

BUNKER CONVERSION AND THE OVERCOMING OF SIEGE MENTALITY

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Abstract: Bunkers are concrete responses to threats, whether these be real or imagined. They are indicators of a defensive attitude and a siege mentality. My paper wishes to analyse specific sites of historical reinscription, where such constructions have undergone a process of cultural transformation which has converted them into places of creative experimentation, ludic activity and everyday use. Such initiatives in translation are important ways of re-working the past, addressing presents needs and projecting different- less reactive, and maybe more pacific- prospects for the future. A similar undertaking was proposed by Henri de Saint-Simon when he diverted the term “avant-garde” away from its military implementation towards more a progressive usage. The “avant-garde” became an experimental association of artists working together for the benefit of society as an evolving whole.

In *On Social Organisation* Saint-Simon described the “avant-garde” as follows:

They [the artists, the men of imagination] will lead the way in that great undertaking; they will proclaim the future of mankind; they will bring back the golden age from the past to enrich future generations; they will inspire society with enthusiasm for the increase of its well-being by laying before it a tempting picture of a new prosperity.

Economic “prosperity” might well be an appealing prospect for “us”, especially in these times of “crisis” when “we” are made to feel that our day-to-day existence is precarious. However, when Saint-Simon employs the term “new prosperity”, he is envisaging social values that are largely incompatible with capitalist consumer “culture” and competitive “market forces”. His suggestion that new technologies should serve to nationalize “luxury” and internationalise peace would require a radically different approach to social organisation from that prevalent today. Likewise, the demilitarized bunkers I wish to analyse also figure as alternative visions for living together. They therefore also offer forms of critical resistance to the current promotion of isolating individualism, bolstered national identity and protectionist border-controls.

Keywords: cultural transformation, historical reinscription, bunkers, siege mentality, defensive attitude

I. INTRODUCTION

1818 Scott *Heart of Mid-Lothian* viii, in *Tales of my Landlord*: “No seat accommodated him so well as the ‘bunker’ at Woodend” (Oxford English Dictionary).

Today we rarely associate 'bunkers' with welcoming and comfortable 'seats', 'benches' or 'banks in the field' as suggested by the Oxford English Dictionary¹. Nowadays they conjure up warfare. Their very appearance can strike one as menacing, even if they themselves are maybe more symptomatic of a defensive attitude. They characterise a siege mentality². They are literally concrete responses to a perceived threat, whether real or imagined. In a post-war situation, bunkers remain enduring testimonies to historical trauma. These distinctive blots on the landscape embody the dilemma facing us about how to work through the legacies of the past, so as to engage with the future better, in ways that are more creative, sustainable, positive and peaceful.

In his famous analysis of Klee's painting, "Angelus Novus", the philosopher, Walter Benjamin, describes a traumatized angel. Whilst being irresistibly blown into the future, this angel fixedly looks back at the pile-up of catastrophic events which give the lie to linear temporality, otherwise known as historical continuity and even as "progress". It would seem that only further disasters await us in the future. As a way of countering such a fate, Benjamin advocates a "brushing [of] history against the grain" by focusing on pockets of unactivated utopian potential in the past which can form dynamic "constellations" with the present, thereby reinvigorating our sense of agency (Benjamin 2003, 392) . For him only this radical shift in approach to *temporality* can produce the changes that are needed for a less destructive epoch finally to open its doors.

Coming from another domain, that of professional peacebuilding and reconciliation, Jean Paul Lederach weaves into his seminal analysis of "the moral imagination" the African proposition that we "walk backwards into the future" (Lederach 2004, 136). This stance is

not presented negatively, unlike Benjamin's scenario with Angelus Novus. The challenge to "our"- i.e. "Western"- conventional ideas to temporality is made clear in the following passage:

What we know, what we have seen is the past. So it lies before us. What we cannot see, what we cannot know is the future... so the past we see before us. But we walk backward into the future (cited in Lederach *ibid*).

This conceptualisation of the past obliges an engagement of what "has been" as still living and actively present. Rather than just recognizing that the past affects the present and the future in various ways, in this other world view the past is also the future. This way of conceiving and experiencing temporality means that the course of events "does not flow forward". The problematic Western notion of civilisation's "progress" is here redundant³ . However, this absence of temporal linearity does not as a consequence lead to cultural "backwardness", but instead necessitates an engagement with a more sophisticated, because more convoluted, sense of the spatio-temporal course of one's life. Grounded in a "deep understanding of human place within creation" as a whole, the "African" is situated within a "multidimensional" and "polychronistic" spacetime, whereby the effects of individual and collective actions resonate with greater intensity and consequence than is ostensibly the case in the "Western" world (Lederach *ibid* 137). For instance, for the Mohawk people the "active present" extended across fourteen generations, hence "an expansive space of time [...] connected the voices of a distant but very much alive past with a distant but very much present future" (Lederach *ibid* 133). This worldview provides a structure for a more sustainable sense of communal belongingness, by emphasizing the individual's responsibility for

and accountability to life forms, “past”, “present” and “future”. It also better helps explain the malignancy of conflict and injustice, how their traumatic effects can continue to send shock-waves across time, long after the events themselves have ostensibly ceased to exist. Hence Lederach concludes that a serious engagement with this other, more expanded, sense of human situatedness in this world is necessary if peace initiatives are ever to be effective in the long-term. Given this critique of “Western” temporality, Lederach, like Benjamin, offers us a form of “historical materialism”⁴. Only this conceptualisation of the world and the events that take place in time on its diverse surfaces can provide the “critical yeast” from which effective peace may yet arise (Lederach 2003, 100).

Putting an end to a war is no guarantee for peace. As Kant pointed out in the “Perpetual Peace” essay, the fixing of a conflictual situation with more or less coerced compromises brings about mere truces, temporary suspensions of hostilities. Hence Kant provocatively suggested that term “perpetual peace” is “almost a pleonasm” (Kant 1994, 93)⁵: ‘Peace’ could only ever mean the definite end of all wars. A truce cannot somehow grow into peace; it rather prepares the terrain for the next war as it does not “nullify all existing reasons for a future war”. Truces tolerate, and therefore in effect nourish, the secret “mental reservation”, or holding back, of the contracting parties (ibid 94). A truce is a forced compromise to which one does not have to commit absolutely. In “Critique of Violence”, Benjamin also identifies the reasons why initiatives for conflict resolution undergo such vicissitudes:

...the effort towards compromise is motivated not internally but from outside, by the opposing effort, because no compromise, however freely accepted, is con-

ceivable without a compulsive character. ‘It would be better otherwise’ is the underlying feeling in every compromise (Benjamin 2004, 244, citing Erich Ungers).

As it is not the affirmation of an affirmed moral principle, a truce provides fertile ground for future warmongering. In contrast to a truce, peace would have to be *uncompromising*. It is backed, at least for Kant, not just by a “material principle- which would tie it to “its end, as object of the will”- but by a “formal principle”, that is to say it “rests on man’s freedom in his external relations and which states: ‘Act in such a way, that you can wish your maxim to become a universal law (irrespective of what the end in view may be)’”. It therefore has “*absolute necessity*” and is a *duty*, at least for a “moral politician”, if not for a “political moralist” who deals in peace as a set of merely “technical tasks” (Kant 1994, 118, 121-122).

Lederach in effect adds to Kant’s and Benjamin’s analysis that it is precisely for the reasons they draw our attention to that peacemaking cannot be left in the hands in any sort of politician, whether moralizing or moral. The political realm tends to regard war as a technical problem to be “fixed” so that peace can be⁶. By contrast with this conventional, binary approach to war/peace, Lederach suggestively offers a different definition of bellicose and pacific relations⁷. He describes conflictual situations as symptomatic of a state of play wherein “narratives” have been “broken” and are therefore in need of “restorying” (Lederach 2005, 140). Narratives constitutes our sense of self and belongingness to a social group, a recognition more alive in some cultures than in others as Lederach points out:

As the indigenous world view suggests social meaning, identity and story are linked through narrative, which connects the remote past of *who* we are with the

remote future of *how* we will survive in the context of an expansive present *where* we share space and relationship. The space of narrative, the act linking the past with the future to create meaning in the present, is a continuous process of restorying (Lederach 2005, 146).

"Restorying", a form of historical reinscription, is an essential ingredient for healing the injuries of conflict. It is also a creative "process" that has somehow to be put into place but then has to take on a life of its own. Lederach draws our attention to the sensitivity required for this situation to arise:

The challenge...lies in how, in the present, interdependent people, 'restory', that is begin the process of providing space for the story to take its place and begin the weaving of a legitimate and community-determined place among others' stories (ibid 140)

To be sustainable, peacemaking requires something more than signed treaties: creative imagination is necessary for reconciliation, defined by Lederach not as "forgive and forget" but as "remember and change" (ibid 152). Typically artists are solicited to celebrate a peace treaty, or to represent the destruction of war. However, this is a reductive view of the vital contribution artists and artistry generally can make to the peace process. Lederach describes the "aesthetic imagination" as "a place where suddenly out of complexity and historic difficulty, the clarity of great insight makes an unexpected appearance in the form of an image or in a way of putting something that can only be described as artistic" (Lederach ibid 69). Enabling us to "see the whole" rather than focus on "parts", appealing to capacities and pathways that are more "intuitive" than cognitive, the "aesthetic imagination" provides a rich means to transport us beyond a predetermined situa-

tion wherein history is regarded as just repeating itself inexorably, violently, over and over again⁸. In order to overcome such fatalism, it needs to be more widely recognised that art-istry is situated within the very process and discourse of peacemaking itself. Only art-istry can open up ways of addressing presents needs and projecting different- less reactive, and maybe more pacific- prospects for the future.

As we have already seen, crucial to a transformative engagement with what could be a traumatic past, is an expanded and more convoluted sense of temporality than linear notions of "progress" into a better future allow for. To encompass such non-linear time, equally complex relational spatialities that can serve as, what Lederach calls, "adaptive platforms" are required. These "relational spaces" have to be sufficiently flexible to be able for "multiple coordinated and independent connections" to be fostered (Lederach 2005, 85).

Following in Lederach's wake, I wish to examine cases where war bunkers have been demilitarized, converted into places of cultural experimentation, ludic activity, spiritual communion, as well as being incorporated into everyday life. Once demilitarized, bunkers might become examples of the "spaces of narrative" Lederach suggested are needed to give people the time to resituate themselves in relation to areas of conflict (Lederach ibid 146). They might even be able to present us with alternative visions for living together in the future. Rather surprisingly, given their off-puttingly defensive and retrograde appearance, they would thereby feature as forms of critical resistance to the current promotion of isolationist individualism, bolstered national identity and protectionist border-controls.

II. EXAMPLES OF BUNKER CONVERSION

a) In *Bunker Archaeology* (1991), Paul Virilio gives us a bold appreciation of the cultural, including architectural, significance of General Todt's Atlantic Wall built during the last years of the Second World War⁹. Going against the grain, Virilio disarmingly associates bunkers with what he calls vitally important "cryptic architecture" (Virilio & Parent 1996 no. 7). For Virilio, bunkers- together with Mayan temples, catacombs, the subterranean constructions of the Cathares, the hermetic house of Faust- are revelatory of something "permanent, without memory". They contain an energy charged with "the survival instinct of life forms" (ibid). He points out that Todt's bunkers are "anthropomorphic; their shapes resemble those of the body". Their organicity is heightened by the reinforced concrete which is all of one piece. Unlike stone or brick buildings, they have no intervals or joints. These constructions are a cohesive whole. They are intent on survival (Virilio 1991, 13 & 46). Virilio draws our attention to a vital intensity immanent in bunkers to which we are usually impervious.



Illustration 1. An Atlantic Wall Bunker.

Virilio and Claude Parent reinscribed the Atlantic Wall bunker, and thereby ecclesiastical architecture, with their scandalous Sainte-Bernadette church¹⁰. Built just after the Cuban missile crisis (1962) - described by Kennedy as "not only the most dangerous moment of the Cold War but the most dangerous moment of human history"- its form evokes a nuclear bomb shelter, but also the the grotto of Massabielle, wherein Saint Bernadette sought sanctuary in 1866 (Joly, Parent & Virilio 2004, 7).

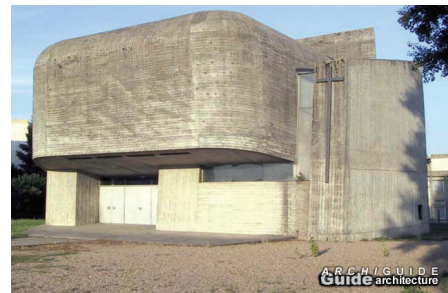


Illustration 2: Paul Virilio/ Claude Parent, Sainte Bernadette church Nevers, France (1963) From outside it presents itself as bellicose architecture, as a military defensive carapace but within (illustration 3) we encounter a different sort of space, serenely contemplative, if austere.



The Saint Bernadette church put into practice what Parent and Virilio called “the oblique function”. The church presents a critique of the dominant architectural regimes of both the verticality of Gothic-inspired high rise buildings, and the horizontality of vernacular, traditional constructions. By introducing the inclined plane into their project, Parent and Virilio aimed to: “redefine the relationship between the human and the ground”¹¹. In its elevation the floor explicitly interacts with a human body in movement (rather than remaining self-effacingly under his feet)¹². The inclined plane solicits our attention in ways that are different from a flat surface; the predominance of the eye –complicit with the reduced world of “information”- is overcome as the tactility of the slope valorizes the effort of the foot and the knees (Parent 2004, 33-35). Our sensuous perception is thereby displaced from its habitual economy focus on the visual and expanded in its encounter with rough and compact materiality of the concrete.

b) Another instance of a converted bunker is to be found in the Pallasstrasse, Berlin (B.R.D). Here a bunker is incorporated into social housing, or rather the 1970s social housing forms itself around the pre-existing Second World War bunker. New growth is grafted onto lasting evidence of past trauma. Together they form the bones and fibre of the regenerated city.



Illustration 3: Pallasseum Sozialpalast, Berlin-Schöneberg built 1977 by Jürgen Savade, houses 2,000 people. Built around a Second World War bunker (illustration 4).



c) Also in Berlin, the now-called “Boros bunker” becomes a penthouse flat and the home for a private collection of contemporary art objects. It can be argued that aesthetic appreciation can have an utopian function and that art objects are gifts with transformative properties, not ultimately commodities to be bought and sold¹³. However, symbolic of the new capital that can now profit from the alternative space of exception that was West Berlin, the Boros bunker and its collection is probably the least interesting of my examples of bunker conversion.



Illustration 4. Boros Bunker Berlin. Built 1942 as air raid shelter for 2,000 people in the “classical” style.



Illustration 5. Boros Bunker Berlin. Now penthouse flat and home for private art collection.



Illustration 6. An example of the art collection in the Boros bunker.

d) Still in Berlin, the “Kegel” bunker becomes a climbing wall. The rough materiality of the structure is now appreciated as a sporting challenge, as a communal meeting place for those who share the passion for climbing. By navigating their way across its surface with the ambition of eventually reaching its very top, the climbers in effect transform the bunker into both a terrain and an object that produce a sense of achievement and gratification, a source of health and pleasure. Whilst an activity such as climbing is indeed a sport, requiring discipline and skill, it also contains a creative “play-element”.



Illustration 7. Bunker in Berlin-Friedrichshain known as « der Kegel » (the skittle) now used as climbing tower.



Illustration 8. Bunker in Berlin-Friedrichshain known as « der Kegel » (the skittle) now used as climbing tower.



Illustration 9. Reaching the top of the Kegel bunker (the Fernsehturm at Alexanderplatz in background).

In *Homo ludens* Johann Huizinga underlines the originary importance of play. Older than “culture”, play is constitutive of our- human and animal- identities¹⁴:

Play is more than a mere physiological phenomenon or a psychological reflex. It goes beyond the confines of purely physical or purely biological activity. Play is function that is rich in meaning. In play an element is

‘at play’ that transcends the immediate instinct of conservation and imparts meaning to action. All play signifies something...the “intentional” character of play testifies to the presence of a non-materialistic element in its very essence (Huizinga 2008, 15-6).

Play offers us the possibility of stepping out of “everyday” life into a “provisional sphere of activity with characteristics of its own” (ibid 24-5). It permits us to detach ourselves ourselves from immediate material concerns. It has been considered to be synonymous with freedom itself, the sense of being free to give creative meaning to our world and existence (ibid 24). Despite thus being an essential addition to our lives, “play-space” is fragile and precious¹⁵. It can easily not be respected; playful activity runs the permanent risk of being suddenly interrupted or indefinitely deferred. Conventionally it is something one is supposed in time to “grow out of”. However, if its significance is duly recognized and the opportunities for its occurring fostered, “play-space” can function not only a “training ground” for the steady and confident development of the individual, but as a laboratory wherein entirely new, or even “utopian”, ideas can emerge for society as a whole¹⁶.

e) In children’s playgrounds, the bunker motif makes its appearance. Instead of presenting itself as a forbiddingly homogeneous mass, here the “bunker” becomes an open invitation to explore, by crawling and climbing, its different shapes, textures and scales. When one comes across the unexpected apertures in the ceiling, the sun-lit penetration of the outside world into the cavernous darkness of the bunker bestows an almost magical quality to the experience of these places. They become “enchanted”.



Illustration 10. Herzogenriedpark, Mannheim (B.R.D).



Illustration 12. Herzogenriedpark, Mannheim (B.R.D). The magical encounters with the sun-lit apertures of the bunker-like construction.



Illustration 11. Herzogenriedpark, Mannheim (B.R.D).

The psychoanalyst, Bruno Bettelheim, stressed the importance of “enchantment” in his classic work on fairy tales:

Radical transformations in the nature of things are experienced by the child on all sides, although we do not share his perceptions. But consider the child’s dealings with inanimate objects: some object- a shoe-lace or a toy- utterly frustrate the child, to the degree that he feels himself a complete fool. Then in a moment, as if by magic, the object becomes obedient and does his bidding; from being the most dejected of humans, he becomes the happiest. Doesn’t this prove the magic character of the object? (Bettelheim 1991, 72-73).

Bettelheim demonstrated how vital the belief in and experience of enchantment is for the growing child if past trauma is to be overcome and the future to be

bravely encountered as something to be ventured towards without fear of exposure to failure and danger¹⁷.

The belief in such possibilities needs to be nurtured so that the child can accept his disillusionments without being utterly defeated (ibid 73).

Similar to the enchanted worlds of fairy tales, playgrounds can also “point the way to a better future” by nurturing “the [creative] process of change”, rather than “describing the exact details eventually to be gained there” (Bettleheim 19991, ibid).

f) In Albania actual historical bunkers are also used as ludic objects¹⁸. Within this context, the play-element increases its significance as a capacity for negotiating difficulty and inhibition, and working-through trauma. A reappropriation of these vestiges of a period of totalitarian repression could be an important aspect of the move beyond the violence of the past into more positive spaces in the future. As Freud pointed out, even if playing with these concrete symbols of terror might be deemed to be unhealthy, only leading to the reinforcement of distress, the activity could be transformative:

It is clear that in their play children repeat everything that has made a great impression in them in real life, and that in so doing they abreact the strength of the impression and, as one might put it, make themselves master of the situation (1984, 285-286)¹⁹.

Even if they did not actually live under dictatorship themselves, today’s children can still replay on-site the historic events that haunt older generations thereby engaging the latter in memory work. Benjamin suggested that “the task of childhood” was “to bring the new world into symbolic space”. Children see things that adults do not; they tap into the enchantment of this world that is no

longer appreciated by the tired eyes of “experience”.

The child, in fact, can do what the grownup absolutely cannot: recognize the new once again.... Every childhood discovers these new images in order to incorporate them into the image stock of humanity” (Benjamin 1999, 390).



Illustration 13: Albanian bunker converted into playground.

In his seminal account of how playing is constitutive of our reality, Winnicott wrote:

We find either that individuals live creatively and feel that life is worth living or that they cannot live creatively and are doubtful about the value of living. This variable in human beings is directly related to the quality and quantity of environmental provision at the beginning or in the early phases of each baby’s living experiences (Winnicott1991, 71).

Traumatic past circumstances and experiences can atrophy the creative “play drive”, indeed occasions for playing might have been rare. The retrospective injection of the ludic into places that not only symbolized, but even incorporated, the siege mentality of the totali-

tarian regime, could be part of the creative process evoked by Lederach as an intrinsic aspect of peace-building²⁰.



Illustration 14. Albanian bunkers converted into beach huts along with parasols.

Even if the creative products are supposed to be different from commodities (see footnote 13 above), the commercialization of bunkers as souvenirs could also be a way of putting to work the negativity of the past with the hope of gaining something in the future. The playful miniaturization that reduces the imposing presence of bunkers to a scale that is almost ridiculous, invites a hands-on, appropriation of these vestiges of the past.



Illustration 15. Albanian tourist souvenir: mini-bunker.



Illustration 16. Albanian tourist souvenir of mini-bunker as take-away, forget-me-not, D-I-Y art-object.

g) The atomic bunkers of Konjic, built to save the Yugoslavian nomenclatura from death in the eventuality of a nuclear war, is now home to Project Biennial of Contemporary Art D-O ARK. When it was first launched in 2011, the curators issued the following declaration on the web:

The first edition of the Biennial will be realized under the title NO NETWORK. The title came out of a simple observation: the bunker is a secluded and isolated space which prevents us from using contemporary means of individual communication, such as mobile phones, which inform us that there is “no network connection” available there. In such physical and psychological isolation, this space becomes a space of anxious reflection rather than a space of unhindered communication. This does not imply that an exhibition as such is not essentially a form of communication between the artists, their works and the space itself: the works will not “compete” with the space but initiate and keep a conversation with it. But, by emphasizing the ability of art to generate knowledge and emotions that mutually reflect each other, we would like to re-think the omnipresence of the rhetoric of “networking” as very often devoid of concentrated subjective solitude from which the artistic endeavour transpires. The artists invited to participate in the project are primarily those whose work is concerned with different aspects of “artistic research” and other “non-disciplinary” modes of inter-subjective production in the field of contemporary experience, which is otherwise increasingly being emptied of forms of reflexive communication in a “common language”.



Illustration 17. The atomic shelter of Konjic (, D-O ARK (Atomska Ratna Komanda), built from 1953-79, now houses the Project Biennial of Contemporary Art D-O ARK.



Illustration 18 The atomic shelter of Konjic.

In this clear-sighted and far-reaching project the bunker becomes a site soliciting reflection about, and putting into practice new, or even almost obsolete, forms of communication. It is thanks to its recalcitrant impermeability that it can become, despite itself, a “relational space” (Lederach 2005, 85 *cited above*). Its hostile exclusiveness is converted into an historic opportunity for creative encounters. The critical distancing the bunker shell provides from the outside world fosters a form of resistance to the dominant ideology of “social networking”. It is claimed by multinationals that mobile technology puts us more in contact with each other, but it could be said that our lives are largely saturated with “information” and superfluous chit-chat. The Konjic project engages incisively in this important debate. The bunker itself is reconfigured as, to use Lederach’s term, an “adaptive platform” for rewired social relations. Additionally the site itself – up to recently a military secret- is publicly put on the map.

III. CONCLUSION

Knowing the world around us, documenting, mapping and demarcating it, are all forms of appropriation largely controlled by those who have political and economic power, i.e. the state and its apparatuses (including the military) but also companies, national and multinational. Geography, its theories and practices, play a central role in providing information that serves to control the population. In his seminal book (first published in 1976), Yves Lacoste went so far as to suggest that “geography’s prime purpose is to make war”. He identified the neglect of geography by the French education system as a grave social crisis. For

him it contributed to an increased sense of disorientation in this world, an inability to organize individually or collectively, necessarily bringing about a decline in political resistance (2012, 215-232)

Cultural reappropriation, for example of military sites such as bunkers, is crucial aspect of any form of political resistance²¹. However, whilst probably still having currency in a nuclear scenario, the very concept of strongholds has been undermined by recent developments in military technology. In his analysis of the Israelian army think-tank OTRI tactics, Eyal Weizman informs us that the very walls within which “private lives” are led and that provide the structures whereby individuals define themselves in relation to other bodies and institutions, are apparently susceptible to sudden penetration (Weizmann 2013, 68-69). According to Weizmann the OTRI defy not only conventional military practice but also our habitual assumptions, by *going through* walls²². Walls are no longer obstacles to manoeuvre around or go over. The shock-effective “art” of going through walls is made possible by complex radar technology that liquidates them and detects human presence (or rather “biological activity”) by the means of emanating body heat. The living target is located, or rather betrayed, by its “thermic marker” (ibid 64-5). In such a world of, to cite Weizmann, “inverted urban geometry”, the traditional oppositions between solid/fluid, inside/outside, private/public are overturned (ibid 40-42). Boundaries, even those we take to be most concrete, become temporary and vulnerable to violent infraction. Using bunkers creatively, whilst they still withstand such changes, might be one minor way of trying to set the limits to these unsettling developments. However, any form of defense of them would, at the same time, have to be accompanied with a radical critique of

other forms of boundary controls and the dualistic exclusions they produce²³.

Translations from French editions are my own.

ENDNOTES

- [1] My article wishes to «debunk» the bunker. The O.E.D. defines «to debunk» as «to remove the 'nonsense' or false sentiment from; to «expose (false claims or pretensions); hence, to remove (a person) from his «pedestal' or pinnacle'. Reminding ourselves that bunkers started out in life as comfortable seats is part of that process.
- [2] The cartoon film, «The Croods» (dir. Chris Sanders, 2013) provides quite an amusing analysis of such a «siege mentality» and what it can lead to. In the story, the father's dictum is: «Never not be afraid». Being open to what is unknown entails a certain risk. In the name of security, he therefore forecloses what is new. This defensive attitude to life paradoxically ends up jeopardising the family's very survival; the environment they have known up to now is being destroyed by climate change. In order to carry on living, they have to leave their cave and venture forth into the wider world, thereby taking a chance. The father's defensive approach to life is portrayed not only as joyless, creating conflict within the family itself- especially with the daughter who wants to live intensely, to explore the world, to discover new things- but also as counterproductive; his fatalism unintentionally endangers the family's very existence.
- [3] Again, Benjamin (2003, 392) reminds us that: «[t]here is no document of culture which is not not at the same time a document of barbarism».
- [4] For Benjamin (2003, 396) the «historical materialist» is he who «blasts open the continuum of history». I note that this section of «On the concept of history» reveals Benjamin's dubious sexual politics (see the references to he who is «man enough» to resist the temptations of «the whore called «Once upon a time»»). «Even» Benjamin, whose ideas about «cultural memory» are otherwise so useful and interesting, «forgets» himself and uses socially and politically reactionary terms when he feels the need to give his analysis an extra rhetorical boost...
- [5] See Kant (1994, 93): “No conclusion of peace shall be considered valid as such if it were made with a secret reservation of the material for a future war’. For if this were the case, it would be a mere truce, a suspension of hostilities, not *peace*. Peace already means the end to all hostilities, and to attach the adjective perpetual is already suspiciously close to *pleonasm*”. For analyses of this challenging definition of peace, see Morgan 2013a, 2013b & 2014.
- [6] For the inappropriate heavy handedness of this approach to something as delicate as peace, Paul Watzlawick's expression comes to mind: “When the only known tool is a hammer, every problem is considered to be a nail » (Watzlawick cited in Chabot 2013, 9).
- [7] For the reductive effect of thinking of peace as just the opposite of, or absence of war, see Morgan 2013, 10-11. For binary thinking as itself a form of violence, see Lederach (2005, 35): “Cycles of violence are often driven by tenacious requirements to reduce complex history into dualistic polarities that attempt to both describe and contain reality in artificial ways”.
- [8] This was the critique made of the depiction of the Yugoslavian war by Milcho Manchevski in the film «Before the Rain» (1994) see Salecl (1996, 158-161)
- [9] I say “bold” because to a French public they represented enemy occupation and were not generally perceived to be worthy of any sort of critical redemption, just fit for dynamiting.
- [10] For an account of the scandal that arose around the project, see Joly, Parent & Virilio 2004, 4-6.
- [11] Parent makes it clear that they are in fact *re-introducing* the «oblique function» back into architecture: «Since the Turkey of 7,000 BC through to the villages of today's southern Algeria, the oblique function's past has existed». Parent and Virilio's interventions, that struck the architectural world as being so challengingly original, actually wanted to propose an «archeology of the future» (Parent 2004, 5). In effect echoing Lederach's reassessment of «our» relation to spatio-temporality, Parent boldly exclaimed: «WE MUST READ THE PAST AS A FUTURE TO BE DISCOVERED» (Parent *ibid*, *bold capitals in original*).
- [12] Parent explains the challenging dynamism of the “oblique function” in the following passage: “The oblique function is the ARCHITECTURE OF EFFORT that wakes up and catalyses the human. It is the opposite of the enervating comfort that puts him to sleep and leads his mind to its death. A place for living in has to be listened to, looked at, touched; it is to be invested in. It affrontingly lifts itself up [*s'enlève à l'assaut*] like an ancient fortified site» (Parent 2004, 47 *bold capitals in original*). I note the appropriation and reinscription (for «utopian» ends) of military terminology in this passage.
- [13] For instance, Kant thought the aesthetic judgement that “this is beautiful, isn't it?” was a disarmed and hopefully disarming, but

nevertheless still risky, gesture toward others. We are “suits for the agreement of everyone else” (Kant 1998, 82). We *venture* to propose our aesthetic judgment as being universally valid. Indeed the aesthetic judgment, as it is not governed by concepts or determined by principles, is an *adventure* which boldly proposes to ‘move’ us from the realm of the subjective to that of the universal with little to guide us. It is this liberation from our usual egotistical, instrumentalising aims and objectives that opens up a utopian potential for the aesthetic experience. For the aesthetic object as belonging to a different space from that of the “noisy market place” see Schiller (1982, 7) and Hyde (2007).

- [14] Written in 1938, during « dark times », Huizinga had every reason to question the primacy of « culture » and the definition of humans as *homo sapiens*.
- [15] To be more precise, Huizinga stresses that it is the very « superfluity » of play, its « disinterestedness », that makes it essential (Huizinga 2008, 26). Kant and Schiller would agree. See for instance Kant on « the purposiveness without purpose » of aesthetic judgment and the « free play of the powers of representation » and its fragility (1998; 62 & 88-9). See Schiller (1982, 97- 109) for whom one is « only fully a human being when he plays ».
- [16] See Benjamin (2002, 111, 117, 127-8) where film is presented as the medium that gives the greatest range to “play-space” with its double functionality. See also Hansen 2004 and Morgan 2011 for critical engagements with Benjamin’s « gamble with cinema ». However I unlike Hansen, shift the utopian potentiality of play-space away from film towards architecture .
- [17] To return to the « siege mentality » as depicted in the film « The Croods » (see footnote 2 above), the child risks becoming an « empty fortress » according to Bettelheim if they feel constantly under threat.
- [18] Over 700, 000 bunkers were built in Albania during Enver Hoxha’s dictatorship (1946-1985).
- [19] Of course Freud then goes onto complicate his analysis : the « pleasure principle » turns into the « death drive » with its demonic « compulsion to repeat »...
- [20] Injecting the ludic, in the form of humour, into sites of terror might have its limits. For me the line was crossed with Roberto Benigni’s « Life is Beautiful » (1997). This so-called a « comedy » about life in a concentration camp, a fiction staged in order to protect a child from trauma, went too far.
- [21] Even the most radical forms of cultural expression- such as Situationism’s reconfiguration of the city into varied psychogeographical ambiances and their *dérives*; Deleuze and Guattari analyses of smooth and striated spaces and rhizomatic

growth- can be co-opted by powerful apparatuses. See Weizmann (2013 43-46, 65-69) for how the OTRI were not only inspired by these ideas, but how they put these ideas to use their military practice.

- [22] For a different form of mural transgression, one that nevertheless has petrifying consequences for the individual concerned, see Aymé 2012.
- [23] See footnote 7 above for Lederach’s critique of binary thinking and its repercussions for peacebuilding.

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