

THE STRUGGLE FOR HOUSING

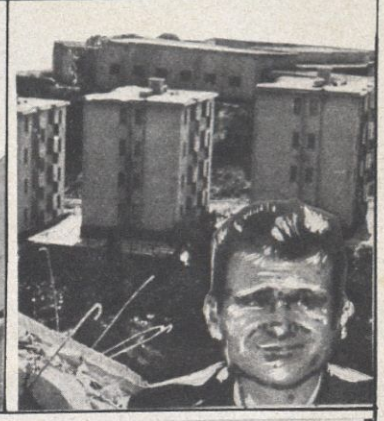
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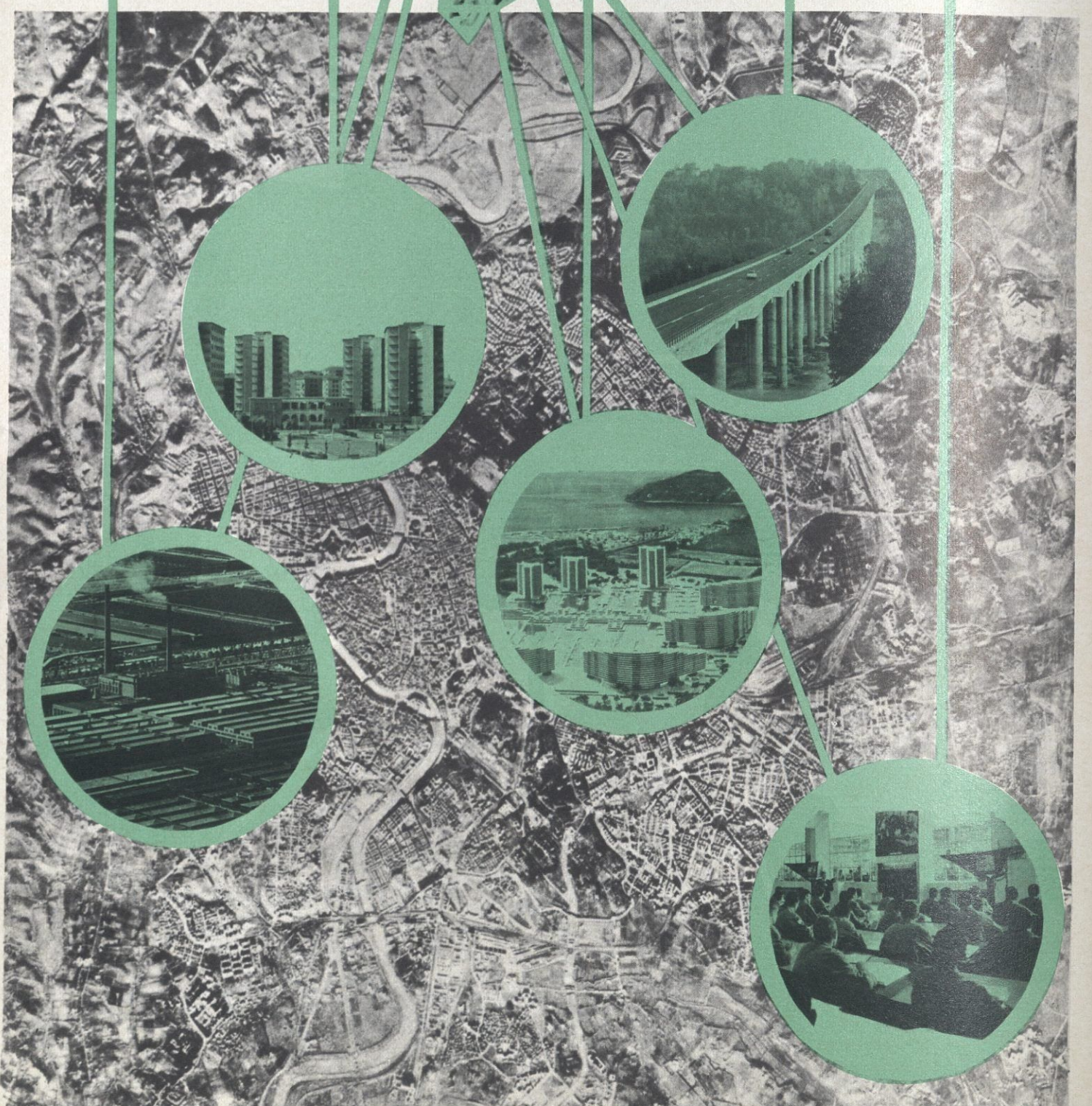
students

Ges.Ca.L.



with data and documents

STRUM GROUP (GIORGIO CERETTI, PIETRO DE ROSSI, CARLO GIAMMARCO, RICCARDO ROSSO, MAURIZIO VOGLIAZZO); PHOTODIRECTOR PAOLO MUSSAT.



I'VE BEEN LIVING IN THIS HUT SINCE I FIRST CAME TO NORTH ITALY.



WE EXPECTED THEY 'D GIVE US A DECENT HOUSE. ON THE CONTRARY WE'RE BEING KICKED OUT OF THIS PLACE, TOO.

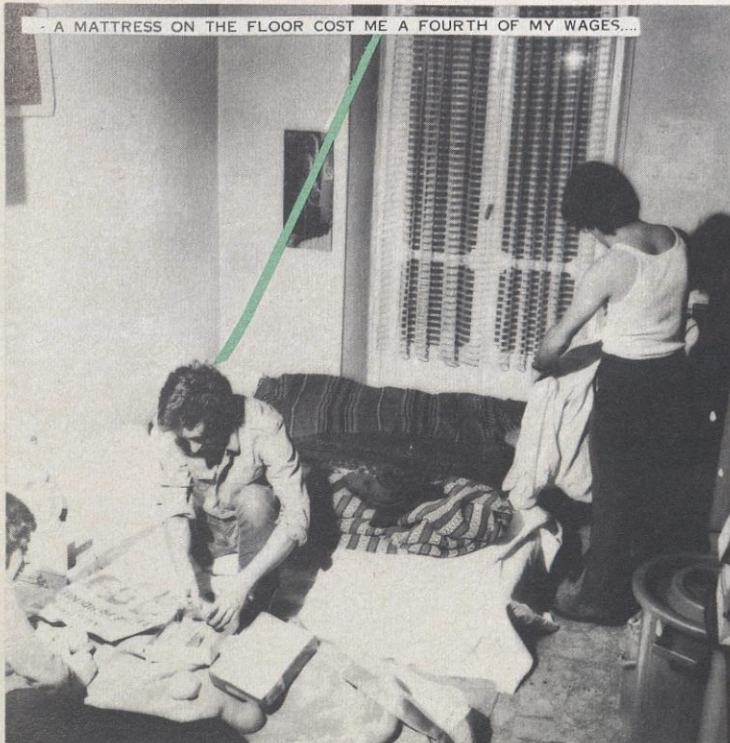
WE GOTTA PART. GOD ONLY KNOWS WHEN WE CAN GET TOGETHER AGAIN



IN TURIN BETWEEN DECEMBER 1968 AND JANUARY 1969, IN A PERIOD WHEN THE FIAT WAS BOOMING, A GREAT NUMBER OF YOUNG IMMIGRANTS POURED INTO THE OLD TOWN CENTER AND INTO THE SLUMS WHICH ARE TRADITIONAL PLACES FOR THE IMMIGRANTS WHO NEED LODGINGS, CHEAP RESTAURANTS AND AIDS OF MANY KINDS. THOSE WHO WERE SO LUCKY TO FIND A BED HAD TO ADJUST THEMSELVES TO THE SITUATION IN THE IMMIGRATION CENTER FOR SOUTHERN PEOPLE, AN OFFICIAL CATHOLIC WELFARE BODY: A M. 3 X 2.80 THREE-BED ROOM AT 24,000 LIRE A MONTH PER BED OR THE ALTERNATIVE OF PAYING 1,300 LIRE EVERY NIGHT (1,500 WITH THE KEY) - A SMALLER THREE-BED ROOM AT 18,000 LIRE PER BED PLUS 1,000 LIRE A MONTH FOR USING WATER - A TEN-BED ROOM (SOME OF THEM USED IN TURN) WHICH YIELDS THE LANDLADY 300,000 LIRE EVERY MONTH. IN ORDER TO PAY A LITTLE LESS MANY WORKERS WENT TO THE DORMITORIES MANAGED BY PRIESTS OR WELFARE BODIES, WHERE THEY HAD FEW COMFORTS AND MANY CONSTRAINTS: THEY HAD TO UNDERGO THE EXAMINATION OF THE KEEPERS, TO COME BACK ON FIXED HOURS AND WERE NOT ALLOWED TO RECEIVE FRIENDS OR GIRLS. THOSE WHO HAD TO SEND HOME IN SOUTH ITALY PART OF THEIR WAGES USED TO SLEEP ON BENCHES IN THE STATION HALL OR ON THE STATIONARY TRAIN CARRIAGES. THE LEFT-WING PARTIES HAVE BEEN DEMANDING FOR YEARS THAT THE TOWN COUNCIL UNDERTAKES TO BUILD CHEAP LODGING-HOUSES, BUT HAVE NOT COME TO ANY ACHIEVEMENT WHATSOEVER SO FAR.



A MATTRESS ON THE FLOOR COST ME A FOURTH OF MY WAGES....



I'M LONELY, TOO. MY PAY AIN'T ENOUGH FOR A HOUSE AND CAN'T CALL MY WIFE FROM THE COUNTRY.



I'VE BEEN TOLD YOU GOT NO PLACE WHERE TO LIVE. WHY DON'T YOU MAKE A REQUEST TO THE GESCAL?



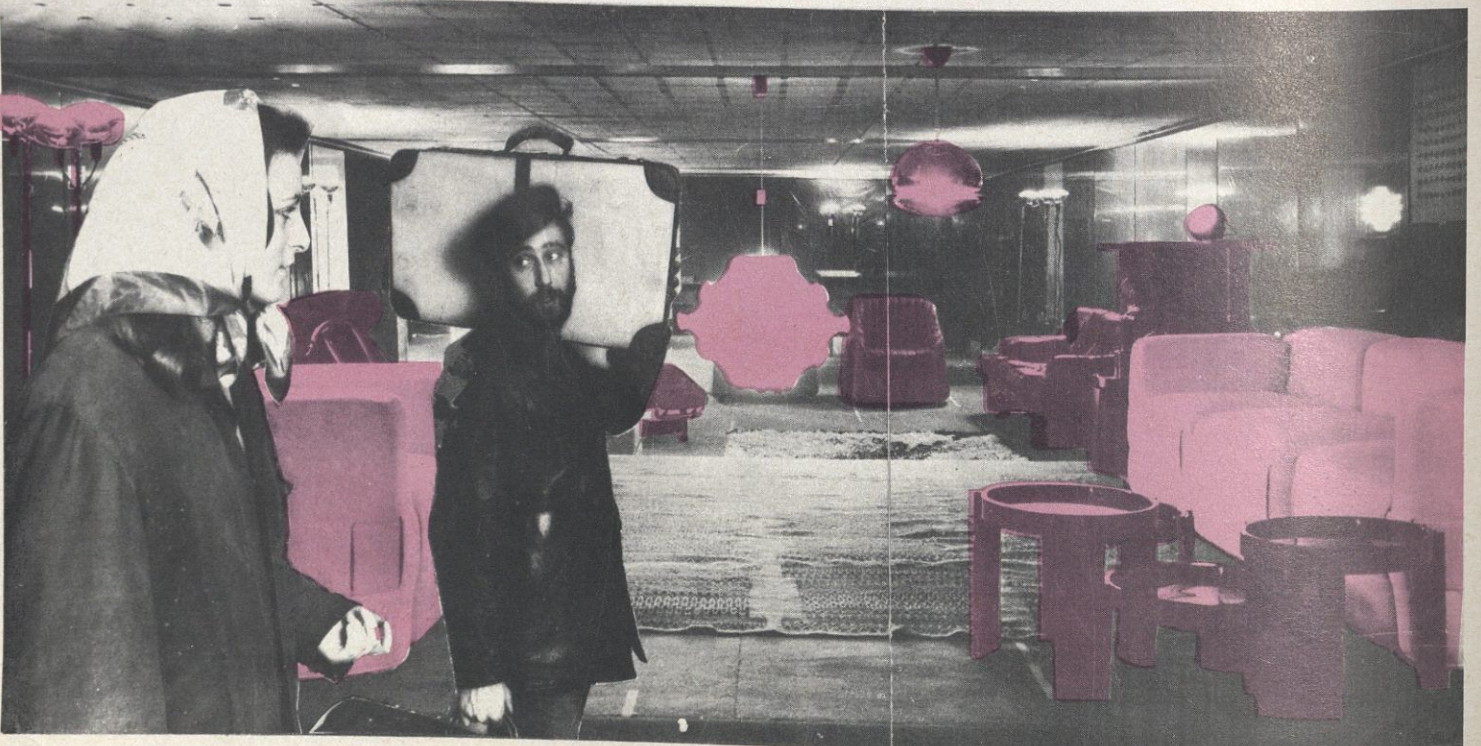
THE GESCAL WORKER HOUSE MANAGEMENT IS FINANCED WITH PART OF OUR WAGES. IT SHOULD GIVE A HOUSE TO ALL OF US.



LOOK HOW BIG THE GES.CAL. HOUSE IS !THEY'LL CERTAINLY GIVE US A HOUSE.



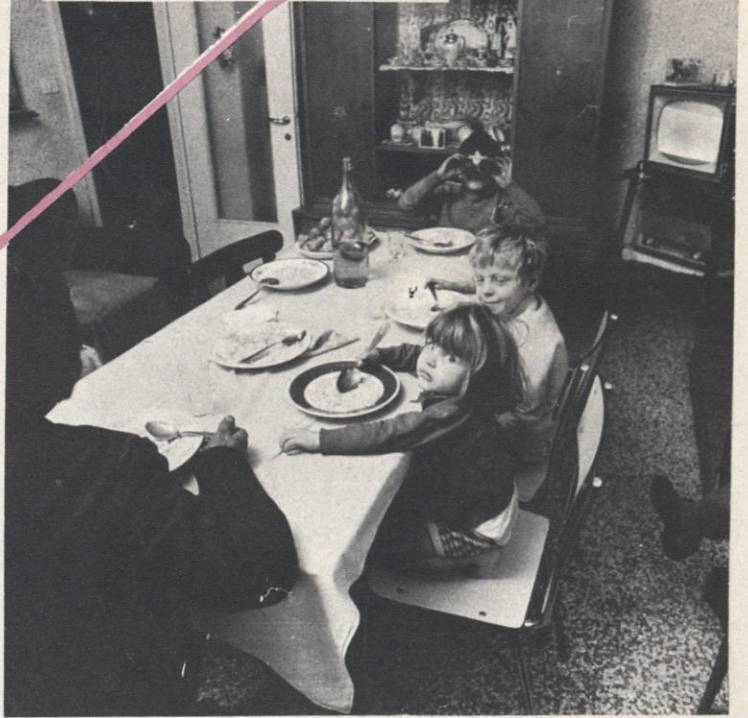
MAKE THE REQUEST AND WAIT. IN ONE YEAR TIME THERE WILL BE A DISTRIBUTION OF 772 APARTMENTS. UP TO NOW THE REQUESTS ARE 18 THOUSAND. THEY CALL 'EM CHEAP HOUSES AND PINCH US 30% OF OUR WAGES FOR THE RENT.



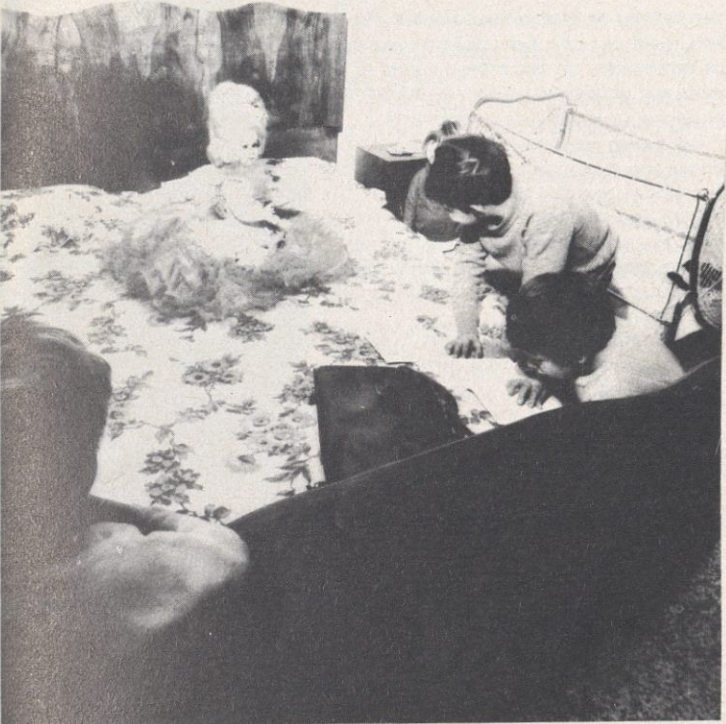
THAT'S MY PLACE OVER THERE. I CAN PUT YOU UP FOR A FEW DAYS.



THAT'S FIVE OF US IN TWO ROOMS ONLY.



WE ARE STRUGGLING COS THE RENT'S TOO EXPENSIVE. WE WON'T PAY FOR IT ANY LONGER.



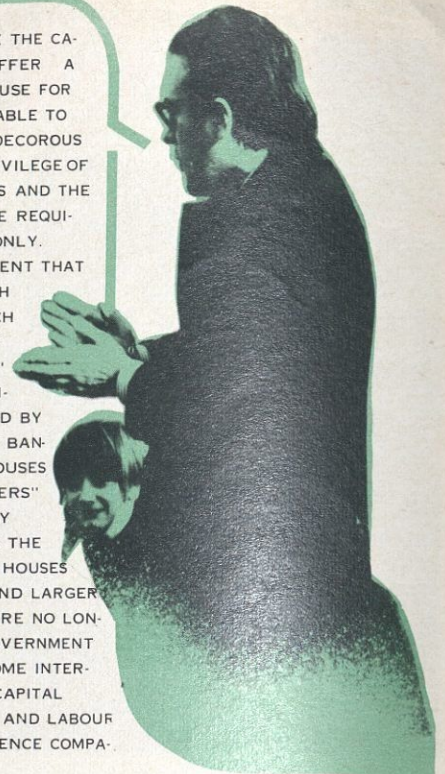
YOU TELL US, PROFESSOR. THE REASON WHY WE AIN'T GIVEN THE HOUSES WHERE GO THE MONEY THEY TAKE FROM OUR WAGES?





THE BUILDING MARKET INSIDE THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM CANNOT OFFER A MASS PRODUCT SUCH AS A HOUSE FOR EVERY BODY AT A COST SUITABLE TO WORKER INCOMES. HAVING A DECOROUS HOUSE HAS ALWAYS BEEN A PRIVILEGE OF THE RICH AND THE BOURGEOIS AND THE MARKET HAS ALWAYS MET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THESE CLASSES ONLY.

THEREFORE, IT IS NOW EVIDENT THAT HOUSES ARE A PRODUCT WHICH IS NOT INCLUDED IN THE PURCHASING POWER OF LABOURERS' WAGES. A FEW "ASSOCIATIONS" WITH THE FEATURES OF CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS PROMOTED BY "WEALTHY CITIZENS" (USUALLY BANKERS) IN ORDER TO BUILD "HOUSES WITH LAVATORIES FOR WORKERS" ORIGINATED ABOUT A CENTURY AGO. LATER IN EARLY 1900 AS THE PROBLEM OF PEOPLE WITHOUT HOUSES BECAME SERIOUSLY LARGER AND LARGER THE PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS WERE NO LONGER SUFFICIENT - SO THE GOVERNMENT INTERVENED AND CHARGED SOME INTERMEDIATE BODIES INTO WHICH CAPITAL THAT IS PLENTIFUL IN SAVING AND LABOUR BANKS AND IN MUTUAL ASSISTANCE COMPANIES



SHOULD POUR TO BUILD HOUSES FOR RENT OR SALE.

THE INTERVENTION CARRIED OUT IN THIS FIRST PERIOD WAS ONLY THERE TO HELP FORWARD GRANTED LOANS - ONLY A FEW TEN YEARS LATER THE GOVERNMENT DECIDED TO INTERVENE DIRECTLY WITH SUNK CAPITAL IN FAVOUR OF THE INCIS WHICH BUILDS HOUSES FOR PEOPLE EMPLOYED IN PUBLIC OFFICES (STATE EMPLOYEES, SOLDIERS, HIGH-PLACED BUREAUCRATS) AND WORKS ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY IN A CO-OPERATIVE WAY. THE POLITICAL AIMS OF THESE INTERVENTIONS ARE OBVIOUS: THE GOVERNMENT WANTED TO MAKE ITSELF POPULAR WITH THE MIDDLE-CLASS, ESPECIALLY WITH THE STATE EMPLOYEES. SO THAT FUNDS WERE GIVEN TO THE CLASSES COMPARATIVELY WELL-OFF AND WERE DENIED FOR COUNCIL HOUSES.

SO THEY SET UP A PRAXIS: IT IS UP TO CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES PROVIDING THE HIGHER INCOME CLASSES WITH HOUSES, TO THE IACP (ISTITUTO AUTONOMO CASE POPOLARI) THE INTERVENTION IN FAVOUR OF THE LOWER CLASSES. THE FEATURES OF THE WELFARE WORK FOR HOUSING ARE STILL THE SAME TODAY EVEN THOUGH THE INSTITUTIONS HAVE CHANGED RULES AND THE MACHINERY IS MORE COMPLEX. IN 1949 ORIGINATED THE INA-CASA WHICH HAS BEEN APPOINTED TO COMBINE THE FUNCTIONS OF ALL THE PREWAR WELFARE INSTITUTIONS, BOTH PRIVATE AND PUBLIC, AND ALSO TO INCREASE WORKER JOBS. THE ESTIMATED INTERVENTIONS ARE: A) LOANS B) SUNK CAPITAL INTERVENTIONS C) HOUSES TO LET D) REDEEMABLE HOUSES E) CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.

THE INA-CASA HAS BROUGHT UP THE HABIT OF BUILDING HOUSES FINANCED WITH FUNDS DRAWN PARTLY FROM WORKERS' WAGES AND PARTLY FROM THE CONTRIBUTIONS PAID BY EMPLOYERS - THEN THE STATE ADDS A DIRECT CONTRIBUTION (4.30%) TO THIS MONEY, PLUS A 3.20% OF THE COST OF THE APARTMENTS THAT THE STATE PAYS IN A PERIOD OF 25 YEARS AND WHICH HELPS TO LOWER THE COST OF BANK LOANS.

THE INA-CASA MANAGEMENT MUST MAKE USE OF "CONTRACT COMPANIES": SUCH AS THE INA ITSELF, THE INPS, THE STATE ADMINISTRATIONS (DIRECTLY FOR ITS EMPLOYEES), THE INCIS AND ESPECIALLY THE IACP, (WHICH HAVE OPERATED IN THIS SECTOR FOR MANY YEARS), IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT ITS PLANS. COMPARED WITH THE PREVIOUS WELFARE INTERVENTIONS THE INA-CASA FOUND A NEW WAY OF AVOIDING SCANDALS AND RIOTS CAUSED BY DEGENERATING CONDITIONS BY MAKING SPORADIC INTERVENTIONS AND TRIED TO DIVIDE THE WORKERS BY MAKING THEM SMALL OWNERS OF REDEEMABLE APARTMENTS, HOPING THAT THEY MIGHT GRADUALLY BECOME PART OF THE ECONOMICAL SYSTEM OF LANDLORDS IN ORDER TO DEFEND THEIR APARTMENTS WHICH THE INA-CASA PRETENDED IT GAVE THEM AT A SPECIAL COST. BESIDES THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES THAT MEET THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE MIDDLE-CLASS, A FURTHER SELECTION WAS MADE INSIDE THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS BETWEEN REDEMPTIONS AND RENTS.

IN 1963 AFTER A BIG ADVERTISING CAMPAIGN THEY FOUNDED THE GESCAL WHICH OUGHT TO BE A "CONCLUSIVE TURNING-POINT FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING". IF WE LOOK CAREFULLY INTO THE RULES OF THE OLD INA-CASA AND THE NEW GESCAL WE CANNOT FIND SUBSTANTIAL DIFFERENCES BOTH IN THE OBJECTS AND IN THE MEANS THAT THESE TWO INSTITUTIONS HAVE ACCORDING TO THOSE WHO HAVE RESPONSIBILITIES THE GESCAL SHOULD HAVE BIGGER TASKS: NOT ONLY OF BUILDING HOUSES, BUT WHOLE AREAS WITH SERVICES, SATELLITE TOWNS, AND SO ON - AND, MOREOVER, PROMOTING A "STUDY CENTER" WHICH MAY BE THE OPERATING DIRECTIONS FOR CARRYING OUT WIDER OBJECTS.

AFTER YEARS OF MANAGEMENT THE GESCAL HAS SHOWN IT CAN DO OR WANTS TO DO NOTHING IN THAT DIRECTION. THE GESCAL CONTINUES BEING AN INSTITUTION WHICH, EXACTLY AS THE OLD ONE, BY WORMING MONEY OUT OF THE WORKERS CAN HARDLY FINANCE SOME MIDDLEMEN WHO BUILD HOUSES NOT DIFFERENT AT ALL FROM THE OLD INA-CASA ONES.

THE RENTED OR REDEEMABLE HOUSES ARE STILL CONSIDERED CHARITY AND THEIR QUALITY AND LOCATION ARE SUCH AS TO TESTIFY A STATE OF INFERIORITY OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN - ON THE OTHER HAND THEY MUST NOT BE MISTAKEN FOR THE HOUSES BUILT BY THE OPEN MARKET IN ORDER TO AVOID ANY COMPETITION.

THE NAMES 'WORKING-CLASS HOUSES, CHEAP HOUSES, COUNCIL HOUSES' STAND FOR THIS KIND OF SELECTION THE TOWN MARKET-DYNAMICS NEEDS. THE GESCAL AND THE INA-CASA SUPPORT THE SYSTEM OF REDEEMING HOUSES AND THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, TOO. THE LAW PROVIDES THAT 25% OF THE INTERVENTIONS MUST GO TO THE CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES AND THIS IS THE ONLY MONEY WHICH HAS BEEN ENTIRELY SPENT, WHILE THE MONEY GIVEN FOR BUILDING CHEAP HOUSES HAS, AS WE CAN SEE, REMAINED IN BANKS.

THE GESCAL, AS A PUBLIC INSTITUTION, SHOULD PUBLISH EVERY YEAR THE ITEMIZED BALANCE TOGETHER WITH A RELATION OF ITS ACTIVITIES: THESE FIGURES ARE NOT TO BE FOUND FOR NOW.

BY THE WAY WE CAN KNOW A FEW THINGS: IN SPITE OF THE TREMENDOUS LACK OF APARTMENTS AND IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT MANY PEOPLE LIVE MISERABLY IN GARRETS, CELLARS AND HUTS, THE GESCAL SPENDS ONLY A LITTLE PART OF ITS MONEY. BESIDES THE OFFICIAL REPORTS, WE CAN GIVE SOME SIGNIFICANT EXAMPLES OF HOW SERIOUS THE PROBLEM OF LACK OF APARTMENTS IS. IN TURIN IN 1963 AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF 652 APARTMENTS BEING ASSIGNED THERE WERE 3953 REQUESTS - IN 1969 AT THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF 772 APARTMENTS BEING ASSIGNED THERE WERE 17,842 REQUESTS.

IN THE WHOLE COUNTRY THE GESCAL MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE APPROPRIATED 697 BILLIONS FROM 1963 UP TO NOW AND THE EXPENSE OF THE HOUSES REALLY BUILT SO FAR CORRESPONDS TO 273 BILLIONS. AN AMOUNT OF 480 BILLIONS THEREFORE HAS NOT BEEN USED. IF WE ADD AN AMOUNT OF 500 BILLIONS THE GOVERNMENT PROMISED TO THE TRADE-UNIONS AFTER THE STRIKES IN THE AUTUMN OF 1969, WE MAKE UP A SUM OF ONE THOUSAND BILLIONS WHICH ARE TO BE USED. WHERE HAS SUCH AN AMOUNT OF MONEY GONE? IS IT POSSIBLE THAT THE GESCAL AFTER MAKING ALL THE WORKERS LITTLE SAVERS MAY USE SUCH SLOW WAYS OF BUILDING HOUSES? IS IT NOT USEFUL TO SOME BIG BANK (FOR INSTANCE THE LABOUR BANK WHERE A LARGE PART OF THE GESCAL FUNDS HAS BEEN LODGED IN) HAVING HUNDREDS OF BILLIONS AVAILABLE TO INVEST ABROAD OR TO USE FOR HELPING BIG TRANSACTIONS OR PRIVATE INTEREST?

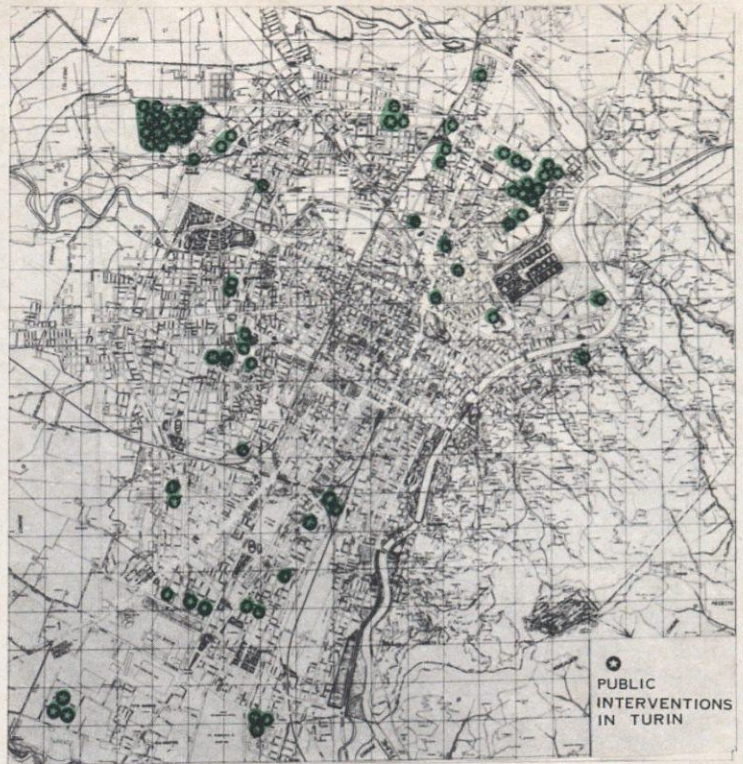
TO MAKE A COMPARISON BETWEEN NEEDS AND FIGURES NECESSARY TO SATISFY THEM LET US ANALYSE THE BUILDING ACTIVITY CARRIED ON IN THESE YEARS BY THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS. LET US FIRST TAKE IN CONSIDERATION THE PERIOD 1951/1965. ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL FIGURES 3,500,000 ROOMS BEEN BUILT BY THE PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS COMPARED WITH THE 22,000,000 ONES BUILT BY THE PRIVATE BUILDING INDUSTRY - NAMELY THE PUBLIC BUILDING INDUSTRY HAS ONLY ABOUT 14% OF THE WHOLE BUSINESS. WE CAME TO THIS RATHER LOW AVERAGE ONLY IN THE FIFTIES - IN FACT FROM 1961 TO 1965 THE PERCENTAGE OF PUBLIC BUILDING WENT DOWN TO 5% SCARCE. (THINGS HAVE NOT CHANGED AFTER 1965). WE MIGHT COME TO MORE SURPRISING RESULTS IF WE THOUGHT OF THE FUNDS WHICH HAVE ACTUALLY BEEN USED STILL IN THE PERIOD 1951/1965 - IF WE MAKE A STRICT DIVISION BETWEEN PRIVATE MONEY (INCLUDING THE MONEY OF WORKERS) AND PUBLIC MONEY, AND A DIVISION BETWEEN THE STATE DIRECT INTERVENTIONS (NAMELY WHEN IT GIVES SUNK MONEY) AND THE LOAN INTERVENTIONS (NAMELY WHEN IT LENDS MONEY THAT WORKERS GIVE BACK BY PAYING RENTS) WE CAN SEE THAT THE REAL COST BORN BY THE STATE IN 15 YEARS IS OF 480 OUT OF THE 18,730 BILLIONS INVESTED IN BUILDING HOUSES IN THE SAME YEARS. AN

THE INTERVENTIONS OF THE PUBLIC BUILDING INDUSTRY IN TURIN, AN INDUSTRIAL CITY WITH A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF WORKERS AND IMMIGRANTS, ARE IRRELEVANT COMPARED WITH THE DIMENSIONS OF THE AREAS MANAGED BY THE PRIVATE SPECULATORS.

SCHEME OF HOUSE INVESTMENTS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO THE FINANCING BODIES IN THE PERIOD 1951 - 1965

FINANCING BODIES	BILLIONS OF LIRE	
	SECTORS	TOTALS
PRIVATE & CREDIT FUNDS (A)	17,630	
CONTRIBUTIONS OF WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS TO INA-CASA GESCAL (B)	620	
TOTAL OF PRIVATE INTERVENTION		18,250
BUILDING TO BE CHARGED TO THE STATE (C).....	154	
INTERVENTIONS OF LOCAL BODIES (D).....	127	
DIRECT CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE STATE TO: INA-CASA GESCAL (E)	185	
- INCIS	7	
- OTHER INSTITUTIONS	7	
TOTAL OF PUBLIC DIRECT INTERVENTION		480
TOTAL OF INVESTMENTS		18,730

- A) INCLUDING LOANS GRANTED TO ANY TITLE OR BODY
- B) ESTIMATE OF INVESTMENTS ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT
- C) IN CONNECTION WITH THE ACTION FOR ELIMINATING THE UNHEALTHY HOUSES.
- D) INCLUDING THE AREAS GRANTED TO THE IACP, TO THE CO-OPERATIVE-SOCIETIES ETC.
- E) ESTIMATED ON THE INVESTMENTS ACTUALLY CARRIED OUT.

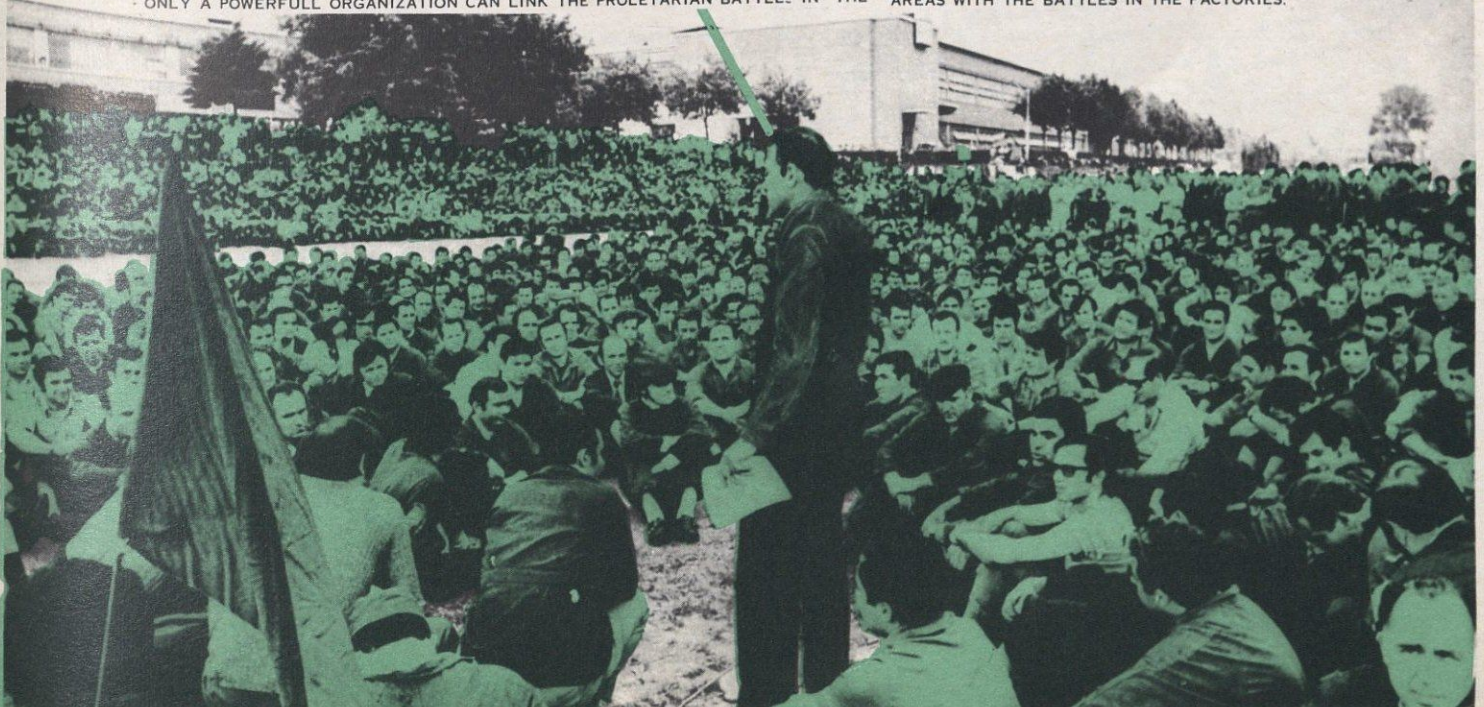


IRRILEVANT AMOUNT WHICH CAN HARDLY COME TO 2.6%. AS TO THE FOLLOWING YEARS IT IS WRITTEN IN THE FIVE-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN (1966/1970) THAT NEARLY 10,000 BILLIONS MUST BE GIVEN FOR "HOUSING INVESTMENTS" AND THAT 25% OF THIS MONEY (THAT IS 2,500 BILLIONS) MUST BE THE FINANCIAL RESERVE WHICH GOES TO PUBLIC INTERVENTIONS. IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE 500 BILLIONS INCLUDE PRIVATE FUNDS (FOR FINANCING FIRMS, COMPANIES, ETC.) WHICH MAY BRING SOME PROFIT (REDUCTION OF INTEREST RATE, IMMUNITY FROM TAXATION, ETC.) OR THEY ARE MEANT TO BE DIRECT FUNDS.

AT ANY RATE WE ARE IN 1970 AND THE 500 BILLIONS LIRE OF THIS YEAR ARE STILL NOT TO BE FOUND. THE STATE DIRECT INTERVENTION CONTINUES BEING AS PALTRY AS 15 YEARS AGO. IN SHORT THE OWNERS THEMSELVES SAY THAT FROM TODAY UP TO 1980 ABOUT 6200 BILLIONS LIRE SHOULD BE SPENT EVERY YEAR IN ORDER TO BUILD THE HOUSES REQUIRED FOR A SURVIVING WAY OF LIVING (TINY APARTMENTS WITH NO SERVICES IN REMOTE GHETTOS OUT OF TOWN). CONSIDERING THAT AT LEAST 60% OF THIS AMOUNT OUGHT TO BE SPENT FOR THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS, NAMELY LABOURERS AND FARMERS, WHO CANNOT SURELY AFFORD TO PAY AWAY MOST OF THEIR WAGES, WE CAN INFER THAT THE PUBLIC INTERVENTION SHOULD MAKE INVESTMENTS OF 4000 BILLIONS LIRE EVERY YEAR. THE AMOUNT OF THE INVESTMENTS MADE IN THE LAST TEN YEARS CAN OPTIMISTICALLY BE SUMMED UP TO 100 BILLIONS LIRE EVERY YEAR. THE PUBLIC INTERVENTION ESTIMATED IN THE FIVE-YEAR PLAN (1966/1971) PROVIDED THAT FUNDS OF 500 BILLIONS LIRE HAD TO BE USED FOR PUBLIC BUILDING. THERE IS NO CONNECTION AMONG THE MANY FIGURES WHICH MIGHT GIVE THE STATE A DIRECTION TO ITS AIMS. BY THE WAY, IT IS EVIDENT THAT IN SPITE OF THE GREAT RUMOUR ABOUT THE MATTER, THE PRESS CONFERENCES OF MPS, THE MEDIATORY INTERVENTION OF TRADE UNION, THERE IS NEITHER WILL NOR POWER TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING IN THE PRESENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM.

FROM 1968 UP TO NOW THERE HAS BEEN A GREATER AND GREATER NUMBER OF PEOPLE WHO REFUSE TO DELEGATE SOMEBODY OR SOME ORGANIZATIONS TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS AND TO FIGHT FOR THEIR RIGHTS AND WHO TURN THEIR DISSATISFACTION INTO A DIRECT ACTION OF REBELLION AND TAKE-OVERS. COLLECTIVE AND AUTONOMOUS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES, NAMELY TAKE-OVERS, RENT STRIKES AND SELF-MANAGEMENT OF SERVICES WHICH START A NEW KIND OF STRUGGLE FOR HOUSING, TOOK PLACE IN ALL THE ITALIAN CITIES.

ONLY A POWERFULL ORGANIZATION CAN LINK THE PROLETARIAN BATTLES IN THE AREAS WITH THE BATTLES IN THE FACTORIES.





ROME
IN THE BORGHETTI (SLUMS) OF ROME 100,000 FAMILIES OF THE LOWER INCOME GROUPS (BUILDING WORKERS, IMMIGRANTS, PENSIONERS) LIVE IN HUTS OR SHARE THEIR APARTMENTS WITH OTHER PEOPLE. THE 62% OF THE REMAINING FAMILIES LIVE IN PRIVATE HOUSES WITH RENTS FLUCTUATING FROM 40,000 TO 80,000 LIRE A MONTH. THE STRUGGLE FOR CHEAPER HOUSING BROKE OUT IN 1969 WITH SQUATTERS TAKING OVER PRIVATE AND COUNCIL HOUSES AND REDUCING THEIR OWN RENTS.

THIS STRUGGLE WAS INITIATED BY THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE BORGHETTI WHO STARTED SQUATTING IN THE EMPTY MANSIONS BY THE SPECULATORS FOR THE WEALTHY BOURGEOIS AND WHICH HAD REMAINED VACANT AND SPREAD TO THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THE LARGE ESTATE BLOCKS WHO STARTED REDUCING THEIR OWN RENTS AND ELABORATING COLLECTIVE FORMS OF FIGHTING AGAINST EVICTIONS.

IN THE COURSE OF THIS STRUGGLE IT WAS IMMEDIATELY EVIDENT THAT THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING CAN ONLY BE TACKLED DIRECTLY WITH SELF-MANAGEMENT AND NOT THROUGH DELEGATIONS TO THE POLITICO-ADMINISTRATIVE BUREAUCRACY FOR THIS REASON THE CAB (BOROUGH ACTION COMMITTEE) ORIGINATED CONSISTING OF HUT-DWELLERS, ACTIVISTS, SQUATTERS AND STUDENTS.

ON THE 25TH OCTOBER 1971, 2,000 PEOPLE SQUATTED IN 700 APARTMENTS AT THE MAGLIANA (A LARGE POPULAR NEIGHBOURHOOD AT THE GATES OF ROME) - THEY WERE MOSTLY WORKING FAMILIES WHICH HAD STARTED THE STRUGGLE FOR MONTHS WITH RENT STRIKES AND REDUCTION OF THEIR OWN RENTS, ORGANIZED IN A SYSTEM OF HOUSE AND BLOCK COMMITTEES GATHERED IN NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMITTEES AS A BASIC BODY. THE POLITICAL CENTER FOR THE ACTIVITIES HAD RESIDENCE IN THE CENTER OF CULTURE TAKEN BY THE SQUATTERS A FEW MONTHS BEFORE.

THE SQUATTERS ORGANIZED A COMMITTEE THAT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMITTEE REPRESENTATIVES JOINED TO DIRECT THE TAKE-OVER AND THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OPPONENTS. THE TAKE-OVER WAS STOPPED BY THE POLICE. A PROTEST PLATFORM WAS PLANNED NOT ONLY TO SOLVE THE URGENT PROBLEMS BUT ALSO TO PROTECT THE CONDITIONS OF ALL THOSE WORKERS WHOSE WAGES ARE HIT HEAVY RENTS AND PRICES.

FINALLY THE TOWN COUNCIL OF ROME PROMISED 6,000 APARTMENTS BY THE MONTH OF DECEMBER 1971.....

MILAN

....MILAN IS A BIG INDUSTRIAL CITY OF NORTH ITALY IN THE SHAPE OF A PYRAMID: IN THE CENTER LIVE THE BOURGEOIS, IN THE GHETTO-AREAS OF THE SUBURBS LIVE THE WORKERS AND TOGETHER WITH THEM 7,000 EVICTED PEOPLE GATHERED IN SPECIAL PLACES CALLED "EVICTION CENTERS" ARRANGED BY THE TOWN COUNCIL 40,000 REQUESTS FOR COUNCIL HOUSES ARE LYING AT THE IACP WHILE THOSE WHO HAVE AN APARTMENT PAY OUT THE 30%-40% OF THEIR WAGES FOR THE RENT. THE VERY WORKERS WHO WENT ON STRIKE FOR THEIR WORK CONTRACTS IN THE FACTORIES STARTED REFUSING TO PAY THE RENTS IN THE VAST DORMITORY-AREAS AND VILLAGES AND RESISTING COLLECTIVELY THE NOTICES TO QUIT THEY WERE GIVEN BY THE IACP.

IN THE AREA OF QUARTO OGGIARO THEY STARTED THE FIRST TENANT COMMITTEE THAT, SPREADING TO THE OTHER AREAS, HAS LATER BECOME THE TENANT UNION WHICH HAS CONTROLLED WITH STRIKES THE RENTS OF 30,000 FAMILIES FOR THREE YEARS AND HAS ORGANIZED THE TAKE-OVER OF 300 APARTMENTS. ON THE 2ND JUNE 1971, WHILE A FALSE REFORM OF HOUSING WAS BEING DISCUSSED IN PARLIAMENT AMONG MANY COMPROMISES, 70 FAMILIES OF IMMIGRATED WORKERS, AFTER HAVING WAITED FOR A COUNCIL BLOCK FOR FOUR YEARS, SQUATTED IN A BLOCK OF IACP HOUSES IN VIA TIBALDI WITH LUXURY APARTMENTS FOR SALE.

THE SQUATTERS' DEMONSTRATION WAS PRECEDED BY A TWO-MONTH ORGANIZED WORK IN HOUSE MEETINGS AND FAMILY REUNIONS IN ORDER TO LINK THE FAMILIES WITH THE ACTIVISTS, THE SCHOOLS, THE FACTORIES AND THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS ALREADY OPERATING. THE TRADITIONAL LEFT-WING FORCES DEMANDED THE REQUISITION OF VACANT APARTMENTS. THE POLICE CLEARED THE SQUATTED IN HOUSES WITH VIOLENCE. THE COUNCIL OF THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE RESOLVED TO PUT UP THE 70 FAMILIES IN THE UNIVERSITY AND SET UP AN OPEN AND PERMANENT SEMINAR ON THE PROBLEM OF HOUSING. A WIDE ARRAY OF TRADE-UNION FORCES RESULTED FROM THE BASIC FACTORY AND NEIGHBOURHOOD COMMITTEES WHICH ORGANIZED A GENERAL DEMONSTRATION IN THE STREETS.

THE TOWN COUNCIL MADE AN EMERGENCY PLAN IN ORDER TO GIVE HOUSES TO THE SQUATTERS AND TO 200 FAMILIES LIVING IN THE EVICTION CENTERS WHICH IT PROMISED IT WOULD PULL DOWN.

THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE WAS CLEARED AND TAKEN OVER BY THE POLICE...

FLORENCE

THE OUTBREAK OF THE STRUGGLE FOR CHEAPER HOUSING EVEN IN A TOWN LIKE FLORENCE WHERE THE IMMIGRATION FLOW IS NOT SO STRONG AS IN THE BIG INDUSTRIAL CITIES OF NORTH ITALY PROVES THE HIGH DEGREE OF STRAIN THAT THIS PROBLEM CAUSED IN ITALY.

FLORENCE, LIKE BOLOGNA, IS THE CHIEF TOWN OF ONE OF THE "COMMUNIST PROVINCES", NAMELY MANAGED BY THE LEFT-WING PARTIES, WHERE THE REFORMATIVE HEGEMONY USES THE LOCAL BODIES AND AN ARRAY OF CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC POWER BLOCKS (CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, WORKING CLASS HOUSES, ETC.) TO CARRY OUT A SOCIAL PEACE POLICY.

IN VIEW OF THE POOR PROMISES OF THE OFFICIAL MANAGING COMMITTEE (TO POSTPONE THE SOLUTION FOR SIX MONTHS - TO MOVE THE FAMILIES TO THE "TINY HOUSES" WHERE THOSE FAMILIES WHICH ACCORDING TO THE TOWN COUNCIL'S JUDGEMENT CAN AFFORD RENTS OF 30-40,000 LIRE P.M. WILL BE EXPELLED FROM - TO CONFINE THE OLD AND THE UNMARRIED PEOPLE TO THE POOR-HOUSES OR TO THE PUBLIC DORMITORIES) IN JULY 1971 SEVERAL PROLETARIAN FAMILIES FROM EVICTION CENTERS, PUBLIC DORMITORIES (WHERE ONE HAS TO GO OUT AT 8 O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING WITH ALL HIS PERSONAL BELONGINGS AND MAY NOT RETURN UNTIL 8 O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING) AND THE "TINY HOUSES" IN CASELLA, NOVOLI AND ROZZANO TOOK OVER A HOUSE IN VIA MANNI IN FLORENCE. KICKED OUT BY THE POLICE, THEY SQUATTED IN THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL OFFICE AND MADE IT A MOBILIZATION CENTER IN THE WHOLE TOWN TO ACCOMPLISH A MUTUAL SOLIDARITY, TO ENLARGE THE METHOD OF DIRECT ACTION, TO WORK OUT A TAKING-OVER PLAN AND TO INVOLVE ALL THE POLITICAL CENTERS, INSIDE THE SQUATTED "RED PROVINCE" OFFICES THEY STARTED A PERMANENT ASSEMBLY, A COMMON CANTEEN, A FIRST AID CENTER, A LEGAL AID CENTER, A NURSERY SCHOOL AND A PARK FOR CHILDREN IN THE GARDEN. THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD NOT ACCEPT THAT A GOVERNMENT OFFICE SHOULD BE USED IN SUCH A PROLETARIAN WAY: IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT THE COMMUNIST PROVINCE MIGHT BECOME A PLATFORM FOR DEVELOPING AND STRENGTHENING THE STRUGGLE IT HAD THE SQUATTERS DRIVEN OUT. THE BASIS OF THE PARTY AND OF TRADE UNIONS COMPOSED OF WORKERS CRITICIZED THE CONDUCT OF THE LEADERS. THE EVICTED PROLETARIANS MOVED TO THE FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE.





BOLOGNA

... BOLOGNA IS A TOWN WHICH HAS BEEN RUN FOR 30 YEARS BY THE LEFT-WING PARTIES. THE ACTIVIST MOVEMENT FOR CHEAPER HOUSING ORIGINATED FROM THE DRAMATIC CONDITIONS OF GHETTOS, SLUMS, IMMIGRATION. FOR THE LOWER INCOME CLASSES (80,000-120,000 LIRE A MONTH) THE PROBLEM HAS NO SOLUTION. MOST OF THE COUNCIL HOUSES BUILT IN THE LAST YEARS ARE REDEEMABLE BY THE TENANTS AT NORMAL COST. IN THE RENTED HOUSES THE COST FOR AN APARTMENT FLUCTUATES BETWEEN 30,000 AND 40,000 LIRE A MONTH.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CHEAPER HOUSING BEGAN IN THE WORKING CLASS AREAS OF S. DONATO AND PILASTRO WHERE 400 FAMILIES WENT ON STRIKE FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE 30% OF RENTS. ON THE 3RD JULY 1971... FAMILIES OF LABOURERS MOSTLY IMMIGRANT FROM SOUTH ITALY SQUATTED IN A BLOCK BUILT BY THE I.A.C.P. IN VIA FRATI CLAIMING: 1) ALLOTMENT OF THE APARTMENTS TAKEN OVER, 2) MANAGEMENT OF THE ASSIGNATION OF THE APARTMENT BY A COMMITTEE OF TENANTS, 3) PREMISES FOR A FIRST AID STATION AND A NURSERY SCHOOL MANAGED AND ORGANIZED BY THE TENANTS. THE COMMITTEE OF THE SQUATTERS ACTED AS A BODY WHICH DIRECTS THE STRUGGLE AND CO-ORDINATES THE ACTIVITIES OF GENERALIZATION AND SUPPORT IN THE HOUSING AREAS AND IN THE FACTORIES. THEY CREATED A COLLECTIVE CANTEEN, A FIRST AID STATION AND A NURSERY SCHOOL ORGANIZED BY DOCTORS, TEACHERS AND ACTIVISTS.

THE SQUATTING HAS A GREAT PART IN THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE "RED TOWN".

WHILE THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ACCUSED THE EXTRAPARLIAMENTARY GROUP ACTIVISTS OF EXPLOITING THE DESPERATE SITUATION RECALLING THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE STRUGGLE CARRIED ON BY THE PARTY IN PARLIAMENT FOR THE REFORM OF HOUSING, SUCH AN ARRAY OF FORCES ORIGINATED IN FACTORIES AND IN HOUSING AREAS THAT THE STRUGGLE IN VIA FRATI WAS CONSIDERED "A NEW AND REAL WAY OF MAKING REFORMS". THE POLICE CLEARED THE SQUATTERS' HOUSES AND THE FAMILIES NOT TO BE DISPERSED REFUSED TO BE PUT UP AT THE TOWN COUNCIL'S EXPENSE IN THE TOWN HOTELS AND SO THEY MOVED TO THE FACULTY OF PHYSICS, ONLY TO BE KICKED OUT AGAIN BY THE POLICE. THEY WERE RECEIVED IN THE UNIVERSITY BOARDING-HOUSE WHERE THE COMMITTEE, AS A BODY ORGANIZING THE STRUGGLE, STARTED AGAIN BY STARTING THE NURSERY SCHOOL, THE FIRST AID STATION AND THE CANTEEN. THE TOWN COUNCIL AND THE I.A.C.P. HAD TO COME TO TERMS. THE FIRST REAL RESULT WAS THE ALLOTMENT OF 29 APARTMENTS AND THE MANAGEMENT OF THE APARTMENTS BY THE TENANTS.

TURIN

THE DEMAND FOR A GREATER AND GREATER LABOUR FORCE BY THE FIAT AND OTHER FACTORIES IN TURIN AND THE IMMIGRATION FLOOD THAT RESULTED (40,000 WORKERS IN 1962, 20,000 IN 1968) CAUSED AN ENORMOUS INFLATION OF THE URBAN STRUCTURES. MANY WORKERS ARE OBLIGED TO LIVE IN OLD DOWN-TOWN OR SUB-URBAN HOUSES, OFTEN IN GARRETS WITH NO HYGIENIC SERVICES.

OTHER WORKERS LIVE IN GESCAL OR IACP DORMITORY-AREAS BUILT IN THE SUBURBS OF TURIN. THEY ARE VAST ISLANDS BUILT IN THE SUBURBS WITHOUT SELF-CONTAINED SERVICES OR CONNECTIONS WITH THE REAL CITY. THIS SITUATION MAY LEAD TO A STEADY RISE IN RENTS AND STRESSES THE PROBLEM OF THE SOCIAL BATTLE IN ORDER TO PREVENT THE LANDLORDS FROM GETTING THEIR OWN BACK ON THE CONQUESTS OF THE SOCIAL STRUGGLES IN THE FACTORIES.

IN THIS STATE OF THINGS MANY FORMS OF URBAN STRUGGLE TOOK PLACE IN THE QUARTERS OF TURIN, AT FIRST IN THE SECTORS OF THE PUBLIC BUILDING INDUSTRY AND LATER AGAINST THE PRIVATE OWNERS, TOO.

IN THE COUNCIL BLOCKS OF VIA ARTOM (750 APARTMENTS) THE STRUGGLE FOR CHEAPER HOUSING LASTED ONE YEAR THROUGH AUTOELIMINATIONS AND RESULTED IN THE REDUCTION OF 50% OF THE RENT. IN 'CORSO TARANTO', IN COUNCIL AND GESCAL HOUSES, THE BATTLES OBLIGED THE TOWN COUNCIL TO MODIFY ITS POLICY OF URBAN SERVICES AND NOW FOR MORE THAN ONE YEAR THERE HAS BEEN THE AUTO-REDUCTION OF THE 50% OF THE RENTS IN COUNCIL HOUSES. SUCH IS THE CAPABILITY OF SELF-ORGANIZATION OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN THIS AREA THAT THE YOUNG PROLETARIANS HAVE BEGUN TO BUILD A SOCIAL CENTER WITH THEIR OWN HANDS. IN THE SUBURB OF NICHELINO THE STRUGGLE LET TO THE TAKE-OVER OF THE TOWN HALL BY THE PROLETARIANS - IN VIA SANSOVINO THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT EPISODES OF SOCIAL STRUGGLE WHICH, BESIDES THE RADICAL AUTOREDUCTION OF RENTS BY THE PROLETARIANS, BROUGHT ABOUT THE TAKE-OVER OF MANY HOUSES WHICH LED TO THEIR ASSIGNATION TO THE SQUATTERS.

IN JANUARY 1972 120 FAMILIES OF WORKERS LIVING IN SLUMS OR IN COLLAPSING DOWNTOWN HOUSES SQUATTED IN THE IACP HOUSES IN THE AREA OF MIRAFIORI. KICKED OUT BY THE POLICE, THEY MADE SYSTEMATIC TAKE-OVERS IN SEVERAL QUARTERS OF TURIN, EVEN IN PRIVATE HOUSES. THE FIVE POINTS OF THEIR CLAIMS WERE: 1) HOUSES FOR ALL THE SQUATTERS RIGHT NOW 2) ALL THOSE WHO ARE NOT IN NEED MUST BE CHASED OUT OF THE COUNCIL HOUSES 3) THE TOWN COUNCIL MUST DISPOSSESS THE EMPTY HOUSES 4) OTHER HOUSES MUST BE BUILT 5) CHEAP RENTS.

TURIN - 1969: VIA ARTOM 750 FAMILIES AUTOREDUCTION OF RENTS; CORSO TARANTO AUTOREDUCTION OF RENTS; VIA SANSOVINO TAKE-OVERS.
1970: CORSO MOLISE 50 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS; VIA SANSOVINO AUTOREDUCTION OF RENTS.
1972: VIA DA CANAL 180 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.

MILAN - 1969 GALLARATESE TAKE-OVERS. 1970: VIA MACMAHON TAKE-OVERS.
1971: VIA TIBALDI 70 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS. FROM 1969 TO 1972 300 FAMILIES TAKING-OVER OF APARTMENTS IN DIFFERENT BLOCKS; 30,000 FAMILIES RENT STRIKE.

BOLOGNA - 1971: VIA FRATI 42 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.
FLORENCE - 1971: VIA MANNI TAKE-OVERS; TAKING-OVER OF THE PROVINCE HALL.
ROME - 1969: TUFELLO 128 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS; CELIO 220 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS; VIA PIGAFETTA 150 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS; VIA PRATI 300 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS; ESQUILINO 100 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS. 1971: MAGLIANA 1200 FAMILIES AUTOREDUCTION OF RENTS; MAGLIANA 700 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.

NAPLES - 1971: TORRE DEL GRECO TAKE-OVERS.
SALERNO - 1971: 80 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.
MESSINA - 1971: 328 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.
CARBONIA - 1971: 130 FAMILIES TAKE-OVERS.



THE BUILDING ACT NO. 865 IS NOT A "REFORM" OF HOUSING AND OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ESTATES. THE ACT DOES NOT TOUCH ON THE ESSENTIAL POINTS OF THE PROBLEM, SUCH AS: 1) ESTATE PROPERTIES 2) HOUSE PROPERTIES 3) AVAILABLE FUNDS TO USE FOR PUBLIC BUILDING. THE ACT NO. 865 ORGANIZES THE BODIES OF THE PUBLIC BUILDING INDUSTRY AND GIVES POWER TO PROVINCES AND TOWN COUNCILS, BY ABOLISHING THE GESCAL COMPANY. THIS NEW STATE OF THINGS ALSO HAS TRADE UNION REPRESENTATIVES, OPPOSITION PARTY REPRESENTATIVES AND OTHER GROUPS INVOLVED ON VARIOUS LEVELS. ACTUALLY RATHER THAN A DEMOCRATIC INTERVENTION ON THIS ACT SEEMS TO BE AN ATTEMPT TO COMBINE THE TRADITIONAL INTERESTS OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRY WITH THE PENETRATION PLANS WHICH POWER BLOCKS HAVE PREPARED WITH THE SUPPORT OF STATE COMPANIES SO THAT THE PROCESS OF REPLACING POSTS AND INTERESTS MAY OCCUR WITHOUT ANY INCONVENIENT. ARE MORE CHEAPER HOUSES GOING TO BE BUILT WHEN THIS LAW COMES INTO FORCE? WHEN? WE MUST NOT DECEIVE OURSELVES. THE COURSE OF TRANSFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE NEW LAW IS SLOW ON THE ORGANIZING SIDE (THE EXPROPRIATION SYSTEM) AND WEAK OLD BODIES WHICH ARE DETERMINED NOT TO SHUT DOWN COLLECTED UNDER ONE MANAGEMENT). WORKERS ARE NOT GOING TO HAVE HOUSES RIGHT NOW - ON THE OTHER HAND HOUSES WILL BE FEW INDEED.

THE ACT NO. 865 PROVIDES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CO-OPERATIVE BUILDING SYSTEM, BUT IT ONLY ENCOURAGES ENTERPRISES OF SHAM CO-OPERATION OR HELPS FORWARD ANYWAY GROUPS OF SMALL SAVERS WHO HAVE IN HAND MONEY ENOUGH TO PAY IN ADVANCE THEIR SHARES FOR THE COST OF THE HOUSES WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN COVERED BY LOANS. THIS FACT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE POLITICAL PLAN OF INCREASING THE NUMBER OF SMALL OWNERS (APARTMENTS AND LITTLE COTTAGES) WHO HAVE ALWAYS BEEN MANOUVRED BY THE RIGHT-WING PARTIES, AS THEY ARE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE TO ANY CHANGE IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES AND ESTATES AND FOR THIS REASON HAVE ALWAYS BEEN USED TO STIFLE ANY ATTEMPT AT SOCIAL CHANGE. THE ACT NO. 865 ALSO MENTIONS A REDUCTION IN RENTS IN COUNCIL HOUSES AND APPROPRIATES

THE NEW BUILDING ACT NO. 865 WILL SOLVE YOUR PROBLEMS WITH A BIGGER POWER TO PROVINCES, EXPROPRIATION OF GREAT NUMBER OF AREAS, A BIGGER POWER TO TOWN COUNCILS, DEVELOPMENT OF THE COLLECTIVE PROPERTY CO-OPERATIVES, A NEW DEMOCRATIC LINE TO THE IACP



FOUR BILLIONS AND A HALF LIRE FOR THIS PURPOSE. CONSIDERING THE WHOLE AMOUNT OF IACP APARTMENTS WE GET TO A PALTRY REDUCTION OF 500 LIRE A MONTH - IF WE ALSO CONSIDER GESCAL HOUSES, AS A LOGICAL CONSEQUENCE, WE GET TO 300 LIRE A MONTH.

THE ACT NO. 865 PROVIDES FOR A NEW WAY OF DISPOSSESSING OF ESTATES FOR PUBLIC USE, ON THE GROUND OF AGRICULTURAL VALUES, TO DROP THE MARKET VALUES DETERMINED BY ESTATE PROPERTIES' INCOMES. YET THE MACHINE HAS AT LEAST TWO WEAK POINTS: WHEN IT COMES TO DETERMINING THE AGRICULTURAL VALUES (HARD TO BE FIXED) AND WHEN TO FINANCING THE EXPROPRIATING ACTION (TOWN COUNCILS HAVE NO MONEY), AND, MOREOVER, EVEN THOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE TO DISPOSSESS AND TOWN COUNCILS CAN APPLY EXPROPRIATION, IT DOES NOT MEAN THAT ESTATE PROPERTIES' INCOMES WILL BE ELIMINATED. IN FACT THEY WILL CONTINUE OUTSIDE THE BOUND AREAS. OBVIOUSLY THIS WILL START A DOUBLE MARKET OF THE AREAS: OF THOSE WHICH ARE MENTIONED AND THOSE WHICH ARE NOT MENTIONED IN THE ACT NO. 167, WITH DOUBLE VALUES AND DOUBLE PRICES. ON THE WHOLE, THE EXPROPRIATING ACTIONS TO GIVE CIVIL SERVICES TO AREAS LACKING IN SCHOOLS, PARKS, ETC., WILL LEAD TO VALUING THE NEIGHBOURING PRIVATE AREAS AND TO A RAISE IN ESTATE PROPERTIES' INCOMES, SO THAT WORKERS WILL QUICKLY BE EXPELLED FROM THE BEST AREAS IN THE TERRITORY.

THIS ACT WITH KEEPING THE HABIT OF WORMING MONEY OUT OF THE WORKERS' WAGES STATES THAT HOUSES ARE A KIND OF PRODUCT WHICH MUST BE A BURDEN TO PROLETARIANS' SACRIFICES AND NOT A SOCIAL SERVICE TO BE MANAGED COLLECTIVELY.



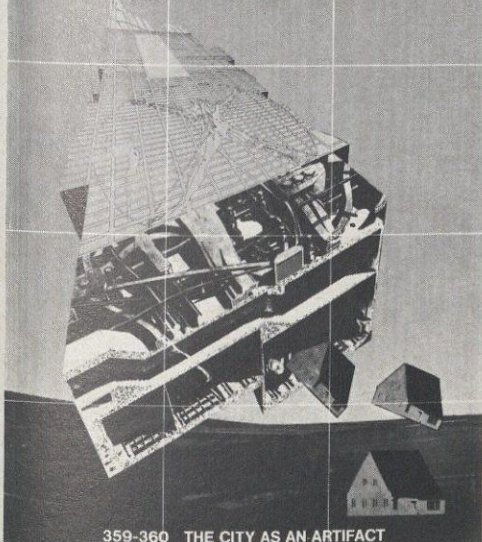


THE OUTLET OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE MUST BE A PROGRESSIVE EXTENSION OF THE PROLETARIAN INITIATIVES TO ALL THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SOCIAL LIFE AS TO CHANGE THE WHOLE GAMMA OF SOCIAL RELATIONS ON A GROUND OF BATTLES AND CLASS WARFARE: SCHOOLS, HOUSES, PRICES, SEX, THE PROBLEMS OF YOUNG AND OLD PEOPLE, MEANS OF INFORMATION, HEALTH SERVICE, ETC.



CASABELLA

the magazine for people with a responsibility in the organizing and shape of the human environment



359-360 THE CITY AS AN ARTIFACT

The magazine discusses the urgent themes related to the organization and shape of the environment in which man lives; it caters to all those who occupy positions of responsibility in the development of these phenomena, whose work strives for a critical conscience to oppose to false technocratic optimism, for an awareness of the positive contents of the past, for respect of the demands which advanced communal living brings to bear upon territorial development. The programme for the future is concerned with many fundamental issues: the politics and control of land, construction, layout - quality and quantity in Italian and international architecture - the quest for poetry in the visual arts - industrial design for the community - future materials and advanced techniques - materials and structure - the experimental value of interiors - alternatives in method and legislation in teaching, planning, the profession - the necessity of the anti-academy - consumer participation in decision and design - interaction between fields and between specializations - developing social models - the future of engineering and research - the industrial problem of production - the builder today.

Using up-to-date communication techniques — and its own study centre — the editorial team compiles every month a broad survey of polemics, news and documents (current problems in national and international criticism), offering the methodological and visual image of a «human» trend for our future habitat. Casabella — one of the leading reviews in its sector in the world — presents all the material: agencies, organisms, documents, projects and ideas necessary for the elaboration of the proposed themes.

This «fotoromanzo» by the STRUM team, which Casabella presents at the exhibition «Italy: the new domestic landscape» at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, will also be published in one of the next issues of the review.

DIFFERENT POSITIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT REGARDING THE RELATION BETWEEN THE STRUGGLES IN THE FACTORIES AND IN THE WHOLE SOCIETY.

ON A HIGHER LEVEL OF THE CAPITALISTIC DEVELOPMENT SOCIAL RELATIONS BECOME A MOMENT OF PRODUCTION, THE WHOLE SOCIETY IS CANALIZED BY PRODUCTION. THAT IS TO SAY THAT THE WHOLE SOCIETY LIVES ON FACTORIES AND FACTORIES EXTEND THEIR EXCLUSIVE POWER OVER THE WHOLE SOCIETY..... THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM CONSIDERS THE SOCIETY AS A MEANS AND PRODUCTION AS AN OBJECT..... SOCIAL RELATIONS ARE NEVER DETACHED FROM PRODUCTION RELATIONS..... IT IS THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM ITSELF THAT TRIES TO SUBORDINATE POLITICAL RELATIONS TO SOCIAL RELATIONS, SOCIAL RELATIONS TO PRODUCTION RELATIONS AND PRODUCTION RELATIONS TO FACTORY RELATIONS..... THEREFORE IT IS NO LONGER ONLY POSSIBLE, BUT BECOMES HISTORICALLY NECESSARY TO LEAD A GENERAL BATTLE AGAINST THE SOCIAL SITUATION INSIDE THE PRODUCTION RANGE AND TO PUT INTO CRISIS THE BOURGEOIS SOCIETY INSIDE THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM..... TOO MANY PEOPLE ARE STILL PERSUADED THAT POLITICAL ACTION SHOULD BEGIN WHERE PRODUCTION RELATIONS END AND THAT A GENERAL STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SYSTEM SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE TOP OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE WHICH HAS MEANWHILE BECOME THE TYPICAL EXPRESSION OF THE SOCIAL NEEDS OF THE CAPITALISTIC PRODUCTION.....

.....THE STRONGER CLASS SOLIDARITY IS, THE WIDER THE PROCESS OF STRENGTHENING IS AND THE GREATER THE CAPITALISTIC NECESSITY TO STOP THIS PROCESS OF UNIFICATION ON A SOCIAL LEVEL GROWS..... CITIES BECOME PLACES WHERE THE INDIVIDUAL PRODUCER LOSES PHYSICAL VALUE AND REGAINS IT AS A CITIZEN, NAMELY AS A CITY FRUITOR..... THE PRODUCTION LEVEL WHERE EXPLOITATION TAKES PLACE IS SEPARATED FROM THE SOCIAL LEVEL, WHERE IT IS POSSIBLE TO RESCUE THE CITIZEN WITH A DIFFERENT KIND OF MANAGEMENT AND TO REVERSE THE RELATION BETWEEN PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION..... AGAINST LE CORBUSIER'S VISION OF THE "MACHINE A HABITER" WE SET A KIND OF CITY AS A "PRODUCTIVE MACHINE" WHERE WAGES, RENTS AND SOCIAL COSTS ARE SYSTEMATICALLY CONTROLLED TO PERPETUATE THE EXPLOITATION, WHERE EMIGRATION FLOWS ARE USED TO BLACKMAIL WORKERS, TO SET THE EMPLOYED AGAINST THE UNEMPLOYED AND DEVELOPMENT AGAINST UNDERDEVELOPMENT..... TO CONNECT THE ACTION OF PROLETARIANS WHO REFUSE THE FACTORIES-TOWNS WITH THE ACTION OF WORKERS WHO REFUSE THE WORK ORGANIZED IN A CAPITALISTIC WAY.....

.....OUR ACTION STARTING FROM A DILIGENT THEORETIC ANALYSIS OF THE RELATION BETWEEN ECONOMICS AND THE STATE AIMS AT TURNING THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN THE FACTORIES INTO POLITICAL STRUGGLE UNTIL IT BREAKS THE RIGIDITY OF THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM AND CAUSES AN ECONOMIC CRISIS AS AN INDISPENSIBLE STEP FOR THE REVOLUTION..... THEREFORE WE HAVE STRESSED FOR A LONG TIME THE BALANCE OF THE ECONOMIC ELEMENTS COMPARED WITH THE WEIGHT OF THE STATE AND ITS INSTITUTES..... NOW A NEW PROCESS OF ORGANIZATION OF THE CAPITALISTIC DEVELOPMENT COMES UP WHERE THE MOMENTS OF THE CRISIS ARE REVEALED THROUGH THE INTERVENTION OF THE STATE AND THE BODIES..... NOT ONLY FOR A REPRESSIVE TREND BUT ALSO FOR THE ORGANIZATION OF ITS GLOBAL ACTION..... THEREFORE IT IS URGENT (THAT WAS CLEAR IN THE LAST WORKING-CLASS BATTLES) TO SHIFT THE STRUGGLE FROM FACTORIES TO THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL FIELD.

TRADE UNIONS TAKE UP THIS EXIGENCE BY CARRYING OUT THE RELATION BETWEEN ECONOMIC STRUGGLE AND POLITICAL STRUGGLE AS A DEMOCRATIC PARTICIPATION AND BY NOURISHING THE DREAM OF THE DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, BRINGING THE STRUGGLE OUT OF FACTORIES DOES NOT ONLY MEAN TO US A VALUELESS BATTLE FOR MORE HUMANE CONDITIONS OF THE DEVELOPMENT, BUT MEANS AN OPEN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DEVELOPMENT AND ITS INSTITUTIONS..... ONE OF THE POLITICAL ANSWERS TO THE GENERAL STRUGGLE IS A KIND OF PLURALISTIC SOCIETY, THE PROCESS OF INVOLVING THE WORKERS' RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SOCIETY WITH INVESTMENTS OF MONEY. THIS ALSO MEANS THAT A SERIES OF DISCREPANCIES COMES UP (TOWNS, TRANSPORTS, SCHOOLS, PUBLIC SERVICES, ETC.) SO THAT THE CAPITALISTIC CAPACITY OF PLANNING IS CONSTANTLY HANDICAPPED AT THE POLITICAL LEVELS THAT ARE NECESSARY TO ANSWER THE MASS PRESSURE AND IN THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF A PROCESS OF THIS KIND WHICH TODAY CAN ONLY CARRY OUT A TECHNOLOGICAL ORGANIZATION OF OUR SOCIETY.....

THE PROBLEMS OF HOUSING, SCHOOL, HEALTH, TRANSPORT, TAXATION, ETC ARE USING REVENUES RATHER THAN PRODUCTION WAYS OR BECAUSE IT SEEMS TO ENCOURAGE AN INSTITUTIONAL MEDIATION, AS A NATURAL OUTLET..... ACCEPTING THE LOGIC OF THE BOURGEOIS REASONING WHICH AIMS AT THE DIVISION BETWEEN STRUGGLE IN FACTORIES AND SOCIAL STRUGGLE (WORKERS SHOULD LIMIT DEMANDS FOR HIGHER SALARIES TO HAVE SOCIAL REFORMS IN EXCHANGE), REFORMISTS TRY TO PROVE THAT TODAY WITH USING REVENUES IN A DIFFERENT WAY IT IS POSSIBLE TO HAVE BOTH RAISE IN SALARIES AND SOCIAL REFORMS IN OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM. THEREFORE WHEN THE TRADE-UNION BATTLE IS OVER WE SHALL START THE BATTLE FOR REFORMS ("AFTER THE TRADE-UNION BATTLE, REFORMS") IN THE USUAL WAY, REFORMISM OWING TO ITS TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS AND ITS OBSERVANCE OF THE BOURGEOIS LEGALI-

TY HAS ALWAYS CONSIDERED SOCIAL BATTLES AS MOVEMENTS OF OPINION WHICH PUT PRESSURE ON THE POWER BLOCKS AND ON THE REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEES..... NOW IF PROLETARIANS ARE OBLIGED TO DEFEND THE TERMS OF THEIR AGREEMENT IN THE FACTORIES AND TO RESPECT THE PRAXIS OF THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM, THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO LEAD THE STRUGGLE OUTSIDE THE FACTORIES..... IT IS TO BE SAID THAT THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE MUST CONCERN BOTH THE WORK IN FACTORIES AND THE SOCIAL FIELD SO THAT IT CREATES A SPACE NECESSARY FOR A WIDER MOVEMENT UNTIL IT BECOMES RADICAL ENOUGH TO CAUSE A POLITICO-ECONOMIC CRISIS..... THE MOVEMENT NEEDS NOT TO QUIT FACTORIES AND TO LINK BATTLES AND ACHIEVEMENTS CLOSELY TOGETHER WITH THE OTHER BATTLES IN TOWN... THE DEFENCE OF WORKERS' CONDITION DEPENDS OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE INTERVENTIONS IN THESE SECTORS: FOR THE AMOUNTS OF PLUS VALUE DRAWN THROUGH INDIRECT WAYS, SUCH AS THE COST OF HOUSES AND TRANSPORTS, THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION AND THE POLICY OF PRICES, ARE INCREASING IN THIS PROCESS OF EXPLOITATION - AND EVEN ITS FUNCTION IN WHICH STRUCTURES SUCH A SCHOOLS, CITIES, MEANS OF INFORMATION, ETC. TAKE A PROMINENT PART ON REPRODUCING THE SOCIAL HIERARCHY ARE INCREASING.

A KIND OF RIGHT STRUGGLE IS THE ONE THAT AT A SOCIAL LEVEL COMES FROM THE MOST ADVANCED EXPERIENCES OF BATTLE IN FACTORIES: THE SELF-ORGANIZATION ON THE BASIS AND THE SELF-MANAGEMENT AS A PRACTICE ALTERNATIVE TO THE TRADITIONAL PARLIAMENTARY AND TOWN ACTION, THE EQUALITARIAN OPPOSITION TO THE POLICY OF SEGREGATION AND SEPARATION, THE VIOLENCE OF THE CLASSES ON WHICH CITIES ARE BASED AND THE CAPACITY OF HAVING PREVALENT PART IN THE ARRAY OF FORCES..... ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR HOUSING RENTS (IN CONNECTION WITH SALARIES) AND HOUSES (AS A SOCIAL SERVICE) ARE TWO MAIN POINTS TO WHICH THE MOVEMENT INTEND TO ATTEND FIRST OF ALL, A VAST AND ORGANIZED NETWORK OF COMMITTEES AND WORKING-CLASS COUNCILS MUST BE THE CO-ORDINATIVE BODY TO DIRECT ITS ENLARGEMENT..

IN THE FACTORIES AND IN SOME EXEMPLARY CASES PROLETARIANS RECOGNIZED THEIR OWN CLASS INTERESTS, PUT THEM IN THE FIRST PLACE COMPARED WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF PRODUCTION AND THE LAWS OF THE MARKET, NAMELY THE CAPITALISTIC INTERESTS. IN MANY OTHER CASES OWNERS KEEP THEIR INITIATIVES, IMPOSE THEIR SOLUTIONS WHICH ARE NEVER NEUTRAL. IN EVERY CASE THERE ARE ALWAYS TWO WAYS OF DISCUSSING AND SOLVING A PROBLEM: THE PROLETARIAN AND COMMUNIST ONE AND THE BOURGEOIS AND REVISIONIST ONE..... SOME PEOPLE THINK THAT THESE PROBLEMS MAY BE IMPORTANT AS REGARDS THE AIM OF REALIZING A COMMUNIST SOCIETY, BUT IT DOES NOT MAKE SENSE TO DISCUSS THEM BEFORE BEING IN POWER. THIS IS TRUE IF WE THINK THAT TO DISCUSS THESE PROBLEMS IS TO SOLVE THEM, TO ACCEPT SOLUTIONS IN WHICH PROLETARIANS CAN FIND THE SATISFACTION OF THEIR "CIVIL" NEEDS - ONLY THIS CAN SUBDUCE THE CONTRADICTION WHICH SET THEM AGAINST THE CAPITALISTIC SOCIETY, IT IS FALSE IF WE RECKON THAT TO DISCUSS THEM IS TO ENLARGE THE CLASS WARFARE EVEN IN THIS FIELD, TO UNDERSTAND THAT PROLETARIANS HAVE THEIR OWN INTERESTS, TO SEPARATE THE BOURGEOIS AND INDIVIDUALISTIC SOLUTIONS FROM THE PROLETARIAN AND COMMUNIST ONES, TO INCREASE THE AUTONOMY OF PROLETARIANS IN COMPARISON WITH OWNERS.... SO ALL THESE BATTLES MUST BE VALUED WITH THE CONSCIENCE POWER, THE UNITY AND THE AUTONOMY THAT PROLETARIANS WIN..... THE BATTLES IN FACTORIES AND THE WORKING-CLASS ATTACK ON THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM OF PRODUCTION ARE DETERMINANT TO ASCERTAIN THE ARRAY OF FORCES IN THE CLASSES OF THE WHOLE SOCIETY..... THEREFORE FACTORIES MUST REMAIN THE FOCUS POINT OF OUR ATTENTION AND OUR POLITICAL ACTIVITIES. IF WE CANNOT LEAD THE WORKING-CLASS STRUGGLE ON A LARGER FIELD, IT WILL BE CERTAINLY SUFFOCATED.....

ONLY WITH A GENERAL PLAN IT IS POSSIBLE TO CONSOLIDATE A MASS ORGANIZATION..... WHEN WORKERS BEGIN TO ENLARGE THEIR STRUGGLE THROUGH ALL THE REASONS OF THEIR CONDITION OF EXPLOITED PEOPLE, THEY FEEL THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING MORE SOLID AND OF USING FACTORIES NOT ONLY TO ATTACK DIRECTLY OWNERS BUT ALSO TO DISCUSS AND ORGANIZE A MORE VIOLENT AND GENERAL BATTLE

THE RELATION BETWEEN STRUGGLE IN FACTORIES AND SOCIAL STRUGGLE IS ABOVE ALL A QUESTION OF PROTAGONISTS. WORKERS ARE THE SPINE OF A PROLETARIAN ORGANIZATION IN TOWN-AREAS AND VILLAGES, WHICH IS ABLE TO LEAD A CONTINUOUS SOCIAL STRUGGLE AND TO LINK THE NUMEROUS BATTLES TOGETHER..... THEY ARE THE IMMIGRANT WORKERS..... THE MEANS BY WHICH PURPOSES BECOME MUTUAL, THE NATURAL BASIS OF UNITY IN THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE "INDUSTRIAL" NORTH AND THE "UNDERDEVELOPED" SOUTH, THEREFORE ON FIXING THE MATURITIES AND THE PRIORITIES OF OUR PLAN "LET US TAKE POSSESSION OF THE TOWN" WE MUST SEE AS REAL PROTAGONISTS OF THE BATTLES A LINE OF DEVELOPMENT WHICH START FROM THE PROBLEMS THAT TODAY ARE EASILY SOLVED BY THE WORKING-CLASS INITIATIVES IN THE WAY WORKERS CAN EXERCISE THE AUTONOMY THEY HAVE OBTAINED IN THE FACTORIES OUTSIDE THEM IN ALL THE OTHER FIELDS.

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