back streets of Africa. And Coca Cola is “the real taste of life” and therefore the ideological symbol of capitalism for making feel in the dream which is much shorter than the ball bouncing of those football players who rose from poor neighborhoods and became

⁴³ 547 million cases sold: “Reminding that Coca Cola Turkey ranked 13th in the Coca Cola ecosystem in 2010, Molinas said: ‘We left behind big markets such as South Africa, Spain and the Philippines. Russia is also a very big market, but it is behind Turkey in the ranking. We achieved this with marketing innovation. Coca Cola Turkey has an important place in the whole company with its innovative practices in sales and marketing. In general, the models we develop are taken as an example in the world. Our goal is to always be a model. As a result of all these marketing activities, Coca Cola İçecek reached a sales volume of 547 million cases in Turkey last year.’” See <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/20590196.asp>

rich. Consequently the murders against trade unionists who were trying to organize in Coca Cola factories in Colombia or the fact that the first vehicles entering Iraq right after the invasion were the Coca Cola trucks are compatible with this symbolic existence; and it certainly reflects Coca Cola, in other words, the real taste of life.⁴⁴

The fact that is directly understood by the fallen villagers /the new workers who exiled from rural to urban was that they were poisoning in factory. In the past, they could healing themselves by returning to their villages after working for a time but now because of that they have no village anymore, when they do the best and most rational thing and the thing that they only can do, build their own shanties near the factory and try to live there, they can not keep away from the toxication of the factory but rather are completely subjected to that. And here came the main element of their meal, yoghurt.

The common belief about that yoghurt is good against poisoning conquered the city streets in this period.⁴⁵ Yoghurt became one of the main demands of workers. The

⁴⁴ Food and beverages are number one: "Noting that the food, beverage and personal care categories of the FMCG sector in Turkey are growing at around 5-6 percent per year, Frayman said: 'However, Turkey has more growth potential in this area. There is still a long way to go. For example, we are growing very fast in some cities in Anatolia. Urbanization is increasing. According to our own analysis based on TurkStat data, there are currently 19 cities in Turkey with populations over 1 million. This number will be 22 in 5 years. Likewise, there are 7 cities with a population of over 2 million, which will become 9. Food and beverage is the number one category in the non-alcoholic beverage market.'" See <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/20590196.asp>

⁴⁵ This belief is so widespread that stray dogs that were poisoned in the neighborhood were always tried to be saved by feeding them yogurt. In fact, there are no neighborhood dogs anymore. While in Europe all dogs had an owner, in our country, when the "neighbor-

yoghurt right took part among the acquired syndical rights and collective bargaining only in Turkey. This means gaining a right arising from the backpack of the people with the exile from the village to the city. This right and the yoghurt it guaranteed turned into the main source of subsistence of the middle and small farmers and one of the last rings of the chains of the village-city relations which are removed until the death blows of the city to the village with the military fascist junta of 1980.

Street yoghurt trading could resist for a while against the collaboration of “salubrity” and “science” with the “integrated yoghurt and milk factories” which emerged after 1980. The disappearing of street yoghurt trading might be disappearance of the last visible relation between village and the city. This situation developed also when the “television” snuggled down the most important corner of the house by the unmitigated concentration of communication. The concentration in communication took an important place in commoditization and monopolization of food. Removing of the street yoghurt trading by the television which snuggled down the seats of honor in the houses was the result of domino effect of integration of agriculture to capitalism.

This situation is one of the most interesting examples of the alienation and capitalization on relations by coming to city. When we joined the strike with the workers who were fired on the grounds that they want to unionize on 2007-2008 in Yörsan yoghurt factory in Balıkesir, we realized this dramatic alienation one more time. While the workers who live in nearby villages were working as yoghurt and cheese production workers, their families

hood” was still alive, each neighborhood had its own dogs and almost the whole neighborhood took care of them. No one owned them. They were part of the neighborhood.

were selling milk to the factory for the production. The workers who were fired on the grounds that they want to unionize would back to work as unionized workers or they would earn a sizeable compensation.

The number of fired workers was reaching up to 400 and the large part of the workers was in this resistance. The factory would reengage all workers with the union or it would have to pay a sizeable compensation including the payments of resistance days. The workers had the expectation of reengaging to the factory with the union because of their intention about that the factory can not afford to pay such a huge compensation. However we offered to establish a “cooperative” factory altogether because we thought that the boss will pay the compensations even if it is huge for avoiding from the entrance of trade union in the factory. This offer, even only as an idea was strengthening the workers' hand against the boss at least. Moreover we obtained a support promise from the delegates from Europe within the international delegation we visited all together. In other words, milk was already producing by the families of workers; all worker had the knowledge about cheese and yoghurt production; and at least there was a ready market for the beginning. Nevertheless the workers didn't accept this idea.

After a while, the boss of Yörsan dismissed all workers with giving their compensations as a result of the court decision. Workers continued to look for a job probably after buying a car with their compensations and continued to produce milk and became dependent to the factory again. The trade union also couldn't get back the money that it had given to the workers as salary during strike as dues or in a different way. This example was showing one more time that the power of the capital is rooted not in surplus-value, military or courts but in its

ideational hegemony. It is very difficult to create an alternative relationship out of the city relations or alienated capitalist relation when it is integrated to the capitalist market of those who seemingly and actually live in villages.

Even within a production process like “yoghurt” which only consists of fermenting the milk and keeping it in a warm place, evasion behavior of the workers who have all information about the process while all conditions were proper and even there was a necessity was showing the power of this hegemony. The integration of village to the capitalist market is not only the ideological victory of the city or the exile of villagers to the city but also the invasion of all villages by the city and the capitalist-industrial relation form. Henceforth it is difficult to ferment the old idea of managing to do something together even in the villages.⁴⁶

City construction has to be thought with accomplishing great things, developing and in connection with these, the underdevelopment complex. Every city construction, every demand for roads or bridges means selling one's soul to the devil, a “Faust” story. Constructing everything as “big” is one of the fundamental dynamics of modernism. The behavior of the people who sold their souls to the devil as satisfying themselves only with big

⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it should be noted that if this had been shared directly with the workers for a longer period of time during the resistance, they might have been persuaded. The stories of Pedro Santinho from the Brazilian occupation factories, who was with us during our visits, quickly struck a chord with the workers. This is why this note should have been written, so as not to completely rule out this possibility. For the news that the workers won (!) the resistance, see <http://bianet.org/bianet/bianet/111091-direnen-isciler-yorsan-patronunu-yendi>

things is the main ideational resource of the capitalist and industrialist system.

One of the other minor examples of this fact had lived in Hopa, Artvin. In Hopa in which one of the powerful leftist traditions exists, the one and only Hamsheni candidate won the local election as a member of the leftist Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP). A hope for changing something more or less came in sight with this municipality won by the party which can be seen as an inheritor of a tradition that experienced a revolutionary local government in Fatsa before the 1980 military fascist junta. This municipality started the process with a festival involved leftist artists and writers as in the past and it finished its 5 years term only with the festivals like all leftist (!) municipalities.

This municipality was carrying an excitement to change at least the current situation and to present a leftist alternative administration especially in early years. When we went to the festivals we invited from the first year, it could be easily understood that the hope for doing something was running out every passing year. Actually there was an opportunity to do some striking things in this process from the first year. For example, the entire local community was planting tea and selling it to the state with quota or to traders between the prices of 0,375 TL and 0,425 TL per kg. We could buy this tea at the price of 5 TL, namely 12-13 times expensive than the product base price. The interesting part was that tea producers were also buying the tea at the same price. Namely, they could buy the tea they planted at the same price we pay. Until the first conversation with the friends who worked in the organization of ÖDP during election process, we offered to establish a tea mill. When the municipality established the tea mill, the producers can at

least grind their tea, send tea to their relatives in the city and maybe make sale in small quantities.

Those who were in this organization said that this is a good idea but they would already take over a factory which is working as a cooperative but has not any difference from a classical business and argued that they would make much more production at that time. The tea mill could turn into an instrument that can change the whole process of production organization at least symbolically with togetherness or shared time by being a place in which every producer can grind for example 50 kgs maximum. It can also have a function that resolves the distinction between Hamsheni and Laz which already existed and was deepening gradually in that small city.

Interestingly, almost everybody had the necessary knowledge for grinding the tea plant. Because many people from that city were working in the tea factories in that region at least as casual workers. However the leftist municipality put building a cultural center on its agenda instead of this. If they had built a tea mill rather than a cultural center, a tea mill in which cultural workshops conduct would mean the returning of the culture from its gentrified space, from the center to the place its production place, the place that it has to belong to. However many organizers of this process got disconnected from the process because of disputing with each other and being mutually offended. There was nothing left but a little more honest municipality service. The tea mill which was depised in face of the Faust trap didn't mention at all. As a result, neither the cooperative can be taken over

nor the tea mill can be built; and after 5 years the elections was lost.⁴⁷

The folk culture –the folklore– which is alive for hundreds of years was also exiled to the city with the infamous “rural-urban migration” myth or more precisely the exile especially in the 1960s. The exiled culture would take its place as a “figure of migration to Istanbul” in almost every *Yeşilçam* movie which were started to make at the very same period. While the new exile who got off the train in Haydarpaşa was looking to Istanbul with a wooden luggage in her/his hand, there was always a bağlama instrument hanging on their backs.⁴⁸ So this image of bağlama which is one of the most important parts of village culture was also carried to the city with the infamous exile. City, as always happens, concentrated the exiled culture and locked them into the centers, the cultural centers as a service. For example, the folk dance –this name alone clarifies the situation– started to catogarize with the city and teaches in numbers with “teachers”. While there wasn't any “one two three, right step behind” description in any local “folklore” before, it became a result of another learning form.

This alienation and “actual” abstract entertainment introduced the “Cultural centers” which were built in urban concentration centers. A double alienation was at stake here. On one hand, culture turned into a form of repeating its centennial heritage hanging in the air. On

⁴⁷ These proposals may not have even been heard during these processes. Also, if they were implemented, other practical problems could have arisen. In discussing all this, it must be emphasized that we are essentially discussing another way of thinking, and not claiming that every suggestion will lead to an absolute correct result.

⁴⁸ The use of *Yeşilçam* cinema as a figure of migration to Istanbul (Haydarpaşa, wooden suitcase, big Istanbul) was examined by Barış Doğru in his master's thesis in the late 90s.

the other hand, the village square headed for its last roundup with the folk songs about the lover who was never coming back from Istanbul or Germany as a result of the migration at first; then the people started to fill there only in the weddings and finally it lapsed into silence.

As for the “Cultural Centers” which were up for replacing the village squares, they became a symbol of the gentrification of culture right from the start. Folklore teachers with ties started to give folklore lessons which were accord with the city and have been teaching with math, more precisely, made up of successive repeated numbers. Teaching folklore became a service (!) area of every municipality as the personnel cadre of those who were close to the city manager, especially the literature teachers who were friends. Culture which is payrolled by these lessons tried to resist becoming an instrument of the power in concentration centers. Culture filled the void of its getting disconnected from the land primarily by supplying itself from its own history when it was in exile. Then it started to be protest by putting “street” to the incomplete place

However the folk songs which were creating a place of a collateral culture in the beginning turned into cultured melodies by notating in cultural centers. Building cultural concentration camps or cultural centers were initially –and fortunately– advancing slowly. Besides because of that the Right were seeing these places as leftist areas and seeing every kind of gathering as dangerous, its connection with streets could remain alive for a while. However the operation of clapping the alive culture which came from villages in exile into buildings by concentrating and gentrifying is accomplished over time. This operation created “freaky” cultural center buildings

which were appropriate for this common process in architectural sense. Insomuch that the alienation created by the culture as a result of the process is very clear, it is unnecessary to talk so much on it when one sees this building with this point of view. Almost every cultural building is a monument of “alienation”. All of them are also a disaster functionally.

One of them, Fethiye Municipality Cultural Center deserves the first place of being the ugliest concentration center I've even seen. This is certainly a frenzy construction if not another talent in gathering all the dysfunctional and ugly concrete and iron together. This cultural center building was seeming like something between a train compartment and earthquake houses in appearance; and I felt awkwardly sad while I was listening the poor municipality orchestrate which were trying to fit into the entrance stairs of this building as well as performing the most interesting tango transcriptions I've even heard. This sadness wasn't about the tango for sure.

Even if I didn't make bold to see Kumluca Municipality Cultural Center and Wedding Saloon up close, it was providing enough insight with the fact that it is built as a 4-5 storey height thick tower between orange trees which were cut by the municipality for being visible from each side of the town. When you climb the ride which was surrounding the tower upwardly, you would probably see the greenhouse nylons encircling all old orange gardens. The reason why we couldn't make bold to see it up close though we've gone to Kumluca many times is the cast plaster big tomato sculptures which tells that this town is a fruit heaven and the lion sculptures with taps made up with something in side of teh boulevard. When we saw these ugly polyester lion sculptures watering the grass at their feet, we actually feared about the surprises the cultural center would make us.

While Nusaybin Municipality Cultural Center seems beautiful at first glance because of that it is used the traditional stone of the region as coating material, it is functionally terrifying as it is frequently said by its own employees. It can be said that a cultural this big have no rooms but a couple of small ones. A minor deficiency of the concert hall was that its acoustic was not appropriate. The “library” area which is built as a graceful passage image looked to be a hallway. Therefore there wasn't any reading section. When it is considered that they probably weren't give books to outside, the function of the books were unable to go beyond constituting the interior decoration of the architecture. This situation can certainly be explained by saying that “Nobody reads book already”.



The main reason of that capitalism can live this long is the city. City which is a construction form of alienated relations succeeded in creating a human crowd who are side by side compartmented but unrelated with each other. Contrary to many descriptions, city is not a spool of human relations but an accumulation of alienation. Therefore you can not overthrow capitalism without overthrowing the “city” and nevertheless you can not overthrow the “city” without overthrowing capitalism. These two poles of the situation don't create a negativity or dilemma but it creates the possibility and the necessity of overthrowing them together. However, this destruction should be perceived as a process which will be destroyed as much as the alienation can be destroyed.⁴⁹ Consequently, “Urban Reform” is a modest subversive offer.

⁴⁹ As in one of my favorite anecdotes that I often tell in conversations, “They shout at the wrestler, ‘Take his arm, take his arm. The wrestler says, ‘If I could, I would take your life.’”

While capitalism is looting and destroying the nature, the things which have been destroying gain values because of decreasing and rareness. For example, while it is polluting the rivers, when the drinkable water decreased, it started to sell that.⁵⁰ As a capitalistic rule, when you destroy a thing, that thing gains value. This valuation is nothing but a simple (!) result of the economical issue of “supply and demand” and a behavior of looking from a different angle. Capitalism doesn't actually make conscious choices about this and it doesn't act planned as opposed to the popular belief. It is already decently irrational that they are destroying the entire world in spite of they will be left destitute with their rooms of dollars; be dead and dead again as it is said in a rhyme. Therefore, seeking for a meaning within the things done by capitalism is nothing but abandoning oneself to bullshit. Well, some people who abandoned themselves to this bullshit quite much are saying that the rich knows that the world will be destroyed and therefore they are preparing a place for themselves in space, for example in Mars. Nothing will change when the rich build such a facility. It should not be forgotten that if there were no poor, there would be no rich. In other words, even if these parasites will move to Mars, they would need bodies, the people and the poor. The remarkable thing here is the intention about building something even on Mars. This intention for building is nothing but a desperate complex of playing god. Again, if there were no poor, there would be no rich. However we must say that the opposite of this can be done. This also means that the poor would certainly exist without the existence of the rich. I am saying here another thing than the thought about the dialectical impossibility of this. The

⁵⁰ This was the argument Temel Demirer used in a speech a long time ago.

main point is that it is simply enough for the poor to buck the rich or the parasites off. It may be dialectically true that if there is no rich there would be no poor but it especially makes more sense to preserve the word “poor”. This word means a limited property holding situation. Namely, only this can procure the existence. Don't worry; poverty will create a world in which everybody lives much better!

There is “being rich” and “much more” mottos in the center of the thought of concentration and therefore power. The concentration and the power legitimizes themselves by convincing that everybody can own everything at any moment even if it is not possible to own “much more” altogether. The abasement of being poor is nothing but praising being “rich”.

I guess that my intention for spinning what I want to say out as opposed to my regular essays is because of that I am abstaining from suggesting you being “poor”. We should be “poor”; of course in inverted commas; otherwise for example everybody can not have a car because there isn't enough steel and if everybody have a car, there would be nowhere to go. To add more, having a car doesn't gain you freedom or time; on the contrary, it subjects you and make you lose time. Everything aside, just calculate the labor and the time you've sold for buying it... I am trying to say that let's get out of that hope game before. We can be happy only in a “poor” world.

In other words, “we should render thanks”. However, rendering thanks means not playing the hand we're dealt or accepting our destiny but a situation against “much more”, concentration and therefore power. It is against the consumption greed and it is anticapitalist. The thing

which underlies creating a “thankful” world is the Revolt... What I want is encouraging the people to “be thankful”.

I was drawing a thickly line with a green crayon on small papers. I had them distributed before the beginnings of panel discussions and symposiums. I was asking that “Did everybody receive the papers?” before starting to talk. Everybody was trying to understand what these small papers are about. Then I was saying that “I distributed green spaces to you”. Green space is nothing but a fantasy especially in neoliberal cities. The relation of the people in city with green space is the same with the relation of them with the thickly green line in the paper they are holding. You can not even see that green line if you're on 10th, especially on 20th, 30th or 40th floor. The river I could see before climbing to a tower for *bungee jumping* and jumping from 60 meters height in Korea was thinner than the line I drew. Then while you were going into a nosedive, you could not make out anything at all because of you were closing too fast. The relation with green spaces in big cities is exactly as such: Looking from high and closing fast. And hanging in the air. Green space is what you can never touch in real terms. It is exactly a bath fantasy. What else is it but the minutes which you spend among fake grasses while you were going to home or anywhere else within the times you were freed from your working hours at best? What is the benefit of “green space” aside from creating an occupation like landscape engineering or a job area like landscape construction business?

“Green space” may be covered an important part of the city in the countries such as England or Germany; and it still exists a conserved city center at least. However these green spaces are actually the “green spaces” of the last century. They are not the planned areas of a

planned city but the breathing areas of an organically developed city. They are the areas which could get out of the plunder of the city which developed in its own dynamics because of locating next to old working class neighborhoods. Nevertheless let me assure you that they will be smaller than a flowerpot under the double glasses of 30-40 storey buildings. Aside from stepping with bare foot, you can not see them with naked eye because it is impossible to open the windows in any skyscraper under normal circumstances.⁵¹

The main success of capitalist production or with a truer and larger definition, the industrial production is not achieving more and cheaper products which were producing piece by piece but the ideational hegemony which is created by the alienation emerged from the fragmentation of this production form. Just as the production form which led it, this ideational hegemony have an irresolvable hegemonic power because of that it exists as an intertwined but disconnected body in which there are so-called separated but side by side thoughts.

Constructing apartments have an imaginary power in-somuch that nobody questions the underlying causes of it. Especially the poor supports it in all circumstances. First of all, it is still perceived as a solid investment because nobody trusts in almost any guarantee. Nobody cares the second part of this situation which can be summarized as “Place in the world, faith in the afterlife” but when you ask anyone on the street what they want, they would surely say a car and a house in the first place.

⁵¹ Turo Park, one of the “green spaces” in the city center of Barcelona, is in fact nothing more than the garden of an old mansion. The “green spaces” of the cities cited as examples are only living spaces that seem to have been freed from the organic urban spontaneous development of the city, or in other words, they decorate this urban sprawl.

City separated from the nature every passing day and this separation was blessed. However, counter-urbanization was attractive all the time even before the beginning of the creation of returning to nature cult. The city which was living next to the nature was despising the nature but it was aspiring to escape from itself all the time. This double movement created new “summer cities” in calm places like the countries, waterfronts, beaches or wild and remote places ranging from the country houses of aristocrats to the resorts of bourgeoisie. This process which is emerged by separation of the city from the nature was continuing until the re-urbanization of the nature which left on the margin of the city by surrounding by the city. The funny part is that the new city which bears a striking resemblance with the old one was encouraging the request for escape as well as still existing as a place to escape. After some time, while some of the escapers was settling to this “old new city”, they were grateful for that they could escape from the oldest city which is the same with their new one.

While this process was encasing the best aspects of nature in concrete or in the city, it was also creating a basis for a re-escape; and this was paving the way for encasing the spaces which get caught easily or are nearest in concrete or in the city again and again. Even if this seems like a kind of returning to nature, even like it is instinctive, the bourgeois behavior as going to country houses and resorts which is inherited by aristocracy became an irreplaceable trinket in the guest rooms of the middle class. The meaning of this is that these voyages turned into a matter of prestige rather than escaping from the city. Just as how the people believed that they have to own a car, they started to believe that they have to go to vacation. Whole year divided into episodes in which

the people tell about their last vacation and plan their future vacation. When it is started to use photograph which freezes and kills all the lived experiments, people started to go vacations not for experiencing but for telling to their neighbors. This process was also bringing automobile which is the shining star of the industrial system into the forefront. This was also a weird situation. People had to use automobiles for running from the noise, smoke and traffic of automobiles. The happy (and of course white) family portraits in which the father was driving and the mother was taking care of children and a big picnic basket –her natural duty!– were taken part in all the big posters for selling automobiles. Sorry but I have to stress this stupidity once again: You had to buy an automobile for going to picnic, namely rejoining the nature which was destroying by automobile. More importantly, the automobile, the city and the picnic basket became hegemonic by way of taking part in dreams, even if not being bought. You have to construct roads for making reaching somewhere by automobiles easy; when it became easy, that place was filling up with automobiles again; and this time you have to construct more roads *or* city for running away from there. In other words, you were doing nothing but going on a long and narrow road everlasting.⁵²

Antalya which is the “old new city” on the coast of Mediterranean Sea of Turkey has such a history. This city which is a small coastal town full of citrus gardens

⁵² In a very recent car commercial on TV, the Ideal family, again with margarine faces, were going on a picnic in their car with a large trunk. When they loaded everything and set off, they realized they had forgotten their children and turned back. This commercial clearly showed that no matter how many years had passed, this image continued to have an impact.

once upon a time turned into a city which became prominent with its tourism that is junta economy beginning from 1970s and brought to the fore especially in 1980s. This heaven which have beautiful beaches and high mountains on which there is snow even in summers became a escaping point that a dream firstly of the rich, the bourgeoisie and then the middle class and everybody when it was opened to tourism. A plunder has begun and these heaven beaches started to fill with 5-star hotels, the second, third lines and then the 27th, 35th and 67th lines of the land filled with houses. Hereafter the dream of retirees was having a duplex or triplex summer house in Antalya. From this time forth everybody was aspiring to escape to a place in south, to Antalya when they will be retired; but Antalya was also looking for new escape areas as a big city. While the song saying "Think of a happy Dutch in Antalya" have been playing 20 times a day in single-channel television, tourism which is the new economy of the junta was polluting the coasts and the people of the entire Mediterranean Sea.

This whole situation was changing the meaning of "voyage" completely. This word was starting to bear a new meaning that scattering around like a cargo package speedily in your automobile surrounding by metallic materials all around instead of the definition that "Voyage is hitting the road; staying with someone you don't know in a hostelry you don't know" of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar. This hegemony doesn't also allow another "voyage" form. Jean Jacques Rousseau tells about his voyage from Paris to Milano. He goes there by walking. He spends three months on road. It is a "voyage" in which he familiarizes feels and talks with other people. First of all, the urbanist system had destroyed such walking roads. Even if you try to walk next to highways which exclude and

ignore the people, there is no place you can walk on. In-somuch that there is a situation of alienating to walking, when you walk you probably be interrogated by the police and even be taken into custody. However the only thing you are trying to do is the thing everybody has right to and knows, “walking”. In this system, it is enough for being taken into custody to going beyond the perception of speed. One of the first questions in the interrogation will be how you can have such time. Jean Jacques Rousseau doesn't mention about any interrogation while he was walking but if there is an interrogation, it would never be asked a question like “well, where did you find three months for walking?” One of the first things which comes to the mind of the police of industrial system will be this. Because almost nobody can spare three months only for themselves or voyaging from one place to another in this system. Even if there may be an escape time in West, this time would be planned not for walking between two cities but for travelling maximum in the fastest way. However Jean Jacques Rousseau is walking because he is not subjected to a 15-day, 21-day or a month time-off from work. It is certainly a long-forgotten fact that almost every person had the time which a few rich people have but generally don't use in this system no more than 200 years ago.⁵³

Another aspect of the hegemony and time-absorber character of the industrial system which is expressed strikingly and quite clearly by Ivan Illich must be underlined within the discussions about city.⁵⁴ For example,

⁵³ When I say, “In the last 20 years, I have never stayed in any country for more than 4 months”, the first question is “where do you get the money?”. In the past, many more people than you might think were able to travel for years without the need for a “sponsor” and without ever being asked this question.

⁵⁴ Again from Ivan Illich's radical critique of the industrial system.

you are going somewhere by automobile in 15 minutes and by bicycle in 1 hour. It is clearly seen that you are going faster by automobile. However you have to work 5 years for buying the automobile and only 1 month for buying a bicycle. In other words, this means that you are covering this distance by automobile in 15 minutes plus 5 years and by bicycle in 1 hour and 1 month. When you interpret this situation with all discussed factors of the city, it is revealed how fast the “speed” exhausts your life. Again, for example, your home is big enough for you but if you started to run inside, it would become small for you. When we exceed the rate between speed and the world –Ivan Illich was limiting this rate with bicycle speed as a great and true finding– the situation turns against us. This is the reason why the world seems us as a limited space. While the natives and white people were going somewhere together, natives suddenly stopped. When the white people asked them “What happened? Are you tired?” the natives replied that “We walked too fast. Our souls fell behind...”⁵⁵

So there is a cycle: the increasingly disengagement of the city with nature; the vacation need created by this fact; therefore having vacation and voyage privilege; the necessity of going vacation; and the vacation as a reason of enduring everything. And the cycle continues: Working for vacation; having little time; need for speed because of time constraint; need for time to buy this speed; having less time and need for more time; and consequently having even lesser time... This is a –spiral–ladder going nowhere. You have to endure many things all year long for gaining the vacation. The dilemma is that

⁵⁵ Another striking example was the Soviet Union. “Executive cars and foreign trips,” said Trotsky, one of the most important witnesses of the revolution, as the first deviations of the revolution that hoped for Freedom and Equality.

you spend less money for saving up for vacation or you go vacation by becoming indebted as it is commonly done and work all year long for paying your debt. Then you need a vacation again because you are exhausted. More importantly, you have to put up with many hard and dirty work and the boss everywhere for this vacation. The fact that the more this situation is heavy, the more you feel need for vacation paradoxically emerges a necessity for endurance. The most striking example of this is the Israeli soldiers. Soldiers receive a good salary in this country in which compulsory military service period is 3 years for men and 2 years for women. More importantly, because of they don't have any place and time to spend their salaries; every soldier goes travel around the world right after the military service. You encounter with groups of 5 or 6 dischargee Israeli soldiers men and women together who are getting around and carrying their paranoia with themselves. They have been trying to go or rather consume the places which are written in their handbooks and more of the places which were visited by the previous dischargees and they can say "go and visit there" to next dischargees if possible. This vacation is their prize (!) for the traumas, tortures and even the murders they committed and at least their fears of death in the war which we have to analyze differently through the city and the urban system.⁵⁶

Sleep drawers are produced in Japan.⁵⁷ Their length is short, 1.80 meters maximum and their width is only

⁵⁶ Perhaps because of the accidents that occur in Turkey on the way back from the holidays alone, shouldn't we look at "Cars", "Holidays", "Cars and Holidays" in a different way? Should the happiness of the vacation we live at the speed of a car make us ignore the human carnage of traffic accidents?

⁵⁷ When Gaye Yılmaz mentioned it during a conference, it caught my attention.

1.25 meters. Especially temporary employees prefer to stay in these sleep drawers. In order to avoid misunderstanding, I said “prefer” but this choice is between staying on streets or in these drawers. A method which is developed in recent years by famous Japanese miracle! A temporary employee has no chance to pay any house deposit in Tokyo which is one of the most expensive cities of the world. These Capsule Rooms are jackpot for them! At least the commercials were saying such. Of course they get lucky enough. Otherwise they have to sleep on streets, generally in 24-hours open fast-food restaurants, in the public fields of shopping malls or in internet cafes. Unfortunately there are no till-morning coffee shops.⁵⁸ When you go a conference, they are warning you in advance saying that “If people sleep, never mind. It is normal in Japan.”⁵⁹ We understood better when we saw the people who are about to fall down on each other. A civilization which can't get enough sleep. A city miracle that can sleep on desks, in classrooms and in subways which the people get on by shoving by white gloved officers and everywhere in which the people have to go to kindergarten, primary school, secondary school and high school full day beginning

⁵⁸ Morning cafés were the ones that stayed open 24 hours a day. They were places where you couldn't sleep but could doze off, where the waiter would often wake you up to ask if this was a hotel, where there was always hot, fresh or stale, but always tea. They were usually waiting for you at the sides of bus stations, in harbors and fishing ports, at train stations, especially when you arrived in a foreign city at unnecessary hours or when you had a fight at home and left. Of course, like every coffee, there were regulars who couldn't understand why and how. In the sour dictionary, we also came across some very good recipes, perhaps from the outside. See <https://eksisozluk.com/sabahci-kahvesi--202045?a=today>

⁵⁹ The conference in question was a conference on project finance attended by Japan's most important financial institutions. Mete Yeğin told us about it.

from 4 years old; the people have to get out from their homes at 6 in morning and go back at 8 in evening if they are lucky enough to have a home! The temporary employee who sleeps in drawers or capsule hotels seems right when we think about all of these. One of them was saying that “Here is clean and there is everything; television, internet... What else does a person expect...”

A more visible and kvetched aspect of daily traffic is the time which have been spending through the fail to arrive somewhere. However another and a greater aspect which is rarely seen but can not be paid attention maybe because of that all of us are directly inside it is that the daily traffic “wastes our lives.”⁶⁰ In other words, we waste our lives in exchange for “living in the city” which is the cause of everything we do. For example, the universities; better or worse hig schools for studying in university; elite, semi-elite or ordinary, low quality and lower quality secondary schools for attending those high schools; the primary schools before them; the kindergartens etc...

If you are not a political prisoner, you serve 13 year in prison when you get life sentence. However, school is a punishment which takes much longer and it is imposed as the entrance exam of a city dweller. It may be not necessary to go all levels of school but the more you continue education the more you can take place on urban steps. It is possible to be rich without going to school but there are plenty of rich people who are prepared to give a huge amount from their wealth to universities for receiving a title of honorary PhD even if they say that they

⁶⁰ When he was telling us this, we thought of “an timeeater.” The “timeeater” was a big city with schools, clock towers, congested traffic, crammed with people working during working hours, eating people with its long jaws. We are talking about anteaters...

don't care about educational level. This is like solemnizing with overage countesses only for receiving aristocratic titles and the only difference is the place of where it is asked for the girl in marriage. The diplomas of the "New Aristocracy" are bought not from the chateaus of the countesses which were sequestered many times but from "homes of science" which are the ideological castles of urbanist system. This is also the key of the miracle economies of Far East and its advanced cities. Therefore, you can not criticize the urbanist system without criticizing its educational system. When I said to the little girl who was in school between 6 of morning to 8 of evening in the house I was staying in South Korea that she can come with me if she get rid of the school for seeming friendly, I found her ready with her bag when I woke up next morning. While her mother was sending her to school again, I guess that she is crying not only for leaving from me.

It is difficult to oppose the ideational hegemony of the City but it is more difficult to oppose the "school system" that builds that ideational hegemony. You may suggest another school instead of the existing ones but you would be damned from the very beginning if you criticize the school with its classes but classes in every sense. The establishment of the city is naturally the same with the establishment of the school system. The history of the construction of houses which have resembled increasingly is also similar with the history of the proliferation of the general education forms which have resembled day by day.⁶¹ Again, the commoditization of hous-

⁶¹ "Why do people build houses so close together if they are not going to make love?" says Sait Faik in his story "Lüzumsuz Adam". I have been using this quote for years. When I was talking to Ali

ing right is quite similar with the commoditization of education. City and the school are actually the horns of a dilemma but opposing the school is much more difficult than saying “the city should be overthrown.” Destruction of oral history and the hegemony of “writing” which is the constituent element of state history and its disrupter and ignorant approach against the populace are also the constituent elements of the hegemony of the city.⁶²

The main reason of teaching the fairy tale of Ant and Cicada to new generations everyone who knows that this tale is completely wrong is the fact that all hegemonies actually consist of repetitions. The hegemony of the city and needless to say, the state directly rise above us in company with school repetitions.⁶³ The emergence of not only the schools but also the hospitals, prisons, sanitariums altogether with the city actually reveals an entire course of action for those who want to overthrow the

Topuz about something completely different and he described “Lüzumsuz Adam” as an “Urban Transformation” story, it must have been because of the same feelings the story created.

⁶² The destruction of oral history by written history, and thus the confinement of culture to the elite, is one of the most important reasons for the defeat of the village. In fact, it is more accurate to say first nomadism and then the village. It was Ahmet Ateş who drew my attention to this point in our discussions. See in more detail Ahmet Ateş, “Yol Üzerine Düşünceler”, NotaBene Publishing House, 2014, Ankara.

⁶³ Before 1980, the protest songs of Ali Asker and Emekçi were in fact the last symbols of the power of the spoken word. Beyond being important pieces of revolutionary jargon, Emekçi's “Burnt me, boss aga state” or especially Ali Asker's “Major Ernesto is not dead yet” should be considered as political works in the full sense of the word. Above all, it must be admitted that many revolutionaries knew Mahir Çayan's Collected Writings as well as this song by Ali Asker. As the popular saying goes, “I didn't read the book, but I watched the movie”, many people didn't read the book of “Collected Writings”, but they listened to the folk song and anthem.

state. Supervising institutions of space-city are the institutions which have to be overthrown for spatial revolt. Althusser who spent some time in concentration camps during Nazi Germany was preferring to live in Sorbonne when he was an academic member. When it is asked to him, he was replying as “Here is the most reminiscence place of concentration camps for me.”⁶⁴ Mentioning the city with prisons, sanitariums and hospitals was not limited with Althusser. English writer Thomas Carlyle who is a source of inspiration of Nazism as well as Fichte was underlining this situation from a different angle but with a similar emphasis. The two things which have been pleasing the pro-slavery and dictator-lover Carlyle were military garrisons and prisons. He thought that there was order at least in these places.

This demand for “order” would be realized by the Nazis who were the ideational successors of Carlyle. These camps which had the order and the regularity of a good school⁶⁵ were mentioned in propaganda films in those days with pride. When the people who entered the concentration camps –for example, to Dachau– under the banner of “*Arbeit macht frei* - Work sets you free” and in company with orchestrate music right next to the right door, they probably would see how clean there is. These camps are “humanistic”. For example, there were gallowses which enable to kill people one by one or in series. Gas chambers and ovens were added to these camps

⁶⁴ As cited in Catherine Clement; “La Putain du Diable-Prostitute of the Devil”, Telos Publications, 1997.

⁶⁵ “School and city 'order and orderliness' education and training...” When I made such an analogy, the editor-in-chief of a left-wing magazine in Turkey, which was one of the best magazines in Turkey, said that he could not accept the article because of the analogy between a concentration camp and a school, and did not publish it. At the time I did not know that he was a former teacher.

later and were the results of the categorization and classification success of scientific reason. The massive death in gas chambers and ovens were nothing but the usage of industry in “killing”. That was a system in which the hazards were destroying in order and regularity and was using everything by not wasting anything. If Carlyle could see that, he would probably admire this regularity.⁶⁶

However, the urbanization of the concentration camp became a reality certainly in Auschwitz. It can be said that Auschwitz was the extreme point which can be reached by the industrial system. The train was carrying commodities and humans passing under the main entrance gate and unloading them to the yard. The camp had a perfect line system in which the non-damaged ones were picked out and spared for emptying the other trains, destroying in gas chambers and burning in ovens. At the same time, all the stuff or the remaining things; goods, sweaters, pants, eyeglasses, wooden legs, teeth have been classifying; the hairs of the people have been cutting and then they have been filling into gas chambers or ovens by saying them that they will be disinfected. Everything was exactly scientific. – I am skeptical about whether a Scientific Socialism can be or not but it is certain that fascism is scientific.– Nothing was going to waste. For example, it has been sewing clothes by obtaining textile from human hair. This industrial concentration camp which had been controlling from the admin-

⁶⁶ Another interesting coincidence! The phrase “Work makes you free-Arbeit macht frei” used by the Nazis was replaced by the medieval phrase “City air makes you free-Stadtluft macht frei”. The 1872 nationalist writer Lorenz Diefenbach, who used “Work makes free” as the title of his book, must not have had much difficulty in substituting “Work” for “City air”.

istration building over the entrance, in fact, was not different than the plans of an industrial city which centre upon mono-production. As we said before, the two things which had been pleasing Carlyle were military garrisons and prisons. As it would be understood later, this camp was not only a military garrison and a prison but also a medical laboratory in which it had been carrying necessary researches over humans for the sake of medicine. Above all, the fundamental ideological structure of these concentration camps was training harmful people for turning them into beneficial people for society. When you compare all Nazi propaganda movies which narrate the concentration camps with the ones which narrate the schools, you will be surprised because of the similarities between them. The smiles of happy white children who were or will be expurgated are also the same.

The structural similarity between the city and the prison is not limited with above mentioned. It is also not a similarity pertains only to that period. Because of that the city and the control institutions are intertwined and constituents of each other, both of them emerges from the structural change of the system almost at the same time and by being precessor of each other. Again, the first isolation form that was applied especially in Germany or F-type prisons have the same position with the concentration camps we mentioned. The high security one-person or 3-people cells which were built more commonly at the end of 1960s⁶⁷ are in fact the prototype of

⁶⁷ It is no coincidence that these prisons were first used in Germany for members of the RAF-German Red Army Faction known as Baader-Mainhof. It is also no mere coincidence that a movement which, unlike previous leftist movements, was a purely urban organization of armed struggle and which overemphasized the struggle

the life created by the industrial society or of a lonely and alienated society. The most striking example of this can be given from Germany again: A man who had a solitary life in Hamburg was found dead while he was watching television. He was founded not in one, two or five days but after 5 years. This man didn't even have a friend, a relative or a mom-and-pop store who could say that he hadn't come for days for buying newspaper or milk. The tragic part is that when the people entered his home, the television was still working. The entire industrial city turned into a isolation-type prison.

I had seen in a movie.⁶⁸ The father who is a survivor from a concentration camp was saying to her daughter that “Concentration camps was destroying any mental sincerity and affinity form. All that's left was death.” Today's cities are destroying this feeling and sincerity completely, just like the concentration camps. All relations are working through consumption and even the love-making is turning into a consumption form. In Cambridge, as everyone knows, Fridays and Saturdays were the lovemaking days. Everyone were obliged to spare time for entertainment on weekends because of that they were obliged to be at workplace's or school's disposition all week long. I want to say that this was not particular

against isolation and alienation in its activism, was isolated in isolation prisons and then had 4 of its leaders murdered in what appeared to be suicides, again showing the striking effect of this isolation, “I can do anything to you”. The birth and destruction of the struggle is literally a process of resistance to the urbanist system, defeat and destruction because they were alone. To interpret all this outside of the urbanist system is like the “coincidence” that, for example, the US executions are carried out in electric chairs or with the help of drugs. Every civilization uses tools that reflect themselves in their executions.

⁶⁸ *This must be the place*: Paolo Sorrentino-2011; Trukish title: Olmak İstedigim Herşey.

to one night stands. Fridays and Saturdays were the identified lovemaking days also for the couples who were together for a long times and even the married couples just like all other identified days in the city! The reason of scheduling of even the most natural thing is the destruction of an affinity form by the concentration camp or today's cities; isn't it? Such an affinity form and insincere life had been turning into a thing which was fragmented in pieces and scheduled.



The fact that the prisons are huge social models which clarify the city directly is continuing in the same way today within neoliberal urbanist system. Neoliberalism which sells and privatizes everything also privatized the prisons. The privatized prisons have been using as cheap labor centers especially in USA. In one of the agreements, the prison company was explaining that the occupancy rate has to be 90 percent (2 million prisoners) at least for avoiding from production downturn.⁶⁹ The prisoner workers who are somehow black and Hispanic⁷⁰

⁶⁹ See. Private Prison Company to Demand 90% Occupancy-
<http://www.allgov.com/news/top-stories/private-prison-company-to-demand-90-occupancy?news=844040>

⁷⁰ According to a report by the US Congressional Research Service (CRS), more than 2.2 million people are in federal or state prisons. This means that 716 out of every 100,000 people are in prison. This makes the US the country with the highest number of prisoners in relation to its population. The total number of those on parole or on probation is around 4.8 million. With a population of 313 million, this means that 2 out of every 100 adults on the streets in the US live under supervision. The number of juvenile prisoners in the country is also quite high. There are 95 thousand children under the age of 18 in prisons. See: <http://www.firatnews.biz/news/guncel/dunya-nin-en-buyuk-cezaevi-abd.htm>

would devoid of their fundamental rights if they don't work. Because of that they can not use the money sent by their families, their only option is working. Because, for example, these prisoners have to make phone calls for summoning their visitors; they have to earn money for making phone calls; and they have to work for this. Their only difference from the people outside is having a roof over their head (!) but the rent they are paying here is a considerable amount – especially for those who are working in prison even under the minimum wage. This is also true for their health expenses and everything.

The discourse of “we can not make the prisoners spend your taxes” is generally similar with all discourses which have been using by dominants against every neoliberal problem. However they don't consider that they are saying these words to those who fired from their jobs because of that the dominants use the cheap prison labor and see the secured workers with minimum wages as expensive. I want to say that there is only a little difference between neoliberal streets and the prisons but I remember that here is logic at work which is said by Interior Minister of Turkey İdris Naim Şahin “You say that there is no freedom outside; then we imprison you but ingratiate ourselves with you. You keep saying that there is no freedom! There is no such thing! So tell me what it is! Not being in prison is freedom. Enjoy your freedom!” –

Another striking news on the same topic- Non-White Prisoners are more Profitable for Private-Prisons<http://www.all-gov.com/news/controversies/non-white-prisoners-are-more-profitable-for-private-prisons-140211?news=852404>-

Yet another article -Prison Sentences for Black Men Are 20% Longer Than Those for White Men for Same Crimes-<http://www.all-gov.com/news/controversies/prison-sentences-for-black-men-are-20-percent-longer-than-those-for-white-men-for-same-crimes-130220?news=847124>

these words were also quoted by Zizek.⁷¹ The surprising thing here is that it is quoted a Turkish person –apart from Arif Dirlik– in world leftist literature up today but of course I am not thinking hard here. The neoliberal organization of cheap labor force or the prisoner slave workforce had suggested not only in England but also from Ken Clarke in England which is one of the countries in economic crisis for a solution against the crisis.⁷²

Dispossession and Identity

Especially the peoples who have been exiling from the lands they were living for hundreds of years by the evacuations of their villages as a result of dam constructions have also been dispossessing from another angle. The meaning of this dispossession is the complete inclusion of these communities in the capital. Capital seizes these

⁷¹ The Year of Dreaming Dangerously: 2011-Slavoj Zizek- Mete (Yeğın) showed it to me and we laughed a lot.

⁷² The theoretical infrastructure of this system, that is, ordinary fascism, was always ready; Prisoners were being rehabilitated and integrated into society. This is the answer to the question "Should we not hang it and nurture it?" The new formula was, let's not hang it, let's run it, let's make money. This made perfect sense to everyone. If you add to this the fact that criminals "eat your taxes", everyone was in favor of employing those in prison. However, in the UK, Minister of Justice Ken Clarke's plan to employ 20,000 prisoners mobilized the unions. Unemployment, which is already growing every day, will deepen even more with 20,000 prisoners working in prison under the pressure of guards. Speedy Hire, one of the companies that had the honor of being involved in social programs by giving jobs to prisons, kicked out 800 of its workers in 2010 alone. Of course, these 800 workers can work for the same workplace again. They need to apply a method like this. You become unemployed, you commit a crime (!), you go to prison and you regain your job. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/plan-for-cheap-prison-work-may-cost-thousands-of-jobs-7815140.html>

lands and de-identification of these peoples accompanies that. This also means the integration of these peoples to the capital. Dispossession, deterritorialization and de-identification finish with the integration to the capital with the ideational colonization of the capital. Social traditions are fragmentized in all of its positive and negative aspects and the life is shaped in terms of the capital in every sense. A friend of mine was giving a striking example of this: He had asked to his Greek old friends when he had encountered in Greece after a long time that “There was vendetta in your mountain villages. What happened to them?” His friends had replied that “No. There is no vendetta anymore. Credit card is invented and nobody is shooting anybody now. Because they are worried about who will pay the credit card debts...”⁷³

We experienced another striking example of the integration of social relations and daily life to the capital in Viranşehir. Viranşehir was a town in which the mad people weren't excluded, weren't closed in mental institutions and live among other people and there was a mad person who has been coming to party building of Kurdish movement everyday in Viranşehir. He was coming with his yellow boots every day and was threatening people who were mocking with him by saying that “well, I will go the government party's building then!” Until he wanted his salary from the deputy mayor on a pay day of municipality, the deputy mayor have been giving him some money from his own pocket. One day this mad person didn't accept the money given and he demanded a credit card like the other workers. The capital or credit card or the plastic life extended their invasion over the people who are not under the hegemony of reason.

⁷³ He told me about it while talking to Haldun Karyol about neoliberalism.

Capitalism had born from despoliation and plunder. Capitalism is the ancestry of those who hijacked everything light in weight but heavy in value and even the things heavy in weight, silver, gold and the rest of America continent. The merchant bourgeoisie of Europe flourished over this plunder. Capitalism had born by this accumulation-capital, namely the gold, silver, copper and the rest as well as the flu, syphilis and gunpowder, namely the death which were carried by invaders to the continent. Capitalism is therefore a culture of death! What else is the bourgeoisie civilization if not a quick and clean murder art ranging from guillotine to electric chair?

It was a residential area near Sao Paulo. It would be submerged because of dam construction. Of course hundreds of families who live there didn't want to leave their homes and lands. MST⁷⁴ –Landless Workers' Movement– arrived there with landless families in one morning. They removed the dam construction signboard. They demolished the construction wires joyfully. 450 new families settled there. They were building their houses there as well as cultivating. Struggle against this environmental destruction linked arms with the housing right and land struggle beginning from this occupation. At least this part of the one of the world's biggest dam projects could not be constructed. Therefore, the number of people who are against the dam project was almost doubled. They were saying that “Look, they tried the kill this land” while they were eating the food raised by themselves. This residential area became a “resistance space” totally.

⁷⁴ See. Metin Yegin. *MST-Topraksızlar: Brezilya Topraksız Kır İşçileri Hareketi*, Hayakci Hücre Yayın, 2023.

It is not a coincidence that the ecologist struggles and popular resistances were entwined on many parts of the world. Plundering nature had been collaborating with the colonialism from the very first time. Hence, the Amazon native peoples who were exiled from their homes for dam, power plant, highway constructions in South America; the local communities in India or China; and the Kurds, Lazs, Hamshenis in Turkey are among the primary targets of the environmental destruction whether it is estimated or not. Culture and especially language are bound up directly with land. So, the resistance against this environmental destruction is always an identity resistance.

It was at the time of the Ecology Workshop in Diyarbakır. I suggested something during the discussions on the final declaration. For example, I was suggesting that “Let’s go and dance the *halay* in all branches in the country of the bank which had given credit to Hasankeyf project at 14:30 everyday.” Everyone accepted this enthusiastically. And then, nothing happened. I suppose that all these forums and workshops were nothing but words.



“I am screaming from bloody roofs. The elite are saying that ‘Shush! You will wake the neighbors up!’ but that’s what I want. Waking them up.”

Arundhati Roy



Indian writer Arundhati Roy was Booker Literature Prize winner. She also was awarded with Sydney Peace Prize for her anti-violence activism in 2004. She joined the resistance against Narmada dam construction which would displace 500.000 people since the very beginning. This resistance succeeded in suspending the credit which

would be given by World Bank to this project. Nevertheless dominants didn't back down from this project. Industrial society was trying to assuage its unceasing energy hunger. Even when the water retained by the dam start to fill the houses, the people decided not to leave their houses and villages. They continued their struggle while they were up to their neck in water. However, they were snatched away from their homes on which they chained themselves by police intervention.

It was 20 years ago. I saw his poster in a slum among the Ecuador rain forests. He was killed in 1988. He was murdered by big landowners while he was struggling for protecting rubber trees. "Ecology" was not even a luxury trendy topic in those days in my country. The big landowners who were plundering Amazon with transnational monopolies murdered 19 people who were mostly the local leaders who were struggling for protection their lands and homes only in that year. After I returned, I was telling of Chico Mendes and the plundering of Amazon to those who despising ecologist struggle... Mendes was saying that "At first I was supposing that I am trying to save the rubber trees. Then I thought that I am struggling for saving the Amazon rain forests. Now I am aware that I am struggling for humanity."

Brazil is a country that is bigger than Europe. Argentine is nearly four times to Turkey and Paraguay is one-half. The country which is bigger from all of these countries is Monsanto land. Transnational seed monopoly Monsanto was killing people, land and the world with genetically modified seeds. There against the landless women of MST attacked to the laboratory which produces and develops genetically modified seed with their *machetas* –long sharp knives– in 8th March International Womens' Day. In the later years, a thousand women from MST attacked and destroyed the eucalyptus trees.

These trees which are not Amazon plants had been growing by big landowners for producing cellulose. MST movement, especially the women of MST was taking actions every year against this production which have been devastating the ecological balance of rain forests rapidly. They were defending the world.

The fact that there is a difference between “environmentalism” and “ecology” should be underlined well. The pure thought of protecting environment is like creating a “environment museum” with the remained things after high level environmental plunders. This protection can involve an area of square kilometers. Moreover, it can be carried out for not against the plunder and destruction of that area but for salving someone's conscience or it can be used for providing a function of public relations. Even if there is still a necessity to convince the capitalist about that they are doing a profitable business, the people who have to convince them are also “nice” people. However, the areas which are protected by such an environmental policy are generally not the ecologic ones. Therefore, ecological area can only be survived with organizing with locale and right to decision making and not with administrative decisions.

For example, there were native people who had been earning their living by collecting crayfish for years in a region which was declared as Natural Park in USA and they were restrained from it. Native people were astonished. They were saying that “God put those crayfishes in order that we collect them.” The environmental specialist laughed a lot about this. However after some years, the specialists realized that the underwater life is not as rich as it is used to. The fact is that native people were a part of the underwater ecological balance. While they were collecting crayfish, they were actually removing a lot of seaweeds, opening new fields for crayfishes

and picking over the weak ones. This activity is also creating a natural balance for underwater creatures. While the native people did never hunt crawfishes for an industrial consumption and were living as a part of underwater life for hundreds of years, the thing that ruptures them from there was the “pure environment approach.”

Chico Mendes was thinking that the necessity to protect nature can not be limited with administrative measures. The nature can only be protected by the production of locale people with nature. They were organizing for supplying the wealth of rain forests to the people directly without damaging the nature with the collective production of the locale by organizing Indian cooperatives. Organizing is the essential condition of ecological resistance. You may protect a part of a rain forest without using any industrial product and taking any anti-nature action but this can only be a part of environmental protection. However, ecological life can only be materialized by an organization within a social structure. Therefore Mendes was interpreting the ecological life as a process that involves organizing and educating the children.

In Mexico, 140-km-long Cutzamala duct system was built beginning from the lands on which Mazahua people have been living for hundreds of years to the capital city Ciudad de Mexico. However, there was a little problem: Mazahua people had gone without water. Mazahua people had been producing their own food in their lands for hundreds of years; and as a last resort, they established the “Zapatista Army of Mazahua Women in Defense of Water” in 2004. They squared their shoulders for defending their last waters with their shotguns, wooden rifles and *machetas*. After many long marches and hunger

strikes, Zapatist Army of Women finally pushed for negotiations with Ciudad de Mexico government. The struggle of Mazahua people continues.

As we said above, the peoples who have been exiling from the lands they were living for hundreds of years by the evacuations of their villages as a result of dam constructions have also been dispossessing. The meaning of this dispossession is the complete inclusion of these communities in the capital. Capital seizes these lands and de-identification of these peoples accompanies that. Exile from land means being subject to assimilation with unprecedented speed during history of the peoples and communities which were dragged along city suburbs. The peoples who were exiled by dam constructions turn into marginal poor communities in city peripheries with a speed that national education systems and concentration camps can never succeed. What have been using are legal notices which notifies about dam constructions, police nightsticks against resistances and finally bulldozers and diggers instead of yellow star tags on collars, then the ghettos and the concentration camps for Hebrews which were used by Nazis in the Second World War. The difference is that almost all the “developmentalists” applaud these destruction and assimilation.

Arundhati Roy was saying about such local resistances and the global struggle against global neoliberal seizure of nature that “I think that the people facing with this seizure have been leaving alone. All the speeches on struggling against globalization including ones about the globalization of revolt as mine and all the big demonstrations against globalization and wars in a couple of years ago went for nothing. In fact, the real struggle is continuing in deep level. I want to give an example from India: Huge iron substance was found in a province. Big companies wanted to extract this mineral

by the native people were living in this region. The government located 400.000 people in 4.000 villages on the excuse of Maoist existence in that region in police camps. The government was arming and organizing them under the name of “popular militia”. In other words, as it is in Colombia, the poorest are battling against the poorest and the mines are running by big companies. Namely, they created a civil war situation.”⁷⁵

One of the most important paradoxes of local resistances are the interventions of NGOs. NGOs which have the information of other similar local experiences take initiative and inform people at the beginning but this initiative would generally have negative effects on struggle in the upcoming days. NGOs tend to reconciliation and lawfulness. These tendencies always constrain the struggle. Even if the NGOs would walk with the people for a long time, there were NGOs which tended to reconciliation in case of sharp conditions or moderate offers. It doesn't mean that these NGOs always convince the local movements but when the offers were accepted in such situations or it was compromised, this would display an image of leaving from the unified struggle; and this situation would weaken social legitimacy which is one of the important points in ecological struggles. NGOs generally creates very attractive influences with their opportunities, technical information and media relations over the local movements which have been struggling in very hard conditions but it is a paradoxical situation because of the fact that these opportunities are also the weak sides of NGOs. Therefore, every locale has to pull the strings necessarily. Another frequently encountered situation emerges when the local leaders who have

⁷⁵ See Metin YeğİN-Interview with Arundhati Roy.-<http://www.sendika.org/2008/01/arundhati-royla-soylesi/>

relations with NGOs start to attend meetings, conferences and seminars primarily for expressing their problems. The local leaders who started to be seen as bright persons can turn into “speechmakers” by losing their real functions. MST-Landless Movement therefore always sends different people especially to overseas meetings and tries to eliminate the risk of a diplomatic insurgent personality.

When a dam, highway, nuclear power plant or any new urban construction is at stake, this “do-gooders” tries to tell the capitalists that all of these are unprofitable and harmful in the long run by making comparisons between the benefits and the damages of the prospective structures. The thing that they don't understand is that capitalism is not rational. In other words, capitalists don't care about the future damage of the structure they constructed. Because the companies are calculating how they can turn out to be profitable in that year or in that day. Even if nobody will use these power plants or highways, constructions of these structures are by force of the capitalist-industrial system. Being insistent on this effort is turning this goodwill into a stupidity.

The Power and the Revolt

The identity of the city were disregarded during all revolts such as Paris Commune, Peasant's Revolt in London and Spanish Revolution. Explaining the “communal” revolt* in which didn't mention about the neighborhood committees, the streets and the barricades of Paris

* It is possible that M. Bookchin looks at the city from this perspective, but when looking at the City, he cannot overcome the perception of “being progressive” that he has always had and forgets the fact that the City is not just a reflection of the government, but directly itself. For this reason, for example, “village communes” are

Commune; and looking only “in class terms” on Madrid citizen committees in Franco era and *Piqueteros* movements which sprang up in Mosconi, Argentine provided deficient narratives.

The city can not only be perceived as a whole of buildings which had come side by side accidentally. Its construction as a whole was the direct reflection of the power and even the system. While Castells was saying that “the squares are ideological”, he was right but this is only one of the important dimensions. Because not only the squares but also the spontaneous systematic of the streets –for example, their narrowness and largeness of them– and the facts by whom, on which size and how the houses were built were all ideological. The works of Haussmann who demolished the street of revolt and opened boulevards were also outlining the power and the revolt through urban identity. As it is shown especially by Gezi Revolt and Brazil revolt, my point of departure is from the “urban identity” in the strict sense while I am arguing that the revolts in the world will hereafter move through the axis of “Space, Identity and Ecology.”⁷⁶

Barceloneta was established right outside of the city walls which were built for strengthening the city defense in the south of “Old Barcelona” by the king in 1753. Its establishment was completely a urban renewal project. First of all, the project had displaced 20.000 populated Ribera community for city wall construction. Nevertheless a new city had built for these displaced people but the situation was not different from today. Barceloneta was built 50 years after the exile of Ribera people for

negligible for him outside the city. Ultimately, capitalist modernity cannot escape the embarrassment that the city is advanced.

⁷⁶ Here, the tsunami effect of Gezi, the continuation of the Brazilian rebellion at a similar pace, and the Frankfurt uprising and its measures were something that revealed this situation more clearly.

“city walls” and “for security reasons”. This was an “Urban Identity” which was created through the story of those who had prolonged been excluding and being locked out for similar or different reasons.

While the power was building city walls for securing itself and the “city”, it had two reasons: The first and the apparent one was having its back to the walls and the second and the more important one was throwing the Ribera people who were living together more collectively, organized and becoming restless day by day out of their land. In other words, the “city wall” was not primarily for defending the state from the outside attacks but was against its own people. The emerging of areas which were appropriated by city elite right over the areas which were emptied for city wall construction is actually the emergence of the rent which is *sine qua non* in all urban renewals in history with a historical coincidence!

Even if Barceloneta story which started with exclusion was a project for Ribera people, it couldn't be home even for the remained population who had to disperse to around, move to other places because of urban renewal exiles and be killed in wars in this 50 years. After 50 years on, Barceloneta barely became a neighborhood of survivor people of Ribera and the remained excluded population of the city. While the power become stronger with the city and even if it dispersed those who against it, the new founded city turned into the most solidarist place of almost the entire Barcelona once again by its hidden core of collective solidarity. I think that the most striking aspect of the urban identity. No matter how you disperse and rebuild as in Barceloneta, it can reborn from its own collective core. Of course while this core influences the structural situation, the structural situation also

influences this core positively or negatively. Urban-human dialectic is at stake and the urban identity therefore is actually this conflict in the final analysis.⁷

The people of Barceloneta were generally earning their living from the sea in their coast. They were earning their living by fishery. It was not a coincidence that the industry which reshapes the cities strikingly was settled into the region right next to the center and in which the poor were living. The neighborhood completely turned into a proletarian one with the establishment of metal workshops in 1861. It was now a neighborhood with factory sirens, portable food containers and long working shifts; and in which "working is bad for health" because of the industrial diseases. This transformation was reflected on the urban identity and it meant the allover change of its architecture. The neighborhood started to let in immigrants. First of all, the houses became two-door. They became smaller, they were divided into parts and they were rented to new workers. Then the number of storey started to increase; it increased to 3, 4 and 5. The neighborhood hereafter turned into a worker neighborhood in which the fishers were thrown to margins and the people became sallow because of not seeing the sun at their elbow.

We also have to mention two neighborhoods right next to Barceloneta which were born from each other's identities and complete each other: "Somorrostro" neighborhood. This neighborhood was consisting of fishery households built by the fishers who were thrown outside the city with each passing day at the seaside in the first times. Then it turns into a neighborhood in which the factory workers could satisfy their need of cheap food and was consist of the dwellings of Gypsies who could live in their own way. This neighborhood of small dwellings and those who live everything but their

sleeps outside until 1880s turned mostly into a Gypsy neighborhood day by day. It is also the symbol of the eruption of Spanish industrial revolution.

Poble Nou which is referred as Manchester city of Spain was seen as a risk space for dominants, namely for the new city center. "Poble Nou" neighborhood which had intentionally been controlling through a single road connection for years was one of the fundamental determinants of Barceloneta urban identity. When the new worker identity incorporated with the collective and solidarist historical past, the space in which there were the strongest worker organization of Spanish Revolution would be born. Poble Nou was the most important place of the Anarchist movement, especially of trade union organization. The place which had been destroyed the very last in entire Spain by Franco fascism and in which massive massacres against anarchists were carried out was also Pablo Nou. This place preserved this insurgent urban identity also in everlasting fascist period of Franco. It always was the center of resistance against fascism despite all kinds of repressions and tortures. Regardless of how many people were imprisoned, there were always an organization which starts all over again.

The fate of fishery neighborhood Somorrostro was another extermination form. This fishery neighborhood of Gypsies which was always pointed as the illegality as in every country was actually one of the first exile places of "tourism" that was newly becoming a shining star. In 1964, Franco junta decided to destroy the seaside, this neighborhood and illegality. Somorrostro was one of the places which was destroyed by gentrification or the urban renewal. There were two striking coincidences here: First one was that tourism is an industrial form of junta in almost every country. Second one is that Gypsies are

always the first victims of urban renewals as in every exile and as in “Sulukule” in Turkey. Because of that the Gypsies had been living out of the system (!), it could be started to everything with a broad acceptance for making the first move.

The insurgent identity which had continued up to end of Franco regime was also dangerous from the viewpoint of leftist or social democratic governments. After Franco regime, this time it had used a softer but more effective form. A large number of houses which belong to city administration were sold to those who were living there. Everybody would have their own houses. As a coincidence again, nobody had money to buy the houses but fortunately there were banks which could give 20-years credits. Everybody started to buy their own houses instead of paying low rents to official houses as they do before. This means to work for banks for at least 20 years. What is interesting is that this movement lost much more of its strength through these credits than it is lost through tortures and prison of Franco fascism. Maybe nobody was afraid of being sent to prison but who would pay the debt? After that when the people couldn't pay these debts, the banks willingly created new indebtednesses up to 40 years.^{7*}

The urban identity of Barceloneta was continuing to change. The city was started to re-demolish and re-build with a terrific invention named “developing the city with Olympics.” The city started to “beautify” with stadiums, gymnasiums, hotels and new roads. It became a model “urban planning” which had been admired by the entire world since 1987. When the Olympics finished, there only remained an empty concrete jungle without humans. One can say that the stadiums were still using. For example, tourists can visit the stadiums in which the opening ceremony of Olympics or the athletics finals

were conducted. Unless you consider the daily visits of 100-200 people for stadiums of 40.000-50.000 people as insufficient.

The biggest exile in Barceloneta was begun on those days. Metal workshops were already closed. Fishers had to give their place to tourists by being exiled once again. Homeowners fled to nearby villages or started to work as cleaning workers in hotels after the exile. Glass towers which are the symbols of neoliberalism were constructed over the lands of Somorrostro neighborhood which was consisting of fishery dwellings. A huge whale sculpture with shining scales was built over the place of old fishery dwellings. There were only tourists now in *Pescador* [Fisher] Street of Barceloneta. The urban identity of Barceloneta which was born with exclusions and exiles continued with exiles again and it got to the point of a place without people. Barceloneta had an urban identity which bears the traces of feudalism, revolution, fascism, repression, torture and neoliberalism. Its whole history could be traced like counting the grains of a chopped tree.

Actually, building healthy houses is not the main problem. Let's reverse all the people of two alongside places which one of them is a "Country" and the other is a "shanty", for example Esenyurt and Bahçeşehir districts in Istanbul. You would see that Bahçeşehir turns into Esenyurt and Esenyurt turns into Bahçeşehir in 5 or less than 5 years. Because the reason why Bahçeşehir always look beautiful is that 10.000 people from Esenyurt go and clean its houses, fix its windows, water its gardens and mow its grasses every day. 10.000 laborers go and create the city every day or so it seems. Identifying the city only through the buildings and as an architectural object means to ignore the roots of the city completely and probably consciously.

If we try to explain through concentration camps once again, the “de-industrialized”, “de-fabricated” city, namely the wholly gentrified city is like using silent and clean gas chambers instead of the guillotine that was beheading people in squares with its rapid and sharp knife. The dirty factories which pollute the environment and the air are thrown out and they are replaced by tourism and shopping malls which are gentle “industries”. While before it could be said that “there were factories here. So much smoky and dirty here”, now there have been a new world in which we fun a lot in shopping malls. What a beautiful life it is! A hygienic environment is provided; there are security guards waiting at the doors and we are all smiles.

This gentle city or shopping mall actually turn into a double-faced center of attraction because of that the poor can not enter there: The privileged who can enter and the poor who tries to be like them... So, the plazas or shopping malls turn into sanctuaries. It is hard to pass the entrance doors if you are not ritually clean with the brands on you or you don't wear “brands” whether they are fake or not. As opposed to the popular belief, it's this character becomes the sanctuary more crowded and more powerful. What you wear or what you can buy is now taking the place of Masonic oaths which are hard to get involved. Yet the interesting thing is that the people who work here are the poor who actually can not enter these places. Once again, the most important priority of those who work in plazas or shopping malls is that they can buy the products here with a discount. In other words, these workers spend most of their inadequate salaries to the shops in which they are working. A worker who returns to home with those clothes would strengthen the “brands” more than the commercials. Let alone the Coca Cola commercials –it can be bought more easily– but the

favela themed commercials of Nike or Adidas exactly show this. Being privileged within the poverty! This is a conspiracy surrounded by the capitalism all around. On one hand there is an alienating production, isolated life, commoditized humanity and on the other hand there is a request for being “privileged” by everyone for coming to the people’s attention meanwhile. It is like the relation between the pollution of drinking water and the commodification of it. The only dream that the people can have is trying to say that they exist by speaking in “consumption” –the only language of capitalism– and buying. The complaint of many young people in Brazil *favelas* is about having muddy streets. The reason of this complaint (!) is mostly that the mud is making the shoes with real or fake brands dirty. The funny part is that, those who are complaining haven’t got these shoes too.

It was one of the marches of MST –Landless Workers’ Movement– which we attended. 2.000 people were marching for 275 kms. We entered a town. They called us forth the front. We were passing by a shopping mall. We suddenly entered the mall. It was a quite striking action. When the poor who had been turning back from the entrance came with 2.000 people with their *machetas* in their hands, the security guards in the entrance were get spooked. Despite thousand of cops and gendarmeries who came after a little while, the landless insisted to come inside. They said that “Why only the rich can enter these plazas? We want to enter for seeing what is inside.” After passing over the gates and security guards, the shopping mall would start to have an extraordinary day. We, 2.000 landless walked around with *machetas* and singing songs with guitars and go out after 2 hours under the thrilling and nervous looks of the rich and middle class who were trapped in stores after the transnational commercial monopolies locked their doors from inside.

This squatting action was an exactly seizure of a sanctuary of capitalism. A day late, all Brazilian newspaper headline the news as “MST Did Shopping.”⁷⁷

The de-industrialization or de-factorization is a big lie in many places. Factories are hell; they are horrible. However, kicking out the factories doesn't mean abolishing them. When we put aside the things we have been telling about the new urban construction which is the fundamental dynamic of neoliberalism and its attitude to “pretend to produce”, the main thing which makes the industrial production less visible is embedding the factories deep in the cities. In other words, the factories hadn't be thrown away but they were moved to illegal manufacturing workshops in the big cities of countries such as

⁷⁷ The shopping mall occupations following the last rebellion in Brazil literally describe the “Place-Identity-Ecology” axis of this rebellion. The occupation of the center and place of worship of the neoliberal city, the revenge of those who cannot enter in normal times, and at the same time, a way of expressing themselves in the heart of the neoliberal city. Erol Anar also described these occupations in a striking way in his article. My thanks to Taylan Güngör for sending me the article.

On shopping malls, the sacred places of the consumer society, and the shopping mall occupations in Brazil – Erol Anar

“Rolezinho”, which has become fashionable recently in Brazil, is described as a mass meeting in shopping malls (shopping malls), with calls made especially by young people through social media. This means taking a little trip, taking a tour. In particular, a page on the subject is opened on Facebook and it is stated in which shopping mall and when to meet. “Rolezinho” has spread from the city of São Paulo to other parts of the country, especially in recent weeks.

Young people, on the other hand, state that shopping malls discriminate against them and that they are sometimes not allowed into shopping malls because of “their poverty or skin color”... For the full version, see. <http://t24.com.tr/yazi/tuketim-toplumun-kutsal-mekanlari-avmler-ve-brezilyadaki-avm-igalleri-uzerine/8417>

India, China, Bangladesh⁷⁸ and directly to households. Giving the 2006 Nobel Prize to a Bangladeshi banker named Muhammed Yunus because of his invention of micro-credit means rewarding the embedment of the factories deep in the cities. The actual meaning of the invention (!) of micro-credit is that the factories are coming down to our bedrooms. In this system, while you were sitting in your home, you, your grandmothers and every member of your household became a private of General Electric or General Motor. You would twist the end pieces a hell of a lot condenser with your family while you watch television. You can not stop even when you are eating. You would keep working and watching television between two bites with your greasy hands. The 8 hour workday, week holidays, annual leaves, all the rights that were gained through the resistances of world working class are all in the dump! “De-industrialization” is allocating the factories between bedrooms. For example, millions of people who live in “de-industrialized” and “very modern” cities of Asia are working in electronic industry. You can not see the factories, they are all moved to the homes but this doesn't mean that the negative conditions and the hell are gone away. On the contrary, you also pay for the electricity bills of the boss. You also pay the water bills of the boss. Industry is now in our bedrooms. You poke your child on and on by saying that “Come on son, twist two more condensers.” Thanks to the one and only bright side of the school, your

⁷⁸ To understand the capacity of these “underground” workshops, think of the tragic textile accident in Bangladesh in which 1,127 workers lost their lives. It is clearly seen that the number of workers working in just one building is more than in the factories of many European countries. The textile produced only in these workshops is equivalent to huge factories in Europe, most of which have been closed. See: <http://tr.euronews.com/2013/05/14/bangladesh-iscile-rini-dua-etti/>

child studies lesson or seems like it for shirking from work.⁷⁹



The exaggerated instinct of possession which is the fundamental character of the capitalist-industrialist system shows itself also in possessing automobiles and houses. Big cars and big houses are the symbolical manifestations of being privileged, being rich, on other words being powerful (This fact shows itself also in the daily language of people or the slang. The idiom of “Big car small dick” is prevalent in English slung and it is also an irony against the usage of automobiles as male-power). Mercedes which is one of the power-symbol automobiles and one of the most symbolic mobile-dicks shows a similar tendency in almost every country of the world. In Turkey, the labor migration to Germany begun in 1960s; and returning of the most workers from Germany in annual leaves with a Mercedes automobile –even if it is old model– was a myth of the man who return to his village. The worker spent their youth in exile and had worked the worst jobs but they were returning to their village and they were now a Mercedes owner-Powerful people. It

⁷⁹ I know this style of production very well, as I have been doing it for years, starting from the age of 13. When my father, a worker, retired and there was not enough money for a house, we survived with the jobs we got from the electronics factory through acquaintances. This was a form of production that included my father, my mother, my older brother, my grandmother, and even my 6-7 year old brother at the time, and every guest who came to visit us. Later, I only got rid of this production by going to prison. While production continued in the shed we built in our own garden and then in rented workshops close to home, the work at home did not end. This “Kemalettin Tuğcu story”, which does not have a happy ending, has added a lot to me, apart from everything else. It taught me how to use my hands. On this occasion, I remember my father, the first worker I ever met...

was a reflection of the movies about the cowboys who return their hometown and everybody was looking to the swarthy horse. We didn't surprise when we saw a similar usage of Mercedes in a very different part of the world. USA was applying the right to privileged asylum for seducing Cuban healthcare staff who were working in poor neighborhoods of the Third World and you could see the movies which tells one or two doctors among this Cuban healthcare staff who made use of the situation and took sanctuary to USA; these refugee doctors were jumping to their Mercedes automobiles and going to their homes.

The Square and the Power

Even if the ideological existences of the squares are not limited to the symbols over them, these symbols alone explain their ideological existence directly. We can encounter also to the “kings” of the animal world as a symbol of power, let alone the human kings and liberators in the square sculptures. Frequently, the symbol of power in the square is lion. This symbol sometimes can be appeared as a bull or a dragon due to similar reasons. The snake as a multi-headed and all-pervading figure may take its place while it was eating by an eagle. Almost all squares smell like power in just the same way as all national anthems.⁸⁰ We can also see the horse which most

⁸⁰ We can give two examples that contradict this. One is the national anthem of the Czech Republic, which describes flowers and nature instead of heroic creeds, and the other is the Bolivian Constitution, which begins with Pachamama -Toprakana- and nature;

“Let your present embrace the past with memories and the future with longing.”[1]

“Once upon a time, mountains rose, rivers found their beds, lakes were formed. Our Amazon region, Chaco, plateau, plateaus and plains were covered with greenery and flowers. We endowed this sacred Mother Earth with various faces, and since then we bear the plu-

of them have wings frequently. This is a parade of the incest brothers: the Power and the Speed. My claim that if human couldn't tame the horse, tributary societies and especially capitalism would never exist can be seen by you as an extreme example because of that I was blaming the horses for everything; but if you think about the incest relation between the Speed and the Power, you would see that I am not that wrong.⁸¹ It can be seen as a weird coincidence that the fact that the kings, generals, liberators and lions, bulls, eagles, dragons as well as the tamed horses have been decorating (!) almost all squares of the world.

We can see the sculptures of soldiers, workers and women as well as commanders in the countries which saw a revolution. Besides all these, the fact that there is a Kalashnikov sculpture in Nicaragua doesn't mean that the revolutionary (!) sculptures are standing as another power-breaker symbol. The square only had begun to bear new power symbols instead of the overthrown ones. The square didn't lose its ideological existence but on the contrary, it redefined itself ideologically. The Stalin, Lenin and Marx sculptures which were stricken down

rality of all things and our diversity as beings and cultures. Our people were thus happy, and we never knew racism until the ill-fated days of colonialism." Constitution quote, from Sibel Özbudun's article "...What kind of a constitution..." http://www.latinbilgi.net/index.php?eylem=yazi_oku&no=3074

⁸¹ The reason why the ancient Mayan civilization (!) did not use cars for transportation and transport, even though their toys had wheels, was probably because of their experience or because they knew this "instinctively". It may seem strange to those who see knowledge only as the sum of what is categorized as "scientific" or "academic", but for many years, humanity had a way of knowing that we cannot comprehend with today's categorized information systems. Also, "If you have enough corn to carry in a cart, you must be a thief."

with Soviet Union⁸²; then the returning of Lenin sculptures with some changes of places; the striking down and tugging of Saddam sculpture in Baghdad as a final signifier of Saddam's downfall are all such examples. As another example, the sculpture of Christopher Columbus who explored (!) America which was a symbol of the occupation of Latin America was demolished in Venezuela at the time of Chavez government and the sculpture of Bolivar who is the symbol of a unified Latin America was put up. The change in the name of the country as Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela was also an emphasis of such a change in clear terms.

We experienced some years in which we saw sculptures bearing one than one symbolic burdens such as the Hittite sculpture that implies Ankara's identity is Turkish and even Hittite's identity was Turkish as well the sculptures of Diyarbakır Watermelon or Kumluca Tomato which were built for advertizing the cities and towns during the years in which everybody was trying to find a famous product for their homelands. Moreover only this kind of sculptures were built in many places in Turkey for avoiding from any problem especially during the years in which only Atatürk sculptures were allowed.

⁸² An ironic example of the ideological impact of statues was in Russia. Years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, huge statues of Marx and Lenin stood at the entrance gate of the train station of the city of Krasnodar. One of the station's waiting rooms was almost packed. Many people were sitting reading books, newspapers and magazines in their hands. There was a television in the living room right next to it and it was almost empty. I thought, no matter what, it is the effect of socialism that has been experienced. I sat in that living room to charge my phone from a socket I saw on the wall. After a while, a woman on duty came. She asked me for 20 Rubles each for using the socket and also for watching TV. The reason why no one sat in the living room with the television was because they had to pay. He should have been surprised that the statues of Marx and Lenin didn't crack.

You could understand what the famous product of that town or city was when you enter their city squares. Turkey became a homeland whose city squares are decorated by tomato, pepper, watermelon, everything and even the mesir paste.⁸³ These efforts which were trying to build sculptures with avoiding from getting into any trouble created quite interesting sculptures. For example, the sculpture of granite stone in the entrance of Dikili was reflecting another ironic situation. Dikili was famous of its granite stone which is a basic material of sculpture and was replaced by stone-like polyester for a very long time ago because polyester is an easy and rapid shaping material for sculptures. However because of that it would be funny to build a sculpture of “granite stone” with polyester, the problem was directly solved by only putting two bulky pieces of granite stone as the sculpture. When you enter Dikili, the granite sculpture of granite and an oxcart are welcoming you.

Even though I prefer watermelon sculptures instead of the sculptures symbolizing the power, this choice about sculptures were used also for other purposes. In Diyarbakır, the municipality which is an supporter of “Ecological Municipalism” installed torch sculptures which symbolized the Newroz fire at all road intersections for satisfying the demands of communication companies. All these sculptures which are the symbols of an oppressed people are actually nothing but base stations. This form is certainly silly but not “Ecological”. The silly municipality therefore found an ideological as well as “modern” solution and somehow everybody was happy.

I could suggest that every sculpture is ideological but the streets –even if rarely– showed us this is not the case.

⁸³ Sculptor Ali Savacı told that the mayor of Gaziantep asked him if he could make a baklava statue.

For example, in Kumluca, Antalya, greased wrestling aghas could build their sculptures in Aghas Park if they were chosen as agha 3 successive years.⁸⁴ Well, the sculpture of greased wrestling agha can be seen as male and symbol of the power but it is not ideological directly. Especially if you could see what we have become in the sculpture installing ceremony, you would exactly admit it.

Likewise when I saw the Turkey sculpture on an one-meter base in the small square of a very small village in the middle of the desert and the primary school students who were joined the ceremony with their pan flutes, I thought that “what if it is ideological!” The Peruvian Bird–Turkey– was actually symbolizing there and it was perhaps the least alienated symbol with the Quechua children around it. Nevertheless my favorite sculptures are the ones in Derik district of Mardin. The sculptures of famous mad brothers are looking more beautiful than any other power symbol ones.

Like every power, the “Theo-liberal” power of Turkey was also building its own squares. These were large and small square constructions which are the ugliest possible and express this power directly. The biggest paradox of powers is that on one hand they are trying to build this kind of squares but on the other hand, they are trying to utilize there by selling every km² of these squares. Shopping mall constructions are therefore the ones which can express themselves best but this time no squares can survive. Even if there may be a mix of a square and a parking lot, they can not able to desist from the idea of selling somewhere. In one of these squares,

⁸⁴ Here, I cannot help but mention with a mischievous smile my friends, the sculptor Ali Savıcı, and Cengiz Kaya, who always helped with this work whenever the Agha statue was erected.

TOKİ which builds isolator prison-type houses was built a clock tower which was a mix of a minaret and a tower and wrote a thank-you note to the prime minister. At the very same time, the real estate agencies right behind this clock tower were full of house for sale placards. The placards writing “60 thousand + mortgage debt” or “55 thousand + mortgage debt” were showing the owner of the thank-you note.

Please don't fall into the trap by thinking rationally and saying “Why the banks are making these loans if the debts will not be paid?” First of all, the banks would go bankrupt if they can not sell their money. They must sell their money to somewhere in any case. Secondly, it is not much important whether the money will be paid back or not when they can sell the money in this form. Because the banks already gain these profits through their profit growths on paper. It is a weird domino game. We would be the ones who trapped under regardless of on which side the dominos fall. The deal will be closed when the banks do their part on paper; mortgage and cash the stocks; and issue high interest rate loans by thinking that “maybe they can not pay back.” Then they start to look for new areas with their money for selling the more money they have.

The Theo-liberal political power of Turkey found a great solution to the paradoxical problem about squares. Well, no more squares... They started to fill the sea and create new squares.⁸⁵ This attempt created many more

⁸⁵ See “Rally area as big as 171 football fields in Maltepe” news, 21.04.2013

The new rally and event area created by filling the Maltepe coast of Istanbul is about to be completed. The project, which is 85 percent completed, spreads over 120 hectares. See <http://www.sabah.com.tr/Yasam/2013/04/21/maltepede-171-futbol-sahasi-kadarmiting-alani>

fields which can be sold as well as creating so-called sport areas which consist of a green space, a small park –of course you have to change their grass monthly–, four basketball hoops and a chance to replant a couple of avulsed trees. They were also making a contribution to world democracy with an unbelievable invention: They were constructing these places as demonstration areas. Now you can shout as much as possible about democracy in the middle of the sea. This was also an amazing solution for the taxi drivers who were driving you to demonstration with grumbling: No more traffic! The demonstrators wouldn't bother anyone anymore...⁸⁶ This “idea” was said many times by the government in meetings without thinking about why we hold a “demonstration” at that case.

However I think the most “intelligent” part of this Theo-liberal demonstration areas invention is about another point. The soil that is necessary to fill these areas had been obtaining from the urban renewal constructions which had been continuing everywhere in the cities. In other words, you hit a dozen of birds with only one stone! You can find place for excavated soil and you fill the sea; and in both cases you earn money! When we think of that the shopping mall construction on the place of Ali Sami Yen stadium went deeper until drilling a hole over subway line, you can realize one more time what a great solution this is for the excavated soil. I guess that the “intelligent” advisors had given each other a high five after finding this solution. This is the enthusiasm to create a situation for selling the surface ground, the under-soil, the right to demonstrate (they will exactly demand money for renting the demonstration areas), the

⁸⁶ On this occasion, he should write again: “I am screaming from the bloody rooftops. The elites say shush, you'll wake up the neighbors, but that's what I want anyway. Waking them up.” - Arundhati Roy.

concert square, buffet areas and everything for 4-5 times. The only thing they didn't even dream of is to build the first underwater mosque right next to the demonstration area; and I am sure that this Sunken Mosque would draw attention of tourists like Sunken Palace. And then more shops, therefore more sea filling and a little more and a little more...

I want to turn back to the huge metallic whale sculpture right next to the sea in Barceloneta neighborhood of Barcelona. It was magnificent. It was beautiful. It was as big as a whale and it was shining from a distance. When the sun beats down on it, you could shoot great photos at any time of day. Maybe it was wrong to see the most peaceful creature of the world, the whale only as a power symbol. It could be a sculpture about which can be said "You see that! You were wrong!" by the square-sculptures-lovers; well, if you come to Barcelona for a couple of days and pass by as "a happy Hollander". It was actually a very good idea to install a fish sculpture into a place which have been engaging with fishery not for a few decades but along its history. Here's the important thing already! The fishery of hundreds of years is destroyed with the last period that we can symbolize with the metallic whale sculpture or with the gentrification. This is another Moby Dick story and the bad guy is not the whale but the people as in the famous original story. The fisher people are living only in the photos now. The sea products which you can eat here come from another parts of Spain or they are product of northern seas if not farm fishes. A small banner in English that was hanging on a balcony of a house in a side street of Barceloneta was summarizing everything:

WELCOME TOURISTS
The rent of holiday apartments

in this neighborhood destroys
the local socio-cultural fabric and
promotes speculation.
Many local residents are forced to
move out.
ENJOY YOUR STAY.

Urban Murders

An incident in which the capitalist city had a narrow escape from a murder or rather a massacre was the Polat Tower fire.⁸⁷ 1.200 people in the business center escaped with no harm “fortunately” as it can be seen in the statements of the officials. Those who didn't understand how the fire gets started also didn't understand how it is died down. Everybody praised the smart buildings. As if the fire didn't get started in a smart building.⁸⁸ It had seen

⁸⁷ **Stupid location choices of 'Smart Buildings' - Oktay Ekinci**

"Fulya" is the name of a "stream"... Today, there is "Fulya Creek Street" right on the stream that gave its name to the district where it once flowed in Istanbul!

In the "concreted" bed of the stream, which descends from the steep slopes from Mecidiyeköy to Beşiktaş, there are now countless apartments, hospitals, skyscraper residences, shopping malls, giant hotels, workplaces and the "Polat Tower" (tower) that burned down on July 17.

<http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=356010>

⁸⁸ We also see this ironic situation in Ekinci's article. Measures to celebrate

“Actually, the fire safety measures that make the Polat Tower smart should be congratulated. According to the owner Adnan Polat, 'with the infrastructure built at an additional cost of 6 million dollars, the flames and smoke surrounding the facade were prevented from entering. Reverse pressurized air was supplied to the stairs; More than a thousand people were evacuated gradually; Even pets were rescued...

The reason why the flames engulfed the building in a short time was the 'flammable' feature of the coating material called 'polypen'. This

obviously that the Istanbul Fire Department would have no difference with the old pashas who loved to watch fires in Istanbul if the fire climbs a couple floor higher. If this has happened, the people would watch the fire as well as sending the photos to the their friends from their iphones in their luxury cars like the pashas who go to high hills with their phaetons to watch the fires as well as drinking their coffees. I don't know if they drink coffee but I am sure that the fire workers would only watch the fire. Please don't say that "They have firefighting helicopters and they could extinguish the fire" because this would be no use but creating a King Kong movie scene. Those who are trying to demolish the shanties under cover of "fire trucks can not enter their narrow streets" have to apply the latest famous Disaster Law to all skyscrapers. The fire trucks and also the peddlers can not enter the corridors of skyscrapers; so they carry disaster risk. Did you ever hear that 1.200 people face with a life-threatening situation in a shanty house fire? Such a serious life-threatening fire situation didn't occur even in the fires started from paraffin in the tents or shanties of the poor who had swept outside the cities and were mostly black in the Republic of South Africa. However these poor people are facing with this situation because they don't get any city service; the officials are trying to restrain these shanties; and they can be dismissed from

relentless fire, its creators, and the fire brigade coped with excellent organization. "When the stairs could not reach the height of the skyscraper, water was brought from the sea by helicopter and poured on it."

These are two consecutive paragraphs that are examples of the question of what irony alone means. While praising it, it is not taken into account that the biggest fire hazard is the 'Smart Building' material. See <http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/?hn=356010>

there in any moment even if they are the largest part of the city. Otherwise, they can turn their shanties into healthy and livable houses with using only the one fifth of the infrastructure which is organized for anyone skyscraper. As a matter of fact, it is enough that they stand out of the poor's sunlight. The people who built three fourths of the houses all over the world without any certificated specialists and in spite of repressions of any nature can build much better houses.⁸⁹

Capitalist city continues its murders without slowing down. We are not only talking about the fire dangers,

⁸⁹ During these smart building conversations, an idea told by Mahmut Baler always came to my mind: "A drunk man comes home and wakes his wife up in her bed. 'Damn, you brought a man into this house.' 'Go to bed, you're drunk,' says the woman. 'No,' says the man, 'you hired an electrician for this house.' 'Where did you get it from? Go to bed,' says the woman. 'Then why is the light always on when I open the toilet door?' 'Oh,' says the woman, 'you peed in the refrigerator again.' What is a smart building other than 3-5 sensors and conveniences (!) that leave us more helpless with each use? Recently, I caught myself rubbing my hands idly in front of the taps in a cafe. Since I was used to sensor taps, I was waiting dryly for the water to turn on without being able to open the tap from the opposite side of the tap. A new couple told this. They wandered around Ankara for at least 2 hours to find a somewhat secluded place to kiss. Wherever they went, it was a little dark, they were illuminated by sensor lights.

floods⁹⁰ or the ordinary traffic monster;⁹¹ we also have to remember the workers who were killed under the name of “work accidents” while they were constructing all these buildings, the shopping malls, the luxury residences, the highways, the viaducts. We have to consider the murders committed while I am writing these lines: for example, 11 workers died in their tent in a fire while they were working in a shopping mall construction in Esenyurt, Istanbul; the worker who died because of getting trapped under the rubble of the bridge among the hell called as transportation in Avcılar, Istanbul; the mother who caught between the train and the station for keeping her child company; or the everyday traffic accidents which can take only little place in media. The murders have been committing not only in my country but in

⁹⁰ German insurance company Munich Re announced that the number of deaths in disasters around the world has increased. According to Munich Re's statement, the number of deaths in natural disasters in 2013 reached 20 thousand. It was stated that this number was almost twice as high as 2012 statistics. It was noted that the majority of the deaths were due to Typhoon Haiyan, which hit the Philippines, Vietnam and China. 6,100 people lost their lives as a result of typhoon Haiyan, which hit these three countries in November. This was followed by the flood disaster in India in June. Approximately 5,500 people lost their lives in the floods in India. - See. <http://birgun.net/haber/dogal-felaketlerde-olenlerin-sayisi-ikiye-katlandi-9725.html>

⁹¹ In fact, experts say twice as many people die in traffic accidents as the statistics below. Because this statistic is only the number of people who lost their lives at the scene of the accident. It is estimated that this number has doubled with those who died after being hospitalized.

Accordingly, 7 million 946 thousand 646 traffic accidents occurred in Turkey in 10 years. In 964 thousand 164 of these accidents, 43 thousand 51 people lost their lives and 1 million 718 thousand 704 people were injured. -TURKSTAT-Turkish Statistical Institute- http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/10_yilda_43_bin_kisi_trafige_kurban_gitti-1100637

all over the world. In Qatar or United Arabic Emirates, the constructions of skyscrapers and shopping malls and the highways, freeways, bridges and viaducts commit new murders every single day.

All of these are not about “regrettably”, “destiny” or “excessive rains once in 500 years” unfortunately. All of these are the murders of the capitalist city. It is a big lie that the green spaces will increase with high buildings. When you divide the size of the green spaces to the number of people who live in a high building, the green space per capita is not more than a handful grass and this is like “Loving you from a distance in the most beautiful one in loves.” You may eat your sandwiches on grass –if they allow you– only in afternoon. Only the amount of energy which is spent for cooling, warming, controlling and climbing these high buildings is enough for making a shanty neighborhood livable and healthy. Even the energy that is spent for discharging the daily urine of a skyscraper is the adequate cause for these buildings. The lie about that high buildings are economical is nothing but a murder reason. Every high building is a disaster risk. Every high building murders the city. Every high building is male and power. Every high building is rent and theft.

Urban murders are not always committing through “accidents”.⁹² The city which isolates and alienates the

⁹² After the bomb attack in Boston, USA, a month ago, there is a second attack shock. The parade held to celebrate Mother's Day in New Orleans was turned into a bloody attack.

According to the information provided by the police, shots were opened at the procession as it passed through Frenchmen Street at 13.45 local time...

people caused directly massacres frequently. Didn't the enclosure of the people to their homes play a part in the massacres against communities without any reason at all? While there have to be a good, bad, right or wrong cause for attacking people you know, the cause of attacking people you don't know is you don't know those people purely and simply. The archaic culture or the honor killings which were used by the city to insult the village have a cause even if an archaic one. However the massacres and murders, especially the school attacks in USA⁹³ can only be explained by the specialists who know everything as mere "frenzy" in the final analysis. What is "frenzy"? Isn't it a transformation of human relations into paid hours of psychological sessions, the specter which took the place of vivacious communities plunged with fake smiles, or a literal loneliness? Aren't these attacks an outcry of "I exist" even if in its wildest sense? Loneliness and alienation is not only related with

According to police official Garry Flot, 10 men and seven women, as well as a 10-year-old girl and boy, were shot. Flot stated that the bullets missed the two children and they were in good condition.

... An attack similar to the attack that left the Mother's Day celebration bloody took place in New Orleans earlier this year. Four people were injured in the attack at the Mardi Gras carnival in February.

See <http://wap.ntvmsnbc.com/Haber/Goster/25441960>

⁹³ "There was a shooting every 10 days."

Since the Sandy Hook Primary School massacre in the USA, there has been 'an average gun attack every 10 days'.

There have been 44 school attacks across the country since the massacre in Newtown, Connecticut, USA, on December 14, 2012, when 20-year-old Adam Lanza killed first his mother, with whom he lived, and then 26 people, including 20 children, at Sandy Hook Elementary School. It was stated that the number of school attacks carried out only in the first 6 weeks of this year was 13. See

http://www.radikal.com.tr/dunya/her_10_gunde_bir_silahli_saldiri_yasandi-1176638

the architectural structure of the houses, schools⁹⁴ and offices surrounded with the fences, walls and camera ditches, but also have a direct relationship with a whole life that consists of alienation chains of technological means which are classified, categorized and separately processed but that passes by with stupefied moves in contrast with the mentioned complex structure.

One of the reasons of this alienation is the work hours in which you are only keystroking, the “relaxing” times in which you use joysticks and the life in which a human who is maybe in next room or halfway round the world exists only as a sum of pixel-dots. There is no difference between the virtual people who were destroyed in computer games and the students and teachers who were shot in school with automatic rifles. The only difference that the murderer doesn't understand after the school massacres is that there is no replay button. We will break the alienated and isolated cycle of this urbanist system or – if it is true that our most used or unused organs become blunt during evolution– there will remain the people who only have a power of pushing the buttons and have fragile bones. The subversive resistance against industrial system therefore is only possible by breaking the isolating, alienating, categorizing and classifier forms of its architectural structure by all manner of means. Even

⁹⁴ In this regard, schools in Europe are becoming more like prisons every year, not only theoretically but also directly, or rather without any difference. There must be concern that a student might throw himself or fall at any moment. It is no longer tactful to make such a comparison for schools where all windows are surrounded by bars and chicken wire. All else aside, how many children studying in those schools, whose houses are on the 5th floor, throw themselves out of the window when they return home? In our primary school, where there were no window bars, I don't remember a single child in danger of falling. Have children become this stupid (!) or, more accurately, has life become this much of a prison?

only coming together and sit –of course no shopping– will become important as a resistance against the urbanist system. The city is actually killing togetherness, the social, the collective, namely the entire humanity while directly murdering the people one by one or en masse with its homicides and “accidents”. The city is on the verge of dealing the death blow of the automotive industry and machine worshipping which it devoted itself. The suggestions of smart cities and smart buildings as solutions of urban problems are not only naive but also ridiculous.

Space and Defense

An exemplary case –a trial of my lawyer friend named Ömer Kavili in which he was defendant for an issue about his right to defense– about how the structural situation has an influence on right to defense and right to live is happened in a court which is a small space in size but involves almost all kinds of power symbolically. Analyzing this trial which have to be taught as a law lesson in itself through “space and the power” will certainly be a great lesson especially about the city and the architecture. Even though almost everybody in Turkey faced with courtrooms, I should give some information for possible foreign editions: In Turkey, the Prosecutor or the counsel for the prosecution sits on the same height –stand– with the Judge and in the courtroom. The fact that the Prosecutor who is clearly an employee of the state and the Judge who is supposed to be independent sit on the same platform clarifies a structural situation which summarizes the judicial situation of Turkey. In other words, what the counsel for the prosecution says will happen and moreover, even if the Prosecutor shows mercy, the bench on the same strand doesn't allow that.

The defendant is innocent until the conviction and therefore the defendant trails without handcuffs and bounds but there is always a fence in front of the defendant just in case I guess. (I know from my trials that this fence is a good accessory to which the defendants rest their hands on it. All joking aside, this fence symbolizes a guilty situation. Those who behind it generally will be founded guilty. This symbol may have been consolidating by this positioning⁹⁵). Also, the defense lawyers have to sit not next to the defendant but in front of the side wall of the courtroom side by side. The place of the lawyers is located in a lower ground and they also can not see the Judge frontally. In such a space, Lawyer Ömer Kavili and his defense counsel turned the trial into a trial of the court on “Space and the Power”.

In the first session of the law suit⁹⁶ in which Lawyer Ömer Kavili folded and put the “search warrant” document in his pocket in the search that he participated as the legal representative of the bar president and was sued in alleged “resisting for deforcement against the officials”, Ömer Kavili started to talk in the place of lawyers

⁹⁵ **A Jinn Poem**

If the plaintiff is rich and the defendant is poor
Law that favors the rich

If the plaintiff is poor and the defendant is rich
The disputed land remains with the defendant

If both the plaintiff and the defendant are rich,
He apologizes and gets out of the way.

If the plaintiff and the defendant are poor, look,
Only then will justice find its place.

Can Yücel

⁹⁶ T.R. Silivri high criminal court hearing report file number: 2012/225; hearing date: 19/04/2013; session number: 1

despite he was a defendant by saying that “As a lawyer who placed as defendant within the frame of 'sitting of defendant next to the defense can not be precluded' rule, I want to sit next to my Lawyers who are defending me through the defendant rights stated in legal and international documents” by declaring his legal basis. This objection must be perceived as a miniature and pure reflection of the square which is ideological in Castellan terms and a real subversive demand within the courtroom. I wasn't there but I am really curious about the facial expressions of the judges. This kind of demands for change are always traumatic for “judges” in an ever-repeating amusement. Even though there happened some discussions on this issue within law community before, this demand is certainly traumatic for the people who put their –damned– pens in the same pencilbox.⁹⁷ Hüsametdin Haşcelik who is one of the lawyers of Ömer Kavili was continuing this striking defense which moves completely through “space”⁹⁸: “The architecture of this

⁹⁷ In an English novel whose name I can't remember, a man was getting angry at someone else who was standing in the subway station where he stood every day without him knowing. The slightest change in the basic institution of the state, such as the courts, will certainly have a devastating effect.

⁹⁸ “Atty., who declared that he was the defendant's lawyer. Hüsametdin Haşcelik took the floor and said; I would like to make my defense standing by asking permission from my colleagues. First of all, I would like to state that; My colleague, Mr. Atty., who was made a defendant by force of the rules of law. The advocacy relationship between Ömer Kavili and me was established by the Ankara Bar Association due to the principle of professional and inter-bar solidarity. "Although I fully agree with my colleague's request that he will make his defense alongside my lawyers and the legal arguments he presented for this request, I request that my colleague's request to make his defense with his lawyers be accepted for the reasons I will state some of them below."

Giving a defense while sitting is actually a right that lawyers have recently acquired with their resistance, and it is actually related to

trial's courtroom is a manifestation of the extralegal judicial habits. It is also unrequited in either 1412 No. repealed article or 5271 No. Law of Criminal Procedure (LCP). On the contrary, LCP 149/3 Article clearly enacted that the defendant should be together with her/his counsel and receives legal support in all legal process. The place which is allocated for the defendant in courtroom is a space surrounded by fences and it remind of the isolation of prisons; but this is also contrary to the phrase of "without bounds" which is included in trial record. In other words, this practice is ignoring the fundamental principle about that the defendant should be free during her/his statement in advance. Besides, the trial of the defendant in an "ad hoc place" surrounded with fences has the characteristics of violation of the presumption of innocence because the defendant gets the feeling that she/he is sentenced in advance. Again, if the complainant of the existing prosecution wants to join the trial and be presented by a lawyer, she/he would be together with her/his lawyer according to the architecture of the courtroom and can be received her/his lawyer's legal support during the trial. And this situation shows that even the defendant and the intervening party are not equal, let alone the counsel for the prosecution. Moreover, there is no opportunity such as a table or a trestle for the defendant to put her/his files, books and if any, computer and use them during her/his defense. This courtroom didn't design by the judges who will deliver a judgment soon; such a planning for the courtroom and enforcing to judge under certain physical conditions and an environment which didn't design and be foreseen by the court itself by the Ministry of Justice can be assessed as

the position in the "venue". I did not highlight this part because I focused on the main part of the topic that I was trying to discuss.

an indirect violation of 138th article of the Constitution saying that “Judges are independent in their assignments; no body, no post, no authority or person can give orders and instructions, send memorandums or give advices and inculcates to the courts and the Judges.” He concluded his first speech by saying that “Taking into account all of these and other grounds, a prosecution against the defendant apart from his lawyers in such a courtroom which, in our opinion, is a product of ancient extraordinary trials will be a violation of right to fair trial and many articles of the LCP including the 149th will be violated. Many international arrangements including ECHR 6/3 Article will also be violated. Due to these reasons, we demand from the court to accept the demand of the defendant for defending himself in the place where his lawyers are and together with his lawyers.”

When you compare the architectural criticism of the miniature and pure square of the power –courtroom– with any city square, you can see the pure manifestation of language of the power. One of other lawyers, Mehmet Metin Karagöz was explaining what is the situation of people against this positioning of the power very well by saying that “... the rejection of our demand that the defendant should be together with his counsel will mean an inducement for isolating our client.” The feeling of being isolated in the dock is exactly the same with the feeling we feel against the power and in a square or an isolated-type apartments.

Lawyer Ömer Kavili relocated to the defendant's place afterwards and said that “One: First of all, I demand from you to call the courthouse carpenter and remove the wooden frame and iron fences.” I think that the most striking description here is the “Courthouse Carpenter” in this miniature power game. I may say with exaggerating the “class” perspective –which I always

love to stress— that “cage-like wooden frame” which will be destroyed by the working class or the “Courthouse Carpenter” is a very good course of action for a spatial revolt! “Dismantling the space of the power” against this isolation and the one who will be on duty is the courthouse carpenter!⁹⁹ Needless to say, the court didn't call the carpenter and break the fence; and more importantly, the Courthouse Carpenter —working class—didn't do it by coming without calling by anyone. Probably there is no carpenter of the courthouse because of neoliberal policies and the architecture of the courtroom was done by subcontractor firms¹⁰⁰

Lawyer Ömer Kavili also demanded a table for putting his defense notes and books and above all, a computer and internet connection which the prosecutor has; this can see as a revolution in this space positioning after all. The decision of the court was also very striking against these demands. The court got a table in the courtroom carried by a bailiff. It also ruled that the defendant can use the computer and internet connection of the court. The miniature power was acting just like its big brother. A fence which couldn't be removed, a table which can be carried and a freedom to use its own internet connection against the isolation of the defendant... Isn't it quite ironic? Slipping our hands an internet connection against our isolation! A life which turns into a totality of virtual relations. If there will remain anything from the earth, the civilization which would find these

⁹⁹ I know I may be trying too hard with these terms here, but I guess I couldn't help myself. Give it to my anger to destroy the place of power.

¹⁰⁰ A guerrilla from the Kurdish movement was asking in Rojava; “We took over the courthouse, what should we do?” It was a question of complete revolution. Once you had one of the most symbolic places of power in your hands, two things could be done: either put on your own robes and sit on the podium, or put match water on it...

artifacts probably would count –for example– Microsoft as one of the basic elements of life with air, water and food. How nice this small courtroom is explaining “the relationship between the city, namely the space.”¹⁰¹

A similar space-power relationship which must be analyzed was the Silivri courtroom in which arrestee lawyers from Contemporary Lawyers' Association were put on trial as well as many political trials. Silivri courthouse is a structure which was built especially in the fields and hard to reach out of the city especially for the political trials. It was exactly an “out in the bush” place, thus it was meaningless to gather with thousands of people in front of it.¹⁰² It was an integrated facility with the special type prison right next to it! Actually, when the government begun to construct huge courthouses all around the country, we should have understood that they will judge all of us. We should have understood that this was not only about their love of construction and the expensive constructions for filling their pockets and regard that the gun that is shown in the drawer would shoot us sooner or later as in the Hitchcock movies. This spectacle courtroom was an example which must be told in media lessons with its heightened tribunes and giant televisions broadcasting the trials. The defendants were coming from underground by a stairway directly to the defendants' bar. Such an underground system which was added

¹⁰¹ For the entire proceedings of this hearing, see: <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!msg/cezaevi/2sFebw9wh7s/3f4Pyv4b1V8J>

¹⁰² Again, the situation reminded me of an anecdote told by our murdered friend Ali Ateş. Before the fascist junta of 1980, his uncle was explaining a measure he was considering against student protests to his nephew, who was also one of these activists, but I guess he didn't know about it. “You will tell them all to come and see. You will spread it over a huge plain. To a place like the Erzurum plain. Come on, shout, as much as you can... Let them shout as much as they want...” Remembering Ali Ateş with a smile again...

for blocking any contacts between the defendants and their relatives or lawyers was bearing a very symbolic meaning while the presidents and the members of the largest lawyers' organization like Contemporary Lawyers' Association were on trial.¹⁰³ When firstly the sounds of their slogans and then they entered the courtroom from underground with a flood of applause, the entire constructed structural situation of the space became reversed completely. One of the most powerful symbolic spaces of the power started to bear an exact opposite function. The perceptive and active defenses of the lawyers was supporting by approximately 500 lawyers and the applause of the audience as much as the courtroom could take. The judge tries to silence the applause for a couple of times when it recurred frequently but this move was like more of a attempt to keep the spectacle. This performance turned into a big screened spectacle about what the state is while the lawyers have been trying to put on trial due to their works, in other words, for their defense of the poor, the workers and the victims of urban renewal. In this specially constructed space, it was experienced a trial reminiscent of Roma arenas. Finally, contrary to what was expected, the revolutionary lawyers who were thrown to the lions shredded and threw the lions out, aside from were wasted by them.

¹⁰³ Contemporary Lawyers Association (ÇHD) Chairman Selçuk Kozagaçlı, ÇHD Istanbul Branch President Taylan Tanay, ÇHD Istanbul Branch Board Member Güçlü Sevimli, ÇHD member Naciye Demir, ÇHD member and Halkın Law Firm lawyers Barkın Timtik, Ebru Timtik, Şükriye Erden, Günay Dağ. and Betül Vangölü Kozagaçlı, from the Board of Directors of ÇHD Ankara Branch, were arrested on January 21 (2013). <http://t24.com.tr/haber/chdli-avukatlarin-yargilandigi-davanin-ilk-durusmasi-bugun-goruluğu/246784> (The majority of them were released pending trial after approximately one and half year.)

Revolt: Argentine, Brazil, Bolivia... and Ours

It was the riot days in Argentine. We were staying in a room near Congresso Square. There was an advantage for joining the rioters while they were passing by under the balcony. When the clashes begun, everybody was taking off their t-shirts. They were covering or not covering their faces but the naked bodies were something of a rioter uniform. You could distinguish easily the naked bodies throwing molotoves from the federal police uniforms which were shooting guns. Is it about the uniforms that I hate all polices of the world? We had a good finance. We had 50 dolars and we was barely spending it. We were eating very cheap pizzas and drinking beer with huge bottles. A day later, the exchange rate of Argentine peso was falling in value and we were compensating yesterday's expense. We were collecting beer bottles in case of the necessity to make Molotov cocktails between the iron bunk bed and the wooden table. It was a good thing that there was no other furniture. Therefore we could fit more bottles inside. I was thinking about that Cortazar could write his Hopscotch novel here. You know, the scene of passing the plank between two windows... I asked this to an Argentinean literature teacher friend. He replied "Absolutely!" In fact, we tried to do the same thing by swinging the three legs of the table. We didn't have enough plank. We might do that with beer bottles but we needed them.

Gezi [Revolt] was beautiful. It is a very good thing to have your own riot. You don't need to find a lot of travelling money. You can go to your own riot by walking. It was the night before the first attack and a day before the second morning attack. There was a concert in Gezi. *Çarşı* took its place near the front of the stage by walking

altogether. They didn't go anywhere during the resistance. The stage was a tiny one. It was a riotly stage; everybody was equal. We were shouting as "shoulder to shoulder against fascism" etc. That was a slogan I like. It has been shouting for about 40 years – I don't know if this slogan exist before 12 March fascist intervention. *Çarşı* joined with a slogan saying "Shoot the gas, shoot the gas, take off your helmet, leave your truncheon, then we'll see who's the brave one!" When it was said from the stage that "We didn't forget Reyhanlı", they shouted as "And Roboski!" When the oppositions against the 3rd Bridge and new airport projects, they shouted slogans as "Beşiktaş ferry port hurray, Beşiktaş ferry port hurray!" The attendance of the *Çarşı* was not a coincidence. Gezi was completely a revolt of space-identity-ecology. The historical bazaar space of Beşiktaş was dissolving. It was not a coincidence again that Galatasaray and Fenerbahçe fans joined the revolt. I came across a man on the second day of revolt in İstiklal Avenue just before the barricades will be set up; I guess he was about 60 years old. We were gathering in back streets between two tear gas attacks and turning back to İstiklal Avenue for smelling more tear gas. He turned to us by the way and said "I am tired of getting a scolding every single day; the hombre saying something about everything."

We were squatting a building in Porto Alegre, Brazil. PCS mafia bought this building about 10 years ago. It was one of the biggest mafia groups of Brazil and the world. No, I am not talking about the official ones, USA or Monsanto. This was at least the mafia we know, a mafia who was following the rules of the mafia. They had dug a tunnel to two banks from this building. They robbed millions of Reals in another city just about 4-5 months ago. That was too much money. They could barely carry the money with trucks. Robbery demands

labor. Well, I am not talking about the robberies of capitalists again. The tunnel was revealed while they were almost under the banks. The buildings are empty since that day. They were under the governance of the court. MNLM¹⁰⁴ wanted to turn this building directly into dwelling. They were squatting and the people were moving there. Thousands of people have already been kicking out of their homes because of the 2014 World Cup. We were also attending those meetings. It was weird. There were people from all classes. The poor, the middle class and even the upper class were burying under grasses if we use football terms. 22 football players or 32 players with substitutes, 3 referees –well, their number was increased I guess, 5 or 6 referees– and the football commentators who think that they know everything and the football audience was kicking the people out of their homes which they were living for 40-50 years. They were revealing new revolt arithmetic of neoliberalism. They were defending their space and identities. The police had attacked to *favelas* with tanks in Rio de Janeiro. They would demolish those neighborhoods and build stadiums etc. The chains which were holding the entrance doors of the buildings were broken by the squatters. The building saw people after many years.

Every day I was going for buying cheap pizza in Buenos Aires; I saw a new street writing on the walls of the square. It was a smooth wall with a good lightning of streetlights right middle of the square. I don't know if the municipality or somebody was erasing and the rioters were writing or the rioters were erasing and rewriting those writings but I always saw a different writing every single day. It was like the flashing billboards. The writing was like “Piqueteros carajo”; it had a meaning like

¹⁰⁴ MNLM- Movimento Nacional de Luta pela Moradia-
<http://mnlm.com.br/>

“Barricaders will screw up” or something. Actually they did what they said. They got rid of 5 governments in 8 days. Two presidents ran like hell by helicopters to Miami. I saw one of the helicopters on the rise. “Tape it!” said Fabian. He was an anarchist film director friend of mine staying next room. “You tape it!” I said. Both of us couldn't tape it. There were our beer bottles in our laps. The rags were dangling from mouths of the bottles. Then we said “we can find from somebody else.” We were rather trying to watch the faces of the police near us. I recommend that; their faces are quite beautiful, violet while the presidents are running... Well, I was talking about that wall. The wall about which everybody was writing something. I didn't write at all. My handwriting is terrible. For example, if I write on that wall, I probably start with block letters and can not fit the writing, etc. It is like “Barricaders will scr...” or something like that. Therefore I was writing the speeches until 13 years old. I guess the character of the person can actually be understood from the writing. When I was going to buy cheap pizza or beer once, I saw that some people were writing on the wall and others were waiting for them to finish. They would rewrite I think.

Many people was asking me “Why doesn't it happen here?” or “When will it be?” I was telling about Argentina. Nobody was waiting for a revolt there, even the leftists even if they were saying everyday that they were waiting. Then they got rid of 5 governments in 8 days. I was saying that the revolt is more creative than everything. And there were something which I was asking myself. Why don't we have funny slogans? Well, everybody was waiting for the revolt I guess. The streets were more creative than many countries. By the way, I gave a pause to write. We smelled some tear gas and turned back. The government erased all the slogans from the streets but I

become obsessed more with the ones which were erased by our crew. Isn't it another censor and isn't it a masculine attitude? The writings were sexist, oh? But we didn't experience any harassment in Taksim during 17 days without police. The prime minister blurted out once. He said that "They swear to me and my family." I didn't hear once that he complained about that they called me murderer etc. I think I like those kind of demoralized faces.

While nearly 5 million people were living in Bolivia, 500 thousand people occupied the city square in La Paz. The parliament was trying to take the law they accepted to the capital city, Sucre but they couldn't come out. They want to sell the natural gas of the country. They shot dead 65 people before in this square. This was the official number. I don't know, the number is like the number of people who killed in Reyhanlı. You should never believe the official numbers. For instance, is there anybody who believes to inflation rates or election promises? Everybody knows that. Well, many people were killed there. We were hanging around with mine worker Oliveio. Trade union of miners said me that hang out with him. He was carrying little gelignite in his pocket. I said that I want to tape how he blows dynamites. We can define my wish as a scientific curiosity if we have to define it. Olivio was an experienced miner. His job was also blowing the rocks underground. He took action when the soldiers and police who took cover with their automatic rifles behind the sandbags opened fire. I already knew that he was lighting the match with one hand and igniting the wick on the other. He was looking easeful every time. He was whistling without his hand to warn his friends before throwing the dynamite. He had a difficult job. No, not this job, his job in the underground. They were dangling from wells with wooden capstans after going down underground from meters long tunnels.

While I was going down a tunnel, they said that if you hear the sound of breaking of the rope, spread your legs and stick to the walls, we will come and pick you up. I gave up after the third or fourth turn of the capstan. Because I felt like the rope was breaking all the time. I had a method of not to worry about the things I can not do. I was applying that method. I was doing the same thing with Olivio. I wasn't worry about that those behind the sandbags will shoot or the fact that they killed 65 people before...

The people burned the streets for days when the government wants to sweep the shops and benches of 30-40 thousand shopkeepers for building a shopping mall in India. It was directly a space revolt against neoliberalism. It was also not a coincidence that the strikes, resistances and revolt which were became daily in Greece was increased after the European Football Championship and the Olympics. "In Brazil, the most advanced sport is basketball" saying a writer, "Football is not a sport but a religion." They spent 16 billion reals for the World Cup. It was expensive to demolish the poor *favelas* and middle class neighborhoods and building hotels and shopping centers in the place of them.

The spaces are defending themselves. If the streets of the cities do not smell rain, we have to say that the revolt is close. The revolt is flowing in front of your house...

Space Revolt

Gezi Revolt was a Space-Identity-Ecology revolt; so was Brazil revolt which erupted at the same time. I think all future revolts in world will develop on this axis at least for a long time. I wrote to *Özgür Gündem* [Free Agenda] newspaper on 9th March, nearly three weeks before the revolt as Resistance and the Space”:

While Castells was saying that “the squares, the monuments and the monumental structures are the bearers of the ideological structure,” he surely wanted to say that occupying a square even if for once a year means breaking that ideology. Fortunately it was the government who gave a resistance soul to our streets which were becoming into meaningless day by day again by inhibiting the Taksim Square for the celebrations of May Day Labor Day. Taksim Square which has a huge hole in its center and have been trying to be destroyed by disemboweling was becoming the center of the resistance.

And while Lefebvre was defining the barricades of 1968 actions and school occupations as something that were referring to the spatiality, he was actually talking about Taksim as a May Day square. When the barricades and the resistance create space for themselves, you would certainly be effected by the occupation of space. This is exactly the fact that the governments who were stupefied by being in the power for a long time can not understand. It is not necessary to seize parliaments, official residences, military administration centers, radio and tv stations to overthrow the governments. The struggle on the space created by resistance determines everything. Next thing they know is that all their spaces, parliaments or prime ministry, presidency offices in which they feel almighty turn into a cage for them when the doors are locked from outside. Just as Tahrir Square overthrew the stinky Mubarek regime in Egypt or Polytechnic occupation dismissed the Military Junta in Greece, Taksim Square is hereafter a symbolic power-repeller.

So, those who find going to Taksim as ideological were absolutely right! Space is the tactile form of ideology and maybe the only thing that transform its metaphysic from to the permanent real form. In a world where

“everything solid melts into air” if I say in an ironic analogy, space is the solidified form of the melted ideology. Therefore the financial towers located in the main arterials of the city are exactly the symbolic structures of neoliberalism. The towers which resemble glass penises guarding by camera ditches instead of the Middle Age castle walls surrounded by ditches are the bearers of neoliberalism and the magnificent centers of finance capital. The height of their walls were built against its own people instead of those who come from outside like all feudal chateaus. The height of the financial towers wants to create an inaccessibility feeling about their powers.”

After a short time like three weeks, Taksim showed that it is a power-repeller square. I don't mean only overthrowing a government by using the term “power-repeller”. Taksim which is occupied as a resistance space was exactly a power-repeller square as a completely different form of democracy and freedom. “Gezi” which was defending unprecedentedly by the barricades built by collective working but not limited in any sense was experiencing another world of revolt on its own land. Gezi Revolt clearly revealed that it is not a democracy but a caricature democracy or an Origami fading paper art in which we go for voting every 4-5 years, affix the seal, fold carefully for avoiding from spreading the ink to the other part of the paper, go home, watch the election results on TV and watch TV for the next 4-5 years. The boundaries of the *Gezi* were also not limited with barricades, every barricade was involving another streets and even another cities. Every barricade was therefore a starting point of “a new space fabricating.” The people fabricated “a new space” with the existing or justifying power of barricades in 80 of 81 cities including Ankara, İzmir, especially Antakya, Gazi neighborhood, Ataşehir, Kadıköy and many more places. The problem about why

I can not hear creative slogans as in many revolts was also solved in this situation. The streets behind or rather under the influence of the barricades displayed the ideational power of the revolt by maybe the most striking and clever words.

One of the “Revolt Words” which were much as they can be published as a book –a book also was published about this– I saw is that: While the police cars which couldn't run away in the first occupation of Gezi Park have been demolishing with the energy built-up over years and a couple of rioters were trying to destroy the empty “civil” automobiles which were parked in a space that no “civil” could park, somebody shouted as “Do not touch civil autos”. When we turned back there, those civil autos had shared the same fate with the police cars. Somebody had written on the side of a turned-down civil auto: “Parking Fine.”

The attendance of the other football fan groups to the revolt as well as Beşiktaş *Çarşı* group or maybe the beginning of the dynamic that turned the resistance into a popular revolt was also about this “Space and Identity” issue. The football fans were defending their identities which have been oppressing gradually; they were against the selling of Galatasaray island and Fenerbahçe cape; and they were reacting while they were on the edge of a cliff without any social organization because of the neoliberal policies with clutching onto the last tree branch, namely their teams' colors.

It was quite normal that when you talk about identity, the first thing that come the mind was the Kurdish identity which is resurged by long years of struggle and the Alevi identity which is always a dynamic within the “Freedom-equality” struggle and is one of the most oppressed identities all the time in these lands. This fact was explained very clear by that when a friend of mine

asked to 15-16 years old Kurdish teenager during the revolt that “Why are you here?”, the teenager replied him “Why? I am Kurd, that's why...” It is also not a coincidence that all people who were killed during Gezi Revolt were Alevis. Those who were identifying the revolt as a middle class revolt were not considering the suburbs youth who attended the revolt. What is worse is that when you talk about the place of suburbs in revolt and count the names of Gazi neighborhood, Nurtepe, Okmeydanı, Gülsuyu in İstanbul, Tuzluçayır in Ankara and Harbiye in Antakya, while they were admitting the identity dimension of the revolt by saying “Those places are already Alevi”, they were also ignoring Alevis because of they see Alevis always in a revolt equation. According to them, these people had to be in revolt because “they are already Alevis” but interestingly, when these people attended the revolt as Alevis, they had to be ignored. The truth was that those who didn't attend the revolt didn't attend because of their “Identity”. On the one hand, as identifying as an Indian sham fight by Arundhati Roy¹⁰⁵, there was a rivalry form in which nobody wins between the Hindus and the Muslims before

¹⁰⁵ *“I think there is also an interesting relationship between neo-liberalism and nationalism. They start with neo-liberalism at one point and then introduce nationalism at another point, right?”*

“I will talk about this very subject tomorrow. Because if you look at India, India was the center of the Non-Aligned Movement until 1989. After the Berlin Wall fell and the Soviet Union disappeared, India entered the countries that I call the “Fully Connected” movement. He began to say that he was a natural ally of the USA and Israel. And it is incredible that in 1990, the current Prime Minister, who was then the Minister of Finance, introduced the liberalization laws; At exactly the same time that it passed laws that liberalized the market, paved the way for privatizations, and changed the labor market, the right-wing Hindu party started destroying the Muslim temple and saying that India is a Hindu nation. They started to swing together like a pendulum. These two I call “Unity and Progress of

every general elections in India, and on the other hand, our previous presidency elections and the other elections in which somebody wins but gains nothing. In our previous presidency elections, on one side there was the elegant and tuxedo man, Ahmet Necdet Sezer and on the other side, there was Abdullah Gül whose father was a turner and whose wife was kerchief; a symbolic identity dispute was at stake. Those who didn't attend the revolt were the people who were identifying themselves with this identity. It is also an identity question that the "Left" who identifies itself with "Leftist" president Dilma who is a former urban guerilla in Brazil didn't attend the revolt for some time and even opposed to the revolt.¹⁰⁶

The most important difference of the fact that there is a Space-Identity revolt here is that another unprecedented alliance is at stake. We saw this kind of alliances in the meetings we attended two years or one year before the Brazil Revolt every time. There were squatters and homeless movements who could be identified from their wounds which evoke the proletariat definition of Marx as well as the middle class families who would be exiled from their land they were living for 40-50 years and even the upper class who would be kicked out of their luxury garden houses and be dispersed to the came ditched building complexes; all of them were coming together and organizing a resistance against the World Cup organization in Brazil. It was weird and as I said before,

India". They seem to be fighting each other in the elections, but this is a boatman's fight. It's nothing serious. "They actually act together."

See Interview with Metin Yeğin-Arundhati Roy. -<http://www.sendika.org/2008/01/arundhati-royla-soylesi/>

¹⁰⁶ It is also very interesting that after Gezi, AKP members changed the slogan of the trip to "Everywhere Tayyip, Everywhere Erdoğan". This summarizes the "Space-Identity" character of the rebellion and therefore the conflict of power.

they would all bury under grasses if we use football terms. As the fact that the villagers who became landless because of the hunting parties of elites in Scotland that was told by Marx, the people here would be “out” by a soccer ball. It was an almost total resistance against the stadiums, the hotels and the shopping malls which were built for the football players, the almighty referees, the football commentators who think that they know everything and the football audience. We can say that there was no such a far-reaching and complex resistance like this one until the bourgeois revolution in Brazil.

However it certainly can not be said that this “Space-Identity-Ecology” revolt doesn't have a class connection. First of all, this situation was created already by neoliberal policies. The only thing that capitalism has been doing for the last 20 and especially 10 years is the new urban construction or neoliberal urban construction. This is also true for the entire world. Neoliberal urban construction; roads, bridges and viaducts for this city; the energy and a whole plundering of nature that is needed by this urban construction... The interesting thing here is that all of these are not “solid” needs for capitalism; capitalism now needs these directly for itself. In other words, capitalism is constructing the “New City” only for constructing the “New City”. If we clarify this on İstanbul, the first bridge was built for automotive industry and the second bridge was built for fastening the commodity flow. However the third bridge was built only for building a bridge. Namely, even if nobody will use that bridge, it has to be built for the capitalism itself.¹⁰⁷ Even if nobody will or can buy and live in the skyscrapers and luxury buildings in new İstanbul, they have to be built.

¹⁰⁷ This situation attracted our attention more during Merve's thesis work on the 3rd Bridge. Even though you know that capitalism is irrational, you still look for logic, even if it is from their perspective.

Because the only thing capitalism produces is the neoliberal urban construction. Finance capital can establish a connection between its money that is becoming virtual day by day with the real world only by these building foundations.

I saw the most impressive expression of the non-production economy of neoliberalism in Argentine. While I was going by the car of an Argentinean professor friend of mine on the eve of 2001 revolt days, when we stopped at red lights, we saw two people wiping the car windows, three people selling fritters, a person swallowing fire and a person juggling. My Argentinean friend said at that time: “The Argentine government found a solution to unemployment; they would increase the traffic lights...” This is the summary of neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism is actually non-productive; it produces nothing. It always pretends to produce.

The Student¹⁰⁸

Neoliberalism changed so many things. It destroyed the working hours, the job security, the commons and now it is destroying the city and building a neoliberal one. Of course this is always a two-sided process. Neoliberalism is rebuilding itself at every turn. The students were also getting their share from these changes or rather these destructions. The students are “waiting at the threshold” now. The students have to identify in a different category from now on. I think the universities, the colleges, the master, PhD and the certificate programs, one exam after another; all of these are actually a huge waiting room... All of these are a “waiting at the threshold” feeling as a

¹⁰⁸ We talked about the new character of the “Student”, which was directly revealed by this class situation and formed the dynamic of the rebellion, in an interview conducted with me by Bekir Avcı for Spot Magazine, a week before the rebellion. – M.Y.

sense before anything else. They could never join the game. A mass of people who were always idling around in another level of education like the out of date magazines which have been reading while waiting in dentist waiting rooms was emerged. I am not just saying the word “mass”; I am using it consciously; in the meaning of a group of people who were entwined but not related to each other. You can say that involving neoliberalism isn't a good thing either. Well, yes. I don't mean it of course. “The student” is already involved in neoliberalism but they can not say “I am in the game” and if things continue to happen like this, they can not be in the game for a long time.

It doesn't mean that they don't have a role as a political actor too. They can not reach at that level; primarily they can not get rid of being student. There are many fields which are falling outside production with neoliberalism. And those who can involve in the employment and those who took education especially for this have not been absorbing by the system and so, everybody feel themselves safe in the huge waiting room by being a student rather seeming as an unemployed person. There are this much master and PhD students because of that they can not say that I am unemployed.¹⁰⁹

- Did this fact develop in similar ways in all countries of the world?

As I said before, neoliberalism redefines the production (!) as a whole. This was similar in all countries of the world. You see a lot of walking advertising signboards in subway exits in Brazil. Internet 1 Real, Coffee 0.50 Real... Hundreds of people were working! Some of

¹⁰⁹ When I said this while speaking at panels, at least 4-5 people were looking at each other and laughing. Because this was a very common situation.

them had bells; some were clowns, playing card figures, saints... Someone sees that internet is for 1 Real, goes there, the store will earn money and the store pays these people. Probably another relationship form is emerging between these workers. As the workers were having a chat between two products were proceeding on band, so these workers were having a chat between two subways with their bells in their hand or by shouting or gruffly. Fights, friendships and maybe loves were happening between these working walking signboard people.¹¹⁰ Aren't they nothing but stealing our whole life and our fleeting time and is this life, reading out of date magazines in waiting rooms?

Someone asked me before the revolt that "Is a revolt for students possible in your opinion?" I had replied "Why not?" "Waiting rooms are boring and their windows and doors are quite available to break. The dynamic of the revolt in Greece was the students. It is the university students movement that links all sectors each other. This characteristic of Greece was surely rooted in that the universities were not privatized and more importantly the space which started the revolt that kicked out the military junta was Polytechnic University. The military junta could not stand back and draw paintings but it was kicked out. Moreover, the students are up in arms again in Chile which experienced one of the most bloody and longest dictatorships in the world and they

¹¹⁰ I was making a love story between the big-nosed clown, who distributes the most phone line advertisements among the walking advertisements at the subway exit, and the internet 0.50 Real queen of spades. It was a feeling like I compared Ahmet Kaya's two songs, Tezgahtar Nebahat and Bahtiyar, to each other.

are rising against a situation like ours.¹¹¹ Fortunately human is not subject to physical rules. When one pushes from a side, human doesn't go to the other side and studentship is partly a place of still having a time for thinking. In fact I should ask you: Don't you get bored from waiting rooms?"

And today reveals that they really got bored... Revolt is such a beautiful thing...¹¹²



It has to be talked about the "freelance" workers in describing the class condition of revolt. It is the "freelance" workers or rather the precariat who caused the description of middle class revolt of the "analysts" who did never join the revolt or throw a glance at the revolt because their clothes, cultural status, talking style or behavior of using social media too much. In a normal work day, the "informal" resistances are the ones which inflict the biggest loss for capitalists. This loss is more than the loss which inflicts because of strikes and resistances of trade unions. In other words, surfing in MSN or Facebook is a kind of resistance in a 8-hours work day. It is not necessary to sit at the computer. Even looking at the street, having a chat with another worker or wasting too

¹¹¹ If you are studying law at a public university in Chile, you have to pay at least 1000 dollars every month and you have to pay this for 12 months. And at a state university. There, neoliberalism began to be implemented for the first time in the world in 1973, with the Pinochet dictatorship.

¹¹² In the 1980s, graduating from university in Turkey almost meant getting a job. One was becoming an "educated man". While at most 30 percent of graduates were unemployed in those years, today there is an unemployment rate of up to 80 percent. These numbers alone show that the status of being a "student" must be redefined. Fuat Ercan reminded us of this situation in a conversation we had right after the days of the rebellion.

much time in toilet can be seen as an “informal” resistance. The Japanese invented a toilet alarm for avoiding from time wasting in toilets or “work loss”; I guess that system is also remote controlled like their other systems.¹¹³ Freelance workers who work at home¹¹⁴ can do none of these. Because they can only receive the money of the pure time they work. They don't have any yearly vacation, weekend leaves or 8-hours work day and they even pay the electricity bills which have been paid by the boss in factories and offices. The “freelance” workers who were born somehow from neoliberal policies and

¹¹³ **Toilet Tracking System**

A printing worker from Istanbul

I read a letter on UID-DER's website from a worker brother from Zeki Triko, who wrote that the right of workers in the factory to use the toilet was limited to twice a day. A week or two had passed and similar news began to appear in the press. Following this news, there was talk about how much profit the bosses made with the toilet tracking system they implemented in their factories and whether what was done was legal.

As many workers know very well, the toilet monitoring system is provided by a device attached to the toilet doors. It is determined how many times a day workers use the toilet by scanning a card or pressing a finger on the device. 132 large workplaces currently implement this system; Those who produce and implement it argue that thanks to the device, workers are prevented from skipping work and that this is mandatory. Thus, the hardworking worker and the slacker worker were both detected and distinguished. It is claimed that production increased and discipline was ensured thanks to the device. A deduction is also made from the wages of workers who use the toilet excessively. Bosses talk about the benefits of the toilet monitoring system under the pretext of being able to compete with China and preventing workers from slacking off.

http://uidder.org/tuvalet_takip_sistemi.htm

¹¹⁴ This invention actually sounds new, but it was in Charlie Chaplin's wonderful movie "Modern Times" and it is very likely that in those years, this "informal" resistance was tried to be prevented by another method.

the victims of unsecured working were one of the fundamental dynamics which reflects the class connections of these revolts.

The reason why those who confine the revolt to middle class by saying that the poor didn't attend the revolt, namely there is a lack of main actors of a real revolt and the poor didn't rise because of their "ignorance" in their descriptions about the revolt and the participants while looking the revolt from outside or their windows is that they can not see the "new working class" from their distant position. Even though the new working class, good-looking plaza workers, university graduate "call center" workers who wear ties and know foreign languages, long-haired and tattooed motorcycle couriers, food service workers, McDonald's employees are looking like something different from outside, they are certainly working class. The revolt is the struggle for identity of those who work in different places, under different names, unsecured and flexible; who never attend in classic worker organizations and have no opportunity to organize in these kind of organizations; literally almost the whole people.

This revolt for identity which is the cause of coming together is not limited with Alevi and Kurdish identities and that is not even in the core of revolt. Revolt is also an identity struggle against the direct interventions of the Theo-liberal government to our daily lives, against its attitude of a class teacher – no offence teachers! This is a revolt that disgusts from the scolding such as "Don't drink alcohol", "Breed three children", "Don't have an abortion", "Don't use abdominal delivery", "Eat whole

wheat bread” we get on television every single day.¹¹⁵ We can say by not regarding the effects of their own colorfulness that Woman and LGBT identity therefore had came to the forefront of the revolt as one of the most characteristic aspects of revolt. The thing which gave a novel touch to the revolt, for example the thing which involved nearly 50.000 people to LGBT march is the fact that the revolt is a radical identity struggle. This is directly a resistance for defending the life style. As it was underlined magnificently on the walls: “Tayyip, I wouldn't forbid that last beer if I were you!

Finally and of course only for now, June Revolt was born from three trees –Space, Identity, Ecology– and it was exactly a people's revolt. Well, who was this people? “Everyone in the village... Except landlords and their dogs...”¹¹⁶



¹¹⁵ In the first days of the rebellion, while talking to Rıdvan Turan, this was a sentence that summarized the identity in the rebellion. I heard a similar description from many people during the conflicts.

¹¹⁶ Ali Topuz was telling. “When I was little, when I did something, my grandmother would say, ‘Son, don't do it, what will people say?’ One day, ‘Grandma, what are the people?’ I asked. ‘The people?’ “Everyone in the village... Except the lords and their dogs...” he said. ““Helk chi eat? Kuli gunde lê dil ji axa û kutîyan...”

2

Urban Reform¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ We thought of what we wrote in this book not only as a means of "destroying" the "City" with a critical perspective, but also, and in our opinion, more importantly, as a form and tool of creating a practice for this. For this reason, while we were trying to explain the "Do-it-yourself home guide" down to a single house, room, or even a wall plaster, we were also in search of dynamics that could mobilize for a holistic "Urban Reform". Since we believe that the Kurdish political movement has a very comprehensive "theoretical and practical" potential to realize this, and since it has 99 municipalities (2009-2013) and local governments that can realize this, the "Urban Reform" section was written specifically for them, based on the paradigm and will enable change. without ignoring any other dynamics...

In the last analysis, the city has to be overthrown for eliminating the main settlement area of the urban system or the power and in other words, for eliminating the concentration as a whole. However when we think that we can not (!) do this today, we are suggesting an Urban Reform by setting aside whether this is true or not and whether we are capable of this or not.

Urban Reform offers to destroy, dissolve and disintegrate the concentration which is intensifying gradually by organizing from below and horizontally. We are upholding as a fundamental principle that we have to dissolve the concentration, the power of any nature, the hierarchical and the central with as much, directly and productive participation as possible and with a participation in which we share the decisions and responsibility by feeling free to say again. The main words here are nothing but “against concentration” and “democratization”. We are also upholding that a dissolving which emerges from this need and takes the action from this dynamic will mean that the invasion of the Neoliberal City which is the peak of concentration can at least be stopped and when it stops, it will be overthrown in whole world. If the revolts are moving through “Space, Identity, Ecology” and will continue over this axis as we tried to explain above, then we think that the resistance also has to be organized through “Space, Identity, Ecology”. Consequently, we are upholding that dissolving the city means dissolving the capitalism and what is more, the industrialism and on the contrary, dissolving the capitalism will also leads to dissolve the city.

By saying that, we are actually not entering the discussion of the Socialist thought about capturing the absolute “power”. The streets taught us that there is always more than one way. However we have to underline that

you have to overthrow (!) the capitalist city for capturing the “power” in all cases. One way or another, today the “Urban Reform” is absolutely necessary whether it is a fundamental organization field or only a mediator in every sense. So we want to discuss on that the practice is enforcing this without entering any category of the hundreds long debates and even abstaining from it especially and not asserting any opinion about why the theory alleged those analysis. Urban Reform and New Squatters Movement, right here, right now...



The best part of the crises is the incapable condition of the states. The hair of states comes out and the gloves of states come off! When the great mechanism or rather ideology receives a wound, its spell is broken wholly or partly in a minute. The king-state has a potential to get naked in every crisis. The crown and the cape of the king, the clerical collars of the judges including the exclusive and nonexclusive ones and of course the military rank shoulder straps start to fly around among shipwrecked ideology particles. Every crisis is an opportunity for “daily practical resistances”. This smell of the crisis infects all streets. In any country, the result of the economical “growth” is the deepening of the poverty gap. But however, the poor turns out to be advantaged from the crisis contrary to what is believed.

The loser is actually the middle class in every crisis at first. While the middle class lose their partial privileges and security, the poor captures the fundamental rights by “daily practical resistance”. The usage of basic needs, food, electricity and water, sometimes the transportation, in other words the human rights falls outside the partial control of the soldiers of the king. This acquisition of fundamental human rights in which the impoverished

middle class attended zestily gains a greater social legitimacy. Even the soldiers of the king also involve this acquisition of fundamental human rights. The interesting thing is that the salaries of middle class can be reduced or they can not receive their salary regularly as in the past but the prices paid to electricity, water, education, sometimes transportation and health reduces or disappears. The state loses its power in collecting taxes and in all areas. This situation also creates a natural equilibrium condition against the reducing or disappearing of the money that middle class earns. In other words, the “real wages” generally decreases but the “social wages” increases.

Acquisition especially the housing right by “daily practical resistances” spreads in a celebratory way during this period. Building one's own house and squatting empty public and private buildings had happened influentially during interregnums of state powers for example during Carnation Revolution of Portugal in 1974 and the fall of Shah and Islam Revolution of Iran in 1979.¹¹⁸ In

¹¹⁸ In the Middle East and Latin America, the occupation of urban land and squatting led to similar social exclusion and, in turn, the development of solidarity relations. In addition to those that refer to the past, such as citizenship, new “urban” informal solidarity networks originating from hawking or temporary construction work began to be established. These poor masses took direct actions, sometimes explosive but most of the time gradual, in order to continue their daily lives and receive the values they believed they deserved from public spaces and resources. These masses, both in Latin America and the Middle East, have been able to create certain pressure groups, mainly through informal organizations, in this way, in addition to demanding concessions from the state, they have been able to achieve stable and significant changes in their lives and be minimally affected by the various forms of exploitation they have faced. They tried to go beyond that.

these two countries, any project of the renewed state couldn't solve the housing right problem of this much people nevermore. During this process, the projects which were developed by the state were also for blocking these initiatives. In other words, the reason of these housing projects was these celebratory squatting practices. Well, it is actually seen that the squatting on urban lands or empty building occupations are the most influential solutions for housing right until today.

The squatting and occupations had spread from factories to hotels, schools and clinics during 2001 Argentine crisis and revolt. A period was experienced in which especially the poor could use their fundamental rights until the incapable state, the naked king recovers it. While the squatters were getting free of the oppression of king's soldiers and were building a roof over their head, the projects of capital came to a full stop in such an insecure (!) medium. That is to say, while the "unlawful profits" generated by squatting were increasing during this period, the ground rent which is obtained by urban land speculations, privatizations and master plan changes or the real unlawful profits of capital were blocked. Real

These forms of resistance, which Iranian political scientist and writer Asef Bayat conceptualized as 'street politics', have naturally succeeded in creating a series of political effects through increasingly institutionalized social networks. These are the bases on which radical opposition parties and social movements, in short, centers of resistance, both in Latin America and the Middle East, rise. Whether the ideological reference is socialism or Islamism, the masses mobilized against the system by the centers of resistance in both geographies are these urban poor. On the other hand, it is certain that the informal social networks established in the past played a fundamental function in the organization of these resistance centers. -"Organizing the Unemployed; "Lessons from Iran and Argentina" -Soner Torlak, Metin Yeğın

squatting stops, impedes and limits the land exaction in the city.

The main thing is therefore not blocking squatting but feeding and supporting the “daily practical resistance” of the people. The housing right problem can only be solved with this and without any need for radical construction monopolies. It can be created a real city when this building by squatting process can be organized with more knowledge and collective decision-making and solidarity. Because the real city can only be built by building together... And the crisis of capital is always a good thing.

This organization form is the one which brings forward the daily practical resistance which already exists; provides the maintenance of life directly; organizes this resistance by displaying, collecting, accumulating and going a step further by enhancing it. Comprehending the daily practical resistance as a fundamental field instead of ignoring it because it doesn't exist in classical leftist action calendar and it is different...

The resistance against crisis is progressing not as collectively organized but in the form of “daily practical resistance”. The acquisition of the basic needs for maintaining life, especially the electricity and water is the most known form of this resistance. Various forms which provide free consumption in the cities, acquiring electricity sometimes only by demounting the electric meter or directly installing a line from transmission towers are daily practical resistance forms against crisis. Thus it can be created a resource which have been using easily and abundantly especially for warming in winters. So the electricity and water price increases don't cause serious reactions in poor neighborhoods contrary to what is expected. A quite more affective form has been bringing into action more silently but absolutely bu using the

energy directly from the resource in spite of reacting by protests or marches.

Water is also acquiring in similar ways if there are any near water resource. Ironically, the local governments which were making many difficulties for giving water meters at first started after some time to insist people on taking water meters. Even though the “daily resistance forms” are not direct organizations like associations, they are creating a mutual solidarity network in certain regions. First thing a subscriber does when she/he gets caught while using electricity illegally is warning the nearest illegal subscriber. In many places, two families who were waging a feud against each other are biding time for shooting each other but they never snitch on each other about using electricity illegally. It is quite clear that there is a wide social recognition on that usage of basic needs is a right. When the organizer movements therefore skin the light cover over this legitimacy, what is left is nothing but a naked power. One of the strongest popular movements in South Africa is the organization which is distributing “U-shaped pipes” to people against the tighter inspections of the private companies which are the new owners of water distribution. Families are acquiring their basic need, water by by-passing the water meter by this “U-shaped pipes”.

The same justified recognition exists commonly also in transportation. For example, the passengers do their best in trains or tramways for protecting the stowaways. In the actions of free usage of transportation right, those who have free pass cards are also attending the action as well as the organizers.

The “daily practical resistance” that reaches the highest level especially in crises is the main organization field even if some sectors of the left and social movements are ignoring it by despising and even condemning.

As this is the most common resistance form today so it is the most affective resistance field during crises. This form which gives people the right to acquire basic rights freely and doesn't postpone this right for an indefinite time –of capturing power or revolution– is also the most influential method to express the right conception after the revolution directly. This is also a quite effective method because of that the power or neoliberal companies will be deprived of their income that they will earn by selling the rights.¹¹⁹

It was an action in Turkey which reveals that “daily practical resistance” is more influential than a couple of incidental marches which probably would have no effect. It was seen on the bridge reparations which were continuing leisurely for creating a wider ground for 3rd bridge construction in Istanbul. Beyond many protests and news, the drivers acquired the right to free pass from the bridge at least during the reparation for a short time by covering their number plates with sticky tapes and sharing these sticky tapes with each other in heavy traffic as a practical invention.

An occupied factory in Brazil named Flasco had a very big backyard. The workers wanted to utilize this backyard for solving their housing problem while they were occupying the factory. Moreover the homeless people in the neighborhood were getting move for making use of the situation. Actually it was also not possible for the workers to inhibit the occupation (!) on an occupied

¹¹⁹ It is a fact that the company collects this from all users, for example, as a share of “illegal usage”, but this does not eliminate the fact that the company will still collect this money even if no illegal electricity is used. This allows companies to “deprive” themselves of their profits and perhaps even dissuade them altogether, not by eliminating illegal use, but to the extent that “practical daily resistance” is organized.

factory. The workers who lead the occupation tried to turn the occupation into one which involves constructing houses in the backyard and can be benefited by the poor as much as possible. Those who came to us in the first meeting about this construction said that we have to involve it because the place is quite valuable. In our next visit, the whole backyard was full of houses. Some houses changed hand even if there aren't any documents. Even though it is seen that the "property" was the only thing that changed, it was also a change from which many poor people can benefit.¹²⁰

Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo. The president of a small municipality in Spain. He was the president of the municipality during 1979. He was elected as the candidate of agricultural workers. Then they had occupied the lands of big landowners in the region altogether. They had occupied the governmental buildings and had staged hunger strikes. They were demanding land for making production. In 1991, the local government had to rent the land of the town to them. They were making production on those lands until the years in which they occupied there at first. Anybody could come to Marinaleda and demand land for taming. They were taming the land and giving their products to the cooperative they established.

He was sent to prison many times. He eluded two assassinations. When the crisis came, he got into trouble again. He was reputed to rob a supermarket. They had an interesting robbery method. They were entering the markets and filling milks, sugar, macaronis and oil in empty sacks. According to the news, Gordillo was standing in

¹²⁰ Everyone must have heard from their families and elders, 'There was a land here. It was very cheap then. If we had. We were rich.' We share their stories in many parts of the world, 'If only we had not left this occupied land, our factory. 'We became very rich.' We will probably tell our children!

front of the market with a megaphone, counting as “One, two, three” and shouting as “All together comrades!” they were filling the sacks all together; collectively and celebratory... Gordillo was saying that “Somebody has to do something in order that people can eat.” “We are therefore publicizing the basic goods and distributing to people. At least they can make soup...”

Tupomoros guerillas were publicizing the food trucks in early 1970s and distributing to people in Uruguay. Before 1980, the Migros trucks were confiscated in the same way and the goods were distributed to shanty neighborhoods. Young people may not know these trucks. The shops of food monopolies weren't opened in all neighborhoods on those days. Thus, the trucks which have many shelves full of foods, beverages and everything were visiting the neighborhoods and selling products. In other words, the trucks were the peddlers of the food monopolies. I was thinking that they created it by thinking that way. These trucks could be publicized by hanging a flag on them. The socialization could be brought to the people's doorstep.

We intercepted a highway with Piqueteros movement for New Year in Buenos Aires. It was the entrance door of a big integrated meat plant. Everything had a right to eat meat on the night of New Year. There were drums in our hands, old auto tires which were fired for intercepting the highway and a megaphone – I guess the megaphone is a new style socialization tool in all over the world. 300 kg meat was socialized for 40 families. The factory prepared and gave them. Otherwise it couldn't

take its truck out in those shopping frenzy days. 40 families didn't wait for Santa Claus. They became Robin Hood.¹²¹

President of Marinaleda municipality Juan Manuel had a two-storey house with garden. As had the other workers. It was an “*Auto-construcción* / Build-your-own-house” house. In Marinaleda, anyone can involve in this “Build-your-own-house” cooperative. They were building over the land of municipality or the state. In other words, everyone had housing right. They were organizing the work all together – As a very tiny detail, they were working in small groups. We were visiting the newly-built houses. They were two-storey houses which is the dream of every family. There were a bathroom, a kitchen and a dining room in downstairs and two bedrooms and a bathroom in upstairs. They all had a balcony and a 200 m² garden. Anyone could have done build an annex room, an animal shelter and a garage in their gardens. It was an developable architecture. Carmano was showing us the new houses they built. They had built 256 houses until that time. Marinaleda population was already 2.860. Carmano was punching the walls and the grounds with his huge and calloused hands and saying that “All of them are first quality. We didn't built as capitalists do. Everything of our houses is first quality.” Of course they were paying money for these houses. They were paying 15 Euros monthly. Such like 45 Turkish Liras. They could live in these houses as long as they want. Then their children or if they need, they could have made an application and built their own houses. Nobody could

¹²¹ Later, our friend Francisco Longa, one of the organizers of this action, told us about it. A year later, the meat factory spontaneously called him and asked where they would send the meat for Christmas. That New Year's Eve, meat was never missing from the tables of the same families.

have sold their houses. Because the land belonged to people. The material expenses of houses were covering by Andalusia local government. Well, after a couple of resistances, forestallments and occupations. There was a signboard in entrance. It was written the total payment they did for the last 20 houses they were building. They gave 96 thousand Euros in only last year and 96 thousand Euros in this year. I say again, they were building 20 two-storey houses with this money.

“Daily practical resistance” is cutting the veins of capitalism with the potential creativity of the crisis. The actions of Gordillo and his friends and the forestallments of Piqueteros movement in Argentine are reminding us the fundamental rights of human beyond the socialized 10 sacks of basic food or 300 kg meat. Just as it is not a crime to take food by entering a house when you are starved out in the bush, so it is not a crime to capture the food stock of food monopolies collectively in the crisis which is created by capitalism. The president of Mari-aleda which was called as a heaven even by New York Times during the situation in which the unemployment rate raised 21 percent in Spain a couple of years ago was shouting at the entire world in crisis with his megaphone: One, two three... Vamos...

Street Cooperatives

“Street Cooperatives” can be used as a means of organizing “daily practical resistance” as a similar form with “Piqueteros” movement in Argentine. If we think about this through a real place, for example Beyoğlu, we can suggest such a form: Beyoğlu has actually a population of 248.000 but at least 1 million people are visiting this district. It is the place which has been visiting by the tourist most; the place which probably have the most crowded resident foreigner population; the district which

is the center of center of the country; and most importantly, the space of Gezi revolt. Well then, it has to be started with one of the most creative slogans of this revolt: “We are tenants but the district is ours.”

The dominants wanted to construct a shopping mall in the center of the center, namely Gezi. Maybe we should write the thing we were expressing in every speech again: English trade unionist Scargill was saying that “My father had a catchphrase; ‘If the rich wants something, it is a good idea to want the opposite.’” Ok then, first of all, we don’t want the shopping mall. It is easy. What if the opposite? Let dwellers be. “The district is ours”, right? Well then, why the transnational monopolies such as Carrefour, Migros, Shopping Malls and McDonald’s are taking the earning from at least 1 million people who come to our district? Why the big chain stores and transnational monopolies are getting richer and richer while the people who have been living here for two or three generations and born and raised in here—even if this is not very important—, especially in the poor neighborhoods such as Tarlabası, Kasımpaşa, Hasköy and Tophane? If I say in street language: “Thurds make the big haul under our nose, we get the shaft...”

Street cooperatives step in right here. The “Street Cooperatives” which are founded under the guidance of the municipality undertake minimum wage for one person from every family who lives in whole district.¹²² Moreover, only by working two hours on a day. Where can they find this money? They will already earn this money.

¹²² We were putting forward this suggestion before the 2014 local elections. After one of the biggest rebellions in Turkey’s history, we were proposing the organization of “Everyday Practical Resistance” against the search for “reasonable candidates” that we still could not understand. “Municipal leadership” should be understood this way.

Think about thousands of dwellers on streets during Gezi revolt... Apart from that, let's look at the incomes of those who are giving the most expensive rents in Turkey. Can't the cooperatives which can make sale on the same place and even on the better one earn this money? "All streets will be covered by dwellers." No, the cooperatives of every street would already stipulate who will work in which stand and for how long. There is no extra people because each person is working for their own cooperatives and when we remove the automobiles, we will have so much space for everything.

We should turn back to theory a little more. We said that Gezi revolt was a "Space, Identity, Ecology" revolt. When the neoliberalism destroys and loots the spaces, you can save those spaces only by democratizing there. We are suggesting that let's democratize our streets which the neoliberalism wants to seize. Our suggestion is not only to taking back the streets from chain stores and transnational monopolies by only gathering the dwellers together but also to show that everybody has a right to speak on every street and that all districts belong to everybody. The fact that one person from each family has a minimum wage security by working only for two hours means installing a de facto another democracy form in the streets. Just watch the razzle-dazzle! Nobody can take the streets back hereafter.

Don't get me wrong! Street Cooperatives doesn't engage only in "street trading". They undertake all functions of a municipality. They can demand money which is given to contractor by tenders as well as for example, turning all outer walls and roofs of the houses in Beyoğlu into "Green wall - Forest wall". In other words, all families who grow flowers for outer walls in their homes, balconies for outer walls would be the members of the

cooperatives if they want. This will not only turn Beyoğlu into the most beautiful district of Istanbul but also the green wall decreases the temperature for 5 degrees in summers and increases the temperature for 5 degrees in winters. It was energy and oxygen saver. Moreover, the film makers, musicians, journalists, translators, writers and students would establish their own cooperatives of coffee shops if they want; they can do whatever they want... There can even be a commune, sorry, cooperative of foreigners.

What if you lose the municipality elections? You won't lose... If you lose, there would always remain the street cooperatives which demand their own streets. Is this that radical? If you defend a radical and daring program, you would drive even the most right-wingers to left.

Street cooperatives are not only the “cooperatives which take the city streets back from transnational monopolies and chain stores” – street trading cooperatives. These initiatives are also a form that defends the re-publicization and the socialization of all public services directly because of that they are all in workers control. They are an instrument which you can use for eliminating the running service by tender which is one of the main elements of neoliberal policies imposed by the Municipality Law, namely the form of tendering the services to contractors or the subcontracting workers. All aside, if you say me the number of subcontractor workers of a “people's municipality”, I would tell you how much they are the municipality of the people.

Let's turn back to simple and direct expressions. You will give the work which you were giving to contractors to worker cooperatives which were established by their eorkers. Well, I can feel your friendly smile saying that

“these are all utopian”. You can say that the Law is saying that “the work will be given to the firm that proposes the cheapest price.” So? First of all, “Street Cooperatives” would probably propose the cheapest price. What makes me saying that is that there will be no any bosses, boss rooms, managers, their automobiles, bribes which they give for taking the job, business dinners and political donations. In other words, street cooperatives don't hump the parasites. The workers may turn the boss' office in to a kindergarten as in the occupied factory in Uruguay or that office will be used for sleeping by workers who stay in the factory during occupation as in Kazova occupied factory.¹²³

¹²³ Like Nezval's poem;

WHEN THAT DAY COMES

Let that day come, we will no longer have to starve.

We will pass in front of the showcases and exhibitions, without getting too small.

I will pile oranges in front of you, heaped up,

I will pile up the wine, the meat pies, the salami.

We'll go through them all, one by one, so we can forget

The pain you suffered, the torture I experienced.

Dear working woman, hat-making machine,

Don't ask how much these dresses cost anymore.

You have woven the fabric and sewn the dress, so you have the right to wear it.

The shoemaker will no longer walk barefoot in the snow.

Silk shirts will make us fly like birds in the wind.

Don't think it will remain just words, if a stone cracks, this will happen.

Let's get rid of all the parasites,

How will we love each other, by reciting poems!

When you go away, robbers, we will build another world.

Then see what it is to live, to live!

Vitezslav Nezval

Translation: A.Kadir-Asım Bezirci

As we mentioned before, everyone in the municipalities knows that there are some special articles in the tenders, so the work will be given to a certain contractor. Even there were many tender notices in which the name of the contractor was written by mistake.¹²⁴ Thus it can be added special articles to tender notices such as that it can be given priority to cooperatives; that unionization is necessary for company workers; that the municipalities will prefer the “companies” in which workers from their own district... You can say that “I never see such a tender notice.” Well, the important thing is doing the thing which never has done. There is no legal barrier for this. Moreover, it will happen when you add these approaches to your program and when all the “people’s municipalities” will apply it. Justifying a right can only be realized by using that right widely and insistently, isn’t that right? The people’s municipalities know this very well, isn’t that right?

“Street Cooperatives” doesn’t also have to be a cooperative in terms of the positive law. If they will get over red tape, they can be a company which is working as a cooperative. The occupied mine in Wales has been working for 20 years by such a worker “company”. This is a company in which a worker can be a partner after 6 months working; all financial documents are open to all workers; the accession rate is maximum 20 percent whether they are due to their experience or education

¹²⁴ In fact, such tenders and recruitments are generally prepared specifically for the individual in Turkey. In other words, an advertisement is placed in accordance with the previously determined characteristics of the person to be hired. However, in an advertisement for faculty members to be recruited for a university, they made this mistake and mistakenly wrote the names of the faculty members. The fact that the university was RTE - Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University - added another flavor to the event. See <http://www.haber-turk.com/gundem/haber/865864-vahim-hata>

level! There isn't a wage payment system due to affinity to the boss and in which the boss decides everything...

Street cooperatives are also the organs by which the public services can be supervised democratically. They are the direct socialization of the production. They are one of the forms of rebuilding another kind of democracy and socialized production from below. The only thing we can say to those who see that as a “complying with” the order is “Have a heart!” Then why are you continuing the trade union struggle? If you succeed, aren't the wages of workers increase and they comply with the system? Why are you organizing in legal associations or why going to law for your rights? For example, why are attending the municipality elections?

What can we get if we don't apply freedom? Hegel says that “It is a stupidity to say the exact opposite” and I read this from Lenin.

The most important thing is not stopping and “do it yourself”, right?

The poor can only be organized through needs. The need is a house, housing right. Not even by mortgaging or anything else; housing right means having your own land. Nothing changes if those who participate this process think that “If we have land, we strike it rich!” This process creates an collective organizing ground. Those who can not understand the revolutionary dimension of the “Urban Reform” are unaware of that neoliberal economy is only building something. Collective building is the antidote. Urban Reform, distributing urban land to people and Street Cooperatives are not a revolution but a reform; a revolutionary reform.

I know too; if the oppressor has the cruel, the lover has the guerilla; well but it's not gonna work some day...

Ecology Cooperatives

The virgin soils both in Colombia and Turkey are getting the bourgeoisie drool. According to the bourgeoisie, the peace means raging rivers on which it can be built new dams and hydro electricity power plants; gold, silver, chrome and all materials; the forests which they couldn't find and opportunity to burn; the verdure which are the raw materials of pharmaceutical industry; the insects; in other words, everything that can be looted. They want to exile the small and even big farmers which were survived from their lands to the city suburbs; kill the soil for taking its everything at once or produce privileged health for the rich by the capitalized and marketized organic agriculture; and moreover, appropriate, sell and resell the air, the culture, the people, namely everything, even the shade of trees for bringing a breath of fresh air to tourism which is the dirtiest industry of the world as soon as saving from the guerilla!

To be more honest, two things can be done in this situation. Either yelling for investments with the bourgeoisie or adopting different organizations. FARC-EP guerilla was registering the “cooperative” organizations as a right for inhibiting this king of extermination in Colombia in negotiation table. So, the task in here is organizing “Ecology Cooperatives” as an organization form of “daily practical resistance” with which the extermination of the nature can be stopped or reduced...¹²⁵

¹²⁵ The bourgeoisie was doing the first part of this very well in Amed in those days. During the pillaging tours full of happy, contented and contented photographs of the Western bourgeoisie visiting the Eastern-Kurdish corner every day, newspaper reports were seen full of promises of investing millions of dollars, while those who bravely bought a few pushies and perhaps smuggled tobacco to put in the Eastern corner at home, eating their liver in the local kitchens.

Ecology Cooperatives or ECs are not “ideological” organizations. They are rather a horizontal “economic interest” organization. Quite simply; for example, if the honey producer farmers is selling their honey to the traders for 10 liras, they can sell it directly to the consumers in the city for a higher price or 15 liras and the consumers in the cities can buy the honey for a lower price or 15 liras from Ecology Cooperatives instead of buying it for 20 liras from Carrefour or Migros chain supermarkets.

Ecology Cooperatives have to organize (for example) eco-tourism directly by themselves. This is the only way that one inhibits the plunder and the extermination of the mountains, highlands, lakes and the rivers by tourism monopolies and their collaborators rapidly. While the village ecology cooperatives specify the stopovers, the destination and the prices for the visitors, the people who had been breaking bread for each other until that day would not decrease to the level of being traders who sell everything they have and hunt tourist everyday in streets. Tourism will become a collective cultural sharing practice instead of a sector or even a service by working together, by turns, without boss and with limits visitors.

Ecology Cooperatives are also ideological. They build ecological democracy. For example, honey trading is not only a profitable trade for both sides but also a relationship form. The person who bought the honey directly in Istanbul is not a “consumer” anymore but is a person who is like one who directly opposes the dam which is wanted to construct there because of the relationship she/he has with that place. ECs are a totality of anti-capitalistic relationships which defends interchange, reciprocal relations without money, solidarity, taking decisions about everything and the “shame” instead of bribery relations and I would like to remind that

this is not a suggestion about some kind of social engineering but a form of horizontal organization from below.

■

3

New Squatters Movement

In Guatemala, the guerilla was controlling 40 percent of the lands and they took only 4,2 of the votes in the general elections right after the peace deal and –after 4 years– only 3,7 of the votes in the next general elections. When I asked this fact to guerilla commanders, they said that “this is like starting to play basketball after playing only football for years. In other words, you could score good goals before but now you are playing basketball.” This situation is also not similar with the general elections which are held when the guerilla is powerful because now the guerilla started to play “basketball”. So, the “ouvrierist-left” political line which can be preferred for the new era showed itself about the participation to “May Day” (2013) in Diyarbakır despite all efforts. Well, with an unoriginal explanation, is there any worker (!) for attending the May Day in Diyarbakır? The urban land has to be distributed to women as soon as possible for this very reason as a new space of resistance. This will mean that the gender emancipatory paradigm can create its own space and can build a new resistance-space focus.

The break point of Democratic Modernity or Capitalist Modernity will be its Political Economy. Please don't understand this approach as a vulgar economical view. Even the opposite, Democratic Modernity is against not only the vulgar economical thinking but also all kinds of economical thinking forms. In other words, it is the exact opposite of the dominant mentality as “what will be our profit here?” It is a rebuilding of the nature, identity and space directly by the nature and human not in a central but in an immense sense instead of the wealth of the rich which had interiorized, stinky and had tired the poor's

jaw. For this reason, it is really democratic and really revolutionary.

White kids were foot racing with native kids. When the native kids came before the hurdle, they stopped and waited for the other following kids. They were waiting for helping them in springing over the hurdle. What they know very well was that if they don't help the other kids and they couldn't spring over the hurdle, they might not spring over another hurdle without their help.

When the toxic gas was given to the people tucked in gas chambers, the gas was descending at first. The people were naked. It is said to them that they will only be washed and be disinfected. They heard some rumors about massive killings before. They hadn't believed it. The gas was rising silently. Then a couple of screams were heard. The people were trying to climb upward. It was a naked room. They were naked people in a naked room. They could only climb over each other. They mounted the people who had died first. It seemed like there is less gas upward. Then they mounted to other dead people... The dead bodies were cumulating under their feet. They survived by mounting on naked bodies, legs and heads. They lived 10 seconds more.

The Political Economy of Democratic Modernity is therefore not "Economical". For example, the financial numbers emerged when you give the urban land to contractors and they would built high buildings, financial centers and shopping malls, the road for arriving in there –actually, you can not arrive in anywhere because of traffic jam– are a house of cards. You will see the economic charts in which the growing country raised to –I don't know– from 17th line 12th line; the a lot of photos of Turkish and Kurdish riches in economy pages and the photos of their smart aleck wives and children in magazine pages of the same newspapers. However if you

make the urban lands democratic in Democratic Modernity or distribute the land to homeless people, namely women as soon as possible, there will be no rich in those charts but you will all have a house.

Urban reform or squatting right is the only solution that can save the city from the hands of radical monopolies. This is not only about the Housing Development Administration and construction monopolies which buy the lands dirt cheap. Even more, it means to dispossess the city people from the financial monopolies. Mortgage is a system of –with an advertising language– “Buy today, pay slowly”, in other words, “I am giving my life to your banks”. I must say the analogy I like: When you die and it is asked that what you did in the world; did you say that “Well, I bought a house and paid for it for 20 years?” Is this the meaning of your life? Why can't we say “I don't have to pay any rent” against the magical phrase of “Buy your house today and pay it like paying rent.” Housing right is a fundamental human right. Is a handful land too much for those who are forcing to the forefront for the “Homeland” in war days? Nothing on earth can satisfy the dominants. Those who were overpowered! The right to build your own houses in your own country, in your own lands is the most honest earning for you.

New squatters' movement will save the middle class who are sneering about squatting from the laps of the banks. This is not a prediction! I am telling what happened in the “Streets of the World”. Only just 3 days ago, 10 big banks approved to pay 8,5 million dollar compensation in USA. Because they caught while there were carrying out illegal processes in confiscating the houses of people who couldn't pay their mortgages. There are the biggest banks such as Bank of America, Citibank, JPMorgan Chase, PNC and Wells Fargo and four banks

are on the negotiation table. Urban reform or New Squatters Movement will save the middle class from these confiscations.¹²⁶

Similarly in Chile, the people who threw from their house because of that they couldn't pay the rent were living in riverside. The famous couches of the lounges of all middle class homes were taking a stroll down memory lane in front of nylon tents next to the river-canalization in rain and mud.

The main dynamic of capitalism especially in recent years is the new urban construction and the financial ground for this. This is the primary economy which sustains as well as smashes capitalism. The urban reform therefore has to be made not only through the housing right but because of that it is also a different economy and the ground of building an alternative-participatory economy. The thing is not only the construction sector but especially the finance.¹²⁷ For this reason, the most

¹²⁶ Well, of course, one might think (+ÜL) that "if we and the banks are prosecuted, at least we will get compensation". True, if compensation is paid, 4.4 million people will receive their compensation from banks. The compensation is \$250 per person, which is good money (!). 495 thousand people would receive slightly higher compensation. In fact, a hundred of them were going to fetch 15 thousand dollars each, so don't get carried away. Maybe they could even pay some of their accumulated rent. See

<http://www.amerikaninsesi.com/content/amerikan-bankalarndan-rekor-tazminat/1579127.html>

¹²⁷ A small (!) example that clearly reflects this was Bank of America Federal Mortgage ending the dispute with Fannie Mae and signing the 11.6 billion dollar agreement. Because it caused losses in the acquisition of Merrill Lynch and Countrywide companies in 2010. You call it fraud. Some of the news regarding this... See.

<http://www.usatoday.com/story/money/business/2013/01/07/bank-of-america-fannie-mae-mortgage-claims/1813335/>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/12/02/us-bankofamerica-claims-idUSBRE9B10E720131202>

convenient and common beginning of this alternative-participatory economy is beginning squatter construction as well as the urban reform. Squatter saves the city from the radical construction monopolies and finance world. It turns the city into a fundamental dynamic of a participatory economy as an alternative economic form.

Squatter is not an occupation of urban land but a real socialization form. Log live squatter!

What did the local governments which are calling themselves as “people's municipalities” do for housing right in so many years? In other words, we have to ask the question directly: How many homeless families acquire a house after many years? Will the people's municipalities console themselves with the parks they built?

Woman city!

Urban reform is not only a dynamic of building housing right but also a dynamic of peace directly and it is even the ground condition of building a real peace. We have say again and again that there is “Peace!” in Guatemala in which 300.000 people were killed while the total population was 9 million and at least 7-8 people were murdered per day but after the “peace” the number of daily killings is at least 25-30. In El Salvador, 150.000 people were killed and disappeared during the civil war while the total population was 5 million; and today, although the former guerilla movement FMLN is in power, five times more people have been murdering everyday in the streets of peace! Ironically, FLMN majority coalition government was trying to dismantle the law which is one of the most important gains of the people and which eliminated the death squads and reduces the number of soldiers and police to 20 percent of the former number on the grounds that security purposes. Isn't it weird? First

you get rid of the security members who are occupying your streets by struggling and then you give money to the same people secure your streets. This is a police-crime or security-crime spiral. “Too many crime too many police” is not true. Too many police too many crime. This is law on the instrument. If we tell through any city, this would mean that you will demand and pay directly the armored vehicles which are waiting for hunting activists. Of course you will not be one of the huntees. Peace is impossible without creating a new city, Woman City.

Those who were looking from the “Left” to the idea about distributing urban lands to women were thinking that this distribution is a strengthened “property” form. We have to say right now: House is not a “property” but a right. What is happening here is only making a right real. For example, if you have 10 houses, then these houses are not home, they are real estate. Urban reform and distributing urban land to women is nothing but making the housing right real which is described as a duty even in today's constitution. If we content with a simple answer, we can say that you say nothing when the property belongs to the contractor, the company and most particularly the men but when it comes to women, you all talk about “property”. We are not saying this but please accept that such a change is a revolutionary reform! This is the socialization of the land. Hakkari is at the first place with 86 percent, Mardin is second with 82 percent and Siirt is third with 81 percent in the list of the real estate ownership rates in Turkey. The Kurdish political movement has many municipalities in these regions and shouldn't they have to practice their gender emancipatory paradigm?

Another criticism was saying us that we are aestheticising this situation. In other words, they were saying

that the women will also try to seize some land and try to sell these lands and try to get rent. Well, we are not that naive. As we said before, we know that many people will involve this process for getting some rent. This is also true for the women. However this motive is not important at all. The poor can already be organized not through ideologies but through the needs. Let alone women, many men will encourage this process for that their woman relatives can seize some land and think that they can take these land away from those women. However, no motive can be an obstacle for making this right real. This situation even creates a function for taking action for this demand.

If you make a land reform, you wouldn't think about what the landless people are thinking. The only thing that matters is whether they are landless or not. So is the urban reform. Over 80 percent of women is deprived of housing right. They don't have their own houses. They are living in rented houses or the houses of their husbands or fathers. No matter what they are thinking. Let the fathers live in their mothers' and the husbands live in their wives' houses.

The urban lands which will be “democratized” and distributed are not only the municipality lands which are getting smaller every day. The municipality is also responsible for demolishing the illegal (!) buildings on public lands.¹²⁸ So the important thing here is creating a

¹²⁸ A very interesting example of this was valid for Diyarbakır-Kayapınar Municipality. The state was pressuring the municipality to demolish the houses in the Peyas neighborhood because they were slums and built on treasury land. Peyas village was one of the oldest villages there and had lands that became very valuable as they were increasingly located within the city. Even though they had been there for many years, many of them had not received title deeds be-

potential of this demand of the people. “Daily practical resistance” will create its own legitimacy by enlarging its own are for action quickly. A true organizing practice, an alternative-participatory economy and another urban construction might become a country-wide land demand for housing right like an epidemic. One of the indirect results of this social demand is to strengthen the capacity of peoples about acting together all over the country.

The municipalities can also create “New Squatter Movement” areas – “social house-dwellings” – instead of parks, highways and parking lots by expropriations on the basis of 18th Article which they use many times in practice as well as the other articles of the constitution we said above. The excuse of “Municipalities have no land” means rather “Municipalities have no intention.”

Socializing urban land with an urban reform or distributing urban land to women as housing zone, namely housing right is not only a revolutionary suggestion but also a “reformist” suggestion which can be applied directly.¹²⁹

cause they did not need them. The municipality was feeling embarrassed by this demolition pressure and was constantly expressing it. However, Diyarbakır Prison, built within the borders of the same municipality, was also unlicensed and the municipality had the legal right and even obligation to demolish it. Of course, the municipality never went to demolish the prison. The ironic part is that the mayor of Kayapınar was also a political prisoner in this prison, which had to be visited in order to be demolished.

¹²⁹ It is a reformist proposal; Even today's laws are sufficient to achieve this. The 1982 Fascist junta constitution, under the title of “right to housing”, defines in Article 57 that “the state takes measures to meet the housing need, within the framework of a planning that takes into account the characteristics of cities and environmental conditions, and also supports mass housing initiatives.”

This is a revolutionary suggestion. This suggestion means sticking the dagger of the male property order, the “property” dagger to itself. Why I put the property word in quotes is not just about orthographic rules but also that I am differentiating between the right to have a house and classical property conception. At the risk of falling into a repetition; “House is not a property but a housing right. If the number of houses exceeds over one or is surplus to requirement, then it becomes a real estate.” However when this “property” will be given to women, it creates a subversive effect against capitalist modernity. Think about it; 1 million women have their own house and land... Isn't it a revolution? Moreover, this is not like the women rights which were wrapped up with the bourgeois affectation of Western hegemony but a women's revolution which will rock the relations of capitalist modernity to its foundations.¹³⁰

This means; Those who applied to a municipality, did not have a house, were renting or had to share it with other families, came together and demanded that, for example, 35-40 women be given land from the state or municipality to build their own houses, which was accepted even by the junta constitution and even considered a duty. It means loaded. I repeat, "it takes measures to meet the housing need and also supports mass housing initiatives." So, if you do not distribute city lands to women, you will violate a constitutional principle!

The legal obligation supporting reform (!) does not only end there. Article 56, under the title "health services and protection of the environment", states that "everyone has the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment. "It is the duty of the state and citizens to improve the environment, protect environmental health and prevent environmental pollution." The legal basis of the lands that municipalities have already allocated to TOKİ free of charge stems from these constitutional articles. So, as I emphasized before, municipalities should either give the land to TOKİ contractors, as they do now, or to women to build their own houses.

¹³⁰ The potential to do this exists in the Middle East, and perhaps only in the world for now, in the Kurdish movement. In this way,

8 chairs were given at a roadside in Mexico. 8 people who were shot in their heads were sitting on the chairs and seem like they were watching the passing vehicle. In Mexico, 70 thousand people were killed because of the drug wars only in last 10 years. Mexico is the transit point of USA and Turkey is the transit point of EU. If there will be no equality, freedom and justice, the death would watch us by sitting in the chairs at roadsides. Building a real peace can only be possible by the dynamic of the energy which is brought into present by the radical processes such as democratization of land, housing right, urban reform and revolt. Otherwise we will be the watchers of the peace (!) like those bodies who were watching the passing automobiles in those 8 chairs; silent and dead...¹³¹

“Urban reform - distributing land to women” will be a very important lever for creating a participatory economy which is one of the basic elements of the Democratic Modernity. People have to build their own houses, their own housing rights. Load the radical construction monopolies, the contractors and the interest of the banks which finance them to rubble trucks and empty them in the foundations of your houses. Another economy which rises from these foundations will be a subversive dynamic of democratic modernity against the capitalist modernity.

Don't worry; distributing land to women will not remove the “green spaces”. On the contrary, it will dispossess the green spaces of the landscape engineers who constrain them between high buildings; put an end to

the movement to socialize the land and feminize the city will also create a wide, widespread and unblockable area of legitimacy for the radical revolutionary impact of this potential all over the world.

¹³¹ With special emphasis on the Kurdish political movement - “We become spectators of capitalist modernity; silent and dead...”

weekly greened areas; saving the land from the constructors; and leave the land only with real worms. When women, namely everybody have a house with garden, the food we directly cultivated will come to our dining tables. Ecologic democracy is the constituent element of the democratic modernity. Ecology can only be in blossom not in the hobby gardens of middle class who are trying to escape from the city but in the democratized urban lands.¹³²

This also means running away from the new city construction which is the only dynamic of the capitalist economy in recent years; concentration of the capital which is radically swallowing the city entirely; and “urban renewal” which is the name of this exploitation in our country. Democratic Modernity and building the peace are in your hands; you will leave the city to the mercy of the constructors or you will give the city directly to women... What a good thing to settle the capitalism's hash!

Housing problem has no solution but “squatter”. I am not talking about the “mass housing” or even “social

¹³² I am not talking about this comprehensive ownership change, the democratization of the land, that is, the feminized land, that is, the city liberated from the hands of men, for the good days to come. I propose it as part of the building of peace from below, which needs to be done today and quickly. I am calling out to all the people's municipalities, the 99 municipalities with BDP. Even in today's junta constitution, according to the social state principle, you have the right and duty to provide housing to people. For every 70 women who come together, for example, you have to provide space for the women's cooperatives they form. If you share the information here so that people can build their own homes, help them benefit from your tools if necessary, and support them to have the healthiest homes in the world without the need for radical construction monopolies, you will be a part of a process that socializes the world's largest and most comprehensive land, peace, and democratic modernity.

housing”, namely the city which is contracted out to “good” or bad construction companies and is planned top-down in the heads of the white left. I am talking about a new city building in which the people are building their own houses. While a land reform means distributing the land which is appropriated from big land owners to people, “Urban Reform” is opening the urban land to people for “squatter”. While a land reform is not only about distributing the land but also organizing the knowledge, the resources and –for example– cooperatives, “Urban reform” is not only about opening the land to people for squatter but also giving them knowledge about how they build a house, resources and support facilitating the collective working. The urban land can only be saved from the capitalist invasion in which the urban land was left to the rent under the name of urban renewal by the organized “New Squatter Movement”.

I want to answer your possible questions: Isn't the squatter unhealthy? No, what is unhealthy is the “mass housing” which was planned in exactly the same way with the prisons. The squatter which isn't precluded under cover of that they are illegal and even is supported by the “Urban Reform” is healthier than every other housing method. It is to build houses in which the knowledge is sharing instead of the houses which are building hurriedly in fear of the municipal police. Doesn't this get unearned income for somebody? Of course they will try for this but let's think in the opposite way; isn't it clear that the “urban renewal” is getting unearned income for somebody? Is there anybody doubtful about that? This will minimize in the “urban reform”. Well, there may be some favoritism or small scale mafia attempts but these will also minimize from the beginning by the democratic building process. I would like to remind that the fact that some families can have more

than one house is pale in comparison with the system which is completely serving to the rent with the “urban renewal”.

The houses will not earthquake resistant? No, I have to say in the opposite way again: For example, who did construct the buildings which demolish in the earthquake? The constructors and the companies, right? Of course, some squatters also demolished. However when you support the squatters instead of restraining them, the damage of any earthquake would minimize. The people will build solid houses when they build them not for selling but for living.

The main reason of the damage in the earthquakes is not the lack of inspection or a couple of covetous constructors who were used as bait but the urban rent system. In other words, this system paves the way for the speculative increase in the value of the centralized, concentratized urban land and for building of higher and unhealthy buildings at the risk of everything. When the land will be generalized and be opened to people, the rent will decrease and even disappear; therefore the house and rent prices will decrease all around the city. New Squatters Movement provides cheaper and healthy housing right not only for the squatters but also other people who don't participate the process.

Do the green spaces remove? Of course it removes. Because the capitalist city definition called green space is the definition of an area which sees the land from the 10th floor. You can only barely see the green color from that high. There will be no “green space” in squatters. It will be a place in which the people can cultivate anything they need, they can sit and they can live in. Parks and gardens will not be the recreation areas which we go in weekends but the places in which your children play whenever they want.

Does the laws allow this? Even this constitution has a social state principle and it guarantees the housing right (!). Local government will do nothing but putting this principle into effect; and there was a phrase which had been using during the “militant period” of Liverpool municipality: “I’d rather break the laws than break the poor...”

**And labor leader and artist Joe Hill
said before he got hanged:
“Don’t mourn. Organize!” Long Live Squatters...**

□



