

# m24 Starlight. mapping deep space

## 1. introduction: m24

Today I'd like to analyze one piece of music, applying the frame work I've developed earlier in this project. The piece I'm referring to appeared in early 1995 and it soon became an ubiquitous if enigmatic presence in the Techno world. The record's imprint was known to us all, the spiraling logo, like a Duchampian roto-relief—Metroplex—the first Techno label founded in 1985 by Juan Atkins from Detroit. I say enigmatic, however, because the single had no written label, it didn't seem to have a name... only a catalog number, m24. Without a name one had to ask, is this just Metroplex release number twenty-four or is Juan, known to be partial to science fiction, making some reference to the Sagitarian star cluster m24? Or maybe, given how it sounded, this was where the music came from, not Detroit at all. When the track was finally released on the album *Deep Space* [Atkins 1995] (under Juan's pseudonym, Model 500) we finally found the name, number seven on the track list, 'starlight.'

The track seemed then and still now, the apex of a certain mode of production in Detroit, accompanied by a few of Juan's contemporary tracks, 'Jazz is the Teacher,' 'Sonic Sunset' and 'Moonbeam.' [Atkins 1993,1994,1996] Atkins was not alone, other Detroit Producers produced tracks of similar timbre and construction, but only Juan who had invented Techno, was now in the second act of his career capable of bringing together the two strains of his successors. In these tracks the sonic complexity of Carl Craig's Psyche or Stacey Pullen's Cosmic Courier coexist with the spatial minimalism of Mike Banks, Jeff Mills and Robert Hood's Underground Resistance. In bringing together these two strains, Juan it seems brought into communication the utopian and dystopian elements of Techno, a music derived from a city so torn between its utopian and dystopian fantasies and representations it seemed to have ceased to exist as a real place.

The German label Basic Channel's artists Maurizio and Vainquer followed quickly after with work emulating Juan. It was probably not entirely chance that Maurizio, aka Moritz von Oswald served as engineer on 'starlight.' Derrick May has said, ala Lautremont's 'sewing

machine on an operating table' that "Techno is just like Detroit, a big mistake. It's like George Clinton and Kraftwerk stuck in an elevator" [Cosgove 1995:681]. Recorded in Love Park Studios Berlin, maybe we hear the European influence on Juan's work—the Kraftwerk. Or perhaps as I will argue, as they traveled the world these artists took Detroit with them, never left Detroit, only found the truth of the city that wasn't available to them in the city itself. The truth that was neither in the vanilla suburbs where they grew up as an alienated minority, or the chocolate city, the donut city, black and empty as its center. As first generation Black middle-class suburbanites they were at home neither place, and yet home nowhere else. In leaving the US had they found the truth of the site social historian Jerry Herron has called "the most American city, the place that was "more like America than anywhere else in America," the place that "took the logic of America to its limit" [Bredow, extras]

## 2. theory

That today we should find the truth of 'our place in the world,' not in *our place* but in the *world*—that *meaning* is no longer to be found locally, but in the totality of a global system—is a basic premise of Fredric Jameson's theory of 'an aesthetics of cognitive mapping.' This idea was developed through his work in the Eighties, including the essays "Cognitive Mapping," "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," and the books *Signatures of the Visible* and *The Geopolitical Aesthetic* [Jameson, 1983, 1984, 1988a, 1991, 1992]. Central to this project is the insight that the world is now connected in ways which are no longer understandable through the metaphor of a unitary body space, particularly the space of the subject constructed by Cartesian perspectival vision through which we could say modernity had organized both the objective world and the subject. The implication of this is that, "[a]t this point the phenomenological experience of the individual subject—traditionally, the supreme raw materials of the work of art—becomes limited to a tiny corner of the social world" [1991:411] This is coupled with a situation in which

"...the truth of our social life as a whole—in Lukács's terms, as a totality—is increasingly irreconcilable with the possibilities of aesthetic expression or articulation available to us; a situation about which it can be asserted that if we can make a work of art from our experience, if we can give experience the form of a story that can be told, then it is no longer true, even as individual experience; and if we can grasp the truth about our world as a totality, then we may find it some purely conceptual expression but will

no longer be able to maintain an imaginative relationship to it. In current psychoanalytic terminology, we will thus be unable to insert ourselves, as individual subjects, into an ever more massive and impersonal or transpersonal reality outside ourselves. This is the perspective in which it becomes a matter of more than mere intellectual curiosity to interrogate the artistic production of our own time for signs of some new, so far only dimly conceivable, collective forms which may be expected to replace older individualistic ones..." [1977:54]

Jameson's describes this theory as a fusion of Althusser's theory of interpellation and Kevin Lynch's theories of urban mapping presented in *The Image of the City*. [1988:353] Jameson presents us with the proposition that Capital has power over us to the extent that we cannot find our place in it, cannot map our place in its system. "...the truth of that experience no longer coincides with the place in which it takes place," our perceptions are "bound up with the whole colonial system.... that determines the very quality of the individuals subjective life. Yet those structural coordinates are no longer accessible to immediate lived experience and are often not even conceptualizable for most people." [1991:411] This is true on both a local level (our own neighborhoods and cities) as well as on a global scale. Jameson's reaction is not merely a plea to reconstruct our city according to more human values and on a more human scale, but instead to develop an aesthetic strategy to apprehend the obscured lines of geopolitical power relations. It is a solution which "stands as something like an imperative to grow new organs, to expand our sensorium and our body to some new, yet unimaginable, perhaps ultimately impossible, dimensions" in order to apprehend the new spaces of globalization. [1991:39] Jameson is also a noted critic of science fiction, and if this demand to 'grow new organs' seems derived from that domain, one might do well to remember he is a Marxist as well, and in a more "materialist" moment has described the project of developing an aesthetics of cognitive mapping as the return of "class consciousness." [1992:37]

In the paper "Cognitive Mapping" Jameson develops this theory but quickly says that he cannot identify any artwork which adheres to it. Usually, he notes a theory is developed from already existing works of art, but here he is writing based on the demands of a historical moment. That any such artwork should exist is mere speculation; he says he cannot identify any work that seems to embody his theory (although elsewhere he describes his analysis of the film *Dog Day Afternoon* as an example his theory). None-the-less, Jameson

does come close to the site that I will develop for my concrete implementation to his abstract project. In his essay 'Cognitive Mapping' he mentions two works from Detroit, a book: Dan Georgakis and Marvin Surkin's *Detroit: I do mind dying* and a film, *Finally Got the News*, by the Dodge/Detroit Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM).<sup>1</sup>

There is one more clue, this one hidden in plain sight, hidden in the center of Detroit and hidden at the center of what is arguably Jameson's most famous essay, "The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism." There he gives his most famous metaphor, and it is in fact a metaphor for cognitive mapping; I am speaking of his story of getting dislocated, dissociated and lost in the lobby and shopping complex of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Los Angeles. [1991:39-42] The Bonaventure was built and designed by the real estate developer and architect John Portman between 1974 and 1976. During the entire time Portman was developing the Bonaventure, two thousand miles away in Detroit, he was constructing a project of about twice the scale (seventy-four stories to the Bonaventures thirty-five) of remarkably similar design—the Renaissance Center (1971-1981). The Renaissance center was the first major project designed to revitalize the center of Detroit after the troubles of the Sixties and early Seventies. The "RenCen" as it came to be called was one of a string of buildings built by Portman in the center of de-industrializing racially-troubled American cities. The theme was same in each case, a city within a city, one which holds the city out; what each holds in is a multi-storied shopping atrium as the lobby of a sky-scraping hotel. If as Jameson says, "The Bonaventure is content to 'let the fallen city fabric continue to be in its being' (to parody Heidegger); no further effects, no larger protopolitical Utopian transformation, is either expected or desired." [Jameson 1984:81] it is a matter of indifference to the buildings themselves that Los Angeles recovered from its moment of crisis, [Varnelis] while Detroit continued to fall.

Given the elaborate and compelling argument about the Bonaventure some have been sidetracked into thinking that Jameson's is merely an architectural critique or a critique

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1. Marshall Berman comes close as well when he writes about the hip-hop mix tapes provided by his CCNY students as providing the metaphor of a new political aesthetics, the remix. *Adventures in Marxism*, 16-17

of urban planning. [Varnelis] When Jameson gives the example of getting lost in the Westin Bonaventure it is clear if one reads that this is only a metaphor for the organization of space and power in cities and in the global system of capital as a whole. The confusion is that his argument is double-articulated. It is on the local level, on the level of our own bodies, our own senses that we become disarticulated from the understanding our place in the totality, because it is only through the metaphors of space that we have derived from the body that we can possibly construct an image of the system as a whole or conceptualize our place within it. This is where the money market and remote management have surpassed the human body, already constructing and occupying a hyperspace, a manifold of more imagined dimensions than the four of space and time as we experience them, more even than the thirteen dimensions the more exotic variants of String Theory infer must subtending our physical universe.

The site in which I propose Jameson's aesthetic has been spontaneously realized is Detroit Michigan. Detroit seems to be a city which demands an aesthetics of cognitive mapping, it is a city in which we will see an aesthetics of cognitive mapping has grown fully realized without theorization, it is as the young Marx would say, theory directly in practice. This is undoubtedly because Jameson was right, and more right about Detroit than anywhere else, because more than any place in America, the truth of Detroit happens outside the city itself. Before we turn to the music I believe embodies this theory, we must turn to Detroit itself, its history and its connections to the globalizing system of capital. In the next section I will develop more fully how and why Detroit came to be particularly suited to this project.

### **3. history**

#### **(a) utopian detroit**

In the 1920s Blacks flocked to Detroit based on Henry Ford's promise of the "five dollar day," his promise of equal work for equal pay, at twice the rate of other employers, regardless of race or ethnic background. This promise was the first of its kind by any industrial employer, and outside of laws enforcing equality, one of the few ever initiated by the employer themselves. It seemed for a moment, as Blacks and Whites worked and prospered

side by side on the factory floor, that Capitalism had washed away the problems of race and class in the surplus released by new more efficient modes of production. Ford's scheme was made possible by the increased productivity of workers on a streamlined moving assembly line, but also necessitated by the assembly line as well: the strain and boredom of endlessly repetitive Taylorized motions resulted in high turnover and retraining costs. While initially seen as merely an investment in worker retention, this cornerstone of fordism led to other rewards for the industrialists, it turned workers into consumers. In this Capital seemed to have resolved its own central contradiction, the alienation of the worker from his object: workers were finally able to buy the products of their own labor. While this might have seemed a radically anti-capitalist idea at the time, today we only need to think of the word "consumerism" to understand how fordism began the colonization of everyday life.

Detroit was, in the first half of the twentieth century, a supremely utopian city, a capitalist success story. It promised the resolution of both class and racial conflicts in the prosperity made possible by new forms of mass production. In the 1950s the Detroit area had the highest median income and highest rate of home ownership of any major US city. [Schiffens] The auto industry was the sole reason for this success, and it is not hard to see why; at the time four out of every five cars in the world were made in the US most of those in greater Detroit. Detroit's geographic position on the straights between the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence seaway gave it access to seemingly limitless natural resources needed for auto production (coal and iron) and routes of export. The automobile was the supreme consumer item, the only thing most people buy that is more expensive is a house. A house however is not at all the same type of commodity: a house is fixed, lasts for decades, cannot be exported, used up, it is sold from owner to owner and most of all houses are built on site, without centralized production. Detroit had found the supreme commodity form, and when no other industry could compete, became an economic monoculture, almost all business in Detroit was related to the auto industry. Detroit also had a monopoly on the auto industry itself, it was home to all of the 'the big three' auto manufactures, Chrysler, GM, and Ford as well as a number of small ones.

Detroit's success was based on the reorganization of space. First the moving assembly line reorganized the space of production. As we will consider in the next section, the product of that assembly line, the automobile, like the railway had before it [Schivelbusch, Gideon], reorganized the city itself as well as the relation between the city and surrounding areas. But Detroit's only claims were not on the space of the city but on its time as well. The auto industry said 'the future is now' and saw no contradiction in releasing even more 'futuristic' products the following year. Detroit seemed a little ahead of everywhere else, as if it was the space of the future, as if the spatial reorganization of the factories had made them into time portals; how else could Ford produce one car per minute in 1929? [Shiomi:3] Detroit embodied the Capitalist ideal of progress, projecting its way of life onto the future and claiming the future for its way of life. While Ford famously produced the same Model T—in one color: Black—for almost twenty years, it was the futuristic styling of the mid-century that Detroit seemed to thematize its own futurist vision. In their annual attempts to outdo each other, to push further into the future, manufacturers seemed to have exceeded the capabilities of the existing English language to express their enthusiasm. Witness the transcription of two commercials from the era. The First: "Oldsmobile presents first of the Futuramic Cars,"

"In the truly modern home or the truly modern car, it's functional design that counts, smart styling is styling with a purpose as seen in this 1948 Futuramic Oldsmobile. Futuramic is a brand new word created to describe this brand new post war General Motors car. Luxuriously appointed inside and out, the Futuramic Oldsmobile brings truly modern post-war design to the automotive field. There's utility as well as beauty in every smart detail. There's the safety of greater visibility—there's automatic shifting too! And no clutch pushing thanks to GM hydromatic drive. The smart way to go is the automatic way in a Futuramic Oldsmobile." [Handy Jam/Oldsmobile:1948]

In the second: "Wonderful 1960" the cars literally seem to appear from outer space. As the commercial begins we see the roof of an observatory crack open as the camera looks over the barrel of a large telescope. The camera pans back and the new cars appear as shooting stars over an evening summer garden party of White men in tuxedos and White women in evening dresses on a grassy hill next to the observatory as the narrator intones,

"You are about to know the thrill of seeing that which has never been seen before. You're about to enter a beautiful, exciting, wonderful new world, the world of 1960. For the first time in history, you'll see not one, not two, but three completely new kinds of Ford cars for 1960, a wonderful new world of Fords." [Handy Jam/Ford 1960]

## **(b) suburbanization and segregation**

Ironically, the automobile, the apex commodity, was out of the reach of most workers, even those working for Ford, until the post-war boom. Buying cars allowed workers to move the suburbs, and in America suburbanization and segregation were two sides of the same coin. In the simplest of terms the wealthier were the first to leave the city and wealthier were white. Whites moved up, received college educations or sent their children to college, while Blacks stayed on the production line. The GI bill for returning military hastened the process allowing veterans to go to college and allowing many families to buy real estate first time. While I won't attempt to unpack the complex entwinement of race and economics in America, or even Detroit in the nineteen-fifties, it is clear that the segregation of Detroit between the city and the suburbs was not entirely determined by economics on the first order. 'Redlining,' the practice of refusing Blacks loans that would have been available to equally well-off Whites was common as were efforts to make Blacks feel unwelcome in the suburbs, including but not limited to threats of violence and real violence. [Sugrue 2004a] Institutionalized economic racism and racism proper worked together in keeping Blacks from accessing the exit routes from the city the automobile represented for equally well-off whites. Blacks might now be able to afford the car, but they in effect had no place to go.

The statistics bear witness to the racial consequences. During the 1950s the White population of Detroit declined by 23%. Correspondingly, the percentage of non-Whites rose from 16.1% to 29.1%. In sheer numbers the Black population of Detroit increased from 303,000 to 487,000 during that decade. [Fine 1989:4] Today Detroit is about 73% minority while the suburbs as a whole are about 73% white; this in contrast to the general population of the U.S. which is about 74% White nationally.

"People have left the city to build and occupy a new utopia, the suburbs. In contrast to the city's tall skyscrapers, tight grid pattern, abandoned shops and industrial buildings, the suburbs are a landscape of massive strip mall grids, enormous enclosed shopping malls, parking lots and evenly manicured lawns. Suburban Detroiters live out the new American Dream of isolation, segregation and lawnmowers." [Cope:11]

It was in this era that the dialectical relationship between the car and architecture, the car and the built city would come to shape the city itself, and in this, the utopian city of Capitalist futurism would be abandoned and destroyed, in the words of Henry Ford, "we

shall solve the city problem by leaving the city." Always one step ahead, Detroit was home to a number of firsts in roadway architecture. In 1909 Woodward Ave, between 6 and 7 mile roads became the first paved mile in the world, and the Wayne country Road Commission painted the first center line in 1911. [Herron 2003] In 1953 the I-94 to M10 interchange became the first freeway to freeway interchange in the United States, allowing the car to effectively bypass the surface roads of the city. [US DOT] With this achievement Fords phrase might be better put "we shall solve the problem of the city by driving past it."

Detroit's most destructive 'first' have come in 1942 when the Davidson (M-8) became the first freeway to cut through the heart of an American city, destroying the center of its Black community, in this case the "black bottom" and "paradise valley" neighborhoods. Black neighborhoods would come to be common target of such projects for numerous of reasons, Blacks had less financial, legal and political power to resist, the built infrastructure of the neighborhoods was less financially valuable and so demanded less compensation, and Blacks were less often homeowners (landlords were satisfied with compensation where homeowners were emotionally invested in property and more prone to legal resistance.) Black neighborhoods were also exactly those which Freeways wanted to bypass, so that Whites would not have to drive through Black ghettos between downtown and suburb. The most insidious reasons however seem only available in hindsight, the cordoning and control of space. This story that has been repeated too many times in other American cities to be mere chance, Marshall Berman's *All that is Solid Melts into Air* documents a parallel conflict in the Bronx and the same scenario has been played out in many American cities.

"So often the price of ongoing and expanding modernity is the destruction not merely of "traditional" and "pre-modern" institutions and environments but—and here is the real tragedy—of everything most vital and beautiful in the modern world itself."  
[Berman 1982:295]

Comparable in many ways to Haussmanization of Paris in the 1850's and 60's [Harvey 2003, Ross, Clark 1984, Benjamin 1973] the construction of freeways in Detroit was both a military and social engineering project. Paris it will be remembered was reconstructed to make it 'impossible' to throw up barricades across wide boulevards, the common tactic of insurrectionists to seize space, but also to move troops and commodities from the train

stations to the center of the city. While the technology of the automobile created a demand for larger no-stop thoroughfares, it's clear that the placement and planning of the freeways was strategic as well. [Waldheim 110] The trench style freeways of Detroit (as opposed to the later and more common elevated variety) created a physical barrier allowing planners to break up neighborhoods into more manageable sections and facilitate the insertion of troops into the heart of areas (invariably Black and poor) presumed to be the sites of potential unrest. This effort redoubled itself after the U.S. encounter with the military significance of Hitler's Autobahn [Waldheim 110, Dimendberg:1995]. While I am yet to find evidence of these considerations in city planning documents, proof might be had in the fact that Detroit is the only city to be occupied by federal troops on three separate occasions. [Herron:2004a]

Looking at the statistics, the most famous of those occasions, the event that most people place as the *cause* of Detroit's 'White flight' comes close to the end of the process: the Twelfth Street Riots. While rioting might have hastened the completion of a transformation well under way, placing at the beginning of 'White flight' makes Black rage and violence appear as cause not effects of institutionalized economic racism. The Twelfth Street neighborhood itself is exemplary of this process, “[w]hereas virtually no blacks lived there in 1940 (the area was 98.7% white), the area was over one-third (37.2%) non-white in 1950. By 1960, the proportion of blacks to whites had nearly reversed: only 3.8 percent of the areas residents were white. Given that the first blacks did not move to the area until 1947 and 1948, the area underwent a complete racial transition in little more than a decade.” [Sugrue 1996:244] By 1967 Detroit was already what sociologist would later call a “Donut City,” an almost all-Black inner-city, surrounded by almost all-White suburbs. George Clinton would famously reclaim this phenomenon through renaming it, creating value and a living presence in the center made absent by the sociologist, speaking from the inside-out perspective he called them “Chocolate Cities.” [Parliament: 1975]

The radical reconstruction of the city represented by its racial spatialization led to increased tensions and events came to a head in early morning hours of Sunday, July 23, 1967 when vice squad officers raided a blind pig, or speakeasy, on the corner of 12th Street and

Clairmount, hosting a party for a soldier on leave from Viet Nam. The escalation of events lead to one of the deadliest and most destructive riots in modern U.S. history, lasting five days. To quell the riots Lyndon Johnson sent in over 8000 national guardsmen and over 4700 paratroopers. Before it was over more than two thousand buildings were destroyed, more than 7200 people had been arrested, 467 were injured and 43 were dead.

### **(c) dystopian detroit**

No matter how destructive, 1967 was only one step in Detroit's decline and the next two decades would continue to batter Detroit. Despite its fetish for the new, U.S. auto manufacturers relied on novel gadgets, and superficial restyling to sell their cars: removing tailfins, now unfashionable reminders of yesterdays atomic age future. As a result, the new practical demands spurred by the 1973 oil crisis caught Detroit unprepared. While it had been redecorating big old smooth riding, spacious and powerful V8 sedans, Asian makers, particularly the Japanese, had been responding to different market needs, different urban and highway spaces. The skyrocketing price of gasoline (when it was available at all), made Japanese cars attractive to the U.S. market for the first time. Higher build quality, lower labor costs and a less adversarial factory floor all seemed to contribute to the success of the Japanese companies, followed shortly thereafter by other Asian and European competition.

By the late Seventies, these forces had come into confluence, not simply depressing the Detroit economy, but forcing structural change. The big three started moving production overseas, to Mexico, Latin America, and Asia. While layoffs had been common in the early Seventies due to lagging demand for its products, by the Eighties whole plants were closing. Ford's Highland Park plant closed its doors and the River Rouge was reduced to one production line, Dodge Main closed in 1980, General Motors shut down most of its plants (in Flint, MI, outside of Detroit) and moved production to Mexico. This of course was facilitated again by advances in automation which meant that workers did not need to be skilled, and the cost of moving fixed capital had dropped to less than the labor cost of operating in a unionized first world country. While the internet was twenty years away, information technologies and fast reliable transportation infrastructures spreading into the previously unin-

dustrialized global South facilitated and hastened the development of new strategies of remote management.

The auto industry which was the source of Detroit's success was to be the source of its downfall less than a century later. With the auto industry profitable on a scale with which no other industry could compete, Detroit itself became an economic monoculture whose fortunes would rise and fall with auto manufacturing itself. When trouble came to the auto industry Detroit had no other economic resources to turn to carry it through the hard times.

Intersected with segregation and suburbanization, also products of Detroit success, the effect on the city itself were nothing short of apocalyptic. With affluent Whites—and with them a significant portion of the city's tax base—leaving over the two preceding decades, Detroit was held financially afloat by Black auto workers relatively well off in their unionized jobs. The factory floor became racially skewed beginning in 1953 when improvements in automation led to the "niggermation" of the factory floor. [Georgakis:195] After automation the jobs that remained were more repetitive and less skilled; White workers, increasingly educated and upwardly mobile in the wake of the GI bill were less inclined to take these jobs and the factory floor became effectively ghettoized. This meant when cuts came to the production lines they would effect the Black population of the city, not the White suburbs.

When these cuts did come the results were visible: the physical infrastructure of Detroit began to collapse. Much of the damage from the 1967 riots was never repaired and the failing tax base assured that there was no money to hold the city together. As Whites spent less time downtown and Blacks simply had less to spend major institutions began to be abandoned, the Michigan Theater once the largest theater in the city was closed as was the Michigan Central Railway station, numerous hotels and department stores. The problem in citing any specific examples is that in any city institutions open, close, fall into disrepair; what makes Detroit different was the enormous percentage of the institutions central to Detroit urban life closed, one after another in a very brief period of time.

The worse things got the more people left, and the more people left the worst things got. Soon it seemed that only those who had no escape, who were in effect slaves to the city

remained. Waves of drug related crime, heroin in the Seventies, followed by crack in the Eighties swept the city. All American Black inner-city communities were subjected to a crack epidemic in this decade, but Detroit, given its economic situation, its citizens out of work and desperate, was particularly susceptible. Desperate people committed desperate acts; Detroit began to top the list of U.S. cities for homicides per capita. Once known as Motor City, Detroit was re-dubbed the Murder City.

The Population of Detroit has fallen from more than 4 million in 1950's to less than 1 million today. Depopulation has led to whole neighborhoods falling below 50%, in some cases below 30% occupancy. The number of buildings torn down by the city dwarfs the number of building permits issued. [Daskalakis:14-15] Although fire fighters contest that the figure is far too low, city hall reports that Detroit loses about 1% of its housing stock each year to arson, much of it on "Devil's Night," the evening before Halloween. Sometime in the Seventies this 'holiday' turned from a night of juvenile pranks like soaping the neighbors windows or throwing eggs at passing cars into the city's annual orgy of self immolation. The "decampment" of Detroit has grown to such an extent that in recent years that the city government, without an adequate tax base to police large swaths of empty territory, has issued a plan to "greenfield" portions of the city; to move the last residents out of sparsely populated neighborhoods, knock down the remaining buildings, and allow the spaces to "return to nature." [City of Detroit Planning Commission, Waldheim,104]

By the Eighties, the built environment of the city began to look like no place before. Detroit once the image of America's utopian future now seemed the image of another future altogether. The "image of the city" to borrow Kevin Lynch's term was one that appeared to be lifted from a post-apocalyptic science fiction film. The apocalypse most of these films are premised on involve a nuclear war; while Hiroshima and Nagasaki were rebuilt, at least one critic has attributed the decentralization of the American city to the unconscious panic associated with the inner city of nuclear strike. It seemed that the bomb had done its work, not on the enemy, but on the American city, and that without ever dropping. [Hoffman:47]

Detroit Techno is often described as the soundtrack of the city. If so, it must be considered the soundtrack of this dystopian space which is all too real. But it also preserves and transforms the utopian images of both Detroit in its prosperity and the African American tradition, the image of freedom that has sustained it throughout. These images held in conflict recall the first film soundtrack to use synthesizers, *Forbidden Planet* [Nayfack 1956, Barron 1956] a science fiction adaptation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. *The Tempest* itself is Shakespeare's phantasmagoric allegory for the discovery of America, the confrontation of the magic of Western mind with the 'savage' power of a dark continent and its people. In *Forbidden Planet*, the substitute for Caliban, the savage, is the "monster from the id" belying the mid-fifties American fascination with a certain reception of Freud. While most of the psychoanalytic elements of the plot seem a bastardization, what they got right was the return of repressed. This "monster from the id," a monster from the Krell's unconscious is responsible for the destruction of the Krell race, whose enormous power stations have their only contemporary earthy architectural counterpart in Ford's River Rouge. The lesson seems to be, the power unleashed by a technologically superior civilization is always prone to return on it through its imagination of its own internal other. It seems to me Detroit Techno can trace its lineage along one line back to the soundtrack of this film, its contradictions, the return of the repressed, race and technology seem to be shared terms,<sup>2</sup> but even in doing so, Techno is still steeped in the African American musical tradition.

## 4. themes

In one of the first critical articles on Detroit Techno, British music critic Stuart Cosgrove noted that Detroit Techno represents a break from the tradition of African American music, and in clear distinction from its immediate predecessor, House, is the first Black music to eschew soul and authenticity as core values.<sup>3</sup> In the Seventies Detroit had not been a

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2. One prominent Detroit producer, Jeff Mills, has recently begun to literalize this, producing techno soundtracks to science fiction films including *Metropolis*, and according to rumor, 2001 *a Space Odyssey*, currently withheld from distribution for copyright reasons.
  3. "Techno is probably the first form of contemporary black music which categorically breaks with the old heritage of soul music. Unlike Chicago House, which has a lingering obsession with Seventies Philly, and unlike New York hip-hop with its deconstructive attack on James Brown's back catalogue, Detroit Techno refutes the past... it prefers tomorrow's technology to yesterday's heroes." [Cosgrove]

disco town, whether because of the working-class ethic or hard times Detroit had been less amenable to to the celebratory queer aesthetic it is hard to say. This is complicated in that a decade earlier the relationship was reversed: Detroit was associated with the streamlined commercial sounds of Motown, Chicago with the dirty 'authentic' urban sound of Stax. Perhaps it was because economically the cities had reversed places, while Chicago was hard-hit by the deindustrialization of the Seventies, it was not a one business town; moreover, 'White flight' was restricted limited areas and so Chicago retained much of its tax base and a modicum of prosperity. Whatever the reasons, Detroit, particularly Black Detroit was a city dominated by Funk not Disco in the Seventies perhaps the overt politics, embrace of technology and cobbled together trash aesthetics resonated with Detroit.

While House was the immediate inspiration of Techno and Funk was the primary formative musical experience of most of the Detroit producers (along with soul, Motown, church music and mainstream rock that pervaded the culture), there was another important influence. A radio DJ known as 'lectrifying Mojo is almost universally cited as an important influence. His shows consisted of a hodge-podge of progressive music of the early Eighties, the post-punk sounds of New York, but most particularly the electronic new wave sound of the UK and Germany. The influence was so strong that early techno tracks played on Mojo's show were mistaken for European. Critic Kodwo Eshun has spoken of the significance of this influence as the first inversion of Black and European culture,

"techno's a complete reversal of the classic 60s myth of the blues and the Rolling Stones, the entire rock heritage which starts out with this famous myth of Muddy Waters and the Rolling Stones. In techno, you've got an immediate reversal. In techno, Kraftwerk is the delta blues, Kraftwerk is where it all starts. In techno, Depeche Mode are like Leadbelly. For techno, A Flock of Seagulls are like Blind Lemon Jefferson. So Europe and whiteness generally take the place of the origin. And Black Americans are synthetic; the key in techno is literally to synthesize yourself into a new American alien." [Eshun, 1998c]

Karl Bartos as Mississippi John Hurt? Perhaps. But I think it is important to emphasize as well what can be said about the Rolling Stones genius being particularly White and British; Atkins' genius is particularly Black and American. Almost every book and article on Techno uses May's sound bite about George Clinton and Kraftwerk, and then, each, almost to a one, goes on to speak at length about Kraftwerk and European influences and to say nothing of Clinton's impact or Techno's place in the larger African American musical tradition. From

another perspective the themes and preoccupations of Techno can be found throughout the African American musical tradition; foremost among these are the themes of space, technology and transportation. In Detroit Techno these are often ironically played together: Atkin's own titles are a case in point, "Deep Space," "Cosmic Cars," "Moonbeam," "The Cosmic Courier," "Lightspeed," "Milkyway," "Orbit," and of course "Starlight." Space, technology and transportation would seem to be "neutral" terms, but they are historically determined for Blacks in America and Detroit in particular. If the genius of Techno is Black and American it is not so essentially but constitutionally, it arises out of the particular perspective of Black suburban middle class kids living in the White suburbs of a racially divided city moving through profound and destructive transformations as the result of its unique position in the transitions of capitalist globalization.

For generations Black music was known as "race music" and from the broadest perspective, we can say that race itself is a construction of transportation technology. It was not until ships allowed people to travel from port to port that the continuous flow of human difference of over land travel was replaced by the more fractured appearance of 'racial' differences across large distances. This realization is fairly abstract and late, more at the forefront of African American musical consciousness is the memory and mythologization of "the middle passage" the forced enslavement and transportation from Africa to America. The event itself represents a traumatic rupture almost incapable of being signified or remembered, exacerbated by the stripping away of name and language on arrival to the Americas.

In first African American musical form, the "field holler" the transformation of the rhythms of labor are transformed into a compensatory transportation back to the now-utopian space of the half-remembered African motherland. Detroit Techno's appropriation of the sounds of the auto factory, a sound becoming like a starship would seem to be a return of this repressed, forgotten origin of the tradition. It is commonly believed by historians that the North never would have achieved the political will to abolish slavery if it had not overcome its economic dependence on slavery with the invention of the cotton gin. Slavery then begins with equation of the Black slave with commodities like cotton and sugar and

ends with the equation of the Black workers body with the machine. This logic terminates in Fordism where Black workers are reduced to unthinking bodies, rendered subject-to technology, not subjects-of-technology. Far from a neutral term then technology is loaded with historical meaning, the public mastery technology in Techno is a defiance of this logic.

Black music deployed the trope of transportation during the era of slavery both to fantasize a return to Africa, but also the underground railroad and escape to the North. Whether it be Moses leading the Israelites out of slavery in Egypt, or angels lifting the saved to heaven, transportation in the Black gospel tradition has been code for the otherwise unspeakable political demand for earthly liberation. In post-slavery Blues the route of escape was not the underground railroad, but the real railroad out of the South to promise of prosperity and equality in industrial Northern cities. In considering the importance of transportation in the Black imaginary one might also think of that turning point in the civil rights movement when Rosa Parks refused to ride in the back of the bus in Montgomery Alabama in 1955; a General Motors bus which has returned to the city of its production, now in the collection of the Henry Ford Museum outside Detroit.

The end of slavery and the migration North gave rise to a new turn in African American music from a rural, agricultural art form to an urban form influenced by technology itself. Ragtime was the first popular music to celebrate the various technological innovation of the turn of the century and was one of the forms most widely identified with and distributed on the new technology of audio recording. Jazz, like Techno has been seen as the soundtrack to the city, the fractured urban environment of the industrialized Northern cities, from the rhythms of agricultural labor to the rhythms of factories of the North.

Detroit was of course among these Northern cities and it was there in 1959 an auto worker named Berry Gordy founded what was to become the most successful Black owned business in American history, Motown Records. The Motown studio, Hitsville USA, cranked out smooth streamlined secularized soul music with all the regularity, and only a little less frequency than the River Rouge produced cars. The sole sonic progenitor of Detroit Techno in the Motown catalog, however, might be Stevie Wonder's series of albums produced with

the room-sized TONTO synthesizer in the early Seventies. [Wonder 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1974] Production images of these albums don't lend themselves to the narrative of Black technological mastery however, with TONTO came its tenders, two labcoated, frizzy haired, funky, but very White geniuses known as 'the Expanding Head Band,' Malcolm Cecil and Robert Margouleff. In scenes not unlike a science fiction movie (or TV show, Dr. Who comes to mind), they wiggle walls of knobs and orchestrate: harnessing Wonder's rhythm and authenticity, appearing very much in control of both man and machine.

### **(a) Afro-futurism**

To return to the question of the science fiction movie as the place where America dreams its future, Techno artist Robert Hood has appropriated a comedy monologue by Richard Pryor which speaks to the racist if not genocidal unconscious of white America embodied in its most utopian images,

"I went to see, I went to see *Logan's Run*, right?  
They had a movie of the future called *Logan's Run*?  
There ain't no niggers in it!  
I said "Well White folks ain't planning for us to be here!  
That's why we've got to make movies."

In 1972 Jazz musician Sun Ra seemed to take up Pryor's challenge with the film "Space is the Place." Born Herman Blount in Birmingham, Alabama, Ra was an eccentric character, according to his own press release, his stage show was "an unexpected hybrid of space-age science fiction and ancient Egyptian cosmo religious trappings. This philosophy gained a visual manifestation in the colorful robes, mock-metallic capes, and space head-gear." [A&M 1989] Ra claimed to have been abducted by aliens in the mid 1930s and taken to their base on Saturn (a full decade before such abduction stories became common place) and further claimed thereafter not to be an earthling at all, but a member of an "Angel Race" born on Saturn. His fascination with aliens and outer space lead him to embrace futuristic technology, and he was one of the first musicians to bring a synthesizer on-stage (when the Moog Model-D released in 1971 reduced the size of the synthesizer from the size of a room the size of a suitcase).

Ra's film seems to be a Marcus Garvey inspired fantasy of transporting Blacks out of America, but where Garvey wanted to return to the past, to Africa, Ra prescribes an escape to the future, a separatist black nationalism on a paradise planet...

"the music is different here, the vibrations are different, not like planet Earth, planet Earth sounds of guns, anger, and frustration. There was no one you can talk to from planet Earth that would understand. We'll set up a colony for Black people here, see what they can do on a planet all their own without any White people there. They could drink in the beauty of this planet. It would effect their vibrations, for the better of course. They would have a place in the universe up under different stars. That would be where the alter-destiny would come in. Equation wise, the first thing to do is to consider time as officially ended. We work on the other side of time. We will bring them here through either isotope teleportation, transmolecularization, or better still teleport the whole planet here, through—music." [Ra 1972]

Four years later George Clinton's collective, the Parliament Funkadelic would attempt to realize such a transportation. Signed simultaneously to three labels, Parliament was the first Black group financially capable of producing a multi-media stage spectacle on the scale of White 'stadium rock' bands. Their 1976 production, the "Mothership Connection" featured the song "starchild" which ends with a transformation—a 'break down'—of the traditional spiritual "swing down chariot." The trajectory of this song, from its appearance in the 1958 Elvis Presley film *The Trouble With Girls (And How To Get Into It)* to its appearance as a central sample in Dr. Dre's 1992 hit, "Let Me Ride" embodies the transformation of the themes of space, technology and transportation.

In its original incarnation as Christian spiritual, this retelling of the biblical story of 'Ezekial and the wheel' presents the metaphor of transportation as redemption, the saved soul transported to heaven. In a fairground revival tent Elvis sings the song with a frantic energy accompanied by a sort of controlled flailing. Removed here is the more materialist and political meaning the song must have had in the context in which it emerged, the African American church during slavery. The line "I've got a home on the other side" is obviously code for a home in Africa, the other side of the Atlantic. The repetition of the phrase "swing down sweet chariot, stop, and let me ride" not only transforms the rhythm of field work, it seems to drive us forward like the rowing of oars, as if the rhythm of work were driving the transportation itself. The functional core of the rhythmic drive seems to be the pause, the

literal stop after the word, 'stop.' which gives the song its forward pulsion, our time sense glides over this pause just as a boat glides between stokes of the oars.

In the Parliament's "starchild" the single phrase 'swing down sweet chariot, stop, and let me ride' is appropriated—in a gesture of sampling before sampling—and repeated; in the recording of the Houston 1976 performance it is repeated for almost six minutes. Repetition of the single phrase, varying inflection, amplitude and mode increases the sense of hypnotic drive. The word 'stop' is compressed to the point of near non-existence—a hard pop—and the definitive gap after is stretched, as is the word 'ride,' weighting the whole second half of the phrase. This modification renders the motion loose and bodily, conveying a sense of ease and pleasure, the fast labored oar-strokes of Elvis' version become slow deep sexual strokes, in the patois of the jazz era, a jelly roll. It is probably not at all chance that at the rhythm section was anchored by one Bootsy Collins, who had been discovered James Brown just as he made the same translation from labour to lust with 'sex machine.'

In 'starchild' the story of Ezekiel is displaced onto the concurrent apex of the stage show. Over a background of this repeated phrase and Bootsy's bass, signer Glenn Goins intones with the sublime guttural power of a Southern Black preacher:

"Do you want to fly? Do you all wanna to fly this evening?  
Do you wanna to ride on the mothership? Lord!  
Do you want to fly? yeah bring it down! Swing down."

...and so forth until the 'Mother Ship' a large pyramid shaped silver pod with four disco balls around its crown appears high over the stage, descending slowly, spitting pyrotechnic flares from its engines. Goins continues:

"Wait a minute, I think I see the mother ship coming!  
I think I hear the mother ship coming, I think I see the mothership coming!  
I see the mothership coming. I see the mother ship coming...  
Bring it down! Swing down!" [Parliament 1976]

With a crescendo of horn stabs and spatially processed synthesizer washes (the later of which could, if isolated, be from one of Atkins own tracks) the mothership lands and Clinton emerges from the ship as 'Starchild' (a character inspired by Ra's 'Black Noah') in a funky strut surrounded by clouds of white smoke. The meaning of this arrival is over-coded several times: earlier in the song we have a reference to 'pyramid builders' certainly meant to in-

voke the meme from Black Nationalism at the time that the pyramids were an example of African superiority in technology. It also seems to invoke myths that extraterrestrial intervention was responsible for the otherwise inexplicable technological achievement that pyramid building represents (Erich von Däniken's *Chariots of the Gods*, which also borrows its title from Ezekiel, would likely be the source here.) In the mothership connection performance, of which 'starchild' is the apex the mothership comes to hold the place of the 'mother land;' the profane illumination of the concert experience reveals that the trip is the destination, the audience, the funk nation, has been transported, as if realizing Sun Ra's ambition—by music. Of course the secondary meaning of transportation inherited from the era of slavery still resonates and the Parliament Funkadelic's liberation message is clearly operative throughout, a message most clearly articulated in Clinton's Althusserian catch phrase of several years prior, "free your mind and your ass will follow." [Funkadelic, 1972]

In 1992 West Coast Hip-Hop producer Dr. Dre released "Let Me Ride" which made extensive use of samples derived from the studio recording of Parliament's "Starchild." I mention it in particular because now, in the context of the low-rider culture of Black and Latino South Los Angeles, the mothership has been replaced by a 1964 Chevrolet convertible with hydraulically modified suspension. The beasts of Detroit, large v8 sedans, come full circle taking the place of the African homeland itself. Illustrative of the difference between Hip Hop and Techno, we might consider a bit more of Pryor's monologue,

"That's why we gotta make movies, and we be in the future. But we gotta make some really hip movies. We done made enough movies about pimps, because white folks already know about pimpin'. 'Cause we the biggest hos they got."

Pryor's lesson seems to have gone unlearned by Dre who's song goes on to insert "with all the hooka's saying" between, the Parliament sample, "Let me ride." The implication is that with the car as object of desire he will be rendered services others will have to pay for, culturally this seems a pyrrhic victory effectively rendering Parliament's transportation a return ticket to the master-slave relations of the ghetto.

## 5. biography: Juan Atkins

Juan Atkins was born in Detroit in 1962, but spent most of his childhood in suburban Belleville after his father achieved some success as a concert promoter. Belleville is an affluent suburb, 30 miles outside the city closer to the college town Ann Arbor than the ghetto, and like many suburbs of Detroit, about 97% white. In 1980 Atkins formed a band, Cybotron, with Richard "3070" Davis a Viet-Nam vet he met at Washtenaw Community College. Signed to Berkeley California's Fantasy records, In 1983 they had a hit with "Cosmic Cars" but by 1985 Atkins had gone solo in order to pursue the more electronic sound they were developing (Davis wanted to remain more "rock"). He founded Metroplex Records, the first Detroit Techno Label which would spawn numerous sub labels and inspire imitators.

## 6. the construction

As I have previously introduced at greater length, Detroit Techno has its immediate roots in Chicago House. From House it borrows its basic grammar, a grammar of spacial relations, of inside and outside, of body space and urban space. This grammar is articulated through two technologies utilized to transform music from the coordination of melody and harmony to the production of shared imaginary space.

The first technology is spatial signal processing. In the fifties electronic signal processors allowed for the spatialization of sound; reverb and delay allowed sounds recorded at close range into a microphone to be modified in a way that would simulate their acoustic presence in different spaces. The introduction of new studio recording techniques, most particularly near-field micing and multi-track recording (the recording of separate instruments on isolated tracks to be remixed at level determined by the producers aesthetic sensibilities rather than the fixed relations determined by microphone placement and the spatial organization of a instruments in the concert hall or studio) required technology to return synthetic space to recorded sounds from which natural space had been removed. Many of the techniques of audio processing were used or even developed to place post production audio within an imaginary space corresponding to the visual space of a film scene.

The second technology is the bass bin, a special speaker developed to produce sub-acoustic vibrations. A bit of musical technological history (mostly derived from Sarah Thornton's *Club Cultures* [Thornton:58-66]) might help us understand the relation between the development of amplification, the musical form of House, Techno's immediate precursor, and urban space. Thornton argues that the movement to "big band" jazz in the Swing Era, beginning in the early 1930's was the result of popular music in growing metropolis. The expansion of jazz bands was a direct response to the "mass" audience constructed by radio, but made possible by the population density of urban space. With larger audiences and larger dance halls adequate volume was only possible by moving from jazz quartets and quintets to phalanxes of musicians. This construction of big bands, a response to the social conditions of reception, conditions which emerged out of the city form, directly influenced the composition and aesthetics feel of the music itself. Only after World War Two, with rock and roll, was the problem of the mass audience solved not through the counter-massing of musicians, but through technology, typically the amplification of four and five man groups. This tendency grew until by the end of the 1960's instead of dance halls, rock bands were filling sports colosseums or acres of open farmland. It was only in solving the amplification demands of such venues that sound amplification technologies become widely available to produce powerful sub-acoustic bass. Permanent sound installation augmented with bass bins became the staple of discotheques, making them an unique acoustic space capable of competing with the improvements in home audio, offering a listening (and social) experience that home audio could not. By the early Seventies, soul and disco music were being recorded to leverage this newly available low-end spectrum; the immersive body massaging bass added a new dimension to music in line with sensibilities of the time.

With House Music, these technologies became fully incorporated into the form of the music itself in the way that the massing of big bands produced the swing sound in jazz. House stripped away other elements of the music to focus on the relationship between the acoustic and the sub-acoustic and the experience of space made possible through their manipulation. Vibration below about 30hz is essentially non-directional and at sufficient pressure (what would be volume in the acoustic range) is experienced as emerging not from

the speaker but from within the auditioners own body. The bass penetrating the body, one might say, as Benjamin says of film "perception in the form of shocks was established as a formal principle. That which determines the rhythm of production on a conveyor belt is the basis of rhythm of reception in the film." [Benjamin 1976:132] But Techno goes a step further, by coordinating the spatialized sound (high frequencies processed by spacial effects) and the somatic infrasound House music developed a wholly new musical aesthetic strategy, the coordination of inside and outside. The effect is less like music as it might previously have been conceived, the organization of harmony, melody and rhythm, and more like those art forms which shape space: sculpture and architecture, or even, if the body can be thought of as a containing and defining space— dance.

Detroit Techno is the music created from the encounter of a group of Detroit teenagers with Chicago House. Returning from profound social and aesthetic experiences of the "city that works" they were inspired to create, but found themselves reflecting their own city, a city which had ceased to function. I have previously called the psychosexual position of house music the fantasy of being both inside and outside, container and contained at the same time. Techno producers took this non-euclidean representation of space and used it to describe the position of their position as Blacks in the White suburbs, both not-inside and not-outside.

The primary metaphor of Techno music is architecture. It is however an architecture which flows and changes over time. The spacial effects allow shifts, expansions and contractions against the steady grid of the beat. One is reminded of a quote by Goethe, "architecture is frozen music." Techno realizes its inverse, music as liquid architecture. The mediating force is the product of Detroit itself, the automobile. The automobile has transformed, liquified, urban space, both historically (in suburbanization, freeways and the globalization of production) and aesthetically (it is now seen at ever increasing speed with greater and greater detachment). Where the spacial flows of house tend to be the cyclical throb, thrust and peristaltic clench of intercourse, Techno is dominated by breaks, slams, glides of urban space experienced from the freeway, clover-leaves and overpasses. Where house was psycho-

tropic and psycho-sexual, Techno is psycho-geographic and psycho-political. The minimal structure of the music that would seem otherwise boring, primitive, inscrutable here allows the listener to apprehend the change in the space that would be obscured by emphasis on melodic development. The rhythmic structure appropriates the sound of the factory floor and transforms it into the means of transportation into an imagined future. While a more in depth analysis of how exactly techno dilates our sense of time in order to achieve the sense of movement is to follow, it is clear even without analysis that the synthesized glides seem to carry us through the strict rhythmic grid just as the freeway carries us along a smooth arch through the grid of the old pedestrian city.

I would argue that Techno even realizes the most radical of Jameson's claims for cognitive mapping, the development of "a new organ" for apprehending the spaces of global capital, it transforms our auditory sense and combines it with our interoceptive sense in a way which constitutes a new way of apprehending space altogether. "Starlight" has a laminar construction, each sound-layer is processed differently, exists in a different acoustic space. Sound, unlike vision, allows the utopian and dystopian spaces of Detroit to co-exist. The meaning of those spaces build up in a palimpsest structure finally producing meaning through their differential relationship, one sees the gap between the utopian and dystopian because here they can coexist. Each of those spaces is not fixed but liquid, it moves and flows around the auditor in a way that is experienced as acceleration, reactivating the image of freedom from the depths of the African American musical tradition.

While this music represents the experience of the new city, Detroit is a very specific city. More than any other site in the West, I would argue it has been transformed, destroyed by its encounter with the globalization of production. To map Detroit becomes in effect a means to map not just the spaces this process has produced, but this process itself. We will remember that Jameson's cognitive mapping is based on this double articulation, that our alienation, our inability to find ourselves in urban space became a metaphor *and* metonym for our inability to locate ourselves in the global totality of social, economic and political relations. This music meets the demands of Jameson's project of cognitive mapping because it

goes beyond the limits of the visible map; because it is capable of constructing denaturalized non-euclidean spaces. Like the flows of postmodern capital it moves outside of what we would consider natural space based on the "old senses" of the body, even the technologized body of the automobile passenger. Even in an automobile space has a coherence which psychically and in the hyperspace of 'the space of flows' [Castells:406] it does not.

While this music constructs spaces that would be imperceptible through normal bodily senses it remains dance music, an art form that has a supremely corporeal relation to its audience. It brings these spaces otherwise unrepresentable through the metaphor of bodily space (which is almost to say all metaphor if not all representation) right down into the body. As I will develop in the next section of the larger project, the haptic, proprioceptive body becomes the means to think through, to represent the unrepresentable spaces of global capital. Techno creates a psychic map, a cognitive map, but its an embodied psyche, embodied cognition. The practices which surround the music, raves, rave culture, liquid dancing all contribute to the real redemption, the construction of alternative modes of being, they realize the situationist slogan, "below the pavement the beach." The social events which this music produces redeem the de-industrialized city creating a 'heterotopia' a place to start again with new rule, new way of being... a place where it is again possible to imagine a future.

## **7. conclusion: Detroit is everywhere**

While I think it is implied that no project of "cognitive mapping" could ever be complete—capitalist totality resists total representation except in as much as "the thing itself" the totality is itself a representation—its instantiation in Detroit Techno seems exemplary in both its depth and breadth. As a site for cognitive mapping, for understanding the geo-politics of postmodern Capital, Detroit is exemplary, indeed singular as a nexus for the globalization of Capital: it is the first first-world city destroyed by globalization and the city most responsible for making those transformations in the means of production and consumption we call globalization possible. Today we are in the grips of a geopolitical conflict and global ecological crisis which can in large part find its origins in that product of Detroit, the auto-

mobile, and the thirst for petroleum it has engendered. The implication of this is that, more than any other locality, by mapping Detroit you map global capital, such a map must be a deep map, one that is capable of both encompassing Detroit's history and its relation to the world, but I hope I have shown that Techno, and the aesthetic strategies it has developed produce such a map. The truth of Detroit is everywhere, and reciprocally, the truth of "everywhere" in capitalist totality is to be found in Detroit. It is a site where the future is in contest, but a contest which offers new tools for those willing to learn how to listen again. Tools not just for mapping the world, but mapping the future itself.

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## II. filmography

BARFIELD, S. et al.	2005	<i>Soul Deep. the story of Black Popular Music, episode 4: Motown.</i> BBC
	2005	<i>Soul Deep. the story of Black Popular Music, episode 5: Funk</i>
BREDOW, G.	2006	<i>High Tech Soul: The Creation of Techno Music.</i> Plexifim
BURNS, K.	2001	<i>Jazz.</i> PBS
CHANAN, M. & STEINMETZ, G.	2005	<i>Detroit: Ruins of a City.</i> Intellect
HANSON, C.	2002	<i>8 Mile.</i> Universal Pictures & Imagine Entertainment
HARRISON, G.	2000	<i>Groove.</i>
JAM HANDY ORG.	1960	<i>A Wonderful New World of Fords</i> Prelinger Archives
	1948	<i>The New Futuramic Oldsmobile.</i> Prelinger Archives
	1936	<i>Master Hands.</i> (Chevrolet, Flint, MI) Prelinger Archives
JOHNSON, R. & BROOKS, C.	1974	<i>Sun Ra: Space is the Place.</i> Plexifilm
LEE, I.	1998	<i>Modulations</i>
	1995	<i>Synthetic Pleasures</i>
MOORE, M.	1989	<i>Roger and Me.</i>
MILLS, J.	2004	<i>Exhibitionist.</i> Neutron
MUGGE, R.	1981	<i>Sun Ra: A Joyful Noise</i>
RICH, M.	1991	<i>Straight Out of Brooklyn.</i> American Playhouse
REISS, J.	1999	<i>Better Living Through Circuitry</i>
RIGGS, M.	1990	<i>Tongues Untied.</i>
SMITH, Y.	2008	<i>One Nation Under a Groove</i>
WHALLEY, B.	2008	<i>Motor City is Burning: Detroit from Motown to the Stooges.</i> BBC

# III. discography

ATKINS, J.	1995	Model 500 - <i>Deep Space</i> . R&S, Belgium
	1994	Model 500 - <i>Sonic Sunset</i> R&S Records Belgium
	1993	M500 & 3MB - <i>Jazz Is The Teacher</i> Metroplex M-020 Vinyl, 3MB , M500 Written-By - J. Atkins, Von Oswald, T. Fehlmann Mastered at NSC (National Sound Corporation), Detroit. Publisher: Electrogroove Music BMI.
	1996	Infiniti - <i>The Infiniti Collection</i> , Tresor 48, CD, Germany
HOOD, R.	1999	<i>Minimal Nation</i> . Detroit:M-Plant
	1994	<i>Internal Empire</i> . Berlin:Tresor
	1995	<i>Nighttime World</i> Vienna:Cheap
CRAIG, C	1995	<i>Landcruising</i> : Blanco Y Negro
	1997	<i>More Songs About Food and Revolutionary Art</i> . Detroit:Planet E
	1997	Paperclip People - <i>The Secret Tapes of Dr. Eich</i> . London:Open
	1995	69 - <i>The Sound of Music</i> Belgium: R&S
	1990	Psyche/BFC <i>Elements 1989-90</i>
MILLS, J.	1993	<i>Waveform Transmissions 1</i> . Berlin:Tresor
	1994	<i>Waveform Transmissions 3</i> . Berlin:Tresor
MAY, D.	1997	<i>Innovator</i> . Detroit:Transmat
PULLEN, S.	1995	<i>(Theory of the) Silent Phase</i> . Belgium/Detroit:R&S, Transmat
	1997	<i>The Collected Works Of Kosmic Messenger</i> . Belgium:Elypsia
VAINQUER	1997	<i>Elevations</i> . Germany:Chain Reaction
VON OSWALD, M.	1997	Maurizio - <i>Maurizio</i> . Germany:Basic Channel
WONDER, S.	1972a	<i>Music of My Mind</i> . Los Angeles:Motown
	1972b	<i>Talking Book</i> . Los Angeles:Motown
	1973	<i>Innervisions</i> . Los Angeles:Motown
	1974	<i>Fulfillingness' First Finale</i> . Los Angeles:Motown