

We imagine city as a collective space which belongs to all those who live in it and who have the right to find there conditions for their political, social, economic and ecological fulfillment at the same time assuming duties and solidarity. This concept of the city is blocked by capitalist dialectic based on public and private ownership. From these two poles, State and Market emerge as the only two subjects. We want to escape this dialectic, not to focus on the "third subject", but on a group of collective subjectivities and the common they produce. We understand common as non-material value produced through differences, communication and social interaction. Only if these common values manage to escape being captured by the capitalist public-private dialectic they keep their non-material value open and they have the potential to become productive, to become means of production.

We understand **KOMUNAL** as the land where common value, once it is transformed from non-material to use value cannot be exploited and turned into exchange value. Therefore, this common territory exists outside current forms of city exploitation based on property and land speculation. It bases its general values in the field of access, use, activity or care.

Word **KOMUNAL** was traditionally used for natural resources which were managed by self-organized users. This kind of space managing is more and more frequent in the abandoned spaces in the city where different autonomous zones are emerging. Although these zones exist today on the social margins we consider them potential places for appearance of new utopias and collective imagination. Let us try then to imagine a different way of operating spatial resources, distributing surplus value and creating our own institutions. **KOMUNAL**, common territory, autonomous zone, place of new utopias could be developed into a new concept of the city guided by 4 principles:

- 1. RIGHT TO MOBILITY:** All persons have equal right to access potential benefits offered by the city. Right to mobility is not merely a right to access what already exists in the city, but a right to occupy and use space as well as create new ones.
- 2. FLEXIBILITY OF ORGANIZING:** Spaces which practice flexible activity and usage in cities are currently mostly being criminalized because they don't follow official administrative urbanism which is based on long term projections. Recognitions of these flexible activities could become the first step in building freedom from urbanism of today.
- 3. RE-APPROPRIATION OF TOOLS:** Re-appropriating the tools for constructing our own physical space so that we can develop self-construction, re-appropriating the tools for constructing our own social networks so that we can develop self-organization and re-appropriating the tools to maintain open source communication so that we can develop self-valorization.
- 4. CITY OF MANY ECOLOGIES:** Basic thesis of ecology is that more diverse the system the more stable it is. This thesis can extend to other spheres which are still not considered as part of ecology—mental ecology can express human subjectivities, social ecology can build new social relations, environmental ecology can develop diverse form of life, ecology of knowledge can avoid ignorance...

KOMUNAL, imagined this way, doesn't have a form but a matrix, founded on common set of values. We want to implement these values in the cities where we live and act, but also on new territories, new settlements and new places. We hope that, by doing so, we will be able to exit current capitalist blocking of social development.

A FEW THOUGHTS ABOUT COMMON GROUND

Tomislav Pavelić

Clearly, no consensus about the common ground of architectural practice can be expected from among the many figures involved in the contemporary architectural scene. Today's condition of the parallelisms of architectural fractions, which all consider themselves relevant (sometimes the only relevant) parts of today's architecture, shows irreconcilable differences of daunting proportions. The schisms, intellectual and in motivation, dividing these fractions has achieved a degree of polarisation that with its exclusiveness is threatening, at least indirectly, to deprive the architectural profession of any social relevance.

It seems to me inevitable that the answers to the fundamental question posed by David Chipperfield will be different. Some of us will opt for the joy of creation, and will literally form the common ground, i.e. the spatial preconditions of community. Others will develop critical thinking and will seek dialogue partners, independently of their own points of departure, for they feel the destined connectedness of their own personal cognitive share with the totality of the life experience of all beings. Such connectedness, which develops precisely through the awareness of a latent richness that is brought by the immeasurable shapes of personal diversity, at least among those who are capable of accepting it with childlike openness, arouses empathy. Empathy, in turn, produces awareness of the fundamental meaning of being ethical, which is a necessary precondition for being a genuine part of any community. This Biennale is a chance for all of us to get to know each other—in all the diversity of our life positions and ways of thinking. Familiarisation with and respect for others is an elementary precondition for the possibility of overcoming professional and all other discords. But there is one precondition here, and that is the will and the ability for us really to hear each other, i.e. to accept that differences, however large or small they might be, are our only reality. Luckily, and paradoxically, the differences are also a potential advantage. For this, we all have to make use of the chance offered—we who have obtained the chance publicly to search for an answer to the question raised, and all of you who are reading this text and/or looking at our, or any other, exhibition. This is a personal vision of the state of affairs. I have deliberately given up on any attempt to furnish an answer of my own, the ambition of which is to be final and unquestioned. Very much aware of the latent dangers of one-sidedness I have developed this project with the great and crucial help of the people immediately involved, the architects and the artists, as well as all those interlocutors who have been further involved. Together, I hope, we have created a democratic context that will not only provide answers to the question posed, but show that consensus, even if only about a joint appearance, i.e. just for the occasion, and for a moment, is possible. The Rashomon effect that is created by the totality of all national and/or personal statements at this Biennale is an opportunity for a minimum degree of professional commonality to be found in the determination of the point of our architectural activity.

Perhaps until recently someone, one of our architectural fellows (you, or me, or him),

borne on his own adrenaline wave of neoliberalism, which enables every single architectural idea (however crazy, indeed, the sooner) to be feasible somewhere, or someone (I, you, or him?) who has fallen into a personal sink of neoliberal depression and/or resignation, might not have been able to see the depth of the crisis of the point of one's own professional role in the world of today. The current dramatic social events, in Croatia and in a large part of the world, inform against the irreconcilable schism among us, people, without (for countless reasons) any possibility of further disregard. Since society and architecture are inseparably connected, this indicates an identical schism inside the architectural community, and this leads us to the necessity of arriving at a consensus about the minimum amount of common ground. Necessary above all because the majority of architects still manifest unreadiness or lack of interest to become directly involved, i.e., to make concrete spatial responses to the concrete needs of concrete people. We are driven to arrive at a consensus about the common ground, i.e., about the genuine point of the profession we share, by the change in the breadth of the scope of architectural activity. Architecture is no longer (only) an exclusive activity creating, by an aesthetic superstructure, spatial responses to fundamental matters of existence, but an activity that is responsible for the formation and definition of the purpose of literally every (and not just every built) place. In other words, architecture today is capable of providing (and is obligated to provide) the best possible spatial (in other words existential) framework for everyone and everywhere. Because of this extremely wide range of activity, architecture is jointly responsible for the overall governance of space.

Space is not just the physical framework of life, rather it is a basic social resource; architecture deals with space; the right to the governance of space is the foundation of social power—the only conclusion of this sequence of premises is the necessity of being aware of the elementary political nature of every architectural activity.

It might be said that political conviction (or the choice of being apolitical) is a personal issue for each individual architect. However, architecture, as a discipline, has to rise above all forms of particularistic interests (irrespective of whether they are aesthetic, financial or political) and act in the genuine interests of the social communities within which, and in fact for which, it acts. An architect has a professional and a moral obligation to work in the real interests of each and every citizen. This is our real professional responsibility, irrespective of individual ambitions. For architectural works to be able to have a positive social effect, i.e. to be a spatial engine for processes of social interaction and integration (which I consider fundamental architectural task) a clear suprasystem within which they can be verified is needed. Contemporaneity, at all levels, is marked by the total absence of any wider recognition of any of the existing forms of unifying social aspirations as something that could have a crucial role in the production of a conciliatory and unifying advance. For all this, the positive social security mechanisms, empathy and ethics in general, have lost their efficacy. In the meantime, for there is no time to

wait for us architects to agree about the meaning of our own profession, while the major figures in social, political, intellectual and of course the economic system do not find any real, germane or feasible alternative to the current moment, the everyday life of citizens, at least in the spatial sense, happens just by itself—sometimes assisted but too often (we have to admit this to ourselves if we want to make decisions literally about all spaces) independently or even in spite of architectural definitions.

Everything said above requires the whole debate to be taken back to the beginning. All of us (although this time it is about us architects) must once again get to know reality in all its complexity, i.e. in its “dirty realism”, in the undoubted fragility of all systems (from personal to social and ecological) and, why not, in its poetry. Since an answer clearly must be found, I shall supply a personal answer for the gathered platform to discuss. For me, people are the only absolute, unquestionable and fundamental common ground of the architectural trade. In other words, only if we get to know our neighbour, literally and metaphorically, can we once again aspire to architecture as a socially relevant activity.

In consequence, when I devised this conception, i.e. when I was looking for dialogue partners for testing out the state of affairs and possible answers, I understood that in the spirit of the common ground I had to expand the platform for, although this is an architectural biennale, the depth of the problem and the seriousness of the question posed requires this. As my main partner, I addressed Pulaska grupa. In the multitude of fractions on the architectural scene today, that which has chosen the socially (more or less) active role of architecture is ever more noticeable and ever more widely accepted. Unfortunately, this approach is often exhausted in theory, i.e., academic discourse, the permeation of the discipline and the real social context thus largely remaining on paper and hence for me personally, an unconvincing drawing room activity. Unlike this, Pulaska grupa works directly. They started in their own backyard, dealing with the problems that concern them as architects and as citizens. Between them and the people they talk to, and among themselves, there are no hierarchical barriers. Their stance that direct (unmediated) democracy requires unmediated (direct) space clearly shows a possible answer to the question raised, and I accordingly accepted it as a common, outline title for our appearance.

In order to avoid any possibility of one-sidedness, which always threatens to be labelled wilfulness, I thought that the work of Pulaska grupa had to be contextualised in our actual reality, the way it is. I was interested by those whom we architects most often do not know, at least not as people to talk to about architecture. I wanted to see (i.e., to show on this occasion) the life of people that happens before, in parallel with and after our professional activity took place. In this scan of reality, I was helped by artists. Boris Cvjetanović photographically documented numerous figures (persons), their behaviour in space, the traces of human presence at concrete places and, finally, the actual places at the moment when they were left alone, to live an exclusively architectural life. If we are looking for the common ground, then

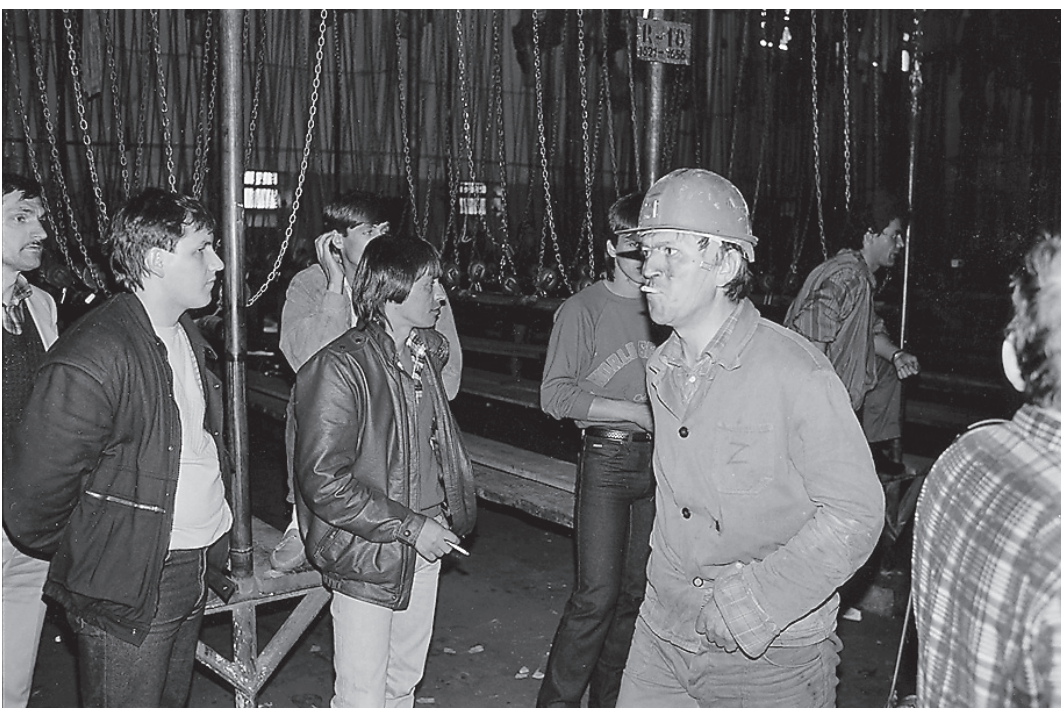
it is these people and these lives on whom architectural decisions (or the avoidance of them) have an essential, even life-changing, impact. They are the real reason for our professional work, the alpha and omega between which our ambitions and responsibilities may and must develop.

During the work on this project, Pulaska grupa (entirely in the spirit of the initial concept for broadening the platform) proposed taking a step from the local, Pula, into the broader Croatian (and by analogy global) context. In accordance with their viewpoints, stated in the Pula Declaration, they diagnosed the biggest crisis points in Croatia—the sore points, the points of high intensity, where citizens have decided on the only thing they can, which is a direct fight for the exercise of their elementary human rights related to the governance of the space in which they live and work. Pulaska grupa undertook research, toured and registered all these places, talked with those involved in the events. In this way the principle of direct democracy they represent was confirmed, for a space was opened for the statement of those people's personal visions of the causes and of possible exits from the unsatisfactory situation in the governance of given spaces. In the attempt to surmount the local Croatian framework and in the desire to contextualise their work theoretically, Pulaska grupa talked with theorist Michael Hardt. Pulaska grupa shaped the experiences gained from the investigation into a new original work, which is a multimedia spatial installation, made up of map, artefacts, writings and other visual contributions in this catalogue, and finally, a film, made by Igor Bezinović and Hrvoslava Brkušić. The film is a collage of fragments extracted from the documentary material about the events stated, which in the pulsating montage of a loop shows the elementary identity of all these events.

Performer and multimedia artist Siniša Labrović did performances, documented in photographs by Labrović and Cvjetanović, at places diagnosed by Pulaska grupa. And of course, answers to the question mooted are different. Siniša Labrović chose, in line with his artistic idiom, a very personal view—literally. His work “Watching the Sky” really is that—for he decided, if he had to give an answer, to lie down and look at the sky in the spots assigned him. Paradoxically, such an elementary gesture, which he ritually repeats in all the places, making use the while only of what has been unquestionably given him, his own body, he bridges the gap between individual and universal. Awareness of one's own position, the way it actually is, and the way it might be, genuinely is that which distinguishes—and yet fortunately also links—us.

All the answers, and there are several of them here already, that this Biennale might produce are the material for a genuine discussion about where the architectural profession is headed, and why.

And also, the (expected) multitude of answers itself will drive us to accept that at least some of the human virtues have to be lastingly unquestionable—if we are really interested in reaching a consensus about the question posed and until we share a common outline of being human. For me, these virtues are empathy and ethics. Are they for you, partners in the discussion, also?



INTRO: STRIKE IN LABIN '87

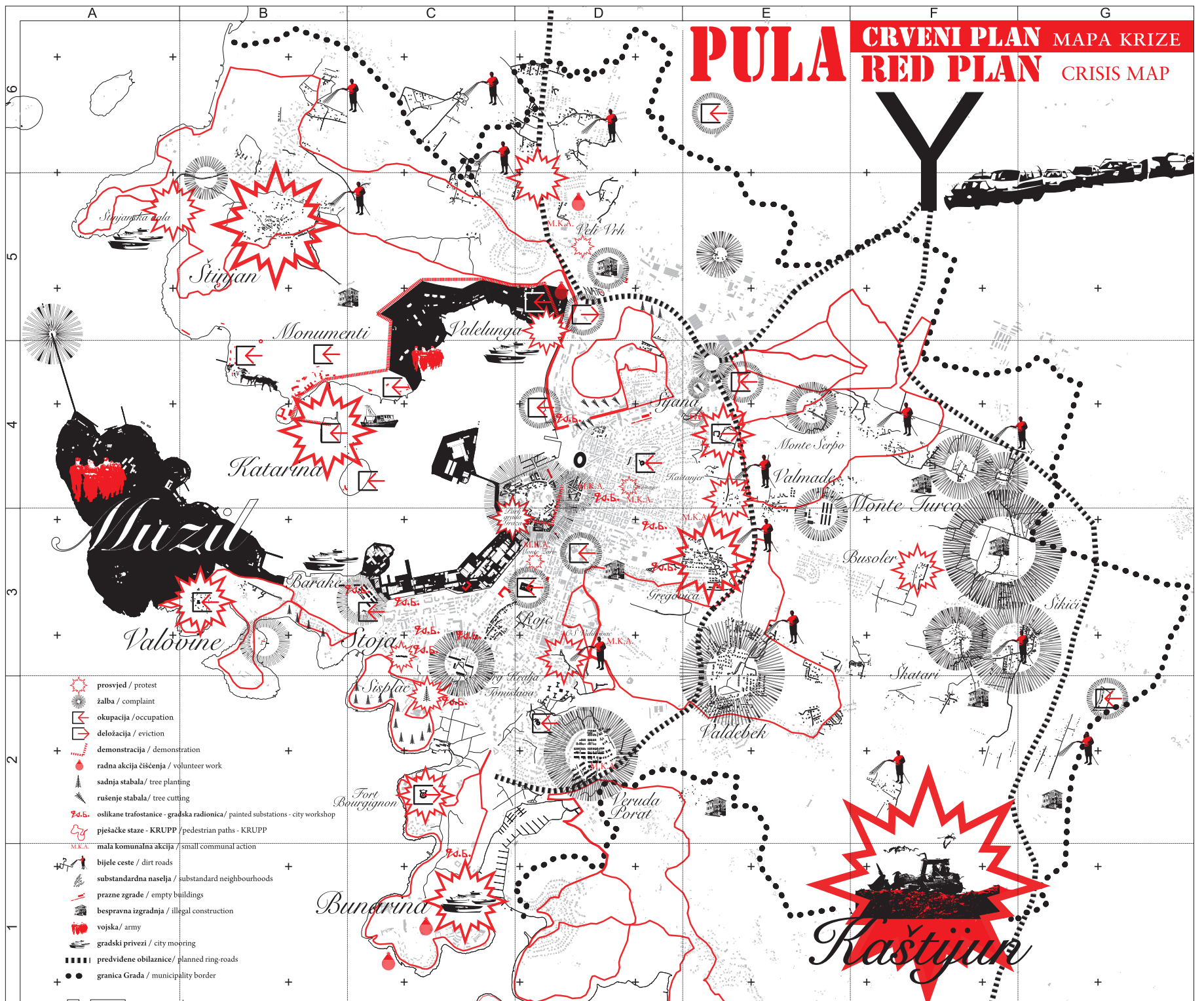
This 33 days long strike is a breaking point and therefore which we would in future call “history of self-management” would be divided on “history of self-management *until* the strike in Labin” and on “history of self-management *after* the strike in Labin”.

The fact that the miners advocated self-management was incomprehensible for the official “self-managed” authority (official system of Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia), meaning that they took the notion of self-management seriously! *Miners’ assembly*, opened to the public, came out of the regular spontaneous gatherings and asserted itself as a reoccurring collective form of decision making. These assemblies did not have a leader, neither did they have any written rules nor any form of hierarchy.

Besides time, miners had at their disposal space for developing their strike activities. On the one hand, literally, meaning physical space, and on the other structurally, being that they have fought for and won space liberated from work.

Because of this, time and space of Strike in Labin asserted itself onto a field in which they were untouchable, where the authority was, in truth, powerless. This Strike claimed the realm of democracy—public realm.

Tonči Kuzmanić: “Labinski štrajk: paradigma začetka konca”, Knjižna zbirka Krt, Ljubljana, 1988.



1. Pulska grupa: Red plan Pula—image of a city in late capitalism, 2008



2. Pulska grupa: This is my world—reconstructing a bridge between civil and military area in Pula, 2010

Michael Hardt:

Michael Hardt is a professor in the literature program at Duke University in USA and co-author of books *Empire*, *Multitude* and *Commonwealth* together with Antonio Negri. They recently self-published an electronic pamphlet on the occupation and encampment movements of 2011–2012 called *Declaration*. The interview discusses the democratic capacity of these movements, their relation to space of the city, but it also links these notions with current struggles happening in Croatia. Yesterday (15th of May) it was the anniversary of the 15M movement in Spain and there was a big mobilization in Madrid again. It seems interesting that instead of trying to find some technical solution for the financial crises, people oppose it or reject it with democratic demands. In a very short period of time, in maybe a year or two, the notion of financial crisis was immediately transferred into a crisis of representative democracy. How did this shift emerge?

I think it is clear to almost everyone that responding to the crisis with more neoliberalism, like responding to the crises with greater control of private property, seems idiotic. And responding to the crisis with a kind of Keynesian or socialist response, with investments in public property, also seems outdated and ineffective. So this new experimentation which is neither public nor private seems a very logical outcome.

For example, occupied squares are ways of reclaiming public space and managing it differently. Puerta del Sol in Madrid is a public space, but rather than the city or state administration making decisions on how to manage that space, occupants were themselves constructing participatory mechanisms for making decisions and constructing their own community. So, the first consequence of the occupied movements is developing the greater focus on management of space, the second is, as you suggested, a question of democracy.

I think that one of the primary concepts in the alter-globalization movement some ten years ago was about justice, and often in the US that was called the “Global justice movement”. Now, there has been a shift from focus on justice to a question of democracy starting in 2011. It is possible that the calls for democracy in the movements in the North Africa and the Middle East were taken up and perhaps even transformed by those movements in Europe.

INVENTING DEMOCRATIC FORMS

You often call the occupy movement a “genuine constituent process”.

These different encampments are experimentation with democratic forms that are trying to construct mechanisms of collective and open decision making. But the constituent process also emphasizes constructing institutions or at least the repeated practices that can extend the longevity of the event.

From the perspective of participation and activist of the events, over the last 10 years, there was a lot of internal dissatisfaction with the fact that many incredible and wonderful things can be done one day and disappear the next. Thus, focusing on the constituent nature, or I would think of it even as institution building, was a necessary next step. But the question here is: how to make something durable, how to make it last and how to make it continuous? I am hesitant when I say the word institution because I do not mean creating some fixed bureaucracy that's unchanging, but rather thinking about institution as the anthropologist would talk about them—institutions as repeated practices, like kinship networks, or simply constructing stable relationships with people.

So, two things I am interested in the notion of constituent process are: democratic decision of making participatory forms and—the attempt to extend in time. Not to make something fixed but to make them into a continuous process. I think there we have a ground on which we can build a new level of innovation.

Struggle that extends in time reminds us of student strike in Croatia that started in 2009. Students occupied university buildings demanding free education for all, and also implemented new method of struggle such as the daily assemblies which they called “plenum”. From this “plenum” many groups emerged that are now active in spreading direct democracy into other places of conflict. Many workers are now using workers councils as a better form of organiza-

tion than the unions. So, in this sense it seems that this notion of direct democracy has really expanded from what was happening in the universities to a broader territory and hence created new habits.

In both Europe and the United States, for any “good” leftist (meaning cynical person) democracy seemed like an outdated concept or corrupted and unusable one, so even this notion, or slogan: “Democracia real. Ya!”—Real democracy. Now!—launched by the 15M movement, for many activists just sounded naive. What the new movements had done was that they renewed the discussion about the democracy, or put the democracy on the agenda. That new focus does still include justice, of course, but rather than focusing on what is just, inventing democratic forms became an accent of the struggle. These often took form of inventing democratic forms in very small spaces, making a democratic decision when we have 300 people occupying the square, but sometimes as many as 5000 people in a general assembly, and experimenting with that to make a relationship to democracy. Consequences that I am pointing out here are: the increased focus on space and the accent placed on the experimentation with democracy. Those are two most important consequences of the cycle of struggles and encampments that were born in 2011. And it seems they always go together.

TRANSVERSAL STRUGGLES

What interest us are the interconnections of struggles within the city and the way they expand the radius of the fight. To illustrate it with an example of a destroyed textile factory “Kamensko” in Zagreb: the workers there went on strike due to unpaid wages and student activists were the first in to support the struggle. Through communication with the workers and some other information that they had access to, they realized that the root of the problem was in fact the speculation over the factory real-estate. After that, they connected them with *The Right to the City*, a movement already involved in several fights over land speculations. From then on the rebellion came to a new, more general level thus making it possible for other groups and citizens to take notice, join, and subsequently create new alliances, thus forming a common language.

Sometimes people struggle, they are defeated and then they all go home. You are giving me all these examples of people that are struggling with something and then they are defeated and then they end up struggling with something else. These are transversal struggles. They are sometimes parallel and people can move among them. If one node of the network fails, they have already seen the other networks. Its power and its continuity are linked to the construction of territory, but then the challenge is to spread those occupations so they don't get closed in by specific territorial limitations. In last year, the encampments, they were both local and trans-national at the same time, and what is interesting they managed to do that by residence. Like some sympathetic vibration, it's as if they have found an echo. So you have a situation where something passes from this very specific political and social question in Egypt and spreads to Spain with its different kind of regime, and in many ways different demands, and yet they find this same kind of resonance, or a sympathetic vibration that amplifies it and transmits it. In a way I imagine the progression of cycle of struggles from one territory to another. I am wondering if that is the way that these, that I called, transversal struggles in Croatia came to be.

The reason I am focusing on this so much is that, although these encampment struggles are more powerful because they are rooted in the territory, there is the risk that they don't have the same global standpoint. You know there's a risk of a national myopic nature. Those on the outside can say, oh the 15M movement, well that's just a Spanish problem, and the Greek thing is even more specific...

You have to have this intellectual work of recognizing how different struggles are connected. Already with the struggles in Zagreb, Pula or Dubrovnik we can see that they are very similar and probably address the same private and state interest, I mean the enemies are very similar. But still, that requires a kind of a pedagogical articulation on behalf of different initiatives, students and such...

I am curious how much of your work involves pedagogy? Like the walking tours in Pula which seem to me a kind of public pedagogy.

We wouldn't call it pedagogy. It is more like Rancière's “ignorant school master”. We also discover things together with people we are trying to connect with. It's an exchange rather than pedagogy and the basic idea was to do “with” not “for”... These walking tours you are talking about were preceded by a map called “Park of Small Discoveries”, as a park which is still to be discovered. The map had toponyms that were both real and fictional. So, our design strategy here was just to open the door of this closed off area and declare it a park, as a place where all the construction work has already been done and we are all invited to explore. We were playing with the existing paradigm that architects are the ones bringing solutions, but we presented the project that was already there. Existing but closed. So we made a collective exploration, a one-day encounter in discovering. Maybe what a lot of movements are learning today is the power of being together over the extended period of time. That is why we need this territory, this space of a square for example. The occupied movement is often criticized because they do not have a coherent message, but it's less about the message than the encounter, and it's just not a one-day encounter, but an extended one.

One of the remarkable differences between the occupations and encampments that started in 2011, from the movements from ten years ago, was that alter-globalization movements were fundamentally nomadic, moving from summit to summit. New occupations and encampments have been sedentary, rooted in the territory. And in fact, not only do they not move, they refuse to move. That's their point. In part that means focusing on very specific local issues about people not being able to pay their mortgages on their apartment, about students not being able to go to university, about water issues, all of very local and specific issues. So this is the way in which it all developed into a spatial question, you know, it meant managing the square, but also managing the city.

In a way we are meeting again. It's almost like an agora again.

I like this notion of again, it's what I am talking about when I am talking about the institution, it's the place you can return to. It's the place that anyone can return to.

COMMON—NEW WAYS OF OPERATING RESOURCES

Sometimes the space is also used as a field to mobilize and to be visible because there is nothing else left. The media visibility is homogeneous, the institutions and political parties, too, and therefore we need this “space of appearance” in order to be heard and seen. For example protesting in front of the factory gates or outside the university is necessary because inside of the building the presence is not recognized. In parallel to that, in Croatia now, after 20 years of privatization, it's almost as if land is the only thing left to privatize. In that kind of situation our activities are mainly focused on space, land, material resources and the problems around their ownership.

One problem with the rule of property is its exclusive nature; it does not allow for democratic decision making and excludes many people from what they need. For instance if we are talking about territories like the military territories in Pula, if they now become property, they are exclusive, they are not only closed off from people to profit from, but they are also closed off from the decision making of the citizens.

If they become private property?

That's certainly true if they become private property, it's very clear in that case. If they become public property, one could imagine the society in which the decisions of the state are actually democratic decisions, but currently the decisions of the state are really in most cases a mask for private property. The neoliberal state functions as a conduit, a handmade or an aid to private property. But certainly the socialist state, too, was, by no means, democratic. The socialist state, too, had a very limited circuit of decision making bodies or people. I guess if we are forced to choose between them, I would try to refuse them both. The point is to say that those are not our only choices and that we need to construct a new way of operating resources.



3. Citizens entering closed military zone in Pula, 2007. Photo: Dejan Štifić

So it's not a question of ownership, but rather of the way of organizing production and operating resources that goes beyond the notion of ownership. Negri and You suggest moving from ownership to the notion of commons?

It is remarkable to me how much that notions of the common have become widespread, even exploited. And it has been accelerated in some ways by the financial crises. It's one of those fast moving concepts that get confused because they move so fast. I get suspicious sometimes of some uses of the common that are an imagined return to some past social organization, even an imagination of pre-capitalist time. This had been my first reaction to the commons with an "s". I guess my fear when common is projected, as a recuperation of the old, is that it can bring, with it, assumed old hierarchies. You were mentioning to me that *komunal* is a traditional concept, I am wondering what comes with it. **This word is still used today in Istria and some spaces are still described as being KOMUNAL, but in a pejorative sense. For example if there is a piece of land that nobody takes care of and everybody is using it as, for example, a waste dump, it is considered to be KOMUNAL. Because the old meaning, the one from feudalism, is now lost, the institutions that proclaimed land as common had disappeared, but the land remained common. We started from that pejorative position of the traditional notion and we have been trying to detect how that concept can be developed in order to get rid of its negativity and derive a positive one. Maybe the solution would be to keep the heritage of the name, but to discuss a different model of management.**

Other similar examples could be found in Yugoslavia where we had the experience of self-management, which had its benefits and its constraints. Some workers in Croatia, like those in shipyards, are now demanding a kind of self-management but they are not demanding the type that was implemented 60 years ago. Those concepts are being remembered and not just used but re-used, as in re-formed.

At least part of the problem of the notion of common in that context is whether production can be organized, or can productive cooperation be organized autonomously. That is the question of the self-managed factory: is it pos-

sible for the workers themselves to organize all the aspects of production and distribution? That would be the same with these spaces, whether those using them are capable of organizing their use to everyone's benefit. That is a kind of thing that can be demonstrated in encampment movements—that people can do it!

But even if we know we can do it, something is holding us back. In your work you are often focused on the issue of rent as a mechanism by which surplus value is being extracted from somewhere else, even autonomously organized production.

Rent is essentially the extraction of value that is produced elsewhere. The *rentier*, the one that collects rent, is not involved in productive process, but simply takes a percentage of it, whereas the capitalist ideology has told us for centuries that capitalist, in contrast, is productive. The old trinity of traditional political economy talks about three resources—rent, capital and labor, and essentially through 200 years of capitalist development there is a progressive move from rent to capital. What the capitalist does is enter into the productive process, creates relations of cooperation, brings workers together and produces value that way. You can see it clearly in the writings of John Maynard Keynes. He is either describing or wishing for the "euthanasia of the *rentier*", the end of that parasitic form of value by extraction, and the celebration of the capitalist, a productive, engaged activity within the value creating process.

But, what the recent decades have seen is the move backwards, from the capitalist to the *rentier*. In an abstract level, both real-estate and finance, as two dominant types of extraction of value, function through rent. Real-estate generally doesn't extract value by doing anything productive. The way they make money through real-estate is generally not by making improvements, but simply by market relations of extracting value from others. Finance too is not engaged in productive process, but rather being distant from the actual production it siphons off value from the productive process. In some sense real-estate, together with finance, is becoming central way of making money. Its not a central way of producing value, it's a central way of extracting it. From a point of view of traditional capitalist ideology this is

looked down upon, because the traditional capitalist image is an entrepreneur that actually creates and organizes and brings together, whereas the *rentier*, the real-estate agent, the finance CEO, sucks blood.

Is this the case with tourism also?

Those who profit from tourism, hotel industry and such—profit from externalities. There is something distinctive about capitalist profit in the engagement with a productive process, and these are all things that are not engaged with production process, but are external to them. Tourism fits into that.

It's also based on real-estate; it has the same logic.

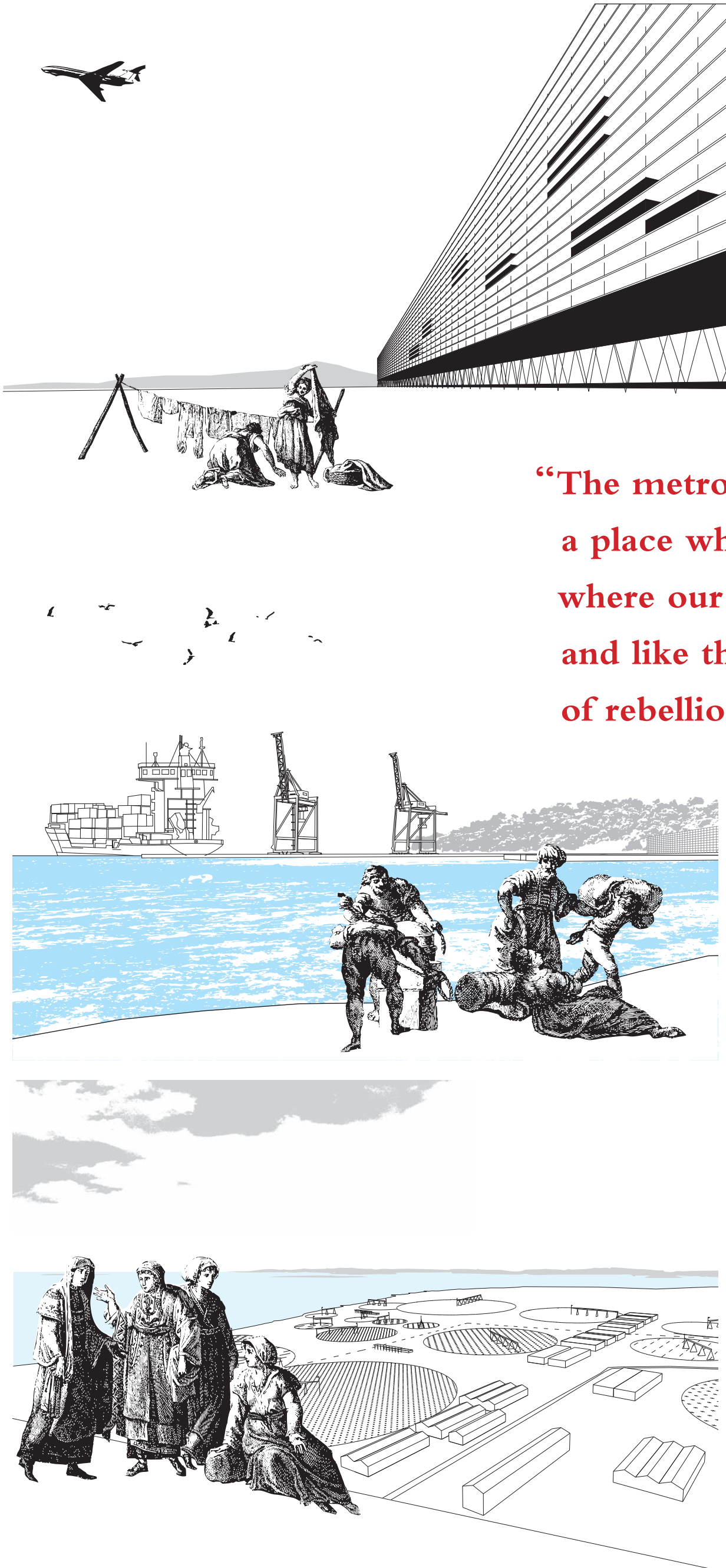
It raises the value of land by imposing, for example, the term "attractive". We are here living in a terror of ATTRACTIVENESS! You cannot build a kindergarten because it's an attractive area, you cannot build a school for the same reason... The mayor of Dubrovnik recently said, in the midst of the fight against the privatization of a large part of the city called Srd, that the value of land in Dubrovnik has risen so much that it has become impossible for the municipality to manage it.

So, the main problem is how to escape this regime of attractiveness?

There is nothing immediate or spontaneous about these abilities, one has to organize such things, but it's clear that people can do it. In regard to how one can confront this, I am not at all recommending this, but certainly the Corsican model has been essentially to blow things up. If they want to build the luxury hotel—we will blow up the hotel, if they want to bring tourism—we will sabotage their tourism and that has been relatively successful in Corsica at maintaining and preventing it from becoming a tourist heaven. I am not recommending that solution. I do not know the answer, but it's a good question, how can one resist the naked power of money? In the US in the 80's cocaine did that, New York real-estate value stayed lower because of crack. It kept the real-estate value down. So you have crack and bombs.

OK, we will figure something out...

“The point is to say that those are not our only choices and that we need to construct a new way of operating resources.”



PICKET THE CITY!

We are very interested in a phrase that you and Negri coined that the metropolis is to the multitude what the factory was to the industrial worker. Why is metropolis so important? We saw three parallel relationships between the metropolis and the factory. Like the factory, the metropolis is now a place where we produce, where our efforts are exploited and like the factory it is a site of rebellion. The metropolis now is becoming a site where rebellions are powerful and productive. To block the city is a real threat. Whereas the site of the factory was the site of the production of value and all the territories outside it were in some sense subsidiary to the production in a factory, now the elements and acts of productivity are much more spread throughout the urban territory. Because it's the site of production, it's also a site of rebellion.

“The metropolis is now a place where we produce, where our efforts are exploited and like the factory it is a site of rebellion.”

I find conceptually inspiring thinking of *piqueteros* in Argentina in 2001 where they even defined themselves paradoxically as unemployed workers, and then they said: how can we go on strike if we are not workers? So, they decided that instead of picketing the factory, they would picket the city, and if they block the city they found that in the same way that blocking the factory was forcing their enemy to deal with it, in that same sense, today, blocking the city means blocking production. So if one is to accept this notion of productivity over the whole territory of metropolis, then it opens more possible sites of rebellion. That shift of territory also changes the demands, as in Italy in the 70's when the struggle sprawled from the factory into the city, the demands and tactics also changed from the fight for wages to the fight for housing, the reduction of price for communal services as well as rent.

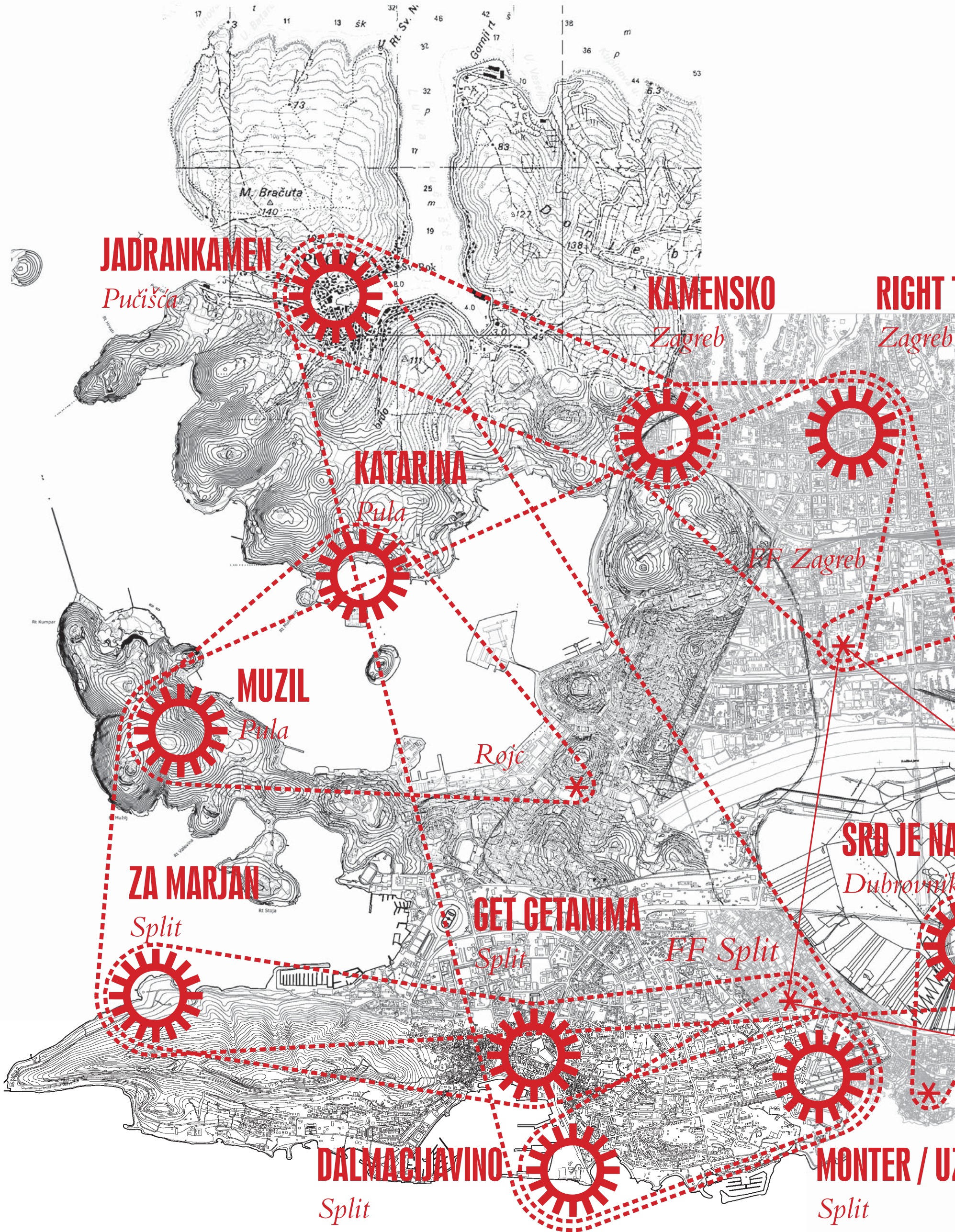
It's true in the classical economic terms, which I think are no more exact, the revolts are moving from the site of production to the site of reproduction, or like you are saying, what is generally thought as a site of reproduction—flats, food, healthcare, all these elements are now becoming the sites of rebellion. I would say that there is no longer a clear distinction between production and reproduction. In some sense that is a theoretical question, but it does have the real consequences on our lives by creating sites in which we are able to rebel effectively.

You sometimes describe these rebellions as the metropolitan strike. Some revolts we know about, that happened in the town of Kutina and in Pučišća on the island of Brač in which workers struggle spread all over their city, can be compared to this. Maybe you could explain the difference between the general and the metropolitan strike?

It is quite similar, it's just what is changed are the sites of refusal that are effective. The general strike in the time of Rosa Luxemburg was the wage workers in different sectors striking together. When we think of it now, it has to be a much broader social halt. In the Pontecorvo's film "Battle of Algiers" they called a strike and it was not just a workers strike, but the entire society came to a halt and everyone refused to go out. So, metropolitan strike is a really radically general refusal. Such refusal doesn't necessarily require an absolute blockage, because that would be very hard thing to organize that everyone stops social life. What can be detrimental to current system is a number of different kinds of refusals.

The most important question for us is—how can that kind of rebellion inside the city become a creative force which can transform it, how can we move from refusal to creation?

The obvious thing is that the one doesn't go without the other. That simply refusing does not lead to anything. I also think that refusals have to be accompanied with productiveness, even experiments that you are already talking about. In Pula, for example, it's not only about refusing that this territory be sold to a developer who wants to make villas for rich people, but that refusal has to be combined with demonstrating alternative uses.



JADRANKAMEN

Pučišća

KAMENSKO

Zagreb

RIGHT

Zagreb

KATARINA

Pula

FF Zagreb

MUZIL

Pula

Rejč

ZA MARJAN

Split

GET GETANIMA

Split

FF Split

SRB JE NA

Dubrovnik

DALMACIJAVINO

Split

MONTER / U

Split

STRUGGLE MACHINE ASSEMBLED

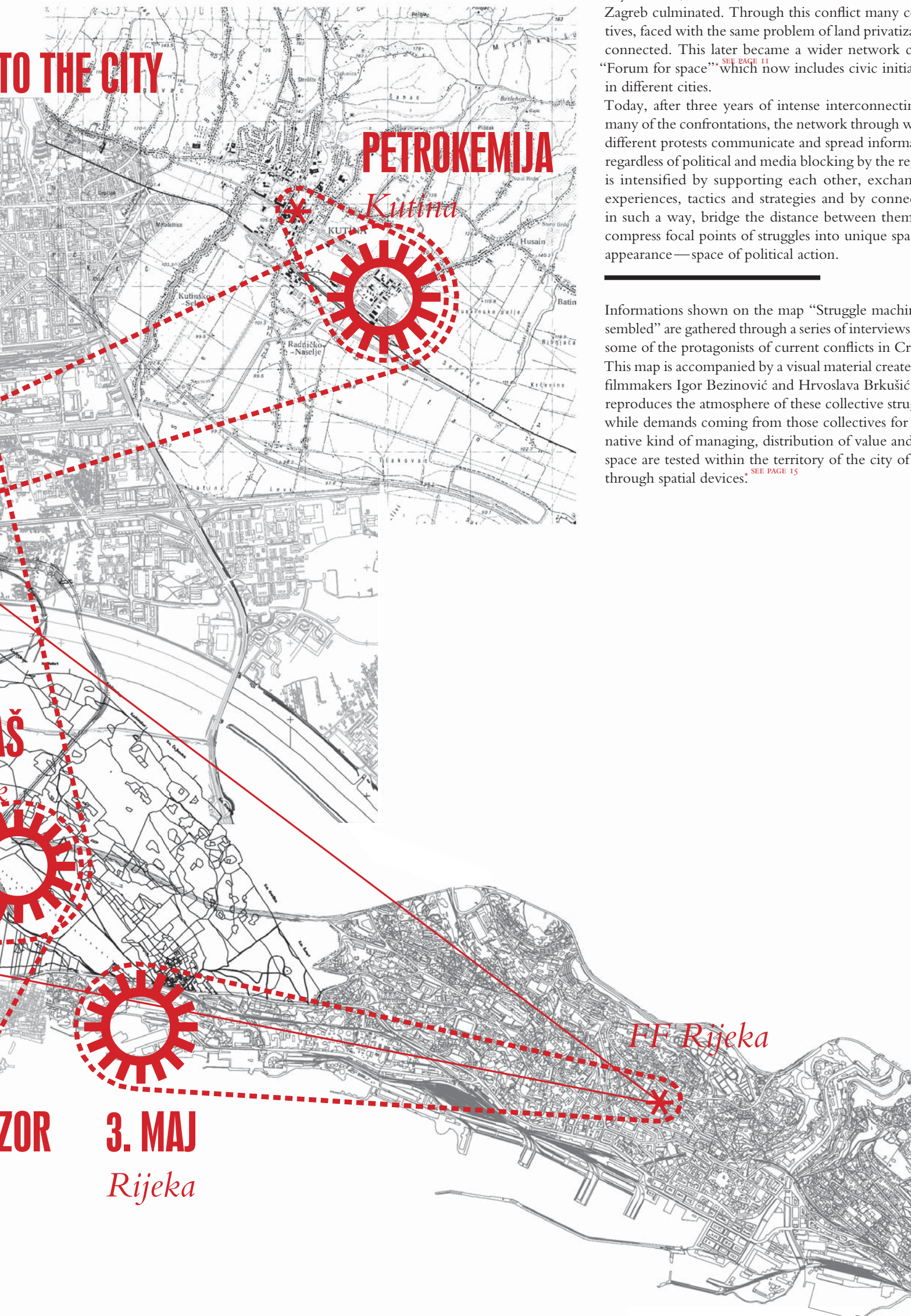
Student strike which started in 2009 included almost all of the universities in Croatia, and legitimized the occupation of the university buildings by practicing direct democratic forms of decision making through daily assemblies opened to all citizens. This blockade gained a broad public support, in the first place from those who were already fighting for their workplaces and material resources, and developed a platform through which the idea of direct democracy could be realized in other focal points of struggle against capitalism.

In the same year a conference “Post-capitalist City” was held in Pula where different collectives co-wrote a “Declaration of Komunal” — consisting of guidelines for re-appropriation of the city by its citizens.^{SEE COVER PAGES}

A year after, in 2010, conflict in Varšavska Street in Zagreb culminated. Through this conflict many collectives, faced with the same problem of land privatization, connected. This later became a wider network called “Forum for space”^{SEE PAGE 11} which now includes civic initiatives in different cities.

Today, after three years of intense interconnecting of many of the confrontations, the network through which different protests communicate and spread information regardless of political and media blocking by the regime is intensified by supporting each other, exchanging experiences, tactics and strategies and by connecting in such a way, bridge the distance between them and compress focal points of struggles into unique space of appearance — space of political action.

Informations shown on the map “Struggle machine assembled” are gathered through a series of interviews with some of the protagonists of current conflicts in Croatia. This map is accompanied by a visual material created, by filmmakers Igor Bezinović and Hrvoslava Brkušić, and reproduces the atmosphere of these collective struggles, while demands coming from those collectives for alternative kind of managing, distribution of value and free space are tested within the territory of the city of Pula through spatial devices.^{SEE PAGE 15}



TO THE CITY

PETROKEMIJA

Kutina

FF Rijeka

3. MAJ

Rijeka

ZOR

Worker from Kamensko who wishes to stay anonymous and student Jelena Miloš:

Kamensko is a textile factory established in 1949 in Zagreb. After the self-organized workers went on hunger strike in 2010, they gained a broad public support.

“Only now we realize that the destruction of the factory was planned; back then we were happy that we were regularly receiving our salaries”, said one of the workers of Kamensko in the midst of the struggle for the factory.

How did it all begin?

It all started to unravel when our salary was late in June 2009. But we did not think much of it, because, after two months, we were again paid regularly until December. After that, we realized that there is something going on behind closed doors, as directors began to be replaced. The directing of the factory was entrusted to a group of people who planned only to obtain the ownership of the factory and did not care about relocating or investing in textile production. We did not get any pay for the first six months of 2010, and on the 1st of July we went on a four day strike and started arrangements for the beginning of the default process. Unfortunately, after we started with this process, we realized that for the last three months our union had not been on our side. We gave up on the union. We were cheated and we begun fighting on our own for what was ours.

How come that the union did not support you?

When we went on strike, on the 20th of September 2010, the union did not support us; they did not come to us, neither with advice, nor with support. At first, we called upon the representative of the Union, but he said that he can not help us, that we should listen to our bosses and that we can all be laid off, as soon as tomorrow, if we went on strike. We did not take his advice and after organizing a petition inside the factory, we went on a ten day hunger-strike, after which, with the help of the students from Zagreb University, we organized protest marches throughout the city center. It was immensely important to go into this fight alone, without the unions.

Did the citizens support you?

They did, and that gave us a lot of strength. Even though the management perceived this as the struggle of a mostly female working force which they can easily intimidate, with the large support of students and their friends, our struggle had reverberated throughout Croatia. The citizens' association for the Right to the city and the Green action also joined our fight, and we all organized protests in front of the States' attorney office.

How did the media react?

The media did help, especially by shedding more light on the criminal acts committed. But the problem occurred when they changed the story of the workers' struggle from a political to a humanitarian one. By doing that, they divided the focus of attention between solidarity and compassion, and compassion blunted the edge of our fight. But, the difficulties started immediately after the privatization?

Kamensko was privatized in 1993, and at that moment we were a successful business. But, as soon as the workers had paid off their shares of the company, their value started to plummet. Until 2005, it was forbidden to sell the shares to those outside of the factory. Two of the factory directors were at the time buying shares from the workers saying that they did not want an outsider to buy and destroy the factory because we

had a promising future. But, in 2005, one of the directors offered his shares on the market. Those shares were bought mainly by construction firms.

Does that mean that the real-estate was the reason behind the whole thing?

When the factory defaulted, on the 12th of October, we demanded a re-organization. Most of our product was exported and we had regular buyers. There was no need to start the production from scratch, we just had to continue working with the machines we already had, but on a new location, in the industrial zone of Gorica, where a textile factory already exists. But, the people who now owned Kamensko wanted only its real-estate; continuing the production was not in their interest.

How do the city planners envision redevelopment of that area?

A case study for that area was made in 2005. It suggests that there should be an “oasis for business and park facilities” there. The factory building is attached to two residential buildings. The factory directors visited those residents offering to replace their apartments with others on the outskirts of the city, which are owned by those same directors. It was obvious that the construction firms were involved, but as our business was doing well, we did not believe that they would shut down production.

If the business was good, where did the deficit come from?

Unfortunately, all of the default cases and ruined firms from 2006 onwards were directly influenced by the law which permits the establishing of “sister” firms without any employees. Through those firms, the directors were draining our money out and transferring it onto other accounts, and that's how they generated deficit. Using the name of one of those firms, they purchased the land for the new factory, but never paid for it. Against that property, they had other loans approved, even though the previous owners of the land never got their money. When the default process started, the state claimed that land in order to cover some of its debt. It was in the interest of the owners to accumulate a large debt in order to justify bankruptcy. For that reason, during that period the number of managers increased two and a half times, while the production sector had shrunk five times its size.

Why is the default process so dangerous?

The bankruptcy act states that the debt to the creditors should be paid off as soon as possible; therefore the default director has no interest in continuing the production, but rather selling it all off. There were two factions inside the factory — one side demanded that the production should be continued; the other wanted to stop the production. We tried to guard the machines throughout the whole process, but once we were forced to leave the factory, we could not do that anymore and the machines were taken away.

Why did you decide to protest outside the factory?

Primarily, to gain visibility; also, the workers were not allowed to protest inside the factory, but only on this square where protesting is always allowed. The point being — dissatisfaction can be freely expressed, but the fundamental logic of our society, which clearly defines who and how runs the factories or ends its default processes, can not be touched or disputed. *Considering your own experience, how would you advise the workers who are now in the same position you were in?*

The workers should not allow their factory to default and allow courts to decide their destinies.

I believe that the workers can resist capitalism, and the real-estate lobby.

We were not destroyed by the economic crisis or by market competition — we were destroyed by capitalism itself.

Željko Klaus and Davor Rakić-Kićo, the workers of Petrokemija:

Petrokemija from Kutina is the biggest factory of mineral fertilizers in the ex-Yugoslavia. Its workers, gathered around the Defense committee have successfully blocked numerous attempts of privatization of the factory.

What would privatization mean for Petrokemija?

Lots of things in Croatia depend on Petrokemija, and we depend on them in turn; the railway, gas-supply systems, power distribution, etc... Petrokemija makes for a quarter of the total gas consumption in Croatia, 90% of turnover in the bulk cargo port of Šibenik consist of our raw material and product. Petrokemija generates a quarter of the total traffic of the Croatian Railways... Obviously it is a strategic industry for any state. Privatization isn't a good solution when it comes to strategic industries and we do not agree with the way the government sees it.

And how does the government see the privatization?

The first attempt at privatization occurred in 1998, with the so-called “coupon privatization”. This meant that through the Private Investment Fund, Petrokemija would be converted into coupons, which would then be distributed. It was then that the Defense Committee of Petrokemija was formed, gathering two unions and the Association of War Veterans in a common fight against privatization. The Committee overtook Petrokemija and blocked the factory for 72 days. The government ultimately decided not to provoke us any further, because they were afraid, we guess, so they signed an agreement with us that we still abide by. The fundamental requirement then, as well as today, is that the state must be the principal owner of this kind of production.

You did not demand the transfer of ownership to the workers?

We do not believe that it can function if the workers were the owners of the company, because it is such a large system, but this does not exclude our role in supervising the company. We fought for having representatives in Petrokemija's supervisory board and today we have four out of nine members in this board. So, the workers gained control. We have access to first-hand information and we participate directly in strategic decisions. We also choose the management, and always elect those people who have worked inside the factory and who understand how it all works. *Your protests homogenize almost the whole city. How do Petrokemija's problems resonate in the town?*

Kutina is a town of only 15 000 residents, of which 2500 work in Petrokemija, and so, it deeply depends on and lives with the factory. The town and the workers share the same point of view.

What kind of support have you had during your fifteen-year struggle?

We gathered all the people in Kutina for the protest, all trade unions and farmers' associations. We even participated in farmers'

protests when they needed support. Everyone had the impression that we were able to make a change, but some things have to be addressed in Zagreb, not in Kutina. We can only be the initiators.

And the students in Zagreb?

We have been in regular contact with them ever since the first student blockade, when we immediately offered them support. Their request was very concrete and well-articulated and they managed to gather a lot of media and public support. They practiced direct democracy, and one of their strengths is that none of them can be personally discredited as, for example, the farmers were. That is an advantage of an organization without a representative. But on the other hand, it is much easier for us to achieve media visibility with a recognizable face.

What were your actions outside the factory?

In 1998, during 72 days there was nothing going on outside the factory. In 2001 we would not have gone out on the street had the Government acted on time. They blocked the gas supply, and we didn't have enough time to systematically prepare our response, so we blocked INA's gas stations, and, with the help of the local radio station and tv, the information spread. Also, In 1998, if we had asked the Croatian Railroads to stop the trains, they would have stopped them and blocked the railways.

Blocking the transport infrastructure seems to be important in all of your protests, but it is also a key factor in producing and distributing your product.

We have a freight yard within our factory, from where the goods are sent to the ports via railroads. Thus, the potential buyer of Petrokemija would probably just take advantage of our infrastructure, which is linked to the state's, in order to distribute their product. Since the market, which we supply through the existing infrastructure, is saturated, in case of a production increase we would not even have enough of the basic infrastructure that would support its distribution.

Does the development of the industry implies an improvement of the infrastructural system?

Yes, but apart from tracks, we need good port facilities, and we plan to invest in the Port of Šibenik. The state must invest in railways, wagons, and only then and along with that, production should be increased. *That means that, except for Petrokemija, all the necessary infrastructure should remain state-owned.*

That is quite clear. See, the state does not any longer own some of its resources, such as gas for example. So now we pay for gas a price higher than anyone else in Croatia, just because the government sold that resource.

The Committee has recently re-activated, due to new threats of privatization?

During the last attempt to privatize Petrokemija, we sent a letter: to the President, the Prime Minister, to the President of the Parliament, and to the First Vice President of the Government. We asked whether the 1998 agreement was still valid and whether Petrokemija was a strategic industry. They ignored us and did not respond, but, one day, The First Vice President of the Government said that he was going to Russia to sell Petrokemija, but when he returned a couple of days later, after we pressured them, he claimed that he was never going to sell the factory. This shows that they still fear us.

Anita Lunić, member of Solidarity network:

Solidarity network is an initiative formed with the goal of interconnecting different struggles currently happening in Split and its surroundings. It gathers artists, activists, anarchists, students and others.

When did the activities of the Solidarity network begin?

Some months ago when we organized an exhibition, a concert and a public discussion on the possibilities and achievements of workers' struggles in general. We gathered artists, students, the unemployed, workers etc, inside the Dalmacijavino factory in Split. The idea was to inform the public about an existing problem in the city of which little is known because the media don't really cover it. We wanted to emphasize the need for support of the whole community, as well as the need for solidarity not just between the workers, but solidarity between all groups of society. What had spontaneously happened there was that the workers of different firms came together and a common base was created.

Workers of which firms were involved?

Adrichem, Uzor, Dalmacijavino, Monter, Jadrankamen, as well as some others that had already defaulted. Not all of the ruined firms are able to show solidarity, because workers of those firms that were ruined some time ago, such as Salonit, Željezara and Jadranska Pivovara, are hard to find and include in the movement. During those meetings in Dalmacijavino the workers decided that they should work together when it comes to their demands, that the fight does not stop when one of the firms achieves its goal. That means that the demands of the Dalmacijavino workers, for example, should also include direct support of and be connected to the goals of workers from other firms. That way you both create pressure and achieve unity.

How come you decided to use art in your actions?

Primarily because an exhibition and a concert guarantee that other people would show up, then—media visibility is achieved if we gather a lot of people, and a lot of people will come if we have a program that attracts media attention, so these become interrelated. And the good thing is that it all happens inside the factory which needs such media attention. It is very important to talk about possibilities of occupying the factory and reorganization production as much as we can, and to deconstruct the politics of selling off and defaulting. We also have to realize that even if the workers are organized, the resistance cannot succeed without a broad network of support. It is important to move away from protest actions of exhaustion, which only serve the purpose of momentary self-indulgence and allow for media manipulation of workers' demands, and organize more constructive actions. Only through productive creation of common space can we achieve unity needed for the defense of workers' rights.

Who makes the Solidarity network?

By creating networks among people from different fields of struggle, we create a basis for common action. For example, in the Monter factory we organize public discussions on the problems of another factory, Uzor, and all the while we are in contact among us. Some of the people in the network have prior experience with different civil initiatives, university occupations, struggles against the privatization of public space, or the organization of artistic happen-

ings, such as Adria art anale, but there are also those who don't have any experience.

What caused such a large number of factory defaults in Split?

Oftentimes, as in the case of the Brewery and Dalmacijavino, the direct cause would be the change of land use from industry to tourist development or shopping malls. A textbook example would go like this: somebody buys a factory that has two branches, one in Split, the other in a different city. This new owner wants to close the factory in Split, change the land use, and make it into a tourist resort. But since the business in the factory is going well, the new owner has to justify the default by proving that it is impossible for the Split branch to continue with production. He does that by signing a contract with a distributor who would then distribute 100% of the factory product. After that, the owner would sign a separate agreement with the distributor, which would state that the product can be sold only in specific places and never under a certain price. This contract does not specify the quantity of products that have to be sold yearly, so the distributor, without any contractual obligation to distribute, does not sell any of the firm's products. If the product is not on the market, it is stored and now takes up space for raw material needed for production, thus making it impossible for the production to continue. This situation then leads to the conclusion that this kind of production is not needed, and since the owner's contract states that he has the right to close the branch when the firm becomes unprofitable, he can actually do that and move the production elsewhere. That way, the factories get ruined and people are laid off because of real-estate and land speculation.

Besides industry, are there other places in Split that are also targets of real-estate speculation?

Marjan is certainly the most well-known case of conflict between private and public interest. But, there are many more instances of direct confrontation. For example, the demolition of the medieval town wall Con-tarini, where again, without any public debate, private interests are favored under the excuse that there has to be an exclusive hotel in the historic center; or the extreme cases where residents of the historic center (Get) are being forced to move out precisely because of the ideology of tourism. In order to resist, residents have formed the initiative "Get Getanima" (Get to the Getans), through which they organize and fight the eviction. With the struggle for workplaces on the one hand and the struggle for preserving public spaces and drawing attention to the land speculation on the other, the front of resistance against the domination of private interests is being created.

So, the ideology of prosperity in tourism is very present in Split.

Yes, but it comes packaged with other things promoted on the state level. Industry is presented as something superfluous in a city oriented towards tourism. As in: Why do we need a shipyard in the city if we want to develop tourism? But nobody is asking: Who exactly wants to work in tourism? And why would working in tourism discredit the ones who want to develop some other branches of economy necessary for any kind of normal functioning of society? By aggressively promoting prosperity in tourism, a lack of solidarity is created in the society. Because of such strong media propaganda, the society views the workers as people who want to present the city in an undesirable, non-touristic light.

Slaven Tolj, member of the initiative "Srd is Ours":

"Srd is ours!" is an initiative by citizens of Dubrovnik who oppose the project of tourist resort on Srd.

What is exactly Srd, in relation to Dubrovnik?

The issues of city and Srd are homologous since Srd is the only available space for expanding the city in future. Dubrovnik is set between hill Srd and the sea, and that hill is the only urban future for this city which is, unfortunately, becoming nothing more than a tourist destination. That has already happened in the historic center which now only has 800 residents as opposed to 6000 twenty years ago.

What are the exact plans for Srd?

This plateau almost the same size as the city itself is being turned into a private property with no public interest whatsoever. Minimal public facilities were added afterward as a cover up for the actual usurpation of space. It is a long story that began with the Strategy for Tourist Development which was mainly based on building golf courses and the Golf Law. Master plan for Srd has eventually grown to 1,2 billion Euros. The prerequisite for such a growth, both in size and value, was a document signed by the government commissary without the approval of the county committee. That document became a legal foundation of the project, despite the fact that the signing alone was illegal, and together with changing of land use, the value of land rose, and the ones who caused that to happen can go scot-free. In truth, this value is a value of a view on the historic core of Dubrovnik and the sea. This is the case of credit ratings, a visible but an intangible process.

In which phase are these plans today?

We are expecting a public discussion for Srd at the beginning of August. We expected this timing for the public discussion—deliberately organized in the peak of the tourist season when most of the people are preoccupied with trying to make a living from tourism. The first public discussion, held a year and half ago, showed that citizens, as well as architects, reject this project. Now they are trying to get the approval for the same unmodified plan. At the same time, new plans for the historic center will be discussed, such as the monument to the Pope, etc. We conducted a survey showing that 77% of citizens support a referendum about the issue of building villas, condominiums and golf courses on Srd. The majority of citizens, 63%, declared themselves against building a condominium estate there. Despite this, the mayor is ignoring this, although he won the elections by promising a referendum.

It is obvious that the legally regulated public discussion on urban plans cannot change things. What kind of tactics have you used as an initiative?

The Initiative itself has been active for over four years, but several associations have already been dealing with this problem for 7–8 years. We are connected on national level, through the Forum for Space, with the associations Right to the City, Green Action, Green Istria, Ecological Association Krka, Filaktiv, etc. I believe that the results of our actions are visible, that we sensitized the citizens and they are now aware of these issues. We

participate daily in discussions on these topics, talk to people, organize public debates. We started publishing our own newspaper because we couldn't get any media visibility since all of the local media were practically owned by the firm "Golf Development", one that leads the Srd project. Thanks to this alternative PR, we have managed to get visibility and now, most of the people reject the intentions of the investors and the establishment. Only 4% of citizens believe to the "golfers". This minority is aware that it is a corrupted project, but nevertheless chooses to ignore that fact, because they believe they will eventually benefit from it and get their fair share of the cake.

You even got physically attacked due to your activity in the Initiative?

Yes, in Revelin, club where TBF (Croatian hip hop band) wore t-shirts in support of the Initiative. After the assault, local media have launched a general attack on our Initiative by presenting us as a threat to "progress". In the end, I got a criminal charge, while the owner got an interview in the local newspaper. However, things started changing after that, people saw how it got ugly and the support to the initiative only grew.

How did architects position themselves towards the Initiative?

They have, thanks to the president of the Architectural Association of Dubrovnik, approached this problem seriously and responsibly. However, we were never able to speak out as one, because they have always maintained a certain distance towards the initiative even though we share the same goal.

Lately, the Initiative has been engaged with the issue of erecting the hydroelectric power plant "Ombla"?

It seems that the plan for the condominium estate on Srd goes along with the construction of that power plant. Ombla is a project that is being pushed forward no matter what, despite its hazardous nature and questionable feasibility, it is a project that puts water supply at great risk.

What are the other public actions that you have organized inside the city and on Srd?

Besides the excursion to Srd, we have organized a number of small diversions such as placing Golf's Development flags on city walls. We wanted to demonstrate to whom this city belongs, since the mayor once said that those whose flags are on the city walls, rule the city. Each of our organizations works separately on these topics through different exhibitions, planning workshops, public discussions etc. All these accentuate the notion of public space.

What does the notion of public space represent to those who live in Dubrovnik?

People who govern this city only think about profit and the idea of bringing more and more tourists, but in that way we are losing the city and living in a resort. Except for a small number of those who profit, the rest of us serve only as cheap labor force. We are trying to save our little spaces of freedom inside such a system, but the demands of a dominant ideology are becoming unbearable and those little niches of freedom are slowly slipping away. We, the Art-workshop Lazareti, are a classic example, a disturbance for the municipality which wants to rent this place for some private interest. In Dubrovnik every square meter has become precious; a battle is waged for each centimeter. People have to understand what is going on so each of them can fight in their own way.

"Only through productive creation of common space can we achieve unity needed for the defense of workers' rights."

"We are trying to save our little spaces of freedom inside such a system, but the demands of a dominant ideology are becoming unbearable."

Roland Sušan, a worker in the shipyard “3. Maj”:

Initiative “Shipyard to the workers” was formed in 2010, in Rijeka’s shipyard when both the unions and the workers council supported a proposal for an alternative to the privatization.

What were the circumstances prior to the government’s decision to privatize the shipyard?

In March 2010, “3. Maj” was running out of work. Under those circumstances we, the workers, whose existence depends on the shipyard, felt the need to undertake some steps, to show that it is essential that the shipyard survives, not just for us, but for the whole city.

What are the reasons that led to the privatization?

The talk about privatization was part of the negotiations between Croatia and the EU. The government decided to privatize the shipyard, without having considered all the consequences. All around the world, this kind of shipyards are mainly state-owned, i.e. under the patronage of the state, due to their importance for the whole economy.

You presented to the government the so-called “Plan B”, which was supported by more than 1000 workers, only workers council held on March 31, 2010. What was it about?

At that moment all the three unions active within the shipyard agreed about the initiative, since the survival of the shipyard was our common goal. We proposed a partnership to be established between the state and the workers as management. The workers know the people and the conditions inside the shipyard, so they are better suited to choose those who would run the shipyard. Up to now the management was chosen by the government, whose decisions were contaminated by political interests.

What were your specific proposals?

We proposed that the workers take over the management of the shipyard for a certain period of time, in order to demonstrate that we are capable of managing the shipyard, together with the state as the main owner, and creating a solid business base.

So, you proposed that the shipyard remain state-owned and the workers take over the management?

Yes, and we proposed that after a five year period, if the workers prove to be successful, the shares should be given over to them. After the workers council in our shipyard adopted this proposal, the same plan was also adopted by the shipyards in Kraljevica and Split.

Your Shipyard has 2.500 employees, 3.000 including the subcontractors. Do you believe that the workers are capable of organizing production on such a large scale?

In fact, it was exactly the large companies as Jaguar, Boeing or Nokia, which adopted ESOP, that proved it to be possible. It is because every worker who invests some assets, expecting to gain benefits, is essentially interested in the well-functioning of the company.

What is the ESOP model?

It is a management model where workers as share-holders directly participate in managing the company through the workers’ councils, assemblies, or by choosing their representatives in the management.

What was the government’s reaction to this?

They considered it unacceptable because of the commitments that Croatia has towards the EU. They decided to privatize it through some funds, but the details are still completely unknown. Seven days after we adopted the “Plan B”, we organized a big protest in the center of the city, demanding not just the adoption of the proposals of the initiative, but generally the preservation of the shipbuilding industry. It was then that we showed that we won’t let the shipyard go down easily.

Is it possible to continue the struggle after all the governments’ decisions?

I don’t know. You can see what is going on in the EU, the system is collapsing and it is obvious that we have to find new ways out, new solutions. Right now, we see the workers’ self-management as our only logical long-term solution.

What about the claim that shipbuilding is an industry which runs deficits and that Europe cannot compete with Asian production? How do you see the future of shipyards?

Even at this difficult moment, on every 1 Euro invested in shipbuilding by the state, there is a return of 2,61 Euros. The price of the ship is composed 66% of local labor and equipment, while only 1/3 is imported. Shipbuilding is thus the largest exporter in Croatia, comprising 15% of the overall national export.

Did you cooperate with initiatives outside the shipyard? Did the citizens show solidarity with the problems of 3.Maj?

The initiative was supported by all the unions, by MASA (Network of Anarcho-Syndicalists) and by the students. By continuously making our problem visible, we succeeded in provoking reactions in the city. Even the mayor showed great interest in the future of 3. Maj, since he understood that without 3. Maj, there is no city. It is the heart of Rijeka.

Why is 3. Maj so important for Rijeka?

The reason is simple. For every single employee in the shipyard, you get 3 more employees in other services. All the shops know when the shipyard workers receive their wages. If you multiply 2.500 employees with an average salary of 650 Euros, you get 1.625.000 Euros which are spent every month mainly in the city. Formerly, shipyards used to invest their profit in communal services, housing, sport, culture, etc. Do you think that the surplus that is currently ending up in private accounts could be invested in these common goods?

Formerly, the banks, as the Bank of Rijeka, where established precisely to serve the needs of industry and even invested their profits in housing funds. Since the banks are now private, that is not in their interest anymore. These days the surplus is being extracted from the shipyard through interests on loans which the state pays to private banks. Obviously, it would be better if this surplus were invested in housing or some other common good.

Do you think that something like that would be possible if the shipyards were worker-owned?

Since all investments, even in shipbuilding, depend on banks, a very important thing would be to have our own bank, which would support production, not consumption. Unfortunately, today it is easier to get a loan for buying a car than for starting production.

Teodor Celakoski, Tomislav Domes and Tomislav Medak, members of the Initiative Right to the city:

Right to the city is an initiative aimed against management of space that goes against public interest and excludes citizens from the decision making process in development of Zagreb.

What happened with the Varšavska Street in the center of Zagreb and how come that such a small pedestrian street brought together such a large number of citizens?

There has been a conversion of a pedestrian area into an access area for the underground garage of a private shopping mall. It was the last and the least acceptable phase of the “Cvjetni prolaz” project by Hoto group, against which the Right to the City and Green Action started a campaign in 2006. The project included the demolition of protected historic buildings, an increase of floor area ratio inside the existing block for more than 100%, the building of an underground garage that attracts a large number of cars to this public street. At the time when it was first presented to public, the project was impossible to realize due to the building regulations and the City Master Plan. The city administration enabled it by a series of favoring.

Why is public space so important?

Public space guarantees that our basic needs, such as opportunities to relax or meet, can be met, but also fulfills our political rights like the right to free movement, gatherings and expressing opinion. These spaces are often spaces of intensive sociality, in which the individual and social existence can reproduce in both political and material terms. For a full realization of these constitutive dimensions of freedom and equality, public space and its functions have to be accessible without commercial barriers and social exclusion. However, since the contemporary city is designed and organized by processes of capitalist production and consumption, a specific public space is always created in a systemic tension against the capitalist city program. It is the exception in which the capitalist system needs to provide for the social reproduction of labor and consumption, but it is also a process in which the intense sociality is built as an exempt from the capitalist program.

This is its ambivalence. The formal public space of the street is sometimes the space of public life once it’s occupied by protesters, and sometimes the space of commercialization and commoditization when occupied by cafes. Investments in urban development are slow, and returns on investments are uncertain — this is why they are often the generator of the cycles of economic growth and crisis. Since public spaces are often characterized by an intense sociality, such spaces are particularly attractive to investors, because they offer a privileged position that has the character of monopoly rents — the ability to provide higher returns because of the intensity of such colonized public space.

The whole process became publicly visible through the architectural tender. What was the role of architecture and urbanism throughout the process?

To create an illusion of a public process the investor organized, apparently in agreement with the city municipality, an architectural tender. The profession-

al jury chosen to evaluate the submitted projects included a number of city representatives — the directors of the City Office for Strategic Planning and Development, the Institute for Urban Planning and the Institute for Protection of Heritage. It was clear from the beginning that this was not just a case of one private investor’s plan, but a part of City administration’s intentions as well. As in many other cases, this intention was legitimized mainly through the opinion of the architectural and urban-planning profession, as well as traffic engineers. It turned out, however, that it was possible to find experts and professional arguments to justify any political decision. The actions in Varšavska Street were followed by a strong media engagement. How did it affect the mobilization of citizens?

The performative and visually attractive public actions often circumvented the ignorance of mainstream media and ensured visibility and recognition of these messages in the public arena. The first involvement of citizens started in early 2007 with the petition against the devastation of Cvjetni Square and the Downtown, signed by more than 54,000 people. Thanks to the gained reputation, after more than a year of campaigning, the first major protest was organized in January 2008 when 4,000–5,000 people participated.

The resistance culminated in 2010 when the construction of the access ramp in Varšavska Street was blocked by forming of a “human shield” that involved several thousand citizens of which over 150 were arrested. How was the occupation organized?

The occupation of Varšavska Street, as a part of the campaign “We will not give Varšavska away!” was possible due to the engagement of a committed group of involved activists and a massive citizens’ support. The initial momentum of the initiative Right to the City emerged from the joint activities of Zagreb’s non-institutional cultural organizations, youth and environmental organizations since 2005. While these organizations supported the campaign against the project Cvjetni and its garage all the time, and particularly in its early stage of collecting signatures against the project, the campaign itself was conducted through a complex structure. On a daily basis the campaign was led by a core team of Right to the City’s and Green Action members. The team conceived and arranged public actions with approximately a hundred activists — at the campaign’s initiation. Apart from the activist group, the campaign relied on a group of experts and public figures who helped in the legal dispute of the project and in public appearances. For larger planned actions, activists were joined by a restricted group of 500 reliable citizens, while at large public events and demonstrations they were supported by a larger group of over 2,000 citizens who registered online for participating in the Human Shield for Varšavska and were called via sms. A structure built in that way allowed a continuous campaign through several years and several occupations of Varšavska before police repression opened the way for the realization of project Cvjetni and the final expropriation of a part of the Varšavska Street.

Zoran Angeleski, Civic initiative for Muzil
"I love Pula":

Initiative "I love Pula" is a network of citizens who demand opening of Muzil to the public—abandoned military zone in Pula which citizens are not allowed to enter.

The citizens' initiative "I love Pula" is mainly dealing with the issue of Muzil peninsula. What is planned for this huge ex-military area and what does this area mean to those who live in Pula?

The official process of "demilitarizing" the Muzil peninsula in 2007 gave the authorities the chance to change the exclusive military character of the area with new exclusiveness of elite tourist resort, without consulting the public about it and even avoiding the issue in their election campaigns. According to the state company Brijuni Rivijera's project, one private company will get an area of 200ha for a 66 years concession to build golf courses and exclusive villas. It means permanently privatizing a quarter of the city, which numbers only 60,000 residents! The municipality is counting on the inaccessibility of the area and citizens' ignorance about it. Consequently they don't have any physical and therefore any emotional relation to it. Because of these political issues a large group of people gathered in 2008 and started a campaign with a goal of opening Muzil to the public.

What are the demands of the initiative?

The problem of Muzil is that the citizens were politically excluded from any decision making concerning the future of the area. Furthermore, they are excluded economically by being neither users nor investors of the planned golf courses and elite villas, and finally, they are being physically excluded because the peninsula is still guarded by the army. Our goal is to overcome all of these three types of exclusion and our tactics include different actions, public discussions, publishing our own newspaper as well as gathering alternative suggestions. To provide these we have worked together with different architectural schools including University of Zagreb. But, questions such as what will Muzil be in the future, whether it is a park, recreational zone or a new part of the city with numerous business, cultural, residential and other facilities, not excluding a possibility of hotels, are questions for the public debate, which the authorities constantly avoid.

Muzil is the largest of four locations included in the state project Brijuni Rivijera.

What is exactly disputable in this project?

This project is neither feasible nor justifiable in any sense. That is especially evident in the fact that nothing has happened in these twelve years during which the authorities have been pushing for it, no viable investor has been interested in such a project. This project is being justified with the promise of thousands of new workplaces, but the reality is that not a single workplace has been created all these years. In case of Pula it is evident that all of the political parties are in a consensus when it comes to the privatization of ex-military zones and that consensus is followed by a powerful media pressure. Yes, the idea of privatizing these areas has never had any political opposition even though its failure is evident. But, maybe the most dangerous tool of this system is precisely the media. They are completely controlled by the authorities and people connected to them, and reproduce infor-

mation which is a sheer propaganda aimed at forming public opinion in accordance to their wishes. There is a complete blockade of any voices which might oppose the authorities, their persons and the projects in their interest. Authorities use the local media in order to prevent any political or economic alternative which could potentially compete with their monopoly of power.

The only use that the authorities assume is viable for this area is tourism. Can people live only on tourism?

No, they can't. This city has lived for decades mostly on its industry. Mainly, the shipyard which employs thousands and feeds many more, builds infrastructure, housing etc. Thinking that the city can survive only on one branch of economy is fictitious, tourism cannot employ such a large number of people and it does not produce, it just siphons the value created in a city, it does not create it. It seems as if in order for tourism to thrive, everything else must be let go, so the politicians and their investors are even talking about shutting down the shipyard because future resorts need a better view. Their visions have only resulted in an international competition for real estate on three locations included in the plan Brijuni Rivijera. Only one of three applications was valid. This shows how uninteresting this project was for the investors. But, all of that, in reality has resulted in a destruction of areas left empty waiting for a government vision to come true, and the city that is deteriorating because of a distant promise which could destroy anything on its way only to justify itself.

Ivica Šćepanović, a worker of
Jadrankamen:

Jadrankamen is a firm for processing white marble taken out of quarries on the island of Brač. After the workers had blocked the default process, this case resonated throughout Croatia when SWAT police teams intervened on the island.

Protests in Jadrankamen started in March, when wages were late and debt was at its highest. How did it come to that?

Problems started before that, it all begun with the privatization. Our benefits were not paid for three years, we could not get affordable loans to cover our debt, and, apart from that, they were pulling money out of Jadrankamen. But, when they stopped paying us, we went on strike.

How did you go into the fight?

Recklessly. Here, you can always start a strike. But, the problem is how to end it. We first went on strike in March of this year and that strike has not ended. There has never been a solution to the problem that made us go on strike in the first place. At the moment, Jadrankamen is in default.

What are the chances for the quarry to open again?

We will continue working, the only question is with how many workers. The government guarantees that, together with Erste Bank, it will pay off the debts of Jadrankamen and in return claim ownership over it. That probably means that the bank would own 52%, while the state would own 48%. There was some talk of the Bank choosing the management.

What do you think about that?

It's not good. In my opinion, it would be equally bad if the workers became owners. Workers proved to be bad shareholders

back in the nineties. We owned 51% of the company back then. When the new boss came and offered cash, we ended up owning only 15%. That is why I suggested we should form a cooperative rather than a joint stock company.

A cooperative has more freedom of working as well as organizing. But, that suggestion fell through because it was impossible to obtain the concession over the quarry by forming a cooperative.

The bank could do that, but not you?

Because we do not have the money to pay the state for the concession. We can only do it illegally. I think that we should simply occupy the quarry, form a cooperative and start producing. And, in the meantime, negotiate with the state about the concession, ownership over the machines and the real-estate. However, after six months of unpaid wages, the workers are sick and tired of it all and most of them just want this thing to be resolved in any way possible.

How does the issue of ownership influence the idea of workers' self-organizing?

If all of forms of ownership are equal under the constitution, then we could have kept the common property. Because, it is not true that the mineral resources are owned by the state. The people own them. We, as workers, as residents of these places, we can use those resources fairly and wisely for everyone's benefit, not just the benefit of the bank, the boss or the ministers. We can work only for a salary, without profit. But, if we work for a boss, we have to make profit, otherwise he has no interest to continue production.

You traveled to Split and supported the workers of Dalmacijavino, Uzor and Monter who are in a similar situation.

Two of those firms are connected with Jadrankamen through ownership. Uzor and Monter were firms through which money was pulled out of Jadrankamen. We supported the workers of Uzor when they went on strike during which they organized production by themselves. They just put an ad in the newspapers saying: "Bring your own material, we will sew whatever you need, you will just pay for the work". Our union had sent money to them and they invested it in the production. Unfortunately, when the default process ended, people had to go back home without much chance of returning to their workplace. Monter is still undergoing default, as well as Jadrankamen.

But, despite the default, you still produce?

Workers are still working, even though the default manager ordered them to leave. When the management threatened with default, workers did not end the strike, but started working. We self organized the production, but did not sell the product, just stocked it. Oil was purchased a couple of times with the money from the union, we got some gunders from a man from Pučišća. We could not sell legally, but we did not allow them to take our product until we can reach an agreement.

The public became aware of your case mostly since 200 policemen invaded Pučišća. What happened exactly?

The default manager came to Pučišća one time before that and had to turn around and leave, we didn't let him enter the administrative building. The court ordered that he should take over the firm and asked the police to help that happen. Maybe that was a questionable political move, but this number of policemen was logical, because if he had come with only

ten of them, he would have to go back empty handed again. They arrested a dozen workers and returned them after two hours without any charges. Only one worker was charged because he hit one of the policemen.

The administrative building is the one in the center of the town with a broken window and graffiti that says "fascists"?

Yes, that was written later on. And the window glass was kicked in by one of the security guards who came to protect the default manager. As we were blocking the side alley and the entrance to the building, they tried to go in through the basement. And as he tried to kick the door in, he missed and broke the glass. But, still, they could not get in because everything inside was barricaded. So, they had to wait for the police to clear the way.

When the police came, the whole town stood with the workers?

Unfortunately, no. Everybody SHOULD stand in defense of Jadrankamen, not just the town, but the whole island of Brač. For example, when we had a referendum on revoking the mayor because he did not support the methods of the union, we needed 50% of the residents to vote, but the number of people who came to the polls was nowhere near that number.

Who initiated the referendum?

A group of women from the association "Women of stone", who initially got together to support the workers of Jadrankamen. Most of them are related to the workers. They also initiated some actions to raise money for scholarships for workers' children. They also organized two or three concerts.

Where does the mayor stand when it comes to Jadrankamen?

The mayor publicly opposed the methods of the union; he is against the blocking of the firm. He stated publicly that he supports our efforts to defend our workplace, but also publicly claimed that our firm will go into default if we continue with the strike.

The same as the deans of universities, when they said to the students during the occupation, that they support their goal, but not the methods?

Something like that.

The conflict spread from the factory to the whole town. What do you think of the way Pučišća is governed today?

Now, the boss and the politician share all of the profit. But if we had common property, if the people were running things, we would be the ones benefitting from our work! In a village such as Humac, where only 250 people live, it would be a piece of cake for 50 of them to get together and say what is to be done, to come to an agreement and do it. And then, if we are doing it ourselves, nobody can cheat us, nobody can steal our money. We need to pave our square? We will do it! For free! Because it's for us! But that is not in the bosses' interest. Why would he pave our square with the material he can just as easily sell and take the money? He doesn't give a damn for our square!



Siniša Labrović: "Watching the sky" performance, Pučišća—Brač 2012, Photo: Boris Cvjetanović

Unmediated Democracy Demands Unmediated Space
La Biennale di Venezia
13. Mostra Internazionale di Architettura
— *Common Ground*
Croatia/Hrvatska
2012

Commissioner and Curator: Tomislav Pavelić
Participants: Igor Bezinović, Hrvoslava Brkušić, Boris Cvjetanović, Siniša Labrović, Pulska grupa
Organization: Association of Croatian Architects (UHA)
Under the auspices of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia



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EXHIBITION

Concept: Tomislav Pavelić and Pulska grupa

EXHIBITED WORKS:

“*Unmediated democracy demands unmediated space*”,
spatial installation, 2012. — *Pulska grupa, Igor Bezinović*
and Hrvoslava Brkušić

“*Bridge Valelunga*”, *video, 2010.* — *Pulska grupa*

“*Life*” *slide show of 1075 photographs, 2012.*

— *Boris Cvjetanović*

“*Watching the Sky*”, *slide show of 18 photographs, 2012.*

— *Performance: Siniša Labrović*

Photographies: Boris Cvjetanović and Siniša Labrović

Exhibition design: Pulska grupa

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RESEARCH

Team: Pulska grupa in collaboration with Network of Anarcho-Syndicalists (MASA), Network of Solidarity (Mreža solidarnosti), Igor Bezinović, Igor Livada, Jovica Lončar, Jelena Miloš

Interviews with: Michael Hardt, Worker from Kamensko (who wishes to stay anonymous) and Jelena Miloš, Željko Kraus and Davor Rakić-Kićo (Petrokemija Kutina), Anita Lunić (Network of Solidarity); Slaven Tolj (“Srd je naš” initiative); Roland Sušan (“3.Maj” Shipyard); Teodor Celakovski, Tomislav Domes and Tomislav Medak (Initiative “Right to the City”); Zoran Angeleski (Civil initiative for Muzil “I love Pula”); Ivica Šćepanović (Jadrnkamen) Map and territorial devices: Pulska grupa

Film: Igor Bezinović, Hrvoslava Brkušić

Camermans: Igor Bezinović, Jadran Boban, Aleksandar Božić, Drago Car, Boris Cvjetanović, Lovro Čepelak, Joško Drpić, Zlatko Pančić, Ivan Perić, Igor Šaponja, Josip Visko-
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Protest in Varšavska Street—Zagreb, 2010, Photo: Boris Cvjetanović

iGuzzini LUKVEL

Brodogradilište Pula

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la Biennale di Venezia

13. Mostra
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di Architettura

Partecipazioni nazionali

Integral parts of this research are conversations with different civic and workers' Initiatives through which we can detect a number of demands for a more just management, distribution, decision making and use of both means of production, as well as space itself. Being that the difference between production and reproduction spaces has been blurred, it is possible to implement these demands into the production process of the city in general. We chose the city of Pula as a case study in which to test demands detected all around Croatia. This city is not chosen because it is in any way particular or more important than any other, but because it is our own field of struggle, and therefore we are more familiar with this specific point of conflict than with any other. Pula, with its 60,000 inhabitants, is set on the Adriatic coast in a deep bay that was once a military port. Today, after military has been transferred, the bay is abandoned and almost half of the territory of Pula has turned into a space that is without legal users or land-use, but at the same time rich with infrastructure and buildings. These abandoned military zones, if connected, would close a full urban circle around the bay. We took them as an experimental field where we suggest modes of different production and development of the city based on demands of ever growing number of dissatisfied who organize through collective initiatives.

indicates also the possibility of overcoming this: What if the exclusivity of ownership was to be replaced with an inclusive system of direct political decision making? Wouldn't then the signifier, that which inscribes modes of its management/use of the terrain, be changed? Instead of ownership, that signifier would become a collective body of citizens—users and producers of space at the same time.

Device number 1—Resource operator: Let's try and imagine a different way of operating spatial resources. We talked with different Initiatives which have provided a line of options for collective management (such as Cooperative, Association, Initiative, Informal group), decision making (such as Plenum, Assembly, Council) as well as control over resources (Union, Committee) which they themselves have demanded and applied through the course of their struggle. These different experiences helped us to construct a method to define possible alternatives for the categories that constitute the city of Pula. In this device, we connect all of the city areas around the bay with a circle on whose trajectory we have placed three rotating disks onto which different collective principles of: A) management, B) decision making and C) control of resources are inscribed. By rotating these disks, users themselves can make different combinations of management, decision making and control while the

shadows of those decisions are projected on the terrain of Pula, thus changing the meaning of space itself.

VALUE

In order for the city to develop, it is necessary for accumulated values to flow freely. But because that circulation is blocked by the system in which exclusivity of ownership makes possible to extract common values and transform them into capital, urban surroundings are consequently degrading. Michael Hardt explains: "In an abstract level, both real-estate and finance, as two dominant types of extraction of value, function through rent." It is exactly this blockage of flows of value that provoked different Initiatives to demand a different distribution of value, as well as retaining it where it was created. Workers from Petrokemija clearly explained interconnectedness between development of infrastructure and production, Ivica Šćepanović described how in case of the quarry Jadrankamen, it is possible to re-invest labor, as well as resources back into the development of their town, and Roland Sušanj talks about flow of these values on the example of shipyard 3.Maj: "These days the surplus is being extracted from the shipyard through interests on loans which the state pays to private banks. Obviously, it would be better if this surplus were invested in housing or some other common good."

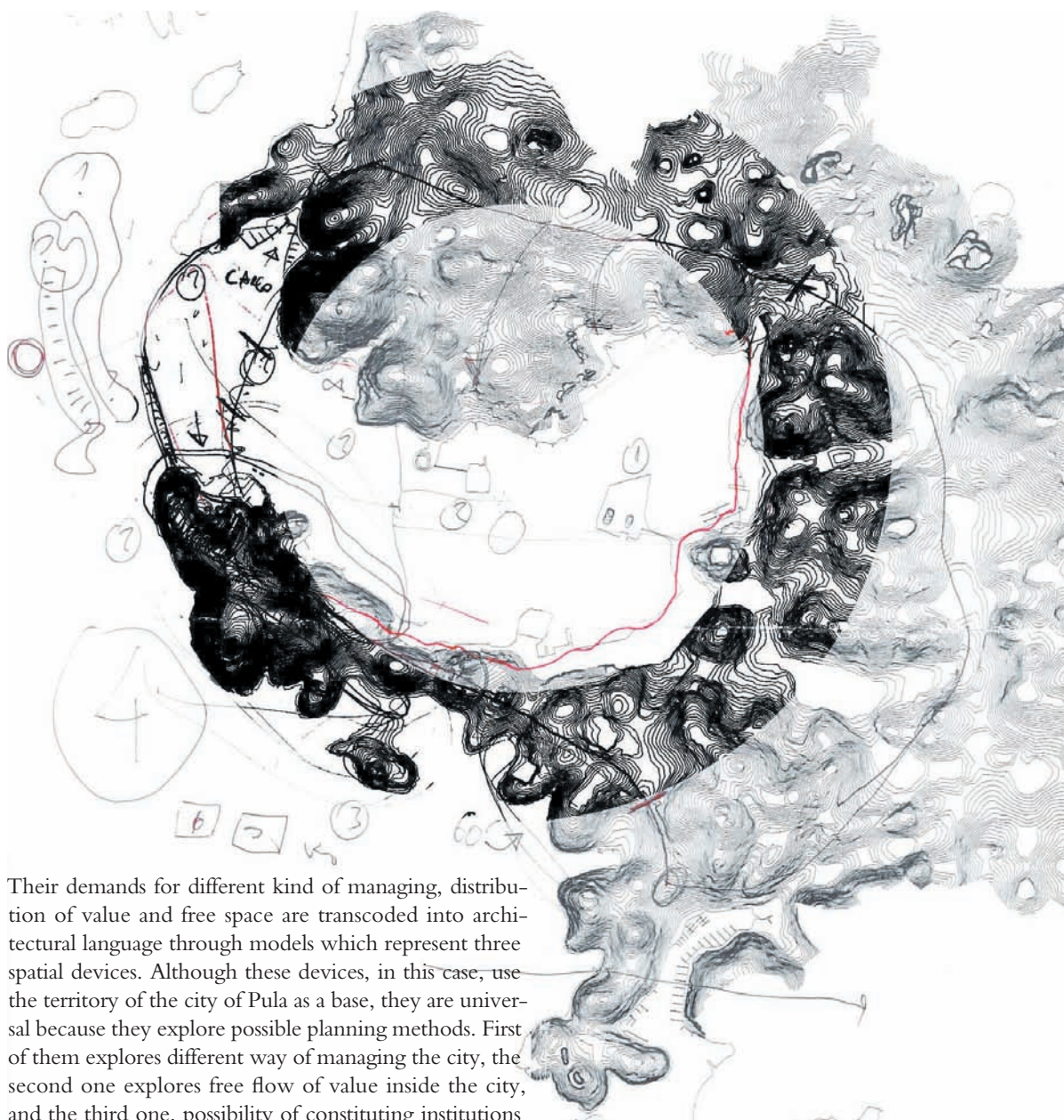
Device number 2—Flow of Values: If we imagine a different way of distributing surplus value, and if we re-appropriate resources, connect them with infrastructure and democratically manage them, we are creating preconditions for the value created in the city to be invested in its own development. In the case of Pula bay, that would mean that modes of value creation are developed, on both its shores and the sea, and interconnected with different trajectories through which created values can freely circulate without ownership, political or physical barriers. Just like in the first law of thermodynamics, energy created by the activity of the citizens would not disappear, but would rather change its form—from material values into non-material and backwards, from profit to common value, from experience to knowledge...

KOMUNAL

Public space of the city is considered to be a free space available to everybody. However, once it is used as space of politics, as in the case of recent occupations of squares throughout the world, then all the barriers and restrictions that categorize a notion of public inside a capitalist "republic of ownership" emerge. Activists from the initiative "Right to the city", therefore conclude that the public space is "the exception which the capitalist system needs to provide for the social reproduction of labor and consumption, but it is also a process in which the intense sociality is built as an exempt from the capitalist program."

Every new protest, every new occupation of public squares, tells us that inside this exception, this gap in the tissue of the capitalist city, lays a potential to go beyond the current system. What interests Michael Hardt in these occupations is their sedentary character which prolongs temporary encounter of a different world on the public squares and thus creates a basic material foundation for emergence of new institutions—places to which everybody can return to.

Device number 3—A constituent place: Let's try then to imagine a different way of creating institutions. In the city based on a democratic decision making, where the value is not appropriated, but redistributed, common spaces of communication, collaboration and cooperation are created. Those open source spaces would have all the predispositions to turn today public spaces into spaces of appearance for different social processes, enabling social upheavals to develop their constituent potential for creating new institutions which is necessary for the life in the city. It is exactly this space of institutions, space of appearance, contemporary agora, place of return, which we have to start collectively imagining (in this case, on the island of Katarina in Pula, currently under the threat of privatization), so that from such imagination a clear view of what it means to live "unmediated space" could emerge.

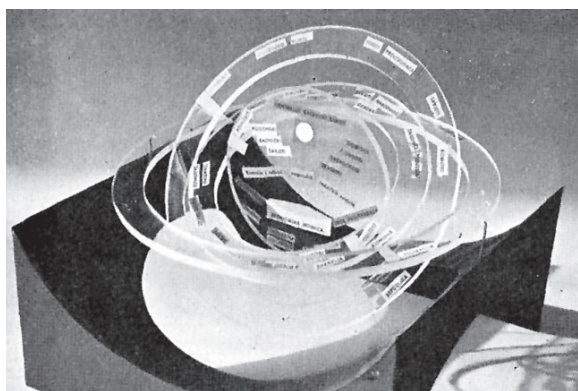


Their demands for different kind of managing, distribution of value and free space are transcoded into architectural language through models which represent three spatial devices. Although these devices, in this case, use the territory of the city of Pula as a base, they are universal because they explore possible planning methods. First of them explores different way of managing the city, the second one explores free flow of value inside the city, and the third one, possibility of constituting institutions necessary for the life in the city.

Potential urban circle of Pula

POLITICS

Space, territory and land are categories onto which social instances, at first place political ones, are inscribing meaning. Through this inscribing, categories which constitute notion of the city are being created. Being that ownership in capitalism is the most powerful signifier and the only notion that inscribes and projects meaning over territory, the categories by which city is assembled cannot be but: parcels, cadastre plots, property rights, concessions... Here, Michael Hardt detects a problem with these words: "If we are talking about territories like the military territories in Pula, if they now become property, they are exclusive, they are not only closed off from people to profit from, but they are also closed off from the decision making of the citizens." But the very same sentence



Vjenceslav Richter: Self-managing Modulator. Presented at the Turin International exhibition of labor in 1961 allowing visitors to design their own political system. (source: Arhitektura 5-6, 1961)