Momentarily

Learning from Mega-Events

Edited by
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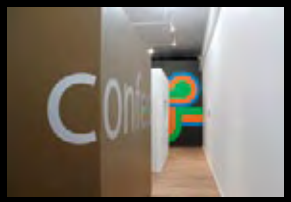
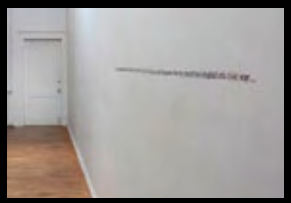
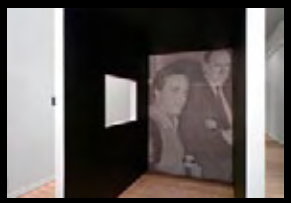
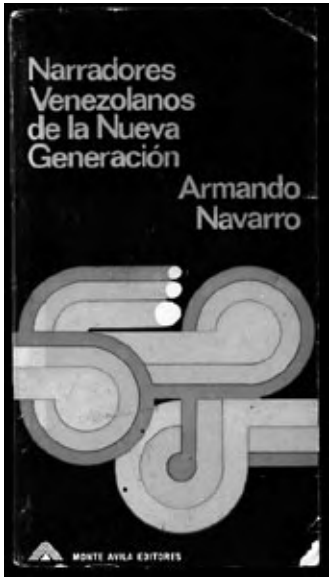
and Arnold van Bruggen, and Jerry Zaslove.








Narradores
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Caitlin Jones

Foreword

> Publicness today has as much to do with sites of production and reproduction as it does with any supposed physical commons.
> Seth Price, *Dispersion*, 2000

As a tangible building sustained by public funds, with a mandate to produce, perform and publish within the "cultural ecology," in many ways the Western Front embodies the multiple streams of publicness articulated in Seth Price's widely and freely available essay.

Despite a physical presence that may appear closed off from the public, the Western Front has, throughout its history, reflected critically upon the dissemination of cultural material. From early mail art activities, to fax and slo-scan initiatives of the 1980s, to Robert Filliou's perpetual notion of the eternal network, a concern with networking and

distribution lies at the heart of the institution. The Western Front has been regularly checking in with its own publicness in a way that is both critically self-reflective and forward-looking.

This is precisely the type of project that enables that reflection. Originally a single residency hosting the artists Bik Van der Pol, the project became a multi-faceted examination of issues of space, political will and publicness, coalescing in Vancouver as it prepared to host the Winter Olympics. As a whole, the project consists of a collaborative exhibition called *In Dialogue* with the artist collectives Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects, a two-day symposium called *Learning from Vancouver*, and now this publication, *Momentarily: Learning from Mega-Events*.

Both a culmination and continuation of the dialogue begun in Vancouver, the artists and curators realized that this publication was integral to the success of the project, to have the ability to reach a broader audience with what we did in fact "learn from Vancouver." Likewise, as an institution, the Western Front is no longer content to produce books with limited resources to distribute them. Rather, we are embarking upon a long term publishing strategy that embraces a number of publishing forms — free, subscription-based, multi-media online content, and paper bound all figure strongly in developing this programming stream.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to all involved in the project, which was my first in the role of Executive Director at the Western Front. It was a total pleasure, from start to finish, to work with the artists Liesbeth Bik and Jos van der Pol (Bik Van der Pol), Sabine Bitter, Helmut Weber and Jeff Derksen (Urban Subjects). Co-curators and symposium organizers Alissa Firth-Eagland and Johan Lundh brought together a remarkable group of people, and Alissa's continuing dedication to this project can be seen in what you are either holding in your hands, or reading on your screen.

Alissa Firth-Eagland

Invisible Becoming

> The images of the consequences are the consequences of the images. [1]

We are experiencing an indelible moment in recent Canadian and world history. Never before have images moved with such untethered ease. Of particular note is how the circulation of images varyingly impacts the local, the global, the specific and the speculative.

A research process that has unfolded over more than two years, *Learning from Vancouver* began with a shared interest in the impacts of the 2010 Olympic Games on Vancouver, at a time when this city has been noted as especially livable.[2] Through multiple textual forms — from semi-fiction to interview to theoretical historical examination — this publication explodes first doubts and curiosities.

What's missing from this picture?

Democratic expression is increasingly endangered within our diminishing national and international public sphere.[3] Indeed, the image of Vancouver and how it circulates within the city, Canada, and the world begs for contemporary critical reflection. But it is dangerous to think narrowly about this. Vancouver is a symptom of a much larger phenomenon: the phenomenon of the World City, through whose ports, borders and checkpoints move many people, most notably, immigrants, tourists, artists and thinkers. This is accomplished with measures of ease and difficulty. What is remarkable is not how people move through cities, but how cities now move themselves. Perhaps art theorist Boris Groys is correct in his statement that it is in fact the distinctions of cities themselves that have now embarked on a global journey.[4] In order to understand how images of cities circulate, it is useful to first grasp how they move from vernacular to global.

Architecture and the film industry are two primary examples of Vancouver's image exportation. The city's planning and architecture has had an impact on urban planners and architects around the world. During the Festival of Architecture in London, the exhibition, *Vancouverism — West Coast Architecture and City Building,* presented an overview of the unique, high, thin towers for which the city is known.[5] Canadian architecture critic Trevor Boddy — also curator of that exhibition — has noted that Arthur Erickson invented the idea of "Vancouverism" when he sketched 50, 60, and 70-storey downtown and West End Vancouver buildings.[6] Aside from its circulation within an international exhibition context, this model has become a prototype for high density urban planning of the 21st century. As such, Vancouver's architects are exporting their condominium designs worldwide. Norwegian architect, Marten Braathen, describes this trend of architecture going global: "Architecture has, through the last two decades, become the biggest boy in the contemporary class of culture industry: a front-page poser in art, fashion and lifestyle magazines, it is a powerful branding tool for global corporations and institutions. A lot of international 'starchitecture' has reacted to the attention and media coverage by moving towards a *photogenic architecture* [emphasis in original]. The result is an iconic architecture adapted to two-dimensional representations."[7] We might surmise that Vancouver's buildings possess a supreme self-awareness of the tourist gaze/documentation/media/lens/camera. These structures are not just mere information waiting to be taken in. They are informed.

After Los Angeles and New York, Vancouver is the third-busiest shooting location in North America (with science fiction television series and films such as *Stargate SG-1, Battlestar Galactica, The Fly 2* and *Andromeda*). Simon Fraser University has also regularly served as a backdrop for shots of "headquarters" in the television series *The X-Files*. Recently, the blockbuster vampire romance series *Twilight* moved its shooting locations to Vancouver. In the local papers, this occurrence has been hopefully described: "It's been great for Vancouver financially, and public relations-wise, it has been incredible. People are flying in from all over the world — Brazil, Germany, Australia — just to see these celebrities, and obviously Vancouver's reaping the reward from that."[8] One tour organizer knew of a few hundred people arriving from all over the world to check out *Twilight* locations. The city has even begun to be described as a character in the films. So if New York is *Sex and the City*, Vancouver is *Twilight*? What does this particular image render visible? And invisible?

Cities have been extruded through the late Capitalist media window that observes, documents, records, analyses, promotes and historicizes them. The development of a city and its mediatization are not separate processes but two entangled sides of a double helix that propel one

another forward into existence. I define mediatization as a spectrum of creative production — including, but not limited to architecture, the film industry, video art, grassroots anti-2010 Olympic Games flyers and the mail art of the Western Front of the 1970s — all of which belong to the contemporary spectacle and the embedded making and breaking of images and icons. However, images are created and retouched by both mass and independent culture, and can be divided critically into two categories as defined by French theorist Michel de Certeau: strategic and tactical.[9] This project is occupied with using the tactical to oppose the strategic.

Invisible Becoming

In art and theory, the most insightful and urgent critiques of the visual are aimed not at images, but at the instrumentalization of the visual in regimented representations, notes Dutch art critic and historian Sven Lütticken.[10] A monumental task is at hand when faced with squeaky-clean images such as those depicting mega-events, for example the lush combination of Canadian West Coast sea, sky and highrise, which were broadcast internationally day in and day out for weeks in 2010. Quoting Natascha Sadr Haghigian, he asks: "'How [does one] erase the images that create invisibilities?' How indeed? If anything is obvious after decades of confusion and retreat, it is that there is no single, royal road; no guarantee that an all-encompassing revolution will arise out of historical necessity."[11]

Groys relates the visual to the curatorial: "Like art in general, curating cannot escape being simultaneously iconophile and iconoclast… Which is the right kind of curatorial practice?… Since it takes place within the context of art, curatorial practice cannot elude the logic of visibility."[12] In an examination of what is visible and what is not, it is pertinent to play within these

polar positions. In 2007, Canadian curator and writer Philip Monk released a public art multiple — a poster — in the quickly gentrifying area of Queen West in Toronto. Deftly, and with genuine avidity, his essay found on the poster proposes that artists should benefit economically from the neighbourhoods they reinvent. His pointed perspective is directed to the art community itself, a sort of call to arms: "The art community always adroitly manages the wavering boundary between invisibility and visibility. Problematically, we want it both ways: to be left alone and to be recognized. How the art community now manages its visibility would be to transform itself differently."[13]

In reflecting on contemporary art's diversity of media, disciplines, and expressions, my personal challenge as a curator focuses on the following questions: How might I present and contextualize artistic work in critical, but not instrumentalized ways? What effects do artistic practices have in the public sphere as urgent forms of counter-publicness? How might these identified urgencies be disseminated, distributed and dispersed? The first, and most obvious step is for these urgencies to be made visible, but that is not enough. We must work with the logic of visibility to fully and honestly engage the polar positions within.

Strategic, simplified, spotless, homogenizing representations require a pluralistic response, which engages the visual tactically. Unlike the image of Vancouver, this project's category-defying qualities are not clear-cut nor easily pinned down. It exists within several forms, each increasingly visible: a residency, an exhibition that commissioned two new works, a symposium with more than thirty speakers, and now this publication.

Starting off, the Western Front's Executive Director, Caitlin Jones, has expounded upon how this publication fits into a rich organizational history of mail art and public accessibility.

Art historian and critic Jeff Derksen walks us through the long moment of neoliberalism and the challenges it poses to representation. Moments, as defined by urbanist Henri Lefebvre, are expanded upon and illuminated by Stuart Eldon. The original statement from artist collectives Bik Van der Pol's and Urban Subjects' reflecting upon the exhibition and its context has been included in its entirety. Bik Van der Pol also share a selection of texts which were uttered by the anonymous voices making use of their space for free speech, *I Confess I Care.* Artists Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber talk with Jerry Zaslove about radical pedagogy at Simon Fraser University in the 1960s.

Myka Tucker-Abramson evokes and analyzes the effectiveness of today's universities as sites for public learning. Activist, Am Johal, traces the links between development, culture and the State. Lize Mogel compares the recent mega-events of Beijing, Shanghai and Vancouver. Rob Hornstra and Arnold van Bruggen weigh the effects of the Sochi Olympics in Russia. Pelin Tan reveals the undercurrents of a recent clash between the art public and a local community within the Tophane neighbourhood of Istanbul. Candice Hopkins, a curator and scholar, talks about the works of Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects as proposals in the most productive sense.

Through commissioned works of art, live discussions and texts, this project takes up a particular image of progress and innovation and examines its relationship to time and space. The questions at stake are grounded in specific local perspectives that dovetail into the globally intertwined relationships of urban development, freedom of speech and public space. Linking back to what Hou Hanru and Hans Ulrich Obrist have called "the daily practice of the city," what does daily practice mean for the people who are residents of Vancouver, Shanghai, Beijing, Sochi or Istanbul during a mega-event?[14] Surely what these people experience is more than just "being there."

By definition, this project is public from its presentation position: the Western Front. As an artist-run centre in Vancouver, Canada, the organization is publicly funded at municipal, provincial and federal levels, and this project is similarly backed in addition to international support from the Dutch government.[15] For more than 35 years, the Western Front has grown from a private, collectively-run space for interdisciplinary creation, to its current position as a responsive public venue and voice. The most compelling records of this shift, from its founding in 1972 to today's open experimentation with models and contexts, are the organization's rich aural history and the passing of narratives through word-of-mouth. This also makes it a challenge to define the Western Front's general public. So let's do away with that term completely here. Instead, and fortunately, a *specific* public is devoted to the organization: long-term, loyal and opinionated. Warm blood and clear tones belong to the community that supports this organization — this organization that, in turn, belongs to that community. In concert with this status as a public venue that belongs to a community, the Western Front has a unique place in Vancouver: increasingly known as an alternative to the mainstream cultural representations and artistic practices of this city, it has offered spaces of visibility to the many avenues and initiatives of this community and its cohorts.

This publication is economical, free, and available online and in print. There is immense value in low-budget production and dissemination styles, like posters, booklets and web publishing. This publication will be passed along and archived, but the movement of the ideas herein is unpredictable, making it full of potential. At different points, it will fall into the hands of a virtual public, an unrealized public, a counter-public, an accidental public and a community that already exists. It remains important to reach new publics today. Because this gesture makes space

for debate, by a group of individuals who are not attending biennials, visiting art museums, or working at art institutions, it is a fundamental challenge to the power structures at play. When the discussion of art is removed from the gallery or museum, new contexts for its direct and indirect audiences are formed. These new contexts for art become the background for new links and ideas, and these new links and ideas can become new actions.

Footnotes

1. Marshall McLuhan, *War and Peace in the Global Village,* (London: Hardwired, 1997).
2. This name acknowledges Denise Scott Brown, Steven Izenour, and Robert Venturi's classic postmodern study, *Learning from Las Vegas,* published by The MIT Press (1972); revised edition (1977).
3. The exhibition and symposium occurred during the systemic mounting of fences and the special passing of laws. With $900 million spent on security — the largest Canadian military operation in peacetime — a historic turn occurred. Chillingly, this newly established limit was surpassed in Toronto less than five months later, when $1.2 billion new security dollars were spent and civil rights were suppressed to a newly shocking level during the G20 Summit in Toronto, on June 30 and July 1, 2010.
4. Boris Groys, "The City in the Age of Touristic Reproduction," *Art Power* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008),105.
5. Project website: http://www.vancouverism.ca/.
6. CBC Canada. "Vancouver's architectural style in spotlight at London exhibit." Last modified Monday, June 23, 2008, 9:02 AM PT (http://www.cbc.ca/canada/british-columbia/story/2008/06/23/vancouver-architecture.html).
7. Martin Braathen, "Learning from Art: Spaces for Self-Criticism", *Social Perspectives on Art and Design* (Helsinki: Nordic Institute for Contemporary Art, 2006), 121.
8. Andrea Warner, "Twilight Time", *WE Magazine* (Vancouver: WE, 2009) September.

9. In his book, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, De Certeau describes authorities and institutions in general as strategic, while everyday people, who are non-producers, are tactical.
10. Ibid.
11. Sven Lütticken, "From One Spectacle to Another," *Idols of the Market: Modern Iconoclasm and the Fundamentalist Spectacle* (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2009), 76.
12. Boris Groys, "On the Curatorship," *Art Power* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2008), 46.
13. Philip Monk, "Robinhood Fundraising Campaign", *A PROPOSAL FOR A TAX IN SUPPORT OF TORONTO ARTISTS.* Artist's multiple by Matthew Brannon, Derek Sullivan and Vlackie O., Ink on paper, 38.1 x 55.9 cm. (York University: Toronto, 2007).
14. Hou Hanru and Hans Ulrich Obrist, *Cities on the Move: Contemporary Asian Art on the turn of the 21st century,* (Vienna: Secession, 1997), 35.
15. At the Western Front, five programs produce projects in and between exhibitions, media arts, new music, performance art and a magazine. *Learning from Vancouver* and *Momentarily: Learning from Mega-Events* was co-produced by the Media Arts Program and the Exhibitions Program, with special support from a Canada Council Media Arts Project Grant and a Mondriaan International Arts Presentation Grant. The Media Arts Program invites artists from any background to research and produce new works using media-based practices. The Exhibitions Program presents critical investigations into interdisciplinary, anti-object and ephemeral practices in contemporary art.

Jeff Derksen

Approaching the Long Moment

The long moment of the mega-event in Vancouver has oscillated in its intensity from Expo 86 to the 2010 Olympic Winter Games, but these two events are also tied into the constellation of moments that global mega-events ignite. So, while Henri Lefebvre proposes that, rather than rendering the texture of the everyday, the moment "weaves itself into the fabric of the everyday, and transforms it partially and 'momentarily' like art," the moments that mega-events set into motion are based on an exceptionalism, where the everyday is turned upside down for a future in which the host city will shine more brightly as a globalized city, as a beacon for investment and tourism.[1] In reality, the badly timed euphoria of Vancouver's moment that slid into the real-estate market slump has dulled this shine. The global-local elites, who felt so intensely that the *possibility* of the moment was on their side, have seen that belated, not yet arriving: in the *meantime*, new moments cohere in the texture of the everyday. In the dwindling time after Expo 86 and the Olympics, the spatial relations of the city have been permanently altered due to development, and a new form of spatial injustice uses the language of lifestyle and sustainability to smooth an urban revanchism.

The residual of this long moment — in both its possibilities and in its closures — resides in archives. From a now-digitized cultural memory, two photographs mark the dialectic of closure and possibility in the public sphere and urban politics in Vancouver: one is the infamous handshake between the Premier of BC, Bill Bennett and then-International Woodworkers of America President, Jack Munro, that shut down Operation Solidarity that was cohering to block a neoliberal transformation of the economy; the other is much lesser known, but a moment repeated globally — cultural theorist Herbert Marcuse speaking to SFU students at a moment when earlier student actions were still vibrating as a possibility on the campus.[2] Perhaps these two images can represent, as well as materially mark, events that speak to our present mega-event exceptionalism.

The localness of these mega-event moments belie how they are tied into, and are the rooted engines of, a shift in what we can think of as the long neoliberal moment. Yet, this moment is made difficult to grasp because of its unevenness, and because it thwarts easy periodization. And periods and processes are notoriously difficult to represent. Other than the images of the dark-glasses-adorned Augusto Pinochet, the marketing huckster smile of Ronald Reagan, and the sternly starched gaze of Margaret Thatcher (and for Canadians, the guilty grin of Brian Mulroney), we do not have images of neoliberalism. Economic restructuring, the redistribution of wealth upward, and cultural atomization challenge representational modes.

In attempting to represent the sixties from the backward glance of the 1980s, Fredric Jameson cautioned that he would risk periodizing, in a temporal and structural manner, a complex and elongated decade. But Jameson's periodizing opens enough breathing room for wilder mediations to emerge. "Here, in any case," Jameson writes, "the 'period' in question is understood not as some omnipresent and uniform shared style, or way of thinking and acting, but rather as the sharing of a common objective situation, to which a whole range of varied responses and creative innovations is then possible, but always within that situation's structural limits."[3] The goal becomes not to narrate the period, not to resort to a novelistic representation of history, nor to identify a singular characteristic, but to "produce a concept of *history*" as a gamble to grasp the period.[4]

Opened in this way, Jameson's method, or concept of history, allows him to locate the beginning of the sixties in the postcolonial moment, in which ideas of emancipation and new political possibilities moved from Africa and other "third world" sites, and migrated into the cultural and political texture of North America (both in the positive sense of creating an urgency of emancipation and politics [such as The Black Panthers, or later Quebec's FLQ]), but also creating the reaction against the possibility of emancipation (think of Reagan's role in the cultural transformation of North America and how his ghost still lingers!).

In opening the geography of the sixties beyond a North American and European bias, and by sliding the times of the sixties beyond the decade itself, Jameson builds an idea of a period that is not just a narrative that has become familiar, but one in which the movements of ideas cohere and merge at certain moments and then move on to take a more important weight culturally and politically.

This strategy is useful for the concept of *the long moment* because it allows us to see how ideas, ideologies, philosophies and cultural and political tendencies move, or drift across a geography, and are picked up and used when the context makes it possible: the moment of the emergence of ideas (and their transformation into the possibility of action) is long and moves across a geography that is in the making. Events may appear mercurial — a bright flashpoint — but they are possible only through the long moment of emergence, and alignment with the conditions that allow them to materialize and take shape in everyday life (or interrupt everyday life).

But long moments are not merely a gestation of this alignment — not just the drift of history that allows *something* to happen at a particular time and place — but it is a dialectic of cultural and social conditions and the possibilities of thought and action. The dialectic that springs to mind is akin to Henri Lefebvre's relationship between *event* and *structure*, as he writes at the beginning of *Explosion*: "To the extent that events are historical, they upset calculations. They may even overturn strategies that provided for their possible occurrence. Because of their conjunctural nature, events upset the structures which made them possible."[5]

Lefebvre's dialectic captures the conjunctural nature of a mode of analysis that cultural theorist Raymond Williams's notion of "structures of feelings," developed in the early 1960s, represents as well. Approaching the term as a dialectic of *structure* and *feeling* (or, "the firm and definite" and "the most delicate and the least tangible," as Williams says), in which the lived is mediated and shaped by a structure, then we can also propose that structures of feeling are a built thing, emerging out of the struggles over meaning within the cultural and the social spheres or levels.[6] But structure of feeling can be tinged with a curious belatedness, that this dialectic cannot be recognized and analyzed in its emergence, but only fully grasped once it has historical weight and gained dominance. Again, the moment challenges representation.

We can also think of a long moment as a dialectical struggle between "structures" and "feeling" of "the felt" at certain points within the long moment. One of these will be dominant and this will set off relations and even "events." The long moment then, is a dialectical tussle between the structured and the thought, lived and possible: it does not resolve itself, but it does cohere into action and events.

Elements of the Long Moment

Long moments are not a period because they emerge both through and against periods (i.e. the long moment of neoliberalism has extended from the 1970s to today).

Unlike a period, long moments do not have an end point: their influence and effects can mutate, evolve, react and extend (how will neoliberalism exist in 5 years, will it still be "dead but dominant" [Neil Smith], or will it have mutated and become less recognizable?).

Long moments are a dialectical tussle between the structured and the thought, lived, and possible: they do not resolve, but they do cohere into action and events.

Long moments therefore exist in the future in ways we can not exactly predict, but in ways which we can organize against by imagining a future.

Long moments are not necessarily recognizable as you live through them: one cannot be awake in the present by thinking, "We are living history."

Long moments are not an extended "event:" events mark certain relationships within a long moment and help to make a structure of feeling "visible" and "felt."

Therefore, long moments, as Benjamin's "Angel of history" finds out tragically, cannot be recognized simply by looking backwards.

Long moments are not Benjamin's "storm we call progress:" they can be, in fact, formed against the storm of progress.

Therefore, like structures of feeling, there are simultaneous long moments. The long moment of neoliberalism is intertwined with the long moment of *critique*, as it formed post-1968.

Long moments can deny their temporality. Neoliberalism, throughout its long moment, has denied the idea of a future, instead insisting on a continuance of the present (and seeing that present as latent in the past).

Long moments are spatial: they link place and geographies. But these linkages are not necessarily recognizable even as they articulate.

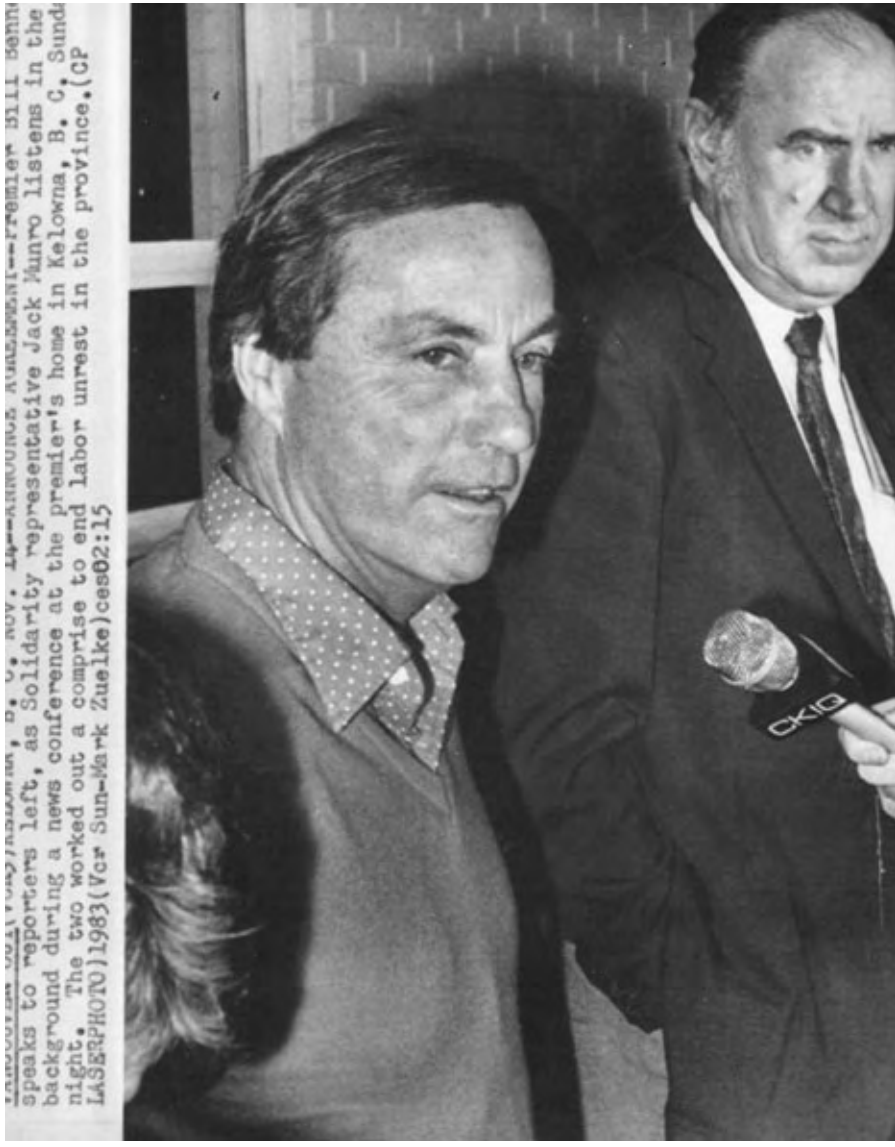
Long moments are therefore spatial and temporal: they can link the past of one place to the future of another. Who knew that the privatization of water in Bolivia, and the reaction against it, could help shape a politics of water today?

Long moments take shape at multiple levels (as Jameson characterizes his approach to the sixties), but they can exist unevenly at these levels (neoliberalism is dominant [but challenged] at the economic level, but at the cultural level it is still ascendant, despite resistance to it).

Art, like an event, can help make a long moment recognizable.

Footnotes

1. Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life,* vol. 2. Trans. John Moore (London: Verso, 2002), 346.
2. Even after hours of digging through newspaper, labour, and university archives, speeding through reels of microfiche of newspapers now almost 30 years old, flipping through contact sheets of press photographs, holding negatives up to the light and turning dried newsprint pages, I could not find this image. Even the precise date and time did not churn up this image — Sunday, November 13, 1983, around 10:30 at night in Kelowna, B.C. But everyone agreed that the image existed — and everyone had a very clear idea of it: two bulky men on a patio of a home, backlit by the yellow living room lights, caught in agreement by a slow shutter speed, shaking hands. Two men backlit, shaking hands. "I can say we have agreed on an avenue to resolve the problems," one of the men said later in public. After that handshake, the pickets that were fomenting toward a general strike came down, the unlikely and antagonistic coalition moving toward the mass protest shifted gears and "vowed to fight on." That was the public act against the private handshake.
3. Fredric Jameson, "Periodizing the 60s", *Social Text: The 60's Without Apology,* No. 9/10 (Spring - Summer, 1984), 178.
4. Ibid. 180.
5. Henri Lefebvre, *Explosion: Marxism and the French Upheaval* (Trans. Alfred Ehrenfeld. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1969), 7.
6. Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1961), 64.



Stuart Elden

Lefebvre on Moments[1]

The events of 1871 and 1968 are examples of what Lefebvre called moments, times of dramatic change and disruption to everyday routine. Existing orthodoxies are open to challenge, things have the potential to be overturned or radically altered, moments of crisis in the original sense of the term. He recounts the experience of walking in the Pyrenean countryside as a young man in the mid-1920s. He saw a church cross with the sun behind it, an image he called the crucified sun.[2] He returned to this idea in an article for *Les temps modernes* in 1959, a piece which became part of the autobiographical *La somme et le reste*.[3] As Lefebvre recalls, this was a time of considerable distress in his life, where he was excluded for a while from his university post, followed by his suspension and then expulsion from the French communist party. For Lefebvre, the sun represents all that is vital and full of potential; the cross, the repression and alienation of life. The important moment of realization was also a realization of the importance of moments.

The moment has a long tradition in Western thought, with Nietzsche's writings especially important for Lefebvre. In *Thus Spoke Zarathustra,* the true task of Zarathustra is to accept his role as the teacher of the eternal return, a cyclical understanding of temporality and history. The crucial image of the eternal return is a gateway with the word *Augenblick* — blink of an eye, or moment — inscribed above it. This is the place where past and future collide in the present.[4] Thinking about the moment got Lefebvre interested in questions of both time and space, and the rhythms of life and death.[5] Nietzsche's work was also important for Lefebvre in thinking about the tension between memory and becoming; questions of rhythm and style, energy and force.[6]

Lefebvre's work on moments is not intended to be epistemology or ontology, or a critique of ontology, but a study

of everyday reality "at a *sociological* level, at which the individual is not separate from the social."[7] For Lefebvre, the moment is "the attempt to achieve the total realisation of a possibility."[8] Moments are

> Limited in number, although the list cannot be declared closed: play, love, work, rest, struggle, knowledge, poetry... If the number proved unlimited, they would no longer be moments. However, we cannot stop enumerating them, since it is always possible to discover or to constitute a "moment," in principle, at least, and since there are perhaps "moments" in individual life. Theory ought, if it is to be consistent, to declare a criterion. What is a "moment?" What is not? It is not obliged to undertake the task of making an exhaustive list. In order for it to present a coherence that would make it acceptable, it is better to indicate and emphasise a few general characteristics of these "moments."[9]

Lefebvre goes through these in some detail. A moment "defines a form and is defined by a form," it has "a certain constancy over time, an element common to a number of instants, events, situations and dialectical movements (as in 'historical moment,' 'negative moment' or 'moment of reflection')."[10] Moments raise questions about the relation of social life and nature; disrupting a simplistic boundary between nature on the one hand, and society or culture on the other. They demonstrate that the individual cannot be separated from society. Moments similarly challenge strict divisions between sociology and philosophy: it is crucial to look at these issues from a social perspective, but this is inadequate alone. Moments are "social relationships and forms of individualised consciousness."[11]

The theory of moments is a sociologically grounded notion, but it nonetheless claims philosophical status; it is important in thinking the every day nature of the everyday, that is the temporal dimension and the importance of repetition; and although explicitly temporal it is transformed in the analysis of the event, a more situated concept. For Lefebvre, the moment is not the same as a situation, but rather it creates them. Lefebvre is concerned with moving away from a rationalist understanding of an event, which sees it as "a privileged instant, that of a crisis. When there was a revolutionary event, that decisive moment enabled the leap forward, the hour of birth through (more or less brutal) violence. In all cases and all situations, the event was conceived of as an end result."[12] This is the Marxist understanding, which tends to think of it in terms of its progress toward economic growth or increases of productive forces, even if these explanations are lost on the actors who think that they operate "for liberty, for peace, against oppression." If the event is historical, "it will leave traces. And we are going to become attached to this phenomenon: the trace. And we shall try to understand the so-called historical event in terms of a series of things, revealed by traces."[13]

The point of cyclical time is that there is no beginning and end; that new cycles are born from previous ones; and that time is shot through with repetition. "However, in cyclic time, repetition is subordinated to a more 'total' body rhythm which governs the movements of the legs and arms, for example."[14] Lefebvre notes that repetition is not exact—these are not closed or vicious circles that admit no change. It was Nietzsche who taught Lefebvre about the creation of difference through repetition. Lefebvre's later work on rhythmanalysis is in germ in the earlier work on the theory of moments.

Today rhythms of cyclical nature coexist with modern ones. Lefebvre notes that we still largely sleep and eat according to natural timescales.[15] Yet capitalism increasingly affects all parts of our lives, conditioning the working day and, for some, taking up time in hours of darkness, which, as

various social and animal experiments have shown, create problems through the disruption to circadian rhythms.[16] Our biological rhythms of hunger, sleep and excretion are also conditioned through our family and social existence. We train ourselves to keep our bodies under control, and if we get used to eating at certain times, we will grow hungry at those same times.[17]

Lefebvre therefore challenges abstract reductive understandings of time just as he does in his better-known work on space. The application of the notion of 'measure' to time requires the privileged instrument of the clock. The measure of time is no longer time, just as the measure of work is no longer work. Time is thus a representation, but it is not entirely abstract, because it requires "the clock, a material object, as a means and as a support."[18] As with space, the concept of time has a distance from the actual time that we live. There is therefore a fundamental difficulty with the concept of time, in that it removes all reference to praxis and descends into speculative metaphysics. However, we should be cautious in abandoning a concept of time altogether, lest we eliminate history, which was for Lefebvre a fundamental concern.[19] We need to retain an abstract sense of time alongside examinations of 'lived time.' Along with this mental grasping of time must come the consideration of a range of other times. Social, biological, physical and cosmic times, played out in cycles or linear progressions, demonstrate that time is something that is already plural and differential.[20] While moments are dramatic eruptions in these processes, Lefebvre's thinking of time is broader than this and generally is a crucial partner to his work on space.

Footnotes

1. This is an abbreviated and revised version of material that first appeared in Stuart Elden, *Understanding Henri Lefebvre: Theory and the Possible* (London: Continuum, 2004), Ch. 5.
2. *La somme et le reste*, 3rd edition (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1989 [1959]), 252.
3. "Le soleil crucifié", *Les temps modernes,* No. 155, janvier 1959, 1016-29; *La somme et le reste,* 251-64.
4. See Friedrich Nietzsche, "Thus Spoke Zarathustra," in *The Portable Nietzsche,* edited and translated by Walter Kaufmann, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1954), especially 269-72.
5. *La somme et le reste*, 256, 481; see Nietzsche, (Paris: Éditions Sociales Internationales, 1939), 140-1.
6. Nietzsche, 51, 57, 71, 148.
7. *Key Writings*, edited by Stuart Elden, Elizabeth Lebas and Eleonore Kofman, (London: Continuum, 2003), 166.
8. *Critique of Everyday Life Volume II: Foundations for a Sociology of the Everyday,* translated by John Moore, (London: Verso, 2002), 348.
9. *Key Writings*, 170.
10. Ibid.
11. *Key Writings,* 174. On the theory of moments see also Critique of Everyday Life, Vol II, 340-58.
12. *Key Writings,* 178.
13. Ibid.
14. *Critique of Everyday Life,* Vol II, 48.
15. *Critique of Everyday Life,* Vol II, 48-9.
16. *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life,* translated by Gerald Moore and Stuart Elden, (London: Continuum, 2004), 43.
17. *Rhythmanalysis*, 75.
18. *La présence et l'absence: Contribution à la théorie des representations,* (Paris: Casterman, 1980), 29.
19. *La fin d'histoire,* (Paris: L'éditions de Minuit, 1970).
20. *Key Writings,* 177-8.

A Declaration of Rights of the People of British Columbia

• *Following is the complete text of the Declaration of Rights of the People of British Columbia adopted at the mass Oct. 15 rally in Vancouver to protest the Social Credit budget legislation.*

WE believe that the measure of a society's humanity is the degree to which it provides rights that protect all its participants, its minorities no less than its majorities;

WE believe that the substance of justice in a society is the degree to which rights are accorded to the poor and the powerless, and not simply to the rich and the strong;

AND we believe that the test of a society's commitment to democracy is its resolve to guarantee those rights even int he face of hardship and adversity;

THEREFORE we declare that in a democratic, just and humane British Columbia every person has these rights which no government may justifiably extinguish:

- The right to protection from all forms of unreasonable discrimination, by legislation that ensures human rights and programs that confront prejudice.
- The right to freedom of expression and opinion without fear of reprisal.
- The right to universally accessible, comprehensive and confidential medical care.
- The right to a public school system that allows all children to develop to the full extent of their potential, and to post-secondary education that is accessible to all.
- The right of senior citizens, disabled persons and visible minorities to participate fully and equally in society.
- The right of every woman, in fact as well as in principle, to a full and equal place in society.
- The right to receive adequate social services and assistance.
- The right to freedom from arbitrary or unjustified eviction or increase in rents.
- The right to universal accessibility of necessary legal assistance.
- The right to local powers of decision-making about the provision of social services, and effective regional planning of the development of our communities.
- The right of all employees to negotiate freely and collectively with their employer all the terms and conditions under which they work.
- The right to freedom from arbitrary or unjustified termination of employment.
- The right to open and democratic government, scrutiny of government actions, due process of law, full parliamentary debate and consultation with affected groups on all legislative proposals, and express submission of fundamental changes in law or rights to the electors.

THIS declaration is made in the face of an unprecedented legislative assault that seeks to eliminate or subvert existing rights and protections. This cannot be allowed. We also assert, therefore, that the people of this province have the right and the responsibility to resist. We shall do so with all of our strength.

— Solidarity Coalition

In Dialogue

This text is a collective statement from the artists of the exhibition at Western Front, January 30 to March 6, 2010. It was written in early January 2010.

Vancouver has increasingly developed and manifested itself as a unique model for other cities. Yet, in film and television, Vancouver does not often play itself; it frequently stands in for other metropolises. Correspondingly, as the image of Vancouver has become familiar globally, an image of urbanism based on Vancouver has, and continues to have, a perplexing impact on urban planners throughout the world.

At this moment of smelly Olympic exceptionalism, Vancouver is being broadcast worldwide, carefully framed by its mountains and the ocean. In grabbing the "beauty" of Vancouver for establishing shots and cultural interest sections of their broadcasts, the global media enters into the long politics of representation here. This image of the city shines a light on the natural setting, the Vancouver Model, the sustainable city, and the tolerant multicultural city, while painting the Downtown Eastside and the people who make it the political centre of the city as shadowy, "troubled" and in need of urban renewal.

What is the backside of these images that create a specific type of imagination outside the city — and what is the impact on everyday lives? What effect do urban planning and the imagination of developers have on constructing public space and a public imagery? How does this distort the potential of "building a community," when the building of communities is increasingly a global experience? What does it mean to experience space and the *representation* of space?

For *In Dialogue*, Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects have been working together intensively, thinking Vancouver spatially and through linked yet specific moments; moments in the past and the future that articulate a change in the space and experience of the public sphere.

Bik Van der Pol

I Confess I Care emphasizes the growing limitations of the public realm. The brown box in the gallery of the Western Front is the creation of a space for forms of public speech that have been shut down in the Olympic moment. This box is a discursive vehicle. It accommodates one, two, or three people, and can be closed, creating an intimate space. But, the box is fully wired for sound — everything discussed is recorded. Unlike the increasing types of surveillance in urban space, *I Confess I Care* allows a choice to speak up and speak about, either individually or in a dialogue with others, the issues at stake in the city: the impact of urban developments, the shrinking of public space, limitations of civil rights and how this is experienced by citizens in their daily lives. Does one accept this all, as a state of exception, trusting that it will all return back to normal once the air is cleared of the Games? *I Confess I Care* draws upon a public that is not passive, but a public that is willing to become an active participant. In that sense they will disappear

are
C

as a general "public;" they will become articulate. The recordings made in the box will be transcribed to appear as part of a publication after the end of the show, as a sort of bid book and rem(a)inder of this specific moment, activated by the public.

Urban Subjects

Paralleling *I Confess I Care*, the installation devised by Urban Subjects grabs two historical moments in the dialectic of the production and closure of public space in Vancouver, and one speculative future moment. The historical moments hover as grainy archival photographs. Premier Bill Bennett and labour leader Jack Munro stand on the patio of Bennett's house in Kelowna, just after they have shaken hands to seal a deal "that would end the most massive protest in the province's history." This late-night meeting on November 13, 1983, lingers as the betrayal of "Operation Solidarity," a coalition of unions, community groups, students and activists, as it moved toward a general strike that was to counter the initial move in the game of neoliberalism in B.C. Hours of archival research did not churn up the specific image of Bennett and Munro shaking hands, yet that image is dramatically burned into social memory. The second archival image is of Herbert Marcuse as he speaks to 1,300 students at Simon Fraser University on Tuesday, March 25, 1969. Marcuse was on campus in the wake of the November 1968 student takeover of the administration building that the RCMP ended; he was invited by radical professors and the Department of Politics, Sociology, and Anthropology that was purged following its push to democratize the University. At the time, Marcuse, a leading public intellectual, theorized everyday life within a "totally administered society." But he was also a theorist of the transformation of society, which of course was what the students were looking to grasp as well.

Perhaps these two images can represent the dialectic of closure and possibility in the public sphere in Vancouver, as well as materially marking events that speak to our present moment of mega-event exceptionalism.

The futuristic moment of the installation announces itself as a vinyl text—the opening sentence of a work of speculative fiction, *Heads of the Town Down to the Streets*—set in an imagined Vancouver after the 2010 Olympic Games: "When the International Olympic Committee troops did not pull out of Vancouver after the games, the city should have erupted into civic war…"

Kinetic Emblem

Painted on the far wall is an emblem of an urban imaginary, or of the future imagination of a city. This colourful abstract emblem comes from a 1970s kinetic graphic from Venezuela that Urban Subjects discovered while doing field research in Caracas. Drawn from the cover of a book

of a radical publisher, the emblem captures the optimism and openness of radical urbanist thinking and is a graphic counterpoint to the tightening up of the public sphere and public imagination in Vancouver today.

We would like to thank: Jennie Cane, Alissa Firth-Eagland, Mandy Ginson, Andrew Lee, Johan Lundh, Simon Fraser University Archives, Simon Fraser University Special Collections, Carolyn Soltau (Research Librarian, News Research Librarian, Pacific Newspaper Group Library), UBC Library: Rare Books and Special Collections, Wayne Weins and Jerry Zaslove.

Footnotes

1. A bid book is prepared by a candidate city for presentation to the International Olympic Committee and its members. It is a collection of candidature files that outlines how the city plans to stage the Games, including venues, budgets, marketing, public support, environmental issues and 18 additional themes. The bid book can be several hundred pages in length, forms the basis of the bid city's proposal, and is the most important tool the voting members have to make their decision.
2. Stan Persky, "This Week" in *The Solidarity Times*, November 23, 1983.

Bik Van der Pol

Good Morning Vancouver!

This text is generated from the recorded statements made in the work, *I Confess I Care* (Bik Van der Pol), by individual members of the public during the exhibition.

It is a few days now after the Olympics have ended. I am thinking of what has been going on the last couple of weeks, and I am thinking about the aftermath. I am thinking of how extremely disturbing I found certain aspects of the whole event: the surge of nationalism, tied in with consumerism and the corporate culture around the games. Now this is not at all surprising, but seeing the whole process first-hand, it has really put me off. I am all for big parties on the street; the most exciting thing about the games has been the crowds of people on the street, seeing the streets so occupied, the carnival aspects of it. But this excitement has been tempered by the disturbing aspects that I have mentioned. I am particularly concerned about the effects it is going to have on

the housing situation in certain parts of the city. I expect it is now really going to launch and accelerate the removal of affordable housing and small business spaces in the near and long term future. I am also thinking of how much sport is given priority. From early on in the education system, sport is very much integrated into every child's upbringing and educational program. Wonderful in many ways, but it seems that art and cultural education is given little attention in relation to what is given to sport. Sport, physical recreation and play are important, however mental recreation is as important and equal emphasis should be given to the mind as to the body.

Sometimes when you are confronted with the opportunity to speak, you'll just speak for the sake of hearing your own voice.

People have a lot of ideas, but only a number of ideas are actually fully formed and functional... Can you close the door? ...It is pretty loud in this building... When it comes to art, I think that the number of people with artistic ideas is huge. Everybody has artistic ideas. And a smaller number of that group actually expresses their ideas, makes them come to life. And of that group, an even smaller number of people actually manage to have their ideas expressed in a matter that is fruitful. There are a lot of frustrated artists out there. There are a lot of artists with grand ambitions that have been dashed on the hard rocky shore of reality. The Cultural Olympiad accompanying the 2010 Games is such a rocky reality. Artists who are invited to contribute with their work have to sign a contract before participating in the cultural projects commissioned by VANOC, the Olympic organizing committee. I now quote a relevant clause in the contract: "The artist shall at all times refrain from making any negative or derogatory remarks, respecting VANOC, the 2010 Olympic and Paralympic Games, the Olympic movement generally, Bell and/or other sponsors associated with VANOC." ...So, the artists find themselves caught between appreciation for their work, and propaganda.

The sun'll come out

Tomorrow

Clear away the cobwebs,

And the sorrow

'Til there's none!

When I think of a day

That's gray,

And lonely,

I just stick out my chin

And Grin,

And Say,

Tomorrow

As a motherfucker, I really try to pay attention. I feel the burden of paying attention. I feel the burden of the city not paying attention to me, and the changes under my feet. I wish that other motherfuckers would pay more attention to the city.

DOOR SLAMMING…

This is me, the writer, and I am back in here because I like the space a lot. Having the opportunity to speak, to open my mouth, to be recorded… So, eh? …It is February 24th and it is right before the Canada-Russia hockey game, during the Olympics in Vancouver and I am here in this sound room. And I am going to read from my notes. This a wordlist-history for British Columbia: rain, SkyTrain, Columbia, the waterfront, inclusion, exclusion, sun, visible, heard, silence, club member, ex-member, in history, outside of history, spoken, unspoken, allowed, disallowed, acknowledged, unacknowledged, validated, invalidated, legitimate, illegitimate, permitted, not permitted, center, margin, subject, object, dominant, subordinate, poetry groups, dinner party, literary festivals, rhyme, un-rhyme, plot, no plot, Saxons, Normans, CBS, CKNW, belonging, exile, citizen, refugee, insider, outsider, settler, migrant, canon, undifferentiated, Duffy's, Chapters, Delilo, Stephen King, West, East, heard, unheard, owner, worker, male, female, mind-body, sky, earth, old, new, fast, slow, time… forever, noise, silence, silence.

So the story I want to tell happened during the Olympics. I did not know there was a fireworks show going on every night. I was tired and went to bed. I had started to have a dream of being on a very small island. More like a large rock actually, somewhere in the range of the Gulf Islands. While I was looking over them, sitting outside on the balcony, I heard large eruptions. I heard it first, and then there was a massive rainbow, mushroom cloud that was coming from the land, way off in the distance. A multi-coloured rainbow cloud, a nuclear bomb, and it was this moment of recognizing: this is the end.

The moments in time generated by the Olympic Games seem to become more and more an alternative time-measurement-device, or time-framer (something like another type of "clock"), in the sense that once every two years (Winter and Summer Games included) a different location in the world goes through immense change and becomes incorporated/included in a global string connecting such places and moments. Places become similar, the same, tied together by time-lines. This is the global clock, ticking.

> And… my name is… and what I want to say is [*whispering*]: I don't think I love my boyfriend.

We feel quite uninformed. We don't know what's going on. We are waiting for that enormous date. We're waiting for the countdown. I'm confused. It seems like other people are confused as well. Most of the conversations on the bus are of people expressing their anxiety about traffic and SkyTrains and basically anticipating a disaster. Word on the street is that it will be disastrous. There is a rushed

movement towards covering up, putting up a façade of non-permanency, of temporary artwork just put on boards of wood. And you can tell that they are just going to be taken down right away. You know: finishing up, covering up, and painting over. Last night, for the first time in my life, I did not know where I was. There are new banks, London Drugs, but all not permanent, all not real. All of these corporations making their mark, and it all just seems really out of place. The city is changing quickly. But the city is not necessarily changing for the better. Gastown is really creeping onto Hastings, in a way that was hinted at for a long time but has not really happened before. But now it is happening, really, really fast, and it won't change back anymore.

> Hello? Hello? ...Hellooooooo, who is out there??? Can you hear me?

Be you drunken, one must always be drunk. That is all there is to it. That is the only solution, in order to not feel the horrible burden of time breaking your shoulders and blowing your head to the ground. You must be drunken, but without respite. But with what? With wise poetry? With virtue as you will? Be you drunken. And sometimes you wake on the steps of the palace, in the keen abridge of a ditch, or in the dreary solitude of your room, then ask the wind, the waves, the stars, the birds, the clocks, ask everything, ask them: What is the time of day? And the wind, the waves, the stars, the birds and the clocks will answer you. It's time to get drunk. In order

not to be the martyred slave of time, be you drunken. Be you drunken ceaselessly.

> **There are restrictions on what athletes can do online during the Olympics. According to the IOC Blogging Guidelines for the 2010 Games, athletes and other accredited people must keep their posts confined to their personal experiences. Rule 49 of the Olympic Charter says: "Only those persons accredited as media may act as journalists, reporters or in any other media capacity." The other most significant restriction on athletes' posts is a ban on references to sponsors or advertisers who aren't official Olympic partners.**

This is absolutely ridiculous.

I want to share the full record of something I have read on beyondrobson.com, posted by JZ on July 10, 2009. I think it fits this context. I think it is important and I assume somebody will be listening to me.

> So… There we go: "Olympic security officials have developed plans to create so-called free speech areas during the 2010 Olympics in Vancouver, similar to the protest zones used in the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. However, protesters will not be required to limit their activities to the areas. 'You're free to use them, if you like, but anywhere you participate in lawful protest is legal and lawful in Canada. It doesn't have to be in a free speech area,' according to Mercer, the head of security for the 2010 Games. So what's the point? As far as I'm concerned, these 'free speech zones,' popping up at events around the world, are

simply a way to get people used to the notion that it's not OK for you to speak your mind wherever you want. The contradiction is two-fold: it is your right to free speech - anywhere in Canada at least. And the minute you have a 'free speech zone,' you are stating - implicitly or not - that free speech outside of these areas is not a right, accessible to everyone. As Mercer noted, it's still lawful to protest anywhere you like. As far as I know, protesters aren't really keen on being told where they should or should not do things. Is anyone using the 'free speech zones'? And by doing so, isn't it more or less supporting a tyrannical system? The point of speaking your mind is to be heard. In the 'free speech zone,' no one will be listening. If you are going to protest, I would say you want to do something which gets attention, you want to do something that slows down or stops operations at the Olympics. So why are we putting up with this? Whether you support the Olympics or not, I urge all readers of this blog to post comments, to call in to radio shows, and to voice your concern over this complete debasement of our so-called freedoms. Once we begin passively complying with even the concept of a 'free speech zone,' we begin to lose the one we already have: Canada."

You want me to leave?

I want you to notice!

A conversation between Jerry Zaslove and Bitter/Weber

What Kind of Society Do We Want?

Jerry, you have been engaged in Simon Fraser University from the beginning, in the mid-60s, and involved in the protests and uprisings. What led up to this moment in the years of 1967-1969 in Vancouver and within the North American context? Was there also an influence of the French events of May 68?

The events at SFU that could be said to inform the public sphere were the Viet Nam war and war resisters, the military-industrial complex that was, already in the fifties — my generation — embedded in the anti-war public sphere, and student movements in Germany, France, U.S., and Montreal and Toronto. There were important artists and writers who looked to international movements in art and thought.

But the movement here was as much over the conflict about academic freedom within academic governance at every level. The triggering event at SFU was the admissions policy! Seems pretty bland? Not really — it was about the nature of the public, who owns it, governs it. It was a real issue on the streets and in the SFU mall, and admission to university was not an admittance ticket, not just the privilege of the wealthy. The newspapers were afraid of it and us. They liked to parody SFU in cartoons, which were fun to see, a hint of the carnivalesque.

The experiential sides of those politics are all gone now. The eroding concrete of the SFU architecture is, in its own way, an authentic surface of time. It speaks to me of those events that were never planned to take place, and that was what was interesting — the interstices and the unplanned.

> The history of SFU is coined as the history of the "Radical Campus" at Burnaby, from the beginning in the mid-60s. What shaped the concept of radicality — the concepts of education, the concept of a new university in Vancouver at that time?

Radical, if it means anything today — the word "radicality" hides the bad conscience implicit in the locution-ity, and how it is used — must begin at the historical point in SFU's attempt to make a new curriculum and admissions policy where working people and their children (work broadly defined) would have access to learning, not just jobs and normative competence that just masks and mimics the society that forms us both ideologically and politically. This means understanding the history of an institution from the bottom to the top.

To see education not just as competence, but as a way to return education as a "displaced radical pedagogy" to those who stand at the door of the future, and who carry "the weight of suffering in the world" (the apropos term is from Bourdieu).

Education for non-traditional students was the framework at that crossroads of post-WW II, resource-based capital expansion in British Columbia; the need to educate an expanding population that was including new immigrants.

> In relationship to the recent situation of universities (in particular, SFU) within the social and the urban, how can the importance of memory and the consciousness of history be figured in the process of looking backward and looking forward?

I don't accept the current (and artificially created) nostalgia that labels SFU a "radical campus" as a way of understanding the years when Simon Fraser became a new institution in British Columbia. It is false memory, bad faith and a kind of intoxication with the superficial. That's part of the myth that came of age at the time, in order to discount the issues facing access to higher education today.

At the time, the utopic promise was for first-time university goers, children of families east of Main Street and farther east in the farming communities of the Fraser Valley. I came to SFU because it was "new" and had "new" programs that were "new," but in fact were new only in relationship to the traditional disciplines at UBC and elsewhere in Canada.

Vancouver itself was at the end of a period of architectural modernism that had dominated the City since the late thirties — and today's skyline and urban growth is an outcome of that technological sublime that made the undistinguished and ordinary modernist architecture of the period, the façade that covered over the oncoming bonanza.

The spectacular monument of Arthur Erickson's grand design of SFU is the outcome of that period of the Canadian technological sublime — the emerging spectacular state that looks inward toward its own corporate networks, and that created the grandiosity of the city and looked outward toward the geographical sublime that hid the fate of the economy. The real estate ideologically prescribed picture windows facing toward the landscape, of course parodying the photographic framing of a fear of the strange.

The two universities (UBC and SFU) were outposts on the edge of it all. Together, market, business and education fostered the myth of the "new," The culturally-oriented bourgeoisie were shaken up by the formation of SFU and were persuaded that a populist university was in their interest. The great Matthew Arnold, a schoolteacher, had pretty much created the terms of any indigenous Canadian debate over culture and anarchy. And that prepared the way for the new bourgeoisie to become arbiters of taste and fame, popularity and moral edification, and to demand their

place in the real world mediated by the new education. The false dichotomy, culture/anarchy, was resolved by erasing the conflict and dichotomies and the memory of its reality at SFU. Social amnesia is the keyword.

The university in that originary period had utopian assumptions for some of us, that consciousness of autonomy and freedom would not fit into the norms of bureaucratic or plutocratic mechanization and standardization of knowledge creation, whose inducements were well-known to be dominated by the mechanical culture of the business and market model, over-determining the professoriate's responsibilities. These are now, of course, hopelessly embedded in the digital systems of learning through simulation. Productivity is the byword. Downtown Vancouver was, in this period, being bought and sold by corporate companies like Marathon Realty and Cadillac Fairview. SFU was another urban-suburban development like the Waterfront and False Creek, and there was a lust for affluence and high-ranking places that could be visited by tourists and new entrepreneurs.

> In relation to universities (with universities figured as an influence on a public discourse and the media), how has the understanding of public sphere and public space shifted from the 1960s to today?

The new university emerged in that affluent period when the history of Canadian populism, left and centre, and the coming-out of a non-racialized public sphere of Asian and other immigrants was reflected in the emerging democratic social movements; the social democratic options were still alive although residual and resentful nationalism lived in pockets of anti-American, or anti-British, and of course, Europhobia (not to mention the ignorance about Quebec, a province which was nowhere to be seen at SFU).

I wrote somewhere that SFU was itself a social movement; the institution itself (ontologically, if one can say that) was a de-colonizing social movement. That included the arts and various new humanities configurations, and especially new curricula in education and the social sciences that challenged the hegemony of UBC's faculty of education and received disciplinary orthodoxy.

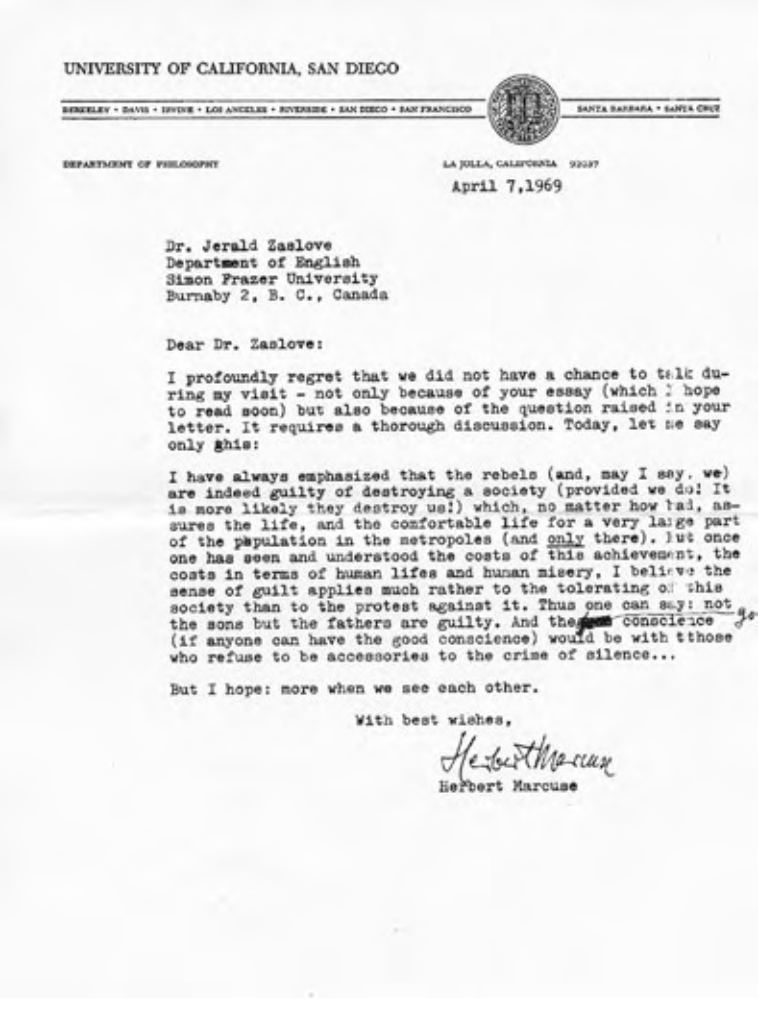
Today, the mantra of "interdisciplinary" means something else entirely. Then, it had the aura of a political prospect of linking ideas to material reality, new epistemologies and poetics. The utopic enlightenment prospect, in the aesthetic and political sense of the word "education," is that it reflected the chaos of the city around it. I held the fantasy that a university was not going to be plugged into the same class-stratified world from which it emerged.

> What was your relation to public intellectuals like Herbert Marcuse, and was education part of ideological struggles — anarchist/leftist/liberal/right?

Herbert Marcuse, Paul Goodman, and others visited. The Marxian scholar, Tom Bottomore, was Head of the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology (PSA) Department. But I thought about intellectual work not necessarily in political labels, but as labour and not as the production of a future cadre of "brain workers," who were going to become the aristocracy of the bureaucracy.

A figure like Marcuse was an alien visitor from another planet. But not to the students whom I see now as exiles from a university that exists as a mockery of a public sphere. The university is not an enclave for resistance. It is a figuration of the urban aura. Of course there are pockets of resistance and spaces of promise, as in any invisible public sphere.

At the time, it was possible to ask the question: What kind of society do we want? What is this institution doing here and what is different about it? When SFU opened, it appeared there was another way. Of course generations change, but history operates behind the back of generations, as the blind spot of forgetfulness inside of social movements. SFU's tragedy was believing that it was "the new," and that became the farce of believing that being "new" could be something other than what it is now: the eternal return of the same. In retrospect, those who mythologize the new today are making a costume drama of the "radical."



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DEPARTMENT OF PHILOSOPHY — LA JOLLA, CALIFORNIA 92037

April 7,1969

Dr. Jerald Zaslove
Department of English
Simon Frazer University
Burnaby 2, B. C., Canada

Dear Dr. Zaslove:

I profoundly regret that we did not have a chance to talk during my visit - not only because of your essay (which I hope to read soon) but also because of the question raised in your letter. It requires a thorough discussion. Today, let me say only this:

I have always emphasized that the rebels (and, may I say, we) are indeed guilty of destroying a society (provided we do! It is more likely they destroy us!) which, no matter how bad, assures the life, and the comfortable life for a very large part of the population in the metropoles (and only there). But once one has seen and understood the costs of this achievement, the costs in terms of human lifes and human misery, I believe the sense of guilt applies much rather to the tolerating of this society than to the protest against it. Thus one can say: not the sons but the fathers are guilty. And the good conscience (if anyone can have the good conscience) would be with those who refuse to be accessories to the crime of silence...

But I hope: more when we see each other.

With best wishes,

Herbert Marcuse

Herbert Marcuse

Myka Tucker-Abramson

Spectacle Capitalism: Expo 86, the Olympics, and Public Education

> I was ten years old the year Chernobyl burned,
> The same year that Expo 86
> Came to Vancouver and the city changed forever.
> Elizabeth Bachinsky, *Expo 86*

> Why does Olympic cheer need this enforcement
> Bylaws and cameras and copcars and contracts
> Copyrights that seek to muzzle honesty
> The forced cheer of torch marches, helicopters circling
> Vultures over spectacle — flesh of the wounded
> Naava Smolash, Press Release Collective, *Oh Lyric*

Many of us are now familiar with the idea of disaster capitalism, coined by Naomi Klein, who uses the term to explain how governments and big business use natural disasters to carry out economic "shock therapy" to create neoliberal societies and free market economies. Think New Orleans, where Katrina was used to carry out massive wealth transfers from public services to the private sector. Think post-earthquake Haiti, where organizations like the conservative U.S. think-tank the Heritage Foundation explicitly tie relief money to economic and social transformation.

But, disaster capitalism's bright-sided twin, spectacle capitalism, uses big events like the Olympics, World Fairs, or Expos to achieve similar transformations. Starting with British Columbia's Social Credit government's use of Expo 86 and carrying through to the 2010 Olympics, this is what we have witnessed in Vancouver. There is much to flesh out — the symbiotic relationship of disaster and spectacle capitalism or, focussing in on the comparison between the "privatized security state" created in post-invasion Iraq and post-Katrina New Orleans and the $1.15 billion budget of the Olympics, respectively mapping the gentrification of the Big Easy's Ninth Ward and the gentrification of Vancouver's poorest yet most vibrant neighbourhood, the Downtown Eastside, and so on.

I want to zoom in and look at one emblematic use of spectacle capitalism: the privatization and weaponization of post-secondary public education. What really drives home this connection between the processes of global capitalism that operate in post-disaster zones is the fact that two of the most recent Olympic host countries have also hosted the G8 University Summit. The G8 University Summit, whose theme was "Universities and Communities: transition to a sustainable future," brings together presidents of major research universities to address the role universities should play in the development of knowledge to lead global social change in the 21st century. During the summit, a group of us occupied the University of British Columbia's Robson Square (now General Electric Square) to host a teach-in. Sumayya Kassamali explained the irony of UBC hosting a summit on sustainability and community given the University's occupation of Musqueam (First Nation)

lands, its development of condominiums and golf courses, and its increasing divestment of public accountability. Following the global neoliberal currents, UBC is transforming from public educational institute to property developer and landlord. Globally, there are plenty of examples of the university as a tool for the contemporary neoliberal project: New York University professors do their tour of duty on its Abu Dhabi campus, Canadian and US schools increasingly turn to private recruitment companies to lure international students and international student fees, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development creates an Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes, and an educational standard "valid for all cultures and languages."

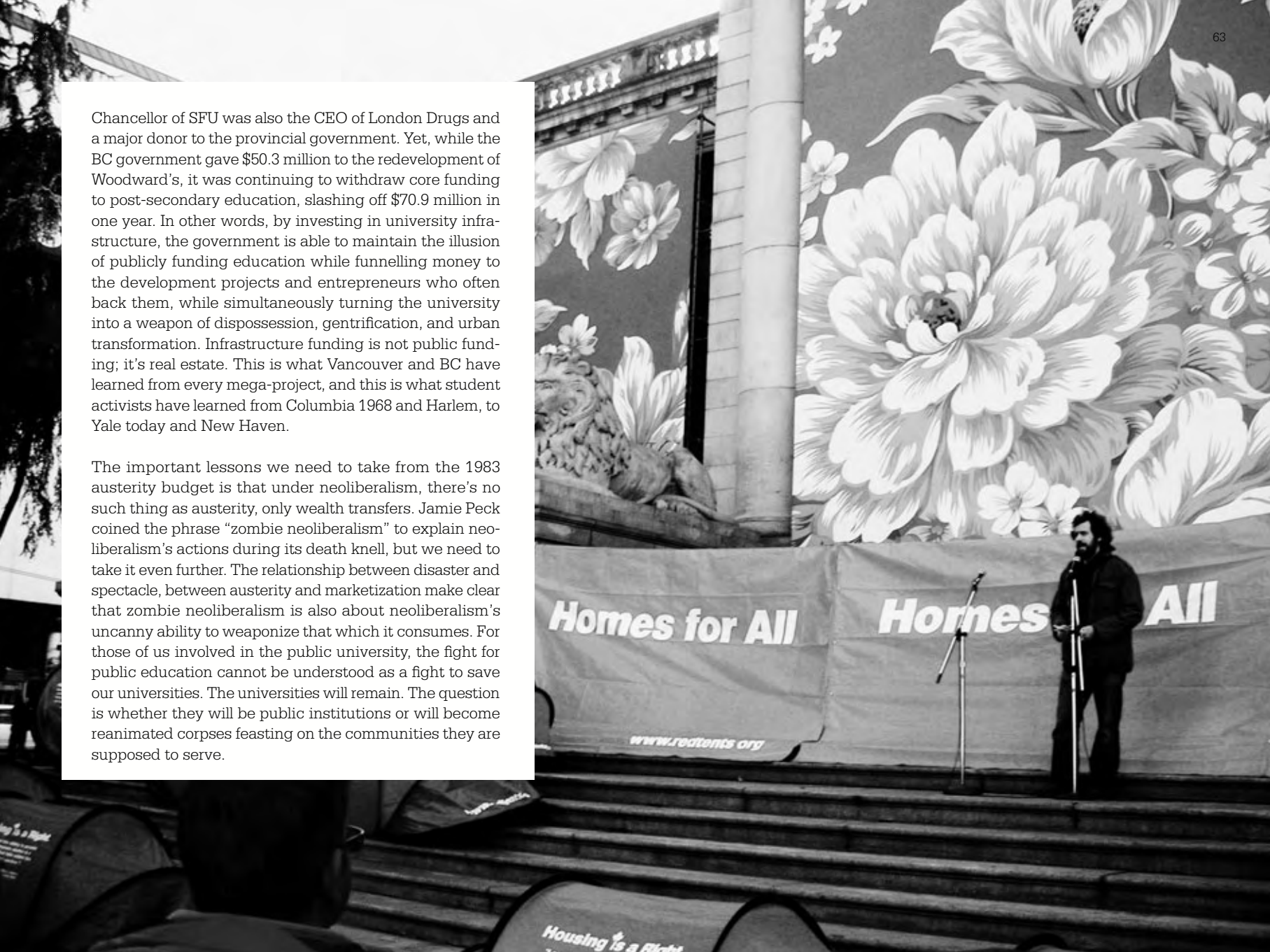
This was spearheaded in British Columbia in 1983, the year the Social Credit government passed its austerity budget which laid the ground for hosting Expo 86. Expo 86 emerged largely out of the Socred's desire to push through a series of infrastructure projects, to get more Asian money into Vancouver, and to "clean up" the industrial area of False Creek. The global-local capitalist elites that made up the crown Expo Corporation reflected the very mutual relationship of governmental and corporate interests — a relationship that has strengthened today.

Austerity budgets are never about cost saving, but rather social restructuring and wealth transfer. And in Vancouver, the austerity budget(s) and Expo 86 worked in tandem. The 1983 and 1984 budgets radically transformed the Labour Code and aggressively attacked labour rights. Alongside these changes, the Socred government pressured the Expo Corporation to hire non-union labour for building all of its infrastructure projects. These laws also drastically affected the university: the Public Service Restraint Act gave public sector employers authority to "terminate the employment of an employee without cause" and aimed to undermine tenure; amendments to the College and Institute

Act consolidated government power over university boards. Between 1983 and 1985, university budgets were slashed by 5% and between 1982 and 1986, $1 billion flowed into major infrastructure projects like the SkyTrain line and the building of Canada Place and other sites for Expo '86, as well as the development of Expo School Programs and other promotional television and newspaper programs.

If all of this sounds familiar, it should. Today, the Liberal government also aims to overhaul public institutions and laws and attack worker and community organizations. On the one hand, government consolidates its hold over public and, on the other, public services are increasingly privatized and outsourced. The university is an ideal example of this double movement and the Olympics are the fodder. While the university's funding is held hostage through "letters of expectations" and funding cuts, and while its workers (especially the more precarious support staff) are under attack because of increasingly anti-worker labour laws, the university is privatizing its services piece by piece and becoming a real-estate developer. The university has become a weapon of gentrification and privatization. If the university was ever a public service, it is now a service the government can use for its projects of cost recovery, land development, and labour-market management.

That is the rollback. This is the rollout. While there are countless examples of projects of Olympic-fuelled projects of development and gentrification in the Downtown Eastside, the newly opened Woodward's building in the neighbourhood highlights the increasingly complex relationship between the neoliberal state, real-estate developers, and the university. Once the Woodward's development began, the first non-housing groups to agree to participate in redevelopment were London Drugs and my school, Simon Fraser University, with the help of a $50.3 million grant from BC's Provincial Government and London Drugs. At the time, the



Chancellor of SFU was also the CEO of London Drugs and a major donor to the provincial government. Yet, while the BC government gave $50.3 million to the redevelopment of Woodward's, it was continuing to withdraw core funding to post-secondary education, slashing off $70.9 million in one year. In other words, by investing in university infrastructure, the government is able to maintain the illusion of publicly funding education while funnelling money to the development projects and entrepreneurs who often back them, while simultaneously turning the university into a weapon of dispossession, gentrification, and urban transformation. Infrastructure funding is not public funding; it's real estate. This is what Vancouver and BC have learned from every mega-project, and this is what student activists have learned from Columbia 1968 and Harlem, to Yale today and New Haven.

The important lessons we need to take from the 1983 austerity budget is that under neoliberalism, there's no such thing as austerity, only wealth transfers. Jamie Peck coined the phrase "zombie neoliberalism" to explain neoliberalism's actions during its death knell, but we need to take it even further. The relationship between disaster and spectacle, between austerity and marketization make clear that zombie neoliberalism is also about neoliberalism's uncanny ability to weaponize that which it consumes. For those of us involved in the public university, the fight for public education cannot be understood as a fight to save our universities. The universities will remain. The question is whether they will be public institutions or will become reanimated corpses feasting on the communities they are supposed to serve.

Am Johal

Against the State

In a recent speech to the World Social Forum in 2010, urban geographer David Harvey remarked, "Capitalism came into this world, as Marx once put it, bathed in blood and fire. Although it might be possible to do a better job of getting out from under it than getting into it, the odds are heavily against any purely pacific passage to the promised land."[1] Today, even the idea of that passage has become more difficult, as we live in an age where the possibilities of the political imagination are constrained to an ever-narrowing worldview. The spaces for critical thought are in danger of further contamination as both government and corporatist interests distort and challenge their structures of arms-length independence. This also comes at a time when space for intellectual debate in traditional political parties has diminished.

At the same time, since the 1970s, in the developed world, median incomes have not kept pace with the cost of living:

the quality of life is going down according to every economic indicator. Here, in the city that is always getting the accolade as the world's "most livable," at minimum, 55,765 households in Metro Vancouver are considered to be under the "at risk" category of housing affordability—literally one paycheque away from facing homelessness. But, despite this precariousness, independent counter-apparatuses and economies that challenge state and corporate intervention remain underdeveloped. It is a failure of the critical class in this city, and it is a failure globally.

Civil society has been under attack for so long that, neo-utopian projects of their time, even ones as modest as non-profit organizations and co-ops, have become de facto apparatuses of the state.

In this context, what does it mean to imagine an independent civil society again? The critique of the state has always been necessary. The global right gets it. They have Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek. Get government out of your face, everyone will experience freedom, the private sector will thrive and human rights will follow. The tyranny of the state knows no bounds. The state is something to be feared, and so on, for decades now.

The left lost the battleground a generation ago when it responded to the threat by invoking an ineffective and reactionary defense of the state. The same state, which by now kept poor people in poverty, placed social assistance recipients under surveillance and made it impossible to collect employment insurance. "Maggie Thatcher, Milk Snatcher" was a great slogan when her government cut milk deliveries to school children in early 80s Britain, but she remained in power and her style of governance lived on through New Labour. In the US, the Reagan revolution led to Bush and then to Clinton.

In retrospect, the response to the neoliberal onslaught should not have been a defense of the state—rather, it should have been to present an alternative to the state at the level of culture. There should have been a plan for local control, autonomous structures protected and insulated from the state, with the possibilities of independence and self-government on a small scale. There is still a need for a return of the political, differentiated from the interests of political parties and electoral politics.

In British Columbia, in 1983, during the height of Operation Solidarity (a union and community coalition aimed against the neoliberalization of the economy), the organizers released a "Declaration of the Rights of British Columbians," which Urban Subjects included as a take-away publication in the exhibition. At Empire Stadium, then BC's largest sports stadium, people filled the rafters and even the police joined the parade into the facility. Activists thought the police were there to break up the protest, but they actually came to march, in uniform, in solidarity with protestors.

But the labour and civil society divide is firmly seared into the collective memory of progressive movements to this day, because the moment ended badly and there were real and continued feelings of betrayal. That dismal moment is documented by Urban Subjects, as a key moment of collapse that signaled the arrival of our nascent neoliberalism.

In this context, large-scale urban development schemes like Olympics and Expos impact housing affordability, reduce civil liberties of low-income people, and result in cost over-runs. These impacts flow through public policy processes and very little effort is made to mitigate them. It is a kind of structural violence writ large. Homelessness more than doubled in the region while over 6 billion was spent to organize the Games. Police surveillance of social activists became an accepted phenomenon. Even before the circus left town, teachers were laid off, arts funding was

slashed, and cuts to social programs were unleashed. The promised units of social housing at the Olympic Athlete's Village (a main aspect in selling the games to the city) were drastically reduced. The urban aboriginal community had no seat at the table despite early promises. Hosting the Olympics exacerbated and accelerated development paths in the city, which magnified the social impacts.

This is what Žižek calls the "obscene underside of power", the backside of power, the underlying coercion in cooperation:

> ...it isn't that power itself functions... the power itself has to disavow its own founding operation... This is what interests me, this obscene underside of power, how power, in order to function, has to repress not the opponent, but has to split in itself. You have a whole set of measures which power uses, but disavows them; uses them, but they are operative but not publicly acknowledged. This is for me the obscenity of power.[2]

Capital, by its very nature, needs to move around. It can't remain static. Since we've already had the Olympics, we now have to invent something new to speed up the urbanization process, so capital can circulate and dance. There needs to be new transactions in the urban change-making machine in Vancouver.

This is the new normal—a public sphere mediated in a straightjacketed, neoliberal frame for the better part of thirty years. In the civic moment leading up the 2010 Olympics, the critical classes lived through it, participated in it, and largely failed to alter its advance.

The Vancouver Olympic Organizing Committee's (VANOC) Manager of Corporate Brand Protection was the perfect

Orwellian devil. By protecting the Olympic brand and corporate sponsors, he argued the public interest would be protected because it reduced the amount of public investment necessary for the project to move ahead.

The right to the city, as strategy and slogan, brings the practical question of human rights into the public domain. It asks for a wider participation in the processes of remaking the city. Rights left to legal strategies without political struggle are ineffective. The recent BC Supreme Court decision gives homeless people the right to sleep outside, but it doesn't say that people have the right to adequate housing. Rights mediated through the profession of law also undermine self-expression and personal struggles for human rights that are viewed as universal values, rather than rights bestowed on citizens by nation-states or the UN. It is as good a mobilizing discourse as one can find in the current political space, but a slogan is still a slogan and subject to appropriations and misuse.

As the city moves to it next modes of urbanization—"Green Capital," the "Creative City," or "Las Vegas North"—we should pause to reflect for a moment. We just went through an incredibly traumatic urban moment. There was a lot at stake and there was a collective civic failure in addressing that moment.

"State power today," Giorgio Agamben writes, "is no longer founded on the monopoly of the legitimate use of violence—a monopoly that states share increasingly willingly with other non-sovereign organizations such as the United Nations and terrorist organizations; rather, it is founded above all on the control of appearance (of doxa)."[3] You could add the words International Olympic Committtee, VANOC and G20 to the list of non-sovereign actors. There needs to be a considered interrogation of governmentality, done with altruistic ruthlessness.

Yet, in Vancouver, the advance continues. Another sports megaproject, BC Place, will get a new $600 million convertible roof and a $450 million destination casino and hotel development adjacent to it. The possible removal of the Dunsmuir Viaducts and further development eastward will impact the surrounding environment and raise legitimate issues of affordability and development agendas that will be criticized for lacking transparency. SFU's Woodward's facility, a proposed new Vancouver Art Gallery and a new campus for Emily Carr would certainly further the 'creative cities' narrative with the development sector.

With this relationship of culture, the state, and urban development cut free of civic participation, we need to question the dream of cultural and institutional autonomy. Boris Groys writes, "Given our current cultural climate, the art institutions are practically the only places where we can actually step back from our own present and compare it with other historical eras. In these terms, the art context is

almost irreplaceable because it is particularly well suited for critically analyzing and challenging the claims of the media-driven zeitgeist."[4]

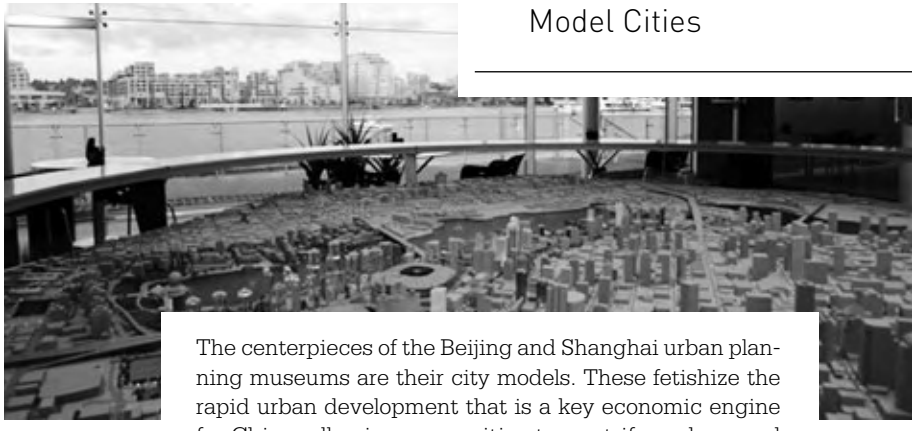
As the relationship between development, the state and culture becomes inextricably linked, in an age of precarious funding for the arts, and in an age of precarious housing, the space for an autonomous institution is difficult to imagine. Perhaps a response that suits this neoliberal relationship of culture to the urban will be in spaces that exist outside the existing systems of art production.

Footnotes

1. David Harvey, *Speech to the World Social Forum* 2010 (http://kasamaproject.org/2010/06/13/david-harvey-is-another-communism-possible/).
2. Slavoj Žižek, *Against Human Rights* (speech, http://www.egs.edu).
3. Giorgio Agamben, *Means without End: Notes on Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 2000), 124.
4. Boris Groys, "Art at War," *Art Power* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008), 129.

Lize Mogel

Model Cities



The centerpieces of the Beijing and Shanghai urban planning museums are their city models. These fetishize the rapid urban development that is a key economic engine for China, allowing some cities to gentrify and expand exponentially. Recent development booms are linked to the Beijing 2008 Summer Olympics and the Shanghai World Expo 2010—mega-events with an eye to the world stage.

Both museums are situated near cultural focal points—Shanghai's Urban Planning Exhibition Hall is at one edge of People's Square, Beijing's is just south of Tiananmen Square. The city model is the main attraction, set in the major part of a floor of the building. Balconies on the floor above allow you an aerial view of the model (Shanghai's museum also has a VIP balcony that is somewhat lower so special visitors can get a closer look). Light shows from above and within, LEDs buried in the model, highlight newly built areas of the city and important historic areas. This is urban planning theater at its most sublime.

At this scale, your relationship to space and place changes. You are the planner, the architect and the state—with the

ability to visualize the entire territory at once. This Lilliput is not troubled by social problems or political disputes; buildings are without inhabitants, roads are without traffic, and there is barely a hint of infrastructure like sewage or electricity. It's a city of architecture.

Beijing's city model reproduces the city that is also central to tourist maps. The Forbidden City, the "starchitecture" of the new financial district, and the Olympic area are specially lit. The model is inset into a thick glass floor, tiled with a black-and-white, backlit aerial map of the city—a room-sized Google map. Visitors squat to locate themselves, their history, running fingers over the glass. While they can touch the map, they can only gaze at the model from behind a barrier. Chrome stanchions with red belts enforce the border between the model and the map. The border is between the old and the new; between skyscrapers and hutongs; dense central city and land for agriculture or industry. The model is the glittering representation of progress, of construction, development and growth, of Technicolor reality. The photomap, with its quaint greenish tint, depicts the out-of-date, the less important. This dichotomy portends the future, as eventually more tiles of the map will be removed and replaced with model as development spreads in the actual city (perhaps with similar speed and finality).

China's top-down development policies and relocation tactics result in displacement of disempowered residents, who are often moved to the city's periphery, their community ties broken and access to transportation and work made difficult, if not impossible. However, unusual care was taken with the former residents of the Shanghai Expo 2010 site on opposing banks of the Huangpu River. The original master plan called for a site a few miles further upriver, in a mostly residential area. This was scrapped because it would have displaced many thousands more people than the mostly industrial site that was eventually

chosen. The developer (one of Shanghai's largest) who built the apartment complexes that many of the displaced residents moved into is proud that they are only 2.5 kms away from the original village.

Shanghai Expo 2010, like Expo 86 in Vancouver, was built on former industrial urban waterfront. Vancouver's False Creek was once home to milling industry and production, as well as tracks and service shops owned by the Canadian National Railway, until the mid-1980s when the last businesses were shut to make way for the Expo. The Shanghai Expo was built on 5.28 square kms on the north (Puxi) and south (Pudong) sides of the river. In Puxi, the Jiangnan shipyard, built in 1865 and one of China's oldest, was dismantled and operations moved to the Changxing "Ship Building Island" at the eastern edge of the city. The Pudong side contained a working Krups steel factory and related businesses; at least 19,000 people living in several hutong-type villages that had been there for more than 40 years. Similarly to False Creek, the idea of air pollution was publicly invoked as a justification for clearing the area.

Expos, Olympics, and other mega-events have almost always been used to affect change. They are used to further government and business agendas under the rubric of "revitalization," which ranges from urban renewal to slum clearance. These events can result in public amenities like transportation — Vancouver's SkyTrain was a result of Expo 86, which had a transportation theme, and the Canada Line to the airport was built in time for the 2010 Winter Olympics — and parks — New York City's World Fairs helped Robert Moses turn an ash dump into the City's largest park. However, these events are also used deliberately to remove unwanted places and people who are not considered by governments to be as valuable as potential real estate development. This has included low-income or homeless people, marginalized populations including people of color, small businesses, working industrial areas, low-rise housing

and more. Displacement resulting from mega-events is so rampant that the Center for Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE), an international human rights NGO, recently released a major report condemning governments for this practice. The report laid out stakeholder guidelines for creating affordable housing legacies and promoting human rights rather than destroying them.

COHRE's statistics are damning: more than 1.25 million people evicted and displaced during the Beijing Olympics, 720,000 people evicted for the 1988 Olympics in Seoul, 30,000 people suffered from secondary displacement in Atlanta, 18,000 people affected on the Shanghai Expo site and 400,000 in secondary displacement and gentrification from development projects around the city, 300,000 people evicted for the 2010 Commonwealth Games in New Dehli, and up to 2000 low-income housing units lost during Expo 86 in Vancouver, as landlords took advantage of the opportunity to rent to visitors, evicting low-income, elderly and disabled people.

During Vancouver's Winter Olympic Games, activists and organizers kept the housing crisis in the spotlight. They even secured housing for dozens of unhoused people through a visible campaign that included pitching a tent city in a vacant lot owned by Concorde Pacific, Vancouver's largest developer and sponsor of the Games. However, the City's pledge to create new affordable housing, from a significant percentage of the Millenium Water development (formerly the Athlete's Village), failed. Cost overruns and bad financing decisions caused the city to cut the number of affordable apartments originally promised and spend millions more to finish the remaining units. This created a backlash as some Vancouverites questioned why low-income people deserved to live in prime waterfront real estate, ignoring the fact that, just across False Creek, Concorde Pacific's waterfront development includes a

CHILD POVERTY
WOMENS POVERTY
HOMES FOR ALL
Spirit of the Site
POLYSULPHIDE
FENZI

percentage of affordable housing (although as a private development, most people are unsure exactly what percentage, or where it is).

During the Olympics, Canadian regional pavilions were located on a swath of land owned by Concorde Pacific. Rainbow-colored banners advertising this "community celebration zone" and Concorde's "shaping horizons for the future" hid chain link fences that separated the public walkway from the concourse, and that from infrastructure and outdoor storage. Concorde opened up its real estate sales pavilion to the general public in order to display its architectural models and carefully crafted slogans for new communities, built alongside Olympic infrastructure such as the Canada Line and the widened Sea to Sky highway.

The centerpiece of the pavilion was a city model centered on False Creek North, the former site of Expo 86. Concorde Pacific acquired the land for a relatively low price during a period of government consolidation and divestment of False Creek land. Visitors could circumnavigate the model and were allowed to take photographs, a practice previously forbidden to tourists. One's focus was drawn to several buildings at False Creek's Eastern edge, made from Lucite and lit from below. These were the same buildings pictured on the banners — Concorde's plan for 2020, for the future. Here, the model is not a record of what is, but what will be. But like the Beijing and Shanghai models, the fantasy it offers belies the on-the-ground reality of the displacement that helped create it.

Rob Hornstra and Arnold van Bruggen

Skating Among Palm Trees

The 2014 Winter Games will be held in a subtropical seaside resort, full of abandoned sanatoria on the border with conflict zone Abkhazia. Over the coming five years, this region will change beyond recognition. We believe it is of great journalistic importance that the run-up to such a major international event receive sustained and in-depth coverage. Dutch newspapers and magazines do not have the budget or manpower to realize a project of this scale. That's why we are planning to do it ourselves through our crowd-funded documentary project, "The Sochi Project."

If you take the train from Moscow to Sochi, you pass by thirty-seven continuous hours of birch forests, wheat fields, farms, factories, abandoned land and here and there a village or town. Thick drifts of snow lie everywhere. The local people walk through it, blowing clouds of steam, dressed in black trousers, jumpers, coats with fur collars and warm

hats. We pass Tula, Voronezh, Rostov on the Don, Krasnodar and still, snow lies everywhere. Then, at five o'clock in the morning, we rush past the mountains, the north-western foothills of the Caucasus, and the snow vanishes under the warm sun. Suddenly there are palm trees, a calm, rippling sea plays with the pebble beach and sanatoria rise above the railway track that runs right next to the coast. And here, in this small piece of subtropical Russia, where no snow falls in the winter, the 2014 Olympic Winter Games are being organized.

It was a remarkable choice that was made in Guatemala City on July 4th, 2007. With 51 votes to 47, the IOC elected Sochi over the South Korean Pyeongchang. People everywhere spoke wonderingly of the five-minute speech by then-president Putin. With a thick German-Russian accent, he spoke in English and French — perfectly according to those present — to the audience. He promised a sum of $12 billion dollars from the Treasury to fund the Games. During the Committee's first visit to Sochi in April 2008, the IOC declared the Olympic Games there to be the most challenging ever. The state-owned station, Russia Today, broadcast this as a compliment.

Never before have the Olympics taken place in a region that contrasts more strongly with the glamour of the Games than in Sochi. Anyone comparing the Russian organisation's Olympic models with the actual situation in Imeretinskaya Bay has to do a double-take. Back in 2009, when we first visited the valley, cabbage was growing everywhere. Right now it's being replaced with stadiums for the opening and closing ceremonies, the medal presentation, two ice hockey stadiums, a curling stadium, the indoor skating rink, a figure skating stadium, the Olympic Village and the international press centre.

There we met a small group of newborn activists, living on the lands of the future Olympics. "'They've already sold our land before they've agreed anything with us," says Tatyana. A tidal wave of theories and conspiracies washes over us. "Did you know there are large caves and underground lakes under this area, where fresh and saltwater collide? If they build stadiums here, they will disappear into the ground immediately," someone says. Someone else claims to know that the ground here is so saturated with water that the eventual building costs will be much more expensive than ever estimated. A woman points to the rivers that flow out of the mountains: "Have you seen how they've been hollowed out? They are already using the stone for construction in the mountains. But in the meantime, the salmon and trout can no longer use the river."

So far, nothing new — almost every Olympic Games goes hand in hand with forced relocation. For the Games in Vancouver, apartment blocks have been demolished and people forced out of their houses. China started knocking down apartment blocks in 2001, a process that continued relentlessly up to the Games in 2008. But Winter Games in a summer holiday destination? That's unusual. Sochi is a lovely place. It stretches out for 150 kilometres along the coast, at the foot of mountains up to 5,000 metres high. Less than 400,000 people live here, but in the summer that number swells to millions. Sochi was the pride of the Soviet Union. Countless unions, army units and communist party organizations built their own sanatoria here. It was a privilege to be allowed to stay here. Leaders and bosses had their own private datshas (holiday homes) and the old folk tell juicy stories about Brezhnev's extravagances in the mud baths at Machesta. The fall of the Soviet Union also signalled Sochi's demise. Many sanatoria closed their doors and the chaos that reigned across Russia did not spare the once immaculate lanes, parks and beaches of the Russian Riviera. The beach life of today's Sochi is such that the extravagances in Salou and Lloret de Mar pale in comparison.

It is a big gamble on the part of the IOC to organise the Winter Games in a small subtropical city with no infrastructure. But the IOC has taken gambles before with its choices of Beijing for 2008, the then-military dictatorship of South Korea for 1988 and Nazi Germany for 1936. However, the immediate proximity of a conflict zone makes the choice for Sochi even more remarkable. On the other side of the mountains are small, violent breakaway republics such as Kabardino-Balkaria, Ingushetia, Chechnya and Dagestan. Less than 2 kilometres from Imeretinskaya Bay is the border with Abkhazia, a renegade breakaway republic of Georgia. At the border, a paper visa is attached to our passports. Abkhazia is a happy little country. With tourism and name recognition, the few hundred thousand inhabitants hope to capitalize on the Games, 800 metres from their border. Abkhazia is supplying gravel and concrete for the Olympic structures. We travel through Keselidze, Gagra and Pitsunda, famous holiday resorts from the Soviet era. Until recently, time here stood still, but now significant building and investment is underway. President Bagapsh conducts business from his royal residence in the capital Sukhumi. He can afford to gloat a little, "We have everything here to help the Olympic Games: natural deep-sea harbours, two airports, building materials and lots of hotels. It's up to the Russians to decide what they want to do with us and our infrastructure has to be improved, but we are ready to help make Sochi 2014 a success." Georgia however, has already announced that it wants to boycott the Games if Russia uses its Abkhazian territory illegally.

In spite of the many obstacles, Prime Minister Putin is Sochi 2014's biggest supporter. He likes Sochi. When he visited the former Komsomol children's camp Urlyonok, just north of Sochi, he said, "The children here cry when they have to go home at the end of the holiday. I cry when I see what has become of our heritage." Putin wants to restore Russian pride and glory. Sochi 2014 will be instrumental in this. "Sochi," he said in Guatemala,

"will be the first world-class ski resort in the new Russia." Sochi has become Russia's second capital. Every other week, Putin and President Medvedev hold conferences in the city or stay in their country houses there. They both say that they are personally supervising the progress of the Games. Throngs of billionaires flock to Sochi in their wake. Billionaires in Russia have to be prepared to carry out odd jobs for the Kremlin at any given moment, or risk losing their company or status. Sochi is one such job. All of the big businesses are being asked to invest here in hotels, Olympic complexes, roads and tunnels. Russia is

investing around eight billion dollars in the Games; the business world is being asked to come up with another eight. But despite the economic crisis, total costs are already rumoured to run up to 40 billion dollars.

The games will go on. That's for sure. A small summer spa will transform into a high-tech winter resort. What will happen thereafter remains unclear. Until then, on www.thesochiproject.org, we'll make in-depth documentary stories on the bigger region in and around Sochi: on Krasny Vostok, an utterly inconsequential village on the other side of the mountains, on the old Soviet sanatoria on the coastline and on Abkhazia and the local sportsmen who place their bets on the games. All to make sure that in 2014, everybody who will watch the great sportsmen struggle for their gold medals, all who see the grand venues and bullet trains straight into the mountains, have a great chance to witness the entire process by joining our project.

Pelin Tan

Normalization of "Culture" Under Neoliberal Governmentality: Istanbul European Cultural Capital Project

> In Istanbul, we cannot pursue the same life that we have had. Istanbul has a side that encompasses/enfolds us all and yet goes beyond us. We have left behind the 9-month period of being the European Cultural Capital. In a city that is a European Cultural Capital, it is not possible to accept the destruction of artworks in galleries and violence toward each other, violence where there are foreigners.[1]

The Cultural Minister of Turkey, Mr. Ertuğrul Günay gave a press speech in a local coffee/tea place in Tophane district, where around 40 people from the neighbourhood recently attacked three art galleries. In last year and a half, the district where I have lived for seven years, Tophane, a transitional area between the cultural entertainment center of Beyoğlu and various residential neighborhoods, has been facing a strong gentrification process that merges

with the culture of consumption of the Istiklal Beyoğlu district. The residents of Tophane are generally from mixed ethnic communities where social conditions are poor. As an old neighborhood dating from the Ottoman period, the district still represents fragmented localities in everyday life. But in recent years, due to a process supported by the local municipality, Tophane has begun to transform into a conservative, pro-Islamic area, although it remains fragmented with Romany, Ottoman Greek, Kurdish, and other communities living in the neighborhood. However, the district remains one of the City's most culturally and socially rich public squares, with vibrant constellations of everyday life practices. Although the district is the focus of a process of cultural gentrification that began with a string of art galleries, from Beyoğlu to Tophane, on to the Istanbul Museum of Modern Art, local everyday life continues to be based on the structure of the *mahalle*.[2] Yet, in front of the curious eyes of the inhabitants, a number of galleries, artists-run spaces, and also some cheap hostels have moved into the district. The galleries have defined this area as the "Tophane Art Walk," joining the modern art museum, Sanat Limanı, the art space in the European Cultural Capital Agency (whose agency/office is on Istiklal Street) and the art line that follows from Karaköy to Golden Horn. The Art Walk is a culturally led transformation that meets the interests and demands of the real-estate market.

The art-*mahalle* conflict, which was widely covered in recent weeks by the Turkish media, focused on the urban violence and after-conflict between two parties: the art scene and the neighborhood. Basically, the inhabitants told the press that they do not want to accept the lifestyle of art people in their neighborhood. In contrast, the artists and galleries explained that the neighborhood has to accept the transformation of their environment. This argument divided the public in Turkey into two confrontational realities that are also layered within the claims to this very constrained public space. I find the discussion very interesting, for it

is a discussion which was actually hidden and appeared publicly only through the antagonistic claims in Istanbul, a city which is the Cultural Capital of Europe.

The European Cultural Capital (ECC) project in Istanbul has been used by the government to justify the transformation of the term culture into a governmental concept. In the meantime, the use of cultural projects and arguments for remaking the global image of the city, both in the interests of tourism and real estate, appeared as real facts in urban space. Asu Aksoy explains:

> There seems to be more people wanting to reap the benefits of the opening of the economy and society of Istanbul. This is the reason behind the enthusiastic response by all the different constituencies in the city to the news that Istanbul is to become the European Capital of Culture in 2010. Istanbul 2010 is attractive for the opportunities that will be opened up in terms of marketing the City's image as a modern, charismatic and cosmopolitan place — and hence the opportunity is being turned into a branding exercise to attract tourists and global capital investments into cultural industries.[3]

Since Istanbul was announced officially as the European Cultural Capital, I have witnessed basically three problems in the ECC process: the conflict between intellectuals, civil initiatives and bureaucrats (government, municipal); the instrumentalization of art practices/projects in urban space (selected by the ECC) that do not take any risk in facing urban realities; and the strategies of the bureaucrats who are administering the ECC budget in order to implement urban transformation, renewal, and renovation projects.[4]

The ECC announced a year ago that they are going to lead the budget of the ECC toward urban transformation

projects. The announcement received criticism from civil initiations, even as the local municipalities were proceeding with eviction in the various neighbourhoods of Istanbul with the justification of renewal and renovation. Korhan Gümüş (Architect and Director of the Urban Project of ECC) criticized the bureaucrats several times in public newspapers, arguing that since the beginning of the ECC agency, it has acted as a facilitator between cultural and political interests; "culture" is understood as a governmental political representation.[5] After endless disputes, Gümüş thinks that the whole project and agency should have been constructed from below, with civil initiations and not from above, by the state and bureaucrats.

The bureaucrats of the ECC control and disseminate the budget of the ECC, and this administrative fact has also influenced the ways in which the discourse of "culture" in relation to urban space is becoming a governmental concept. For the ECC, renovating mosques, bringing the historical heritage of the city to the surface, or branding the city with artificial discourses is exactly the function of ECC. Yet, while transforming urban space, the ECC remains disinterested in urban conflicts and does not consider, for example, the evictions and demolition in the Sulukule or Ayazma neighbourhoods, nor did the ECC consider this neighbourhood's social environment as part of the heritage and culture of the city. In general, academies, cultural institutions (museums, art institutions), and projects related to Istanbul's 2010 tenure as the European Cultural Capital, often present a hygienic, normalized urban culture from which heterogeneous elements of society have been removed; such institutions are generally opposed to any kind of oppositional political agenda that favors representational multiculturalism.

In general, most European Cultural Capital projects contribute to the urban transformation process by creating and establishing (neoliberal?) art and cultural policies. In this

process, artistic practices sadly function simply as tools in the normalization of culture and the spatial transformation of the city. Urban transformation today is in conjunction with cultural policies that instrumentalize cultural events and their affects in public space. Art and cultural productions in public/urban space are not led by artists or artist collectives anymore, but by corporations, private sectors, and the state. For example, the Modern Museum in Istanbul is linked to a possible Galataport planning project, which aims to transform the Tophane-Karaköy districts into luxury commercial areas: even most artist-run spaces or civil initiatives will be forced to leave the area. In the process of creating and applying cultural policy, the questions should be: How can cultural interventions and gestures in urban context stimulate counter-cultural spaces? How could institutional critique have a role in this counter-cultural discourse? However, these questions are left out of the process of the ECC (and also by the ECC itself), and artists, urban activists and neighborhood representatives are searching together for the answers. Although the ECC in Istanbul did not manage to create large urban transformation projects, it revealed the conflicting representation of Istanbul in urban space; with one side supporting the global-urban marketing of Istanbul, which is filled with images of cosmopolitan life to attract global investors, and the other side dealing with the realities of urban conflicts that the ECC will not take into consideration. Both from its administrative structure and its conceptual understanding of "culture," the ECC agency in Istanbul is a contemporary structure for instrumentalizing culture and art within neoliberal governmentality.

As the Cultural Minister of Turkey described in his press talk in the neighborhood of Tophane, Istanbul is enfolding all of us in as citizens. However, I will oppositely claim that Istanbul should fold us together with our "differences," against the normalized culture that the government is pushing.

Footnotes

1. Translated by the author from the press speech at Tophane district, accessed on 23 September 2010, http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/15849123.asp.
2. The word related to Ottoman city structure; a unit of a neighborhood has a different and unique connotation in context of defining spatial community.
3. Asu Aksoy, "Istanbul's Choice", *Third Text*, 22:1 (London: Routledge, 2008), accessed on 16 March 2010, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09528820701855434.
4. I was a short-term member of an advisory board for an interdisciplinary art committee at the agency of European Cultural Capital of Istanbul, after that I withdrew.
5. Korhan Gümüş, "Istanbul nasıl bir kültür başkenti?" (What Kind of Cultural Capital is Istanbul?), *Radikal Newspaper*, 27/05/2007.

Candice Hopkins

On Potential and the City

On a recent trip to the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the usual museum-going experience was punctuated by piercing screams. The cause of the disruption was a single microphone, connected to two amplified speakers installed on the second floor of the gallery space. Instructions for interaction on an adjacent wall for "Voice Piece for Soprano" by Yoko Ono, read as follows:

> Scream:
> 1. against the wind.
> 2. against the wall.
> 3. against the sky.

The piece was activated only intermittently; for the most part it stood unused (one couple, seemingly unaware of the work's instructions, openly discussed the merits of purchasing similar speakers for their home theatre system). It was then that it arguably was at its most subversive, as it stood holding the *potential* to transmit sound, in an instant transforming the gallery into a space host to all the things

that a scream can convey — fear, catharsis, frustration, even joy. It rendered the museum space destabilizing and unsettling, punctuated as it was, with high-pitched sound.

Earlier in the year, at a very different site, another microphone was placed in a gallery, this time at the Western Front in Vancouver. Here the intent was not to amplify sound through the performance of an utterance, but instead to record what was being said for an altogether different purpose. Here the microphone acted as a platform for free speech in an "exceptional" moment in Vancouver, when the very potential for local voices to rise without compromise above the din of international media, was at its most compromised. Visitors to the space — as participants — were invited to voice whatever issues they wanted, presumably about what was going on in the city.

In the gallery, two freestanding four feet wide by eight feet tall rectangular rooms faced each other. The first contained a recording studio occupied by the single microphone. A second room, located about ten feet from the first, held an enlarged black and white image of two suited men, emerging from a doorway towards a cluster of hand-held microphones. A cut-out window faced another black and white image, this time of a man at a podium in a lecture hall, addressing a room full of people. Text on a nearby wall, in relatively small font, contained a potentially explosive message. From the opening lines of a fictional book, it read: "When the International Olympic Committee troops did not pull out of the city after the games, Vancouver should have erupted into civic war…"

Throughout the installation, carefully placed signifiers were at play. A brochure with a text by the artists explains the subjects of the images, providing context to the moments captured. The first image, we learn, is of the moment in 1983 directly following the closed-door agreement between

former BC Premier Bill Bennett and Jack Munro, then-labour leader, to end a workers' revolt—the largest protest in BC's history. This deal effectively paved the way for neoliberalism in British Columbia. The counter image is that of radical theorist, Herbert Marcuse addressing over a thousand students at Simon Fraser University nearly twenty years earlier. Texts published by Marcuse at the time, outlined the possibilities for action within what was called a "totally administered society." Later he argued for aesthetics to be understood as a critical force, aesthetics providing the normative basis for the reconstruction of technological rationality.[1]

By re-presenting the photographs, the artists demand that these moments not be forgotten, but instead recapitulated in the present. Giorgio Agamben describes the photograph as always more than an image. For him, "it is the site of a gap, a sublime breach between the sensible and the intelligible... between a memory and a hope."[2] Taken together, the installation brings these photographs as historical indices to bear on this moment, the 2010 Olympics, perhaps Vancouver's last mega-event. In their collaborative installation, appropriately titled *In Dialogue*, Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects hit on something. They made visible what was most at stake: our relationships to the urban environment, how and when we moved through the city, and the right to free speech. It was a moment when the "rights" of corporate sponsors usurped the rights of local citizens.

With the emergence of the modern Olympics in the 1960s and 1970s, the formula for success was inextricably linked to corporate sponsorship. Closely paralleling the emergence of the "society of the spectacle," this formula came about in the 1960s with the advent of satellite broadcast technology. TV transformed the Olympics into a highly profitable venture. Television rights for the 1960 Squaw Valley Winter Games sold for $50,000 US. Four years later, in Innsbruck, Austria, with the economic benefits of the medium clearly

identified, a deal was struck for $936,667 US.[3] TV produced an instant international audience and with it the perfect consumer.[4] The model was further refined in 1984 with agreements between nine select corporations for global marketing rights; organizers of the Los Angeles Olympics had a record $225 million surplus following this deal. The 1976 Montreal Olympics, in contrast, had a total of 628 "official" sponsors. This non-exclusive arrangement didn't pay off. The city only cleared its $1.5 billion bill in 2006. By this point, the success of any Olympics (a brand in and of itself) was linked to corporate interest. In the 1990s, gaps in the model were exposed via highly-profitable guerrilla marketing tactics and ambush campaigns by competing companies. Corporations responded by seeking a means to further defend their brands. Sponsorships now require legal guarantees as part of an Olympic bid.[5]

For the 2010 games, sponsorship revenue constituted $1 billion of the organizing committee's $1.75 billion operating budget. To appeal to their prime funders, sponsorship rights were rigorously defended and enforced, resorting to measures described by many in alternative print media as "draconian." New, temporary bylaws were created and enforced, some providing a disturbing level of power to bylaw officers and the police. One such bylaw enabled officers to legally enter a private residence and remove unauthorized signs. Originally this ban included signs denouncing the Olympics. It was later altered when two citizens, Chris Shaw and Alissa Westergard-Thorpe, successfully sued the city on the basis that this was an attack on their basic right to free speech and to protest. All the while, Vancouver was aiming to present an image to the media of a beautiful city devoid any contradictions, any underbelly, or any dissent. Those attempting to taint the utopian image portrayed — one couched in celebration — were not tolerated. The bylaw was later amended to apply only to commercial signage, specifically, unauthorized attempts to profit off of the Olympic brand and its sponsors. Bylaw officers could still enter people's homes without notice.

At its most extreme, the city began to enact qualities of a "state of exception," this time brought about not by war or a natural disaster, but by a mega-event and in the defence of corporate interests and profit. A state of exception is the moment when "the sovereign, having the legal power to suspend the validity of the law, legally places himself outside the law."[6] In other words, it is "an element in law that transcends positive law in the form of its suspension."[7] In an even more complicated gesture, other bylaws couched their true intent in the "care" of its citizens. In the event of extreme cold, law-enforcers were given the right to bring homeless people in off the streets, even if against their will. This was quickly exposed as a thinly veiled attempt to clear the city's streets of some of its more "unseemly" citizens and was never enforced. The Olympic security operation also undertook surveillance and infiltration of anti-poverty, First Nations, and other groups that have publicly opposed the Olympic Games. Blinded by the spectacle that the mega-event produces, attention was tuned to the media, just about as far away from the city's local citizens as possible.[8] Agamben has previously pointed out a contiguity between mass democracy and totalitarian states:

> It was almost as if, starting from a certain point, every decisive political event was double-sided: the spaces, the liberties, and the rights won by individuals in their conflicts with central powers always simultaneously prepared a tacit but increasing inscription of individuals' lives within the state of order, this offering a new and more dreadful foundation for the very sovereign power from which they wanted to liberate themselves.[9]

But what then to make of this collection of signs *as* artworks by Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects? They are, I think, artworks in the form of propositions; gestures concerning possibilities and potentialities. Pointing to the future, and to imagination as a site of change, the hand-painted mural on the back wall of the gallery replicates one found on the cover of a book by Venezuelan urbanist, Armando Navarro. For the artists, the optimism and openness contained in the image carries with it the possibility to radically rethink our relationship to urban environments and perhaps to reconfigure the urban environment itself, a need that arises particularly in moments when civil liberties are under the most threat.[10] With this, Jeff Derksen, one of three members of Urban Subjects, puts forth the idea that critique, when considered relative to the city, "can be proposed as a return to life through the attempt to 'open a path to the possible' by an investigation of what negates the possible."[11]

The other proposition was not found on the inside but on the outside of the recording booth. Writ large and spanning its outer walls were the words: "I confess I care." The words, on one hand, point to the booth's role as a private confessional, but equally important is the word "care." Care implies an affect that could quite possibly — even radically — reposition our conceptions of our cities, our relationships to them, and the characteristics of revolutionary change. Care is perhaps the very thing needed to induce action. To return to that provocative first line from the fictional book: "When the International Olympic Committee troops did not pull out of the city after the games, Vancouver should have erupted into civic war…" Perhaps the next line reads, "Instead, what followed was widespread chaos in the Western world, at stake was the right to the city."

Footnotes

1. See Andrew Feenberg's, *Heidegger and Marcuse: The Catastrophe and Redemption of History* (London: Routledge, 2005).
2. Giorgio Agamben, *Profanations* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2007), 26.
3. Cited from Geoff Dembicki, "From Olympic Ideals to Corporate Blitz: A Brief History," *The Tyee,* 8 January 2010, accessed 9 September 2010, http://thetyee.ca/News/2010/01/01/OlympicsBrandWar,
4. Quickly co-opting the power of the media, in 1972 Palestinian radicals took 11 Israeli athletes hostage. 17 people died from the onslaught of sniper bullets, machine guns, and grenades. The Munich Games would be forever linked to politically motivated violence.
5. Dembicki, "From Olympic Ideals to Corporate Blitz: A Brief History."
6. Giorgio Agamben, *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (California: Stanford University Press, 1998), 15.
7. Ibid.
8. Although the Winter Games had many negative effects for its citizens, local organizers in the years leading up to the event looked for ways for the event to be socially beneficial. To this end they drafted the 2010 Winter Games Inner-City Inclusive Committee Statement with the intent "to maximize the opportunities and mitigate potential impacts in Vancouver's inner-city neighbourhoods from hosting the 2010 Winter Games." Goals and objectives included, among others, an affordable housing legacy, to ensure that residents were not involuntarily displaced, and to create short-term and long-term employment opportunities for inner-city residents. The statement was made in good faith but not legally binding and few of the goals were met, particularly with regards to housing and employment citing economic reasons. Homelessness rose significantly in the time leading up to and directly after the Games. For more information about the recent state of housing and the economy in Vancouver see Am Johal's, "Fighting for the Right to the City in Vancouver," *Georgia Straight,* July 23, 2010, http://www.straight.com.
9. Agamben, *Homo Sacer,* 121.
10. In the final round of funding from the Cultural Olympiad, participating organizations and artists were required to sign contracts agreeing to not say anything negative about the Olympics or its sponsors. This event-based model of the Olympics has also had ripple effects in arts funding in the province (aside from significant reductions in funding levels). The structure of the BC Arts Council and Direct Access gaming has been radically reconfigured by the provincial government, in both cases including reduced autonomy. With regards to the BC Arts Council, paralleling a reduction in operating funding available for art organizations, a new influx of cash will fund temporary projects that will replicate the event-like structure of the Games in a further attempt to relive the Olympic moment.
11. Jeff Derksen, "How High is the City, How Deep is Our Love," *The Fillip Review*, accessed 12 September 2010, http://www.fillip.ca.

Bik Van der Pol has worked collaboratively since 1995 to explore the potential of art to produce and transmit knowledge. Their practice was recently recognized with the 2010 Contemporanea Enel Award.

Stuart Elden is Professor of Political Geography at Durham University and the writer and editor of several books and journals like *Terror and Territory: The Spatial Extent of Sovereignty* (University of Minnesota Press, 2009).

Alissa Firth-Eagland is an independent curator, writer and the former Director/Curator of Media Arts at the Western Front. In 2011, she is participating in residencies ViaFarini (Milan, IT) and Cité Internationale des Arts (Paris, FR).

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Am Johal is a social activist and independent writer whose work has appeared in *Seven Oaks Magazine, Z Magazine, Georgia Straight, Electronic Intifada, Arena Magazine, Inter Press Service* and many others.

Caitlin Jones is the Executive Director of the Western Front Society in Vancouver. She previously held a curatorial and conservation position at the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, and was Director of Programming at the Bryce Wolkowitz Gallery in New York.

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Pelin Tan is a sociologist, art historian and writer based in Istanbul. She is author of *Unconditional Hospitality* and *Threshold Architecture* (Architecture and Urban Studies MA Program, Nuremberg Art Academy, 2011).

Myka Tucker-Abramson is a PhD student and union activist at Simon Fraser University in Vancouver, British Columbia.

Urban Subjects is a cultural collective formed in 2005 by Sabine Bitter, Jeff Derksen, and Helmut Weber to develop research-based, artistic projects focused on urban issues. They are currently developing an international exhibition on the urban aftermath of Olympics and Expos, *Where the World Was: Cities After Global Mega-events*.

Arnold van Bruggen is a writer and filmmaker based in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. **Rob Hornstra** is a photographer based in Utrecht, The Netherlands. In 2009, they started *The Sochi Project,* an online, crowd-funded documentary project.

Jerry Zaslove is a founding faculty member of Simon Fraser University. He has taught European literature, humanities and the social history of art at Simon Fraser University since it opened in 1965.

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Momentarily: Learning from Mega-Events

The Western Front, Vancouver, Canada

Momentarily: Learning from Mega-Events began with a shared interest in the impacts of the 2010 Olympic Games on Vancouver, at a time when this city has been noted as especially livable. This project exists within several forms, each increasingly visible: a residency, an exhibition that commissioned two new works, a symposium with more than thirty speakers, and now this publication. Through multiple textual forms — from semi-fiction to interview to theoretical historical examination — this publication explodes first doubts and curiosities.

Residency

January 1 to February 3, 2010
Bik Van der Pol

Exhibition

In Dialogue
January 30 to March 6, 2010
Bik Van der Pol and Urban Subjects
Curated by Alissa Firth-Eagland and Johan Lundh

Symposium

Learning from Vancouver
January 29 to 31, 2010

Bik Van der Pol, Clint Burnham, Paul de Guzman, Hadley + Maxwell, Candice Hopkins, Fiona Jeffries, Am Johal, Laiwan, Randy Lee Cutler, Kristina Lee Podesva, Glen Lowry, Tom Sherman, Matthew Soules, Monika Szewczyk, Althea Thauberger, Henry Tsang, Urban Subjects: Jeff Derksen, Sabine Bitter and Helmut Weber, and Amy Zion.

Curated by Alissa Firth-Eagland and Johan Lundh.

Publication

Momentarily: Learning from Mega-Events
Western Front, 2011
ISBN: 978-0-920974-49-0
Editors Bik Van der Pol, Alissa Firth-Eagland and Urban Subjects.
Managing Editor Alissa Firth-Eagland. Texts by Bik Van der Pol, Bitter/Weber, Jeff Derksen, Stuart Elden, Alissa Firth-Eagland, Candice Hopkins, Am Johal, Lize Mogel, Pelin Tan, Myka Tucker-Abramson, Rob Hornstra and Arnold van Bruggen, and Jerry Zaslove.
Editorial assistance from Derek Brunen. Designed by Karianne Blank.

Acknowledgements

Along with the editors, Derek Brunen whipped these texts into shape, and Karianne Blank brought all the disparate elements together in her sensitive and intelligent design. We thank them wholeheartedly for their shared enthusiasm and caring eyes. We are deeply indebted to the Western Front for supporting this complex and ambitious project. Our special thanks go to Executive Director Caitlin Jones for her patience, persistence and encouragement, to Media Arts Curator Sarah Todd for her forward planning throughout the publication process, and to Andrew Lee, Kevin Schmidt and Mandy Ginson for their attention to documentation. We also thank Johan Lundh for his work as co-curator of the Exhibition and the Symposium. Last but not least, we wish to recognize the authors, without whom this project would not exist.

The Western Front gratefully acknowledges the support of the Canada Council for the Arts, the BC Arts Council through the Government of British Columbia, the City of Vancouver, Direct Access Gaming, our members and volunteers.

Impressum

Momentarily: Learning From Mega-Events was printed in 1000 copies and released in print and on the Western Front's website (www.front.bc.ca/momentarily) on April 17, 2011.
Typeset in Serifa on Standard Newsprint. Printed in BC at Horizon Printers.

Western Front

Published by the Western Front with generous support from the Canada Council for the Arts Media Arts Dissemination Project Grant and the Mondriaan Foundation, as well as the BC Arts Council and the City of Vancouver.