WEAPONIZED ARCHITECTURE
The Impossibility of Innocence

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New York
2012

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The Impossibility of Innocence

Léopold Lambert
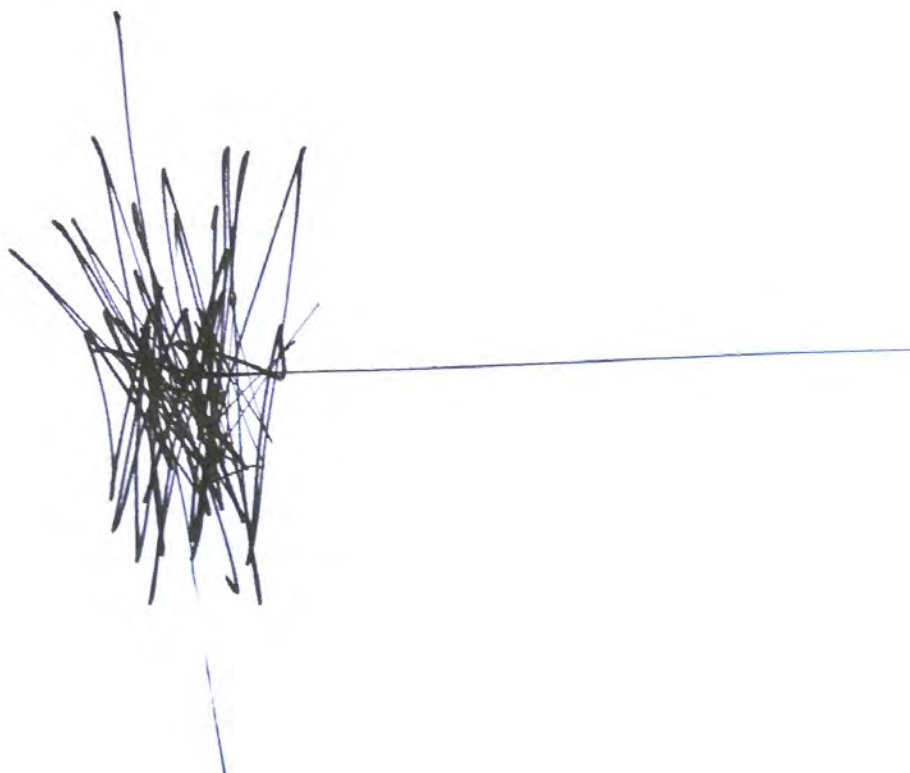
We inhabit a world full of contradictions. In order to sustain an idea of democracy we are getting used to a *status quo* of inequity and violence which at the end is only a rethoric to perpetuate states of domination.

Into this pages [and also escaping out from them] you will find a work which is also a political positioning. Léopold Lambert proposes an act of architectural disobedience, a way to resist an establishment using architecture as a weapon with all its political implications. Placing its research and proposal in the West Bank, Lambert expand politically the field of architecture narratives, integrating design as a weapon within the scene of the Palestinian struggle.

Take the risk and walk like a tightrope walker on the provocative lines traced by Lambert. You will notice that "*the denial of politics is not a resistance to an establishment; it is on the contrary the total acceptance of it*"

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VIOLENCE ON THE BODY

/// introduction

Architectural narrative in Afghanistan by Eduardo McIntosh for the 2010 Riea Book Competition

En una línea el mundo se une
Con una línea el mundo se divide
Dibujare es hermoso y tremendo [1]
Eduardo Chillida

The Basque sculptor Eduardo Chillida expresses through this short poem the tremendous power of drawing and its materialization that we call architecture. One line, indeed, has the capacity of splitting a milieu into two distinct impenetrable environments. One line can also encircle a body and imprison it within the space it frames. In her *Café Muller* (1978), German choreographer Pina Bausch gives us an example both beautiful and disturbing of the violence on the body architecture owns in its essence. Two women, closing their eyes, run into the stage's walls hurting their bodies in a dramatization of this same violence.

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1   trans: *In one line, the world unites*
         With one line, the world divides itself
         Drawing is beautiful and tremendous
Chillida Eduardo. *Open-Air Sculptures.* Barcelona: Poligrafa, 2003.

One another poignant expressions of such power of architecture lays in the lament uttered by Master Manole's wife in an old Romanian myth recounted by Neil Leach in his book *Camouflage*[2]. Manole is in fact a master mason who accomplished the Faustian pact of imprisoning his wife within the wall he builds in order to achieve the most magnificent Monastery of the world. The screams expressed repetitively by Manole's wife are as simple as illustrative of the violence applied by the walls on her body: *"Manole, Master Manole! The wall presses me too hard and breaks my little body!"*[3]

In an architectural narrative he elaborated based on an historical event, Eduardo McIntosh depicts an even more literal and expressive example of such violence[4]. Following the 2001 massacre of the Northern Alliance in Afghanistan by the Talibans near the city of Mazar-i-Sharif, he fictitiously describes the construction of a mass grave in which 3000 dead bodies are directly used as bricks. The Sadian power of a body (the military/masson)

over another (the corpse) is absolute here and architecture is the product of such a domination.

The following study is therefore research into this power on bodies that architecture owns in its essence, and how this same architecture is thus conceived or instrumentalized as a political weapon. It seems important here to observe that giving to architecture the credit of being so powerful does not mean that architects could possibly share this same credit. The modernist dream of the omnipotent and thaumaturgic architect is, of course, obsolete and should not be defended without a dose of ridicule. It does not encourage either a theory of a global conspiracy in which a very small amount of people would organize the world in their favor thanks to predefined architectural solutions. It rather envisions architecture either as the product of systems that establish some set of rules and norms for their materialization or as a marginal will of alternative to those establishments.

In this regard, what appear to be the quintessential example of both a set of norms and a residue of the modern ideology are the overwhelming

2 Leach Neil. Camouflage. Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006. p188-189
3 ibid
4 Afghanistan by Eduardo McIntosh. 2010 Riea Book Competition finalist

diagrams proposed by the fascinating Architectural Graphic Standards (cf introduction cover page). Indeed, following the modern dream of an optimized built environment, those architectural documents consider a normative body –one could think of Le Corbusier's Modulor- and advocate for an architecture that is perfectly adapted to this same body. This normative body is not an ideal body in the classical meaning of it (mostly based on aesthetic values) but can be considered as such, as it does not represent anybody's body but rather constitutes an unreachable state of normality.

As we can observe with the work of Arakawa and Madeline Gins, architecture can be considered within the time frame of human evolution and, this way, be designed in order to influence such evolution. The normative body of those diagrams constitute the exact opposite of Arakawa/Gins' work that attempts to activate bodies via architectural terrains in order to maintain a continuous resistance against death. In fact, the normative ideology by choosing an oxymoronic normal ideal body as a model, refuse the very idea of the human evolution. This denial organizes a violence effectuated on the body as

it makes it interact with an environment that forces it to remain the same.

Some of the apparatuses that architecture composes have been clearly thought through in order to unfold their power over bodies while some others have been ingested by the system they were conceived in. In this regard, this research intends to observe with the same intensity those two possibilities just like the Extreme and the Domestic. On the one hand, the Extreme, like military architecture for example, is convenient for illustrating the thesis in its entire dedication to the power on the bodies it incarnates. On the other hand, despite sometimes a more developed subtlety in its effects, the Domestic needs to be evoked with as much seriousness since it concerns our very daily lives.

This book, as I wrote above, comes in an era that follows the disappointment of the absolute quasi-religious enthusiasm of the modernists for the power of architecture. The counter effect of this illusion was for architecture to return to a post-modern humility only surmounted by the pictorial strength of depoliticized famous formalists.

The affirmation that architecture is

never politically neutral implies that the non-awareness of the political power of architecture is already a political attitude. In this regard, the Situationnists recall the story of an insurgent of the 1871 Paris' Commune telling a bougeois who was defending himself from ever having any political opinion: "*that is exactly the reason why I kill you*"[5] . The denial of politics is not a resistance to an establishment; it is on the contrary the total acceptance of it. In fact, the only way to resist an establishment is not to deny it but rather to "*create the hollowness of this [establishment's] occupation*"[6] as the Situationnists continue in the same text, calling this creation a "*positive hole*"[7]. This notion of hole is interesting as an architectural typology as we will see in the chapter entitled *Resistive Architectures*. As Reza Negarestani puts it in his fictitious philosophical treatise: "*In order to study architecture, one must first [...] practice the art of exhumation*"[8].

This book is not organized as a scientific demonstration of a hypothesis which would attempt to prove that architecture is absolutely always related to politics. Rather, it proposes a vision of architecture specifically filtered by its political implications. The goal here is more to enlarge the field of narratives that architecture carries than to establish some undeniable truth.

This research, in two parts, will be followed by its application in terms of a design that will find its essence in the conclusions drawn by these studies. One could thus travel through this book following a succession of steps going from a general architectural introspection to a local experiment questioning the implication of such power.

5 Debord Guy, Kotanyi Attila & Vaneigem Raoul. *Sur la Commune* in *Internationale Situationniste numero 12* (sept 1969)
6 Ibid
7 Ibid
8 Negarestani Reza. *Cyclonopedia: Complicity with Anonymous Materials.* Melbourne: Re-Press 2008. p51

ARCHITECTURE IS A WEAPON

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

/// chapter 1

A Barricade on the new Haussmannian Avenue de la Madeleine during the 1871 Paris' Commune

Architectures that have been designed by military purposes are useful in the study of architecture weaponization since they visibly express the control they embody. The violence contained in architecture in that case, is fully assumed and optimized. However, the means of using architecture as a military weapon are various and numerous. I want to distinguish two of them here: circulation, and occupation. War, and we should consider this word in all its meanings here, implies movement. He who maximizes movement and control the movement of the opposite camp leads the battle. Architecture and circulation therefore have some close interactions between each other in the realms of military design. I think of Haussmann's renovation of Paris between 1852 and 1870 when there was an interest in maximizing the movement of troops.

Indeed, during the French Revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848, using Paris as his main motor, Napoleon III

wanted the capital city to be an operative warfield for the suppression army. Haussmann, his Prefect, therefore re-thought Paris as a hyper-penetrable mass allowing a fast deployment of artillery and cavalry which would not have been possible to achieve prior to the construction.

This strategy has been applied several times in asymmetrical conflicts. Shortly before Haussmann's transformation of Paris, in 1840, the French Marshal Thomas Bugeaud, finished to achieve the Algerian colonization by destroying vast parts of Algiers' Casbah and by this way, prevented the resistance groups to be able to organize their forces' movement. This same Casbah, more than a century later, will also suffer from the counter insurrection operations of the French paratroopers before the Algerian independence as we will see in the chapter *Smooting and Striating Space*. In this same chapter, we will also observe Eyal Weizman's reading of Nablus' refugee camp siege in 2002[1] by the Israeli army which re-questioned the principles of military movement in urban conflicts as soldiers were moving

1   Weizman, Eyal. *Urban Warfare: Walking Through Walls*. in *Hollow Land*. New York: Verso, 2007.

through the walls rather than in streets. In a more general regard, the Israeli army is in fact, organized in order to maximize its movement in the West Bank as this region is now full of roads exclusively controlled by the Israeli in contrast to the highly limited movements of the Palestinians, strategically cut off from key routes to the rest of the disputed territories as we will see in the second part of this book.

However, maximizing one's movement is not enough to implement a military power. In order to do so, one must also control the enemy's freedom of movement. The compartmentalization of Palestine by the Israeli army is part of this strategy. The checkpoints, a rare porosity in this opaque wall system, architecturally subject a population on a more or less justified basis. This form of control is as much a security device as the occupier's expression of control over the occupied.

Comparatively, special police forces use mobile fences during demonstrations as a mean to limit the movement of protesters, keeping them out of the crucial areas of the city. This situation is particularly visible during the G8 and G20 summits as documented by

photographer Armin Linke for the Genoa 2001 Summit. The opposite of this police fence, the barricade is used in a similar way; however, the architectural language clearly expresses the difference between institutional representation of control and immanental organization of protesters. The official anti-riot fence has been produced and stocked in the potentiality of an antagonistic situation as a preemptive apparatus, whereas the barricade is the result of a bricollage with local materials creating a chaotic and heterogeneous wall of defense.

Occupation is a second way that architecture is used to serve military purposes. Of course one could think of the Roman Legion's settlement and some other temporary military structures; nevertheless, it seems more interesting here to understand the word military as an ensemble of means by which a nation exercises its power over a group of people. In this regard, occupation appears to be even more efficient when it is applied through a civil materialization rather than a strictly military one. 19th and 20th centuries' European countries understood it perfectly and their bureaucratic administration -architecturally organized and represented- probably acted - and sometimes retroactively still do- more on the colonized country's biopolitics than the colonizers' army did.

Currently, two powerful countries, China and Israel still apply what Eyal Weizman and Rafi Segal calls for the West Bank's case, a Civilian Occupation[2]. China, being a vast and diverse country has transferred a important number of members of its majoritarian population, the Hans to various regions (Xinjiang, Sichuan, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, etc.) where an autonomous orientation is fear by the authorities. The case of Israel will be studied more specifically in the second and third parts of this book.

Military design thus represents the supremacy of engineering over architecture. In fact, if we consider the definition of engineering as the discipline that rationalizes, diagrammatizes and optimizes space and if we affirm that architecture should tend towards the opposite, then military architecture as a notion, has all the reasons to belong to the realm of oxymoron.

2   Weizman, Eyal and Segal, Rafi. *A Civilian Occupation*. New York: Verso, 2003.

STATE OF EXCEPTION

/// chapter 2

Prison Presidio Modelo on the Island Isla de Juventud in Cuba /// Photograph by Friman

The state of exception consists of an extraction of an institution from the laws that have constituted it. It breaks the original Social Contract that stated the agreed balance between the concessions of people's freedom in exchange for various forms of security. What is interesting for architects is that this state of exception implies a territory where it finds its application, whether it is a whole country or regions of specificity. I will try to distinguish here two different aspects which

would separate spaces of punishment and spaces of precaution, which appear to be the two spatial categories of those territories.

Spaces of punishment are more or less legal territories of exception. The question of the legitimacy of people's forced presence in those spaces is not so much relevant here. What is more interesting for our problem is that they constitute micro-totalitarian societies that can difficultly be thought without

architectural apparatuses which can materially frame them. The cell fully expresses the supremacy of the wall on the body and the prison subtly negotiates between hyper-seclusion and hyper-visibility. Spaces of punishment, in their essence, have been created in a peculiar revanchist way of thinking. Indeed, they have been programmed to suspend the application of the law for people who have been suspending the law for themselves. It is then important for the society that hosts those territories of punishment that the exceptions they represent do not appear in any way as enviable. Their design is therefore intentionally and considerably aggressive to the human body. This state of exception is comparable to the one of war as "*war exists because the taboo on violence in daily life relegates violence to areas of existence confined in space and time and that follow their own rules.*"[1] writes Georges Bataille.

Space of precaution are essentially based on hypothesis as they exist in reaction of potential threats for society, They also contribute to the materiality of the state of exception since the law states that only its transgressors can be forced to move to a space of punishment. However, spaces of precaution temporarily apply the exact same schemes as spaces of punishment on people who did not transgress the law. Martial law and quarantine are the two states that transform a space where law normally applies to a space subjected to a total transcendental and authoritative control. In *Discipline and Punish*[2], Michel Foucault describes a 17th century city that has been the victim of a plague epidemic. Each family there is imprisoned in their own house for forty days[3] and has to constantly respond to a totalitarian power that associate military and administration to the highest degree.

Albert Camus also depicts the complete seclusion of the Algerian city of Oran during another plague epidemic; in fact, in his novel *The Plague*[4], the city itself becomes a prison for which the exterior becomes an abstraction. Quarantine is a simple mathematical calculation that creates the pre-

1 Bataille. *Erotism* quoted by Zainab Bahrani in *Rituals of War. The Body and Violence in Mesopotamia.* New York: Zone Books 2008.

2 Michel Foucault. *Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison.* New York: Vintage, 1995.

3 *quarant* is the Latin root for forty

4 Albert Camus. *The Plague.* New York: Penguin, 1998

cautionary incarceration of a certain amount of people for the sake of a larger number of others. Its architectural implication is the intrinsic potential of each building to become instantly a carceral space.

Martial law establishes a military power within a city or a country in which citizens must unconditionally subordinate to the army. As its name indicates, martial law establishes a situation of war in a city, that makes any civilian a potential enemy. It is generally declared during extreme situations of instability such as in New Orleans after the city suffered from Hurricane Katrina in 2008. Nevertheless martial law and curfews can also be used as well-considered strategical weapons in order to control a population. The example of curfews established and regularly applied by the Israeli army in the West Bank is quintessential of this control. Such measures have in fact the great advantage for militaries to imprison a population in its own infrastructure without nescessiting to provide one by themselves.

One architectural typology seems to stand in an ambiguous way between spaces of punishment and spaces of precaution. In fact, for Giorgio Agamben, the camp is the perfect example of the state of exception's embodiment:

"*Reflection is needed about the paradoxical status of the detainment camp in its quality as an exceptional space. It is part of a territory which stands outside the normal rule of law but which is not therefore an external space. What is excluded there [...] is actually included by virtue of its own exclusion. The state of emergency is what, above all else, is captured in the order of the camp. The right to declare a state of emergency is the basis of sovereign authority, and a camp is the structure that realizes a state of emergency in its most permanent form.*"[5]

American internment camps for Japanese descents during the Second World War are exemplary for the precautionary incarceration. In fact, the United States Government, fearing the presence of Japanese spies on its national territory, decided to imprison 120,000 people in camps, chosen on the unique criteria of their ethnic ori-

5 Giorgio Agamben. *Means without End*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000. p43

gins. This vast operation represented the territorial exclusion of a part of the American population.

About sixty years later, in the context of what has been demagogically called "*war against terrorism*", the U.S. State imprisoned several hundreds of foreign suspects in order to prevent them from taking part in terrorist attacks. Guantanamo's Camp Delta is situated in the U.S. Navy's basis in Cuba where American Laws about detention do not apply. The word *terrorist* became Former U.S. President Bush's open door to the state of exception. His administration used this terminology to legitimize the increasing power of American Security Service. The designation of prisoners as what the Geneva Convention calls "*Unlawful Enemy Combatants*" allows the withdrawing of their constitutional rights. This situation therefore allows a judicial-spatial status that can be freely re-interpreted by the U.S. Administration. Prisoners thus do not have the right for a trial which allows the camp to detain a very important amount of people who are suspected members of terrorist organizations yet who have not been formerly proven to be part of them. In

a similar way, the State of Exception's spatiality following N.A.T.O.'s initiation of the war in Afghanistan in 2001 was embodied by the amphibious assault ship USS Peleliu which was used as a detention facility in a similar contextual legality, thus allowing greater flexibility in the application of the law.

The State of Exception is thus being embodied by two types of architecture. The first one is specific to it and fully expresses the purposes of violence over the bodies such a state represents. The second one includes the entire built environment in a potential establishment of a precautionary emergency state that transforms domesticity into detention and control. As its name suggests, the State of Exception is supposed to represent a temporary political regime in a society -we could call it a heterochronia-, however, it is noticeable that every State of Exception never completely disappears after having been established and that the current society reflects the ensemble of exceptional measures that have been taken during the past.

URBICIDE

/// chapter 3

Grbavica in Sarajevo after the 1992-95 Bosnian War /// Photograph by Stacey Wykowski

Despite of the fact that the following strategy has been regularly occurring in history, the notion of urbicide has been formulated by the former Mayor of Belgrade, Bogdan Bogdanovic after the wars in ex-Yugoslavia between 1992 and 1996. One could define it as the act of destroying buildings and cities that do not constitute any military targets. Urbicide is rather an act that is supposed to affect the very life of the population in such a way that war cannot be ignored by anybody and must be experienced on a daily basis by a nation's civilians.

This technique has been used in symmetrical wars during the Second World War and the Blitz in England on the one hand, and the systematic bombing of German cities by the allies on the other hand[1]. However, urbicide is also fully present in asymmetrical wars with the case of guerilla and

1   This episode of the Second World War is particularly well summerized in Mike Davis' book *Dead Cities and other tales*. New York : New Press, 2002.

governmental terrorism. The most well known example in the Western World is of course the terrorist attacks against New York's World Trade Center in 2001 for its sudden and unexpected violence that was both perceived literally and symbolically. However, governmental armies also use this strategy to actively oppress a given population. That was thus the case of the Serbian army over the Bosnian population during the same Yougaslavian wars evoked above, and that also constitutes the daily life of the Palestinian population who has to suffer from the Israel Defense Forces' domination.

One should not forget that buildings and cities are the most tangible element of a civilization since even the written heritage that composes a nation's archive requires an architectural container. It thus happened that a civilization fully disappeared from history after having suffered from a combined genocide and urbicide.

Urbicide has been pretty much existed just as long as war. However, one can probably affirm that its surgical application and its insertion within a global warfare strategy of a highly sophisticated army are merely recent. Its implementation by the Israeli Defense Forces, for example, is very illustrative. We will see in the chapter *Smoothing and Striating Space*, how the Israeli soldiers have been destroying Palestinian homes in order to re-compose the battle field, but there are plenty of other applications of urbicide in this context. The way Arab villages in Israel have been fully destroyed after the *Nakba* in 1948 is highly symptomatic of this refusal from the Israeli authorities to deny the Palestinian existence in the past, in the present and of course in the future. The 2008-09 Israeli Operation Cast Lead that materialized in the three weeks long siege of Gaza, the killing of 1500 Palestinians and thousands of homes destroyed by the I.D.F. air stikes.

In that matter, Eyal Weizman observes the birth of a new legal discipline which places buildings as the main object of the judicial investigation. Weizman is then interested in the notion of *Forensic Architecture*[2] that see war and building experts intervening in order to attempt to determine the technical means of destruction of architecture by external agents.

2 *Forrensic Architecture*. Lecture by Eyal Weizman for *Decolonizing Architecture* in Battir (Palestine) on August 29th 2010.

In this regard, he focuses his study on the person of Marc Garlasco who was one of the Pentagon experts in *attacks design* and during the beginning of the second Gulf War in 2003. He was named "*Chief of High Value Targeting*". His role in the organization –Weizman uses the word '*design*' in order to accentuate the architectural aspect of the job- of various attacks of buildings in order to assassinate several members of the Hussein administration or family.

The fact that Garlasco was allowed to include the death of up to twenty nine civilians in each attack is illustrative of the way Western armies are dealing with both military pragmatism and political communication. It also recalls the way Slavoj Zizek describes our current neo-liberal societies as the creator of symptomatic oxymorons. Just like the decaffeinated coffee or the beer without alcohol have been invented, the humanitarian war has cynically replaced the tautology of the just war[3].

Garlasco's mission was therefore to design assassinations and for as many processes and softwares of positive design in architecture, there also ex-

3 I call the just war as a tautology as probably no nation ever started a war that it did not consider as just.

ists some for the accomplishment of a negative architecture; an architecture that has been actively transformed by the mean of destruction.

That is how, from his job in the Pentagon, Garlasco ended up working for the organization Human Rights Watch as an expert of what Weizman now calls forensic architecture. Before being fired by this same organization because of the collection he owned of military Nazi objects, Garlasco studied the evidence of the 2008 Gaza siege. His conclusions, proving that war crimes and crimes against humanity had been committed by the Israeli Army during this operation, were then confirmed by the United Nations' representative, Richard Goldstone, in his report, then strangely retracted by the latter two years later.

Urbicide had thus become a scientific, surgical, military operation in architecture that either simply murders a civilian population by the means of architecture, or practically and symbolically destroys the organizational and cultural aspects of the city in a biopolitical attack on a population.

ARCHITECTURE OF SAFETY

/// chapter 4

Winning entry for the Stockholmporten Master Plan by Bjarke Ingels Group (2011)

Following the conclusions of the last chapter, the repercussions of the terrorist attack against New York's World Trade Center in 2001 were much more than the destruction of two buildings. Architecture had been targeted and attacked; thus, it seems now normal that the current era of paranoia materializes itself with architecture. However, this paranoia is not only characterized by the fear of very hypothetic terrorism but by a global fear of otherness. Architecture is therefore invoked not only to protect from endogen entities but also in order to actively participate to the global machine of securization and segregation of social groups and individuals

One book, particularly illustrative of those issues, has been written in 1983 by Barry Poyner who was himself inspired by Oscar Newman's classic book from 1972, *Defensible Space*. This book, entitled *Design Against Crime*, proposes architectural solutions

to every kinds of delinquency with a disconcerting simplicity. Without ever making a distinction between homicide, robbery, burglary and vandalism, Poyner's states that "*the layout of neighborhoods, the form of streets, the design of housing and the planning of schools can be said to contribute to the likelihood of crime*" [1]. At the beginning of the book he recalls the four principles enunciated by Newman to invent secured public housings:

1. Territoriality: The sub-division and zoning of communal space in and around residential building to promote proprietary attitudes among residents.
2. Natural Surveillance: The positioning of apartment windows to allow residents to naturally survey the exterior and interior public areas of their living environment.
3. Image: The use of building forms and idioms to avoid the stigma of public housing.
4. Milieu: Locating residential projects to face onto areas of the city considered safe (such as heavily-trafficked streets, institutional areas and government offices). [2]

1 Poyner, Barry. *Design Against Crime: Beyond Defensible Space*. Boston: Butterworths, 1983.
2 Ibid. p10

He also advocates for the suppression of semi-public environment (like decks, platforms, galleries etc.) and even more radically for a regulation of children density in residences. Each scale is being studied and optimized for the sake of security. From the urban organization of a residential district to the door's material via anti-burglary houses, anti-pickpockets markets and anti-vandalism schools. The result of such designs is the creation of a city where each fragment is being surveyed and controlled, thus composing what I would call an immanent panopticon that we can observe in a more recent project, the winning entry for the Stockholmporten master plan by Bjarke Ingels Group in 2010. Indeed this circular district has for main characteristics, the presence of a gigantic reflective sphere in the center of it.

What is used to be known as the panopticon is the paradigm that Michel Foucault establishes for the disciplinary society, appropriating the design originally created by Jeremy Bentham in the 18th century. In fact, this circular prison in which the centralized form of power can easily supervise every actions of the prisoners situated in the perimeter, was a paradigm for the

society between the end of the 18th century and our era. Foucault's thesis was that the society's scheme that we progressively enter into is much more interested about control than discipline. The mode of surveillance is shifting from a transcendental mode -the centralized proctor, symbolizing an entity like a government or an institution- to a complete immanent mode in which each member of the society is supervising the ensemble of the other members while being supervised himself.

BIG's project is therefore amazing for its absolute literalism of forms and schemes. Both Bentham/Foucault's transcendental Panopticon and Bjarke Ingels' immanent Panopticon are spheres. When the transcendental one is exclusively an interiority -there is nothing outside the sphere- the immanent one is exclusively an exteriority – there is nothing inside the sphere. This is a topological transformation as the interior surface "unfolds" itself to become the exterior surface and one has to visualize this transformation to understand this morphological shift. This shift is also a political one, the same that I was evoking above. Power is not anymore effectuated by an imprison-ment of the bodies, but rather by their delegated control.

One thing that is regularly observed about the transcendental Panopticon is that discipline is actually being more applied by the knowledge of the prisoner that (s)he is being monitored -and therefore self-censored his(her) behavior- than the actual centralized supervision whose embodiment is not visible to him(her). That is why many people compare it to what we know in our societies as the videosurveillance and why one has to notice that, the actual embodiment of this centalized authority does even need to exist.In the Stockholmsporten example, the transcendental power is known not to exist as it is replaced by an omnipresent immanent control, but the sphere manages to conserve the quintessential iconic vocabulary of transcendence whether it is the Sun, God, the Sphere in the 60's UK TV series *The Prisoner* or a fortune teller's crystal ball.

Another paradigmatic example of the society of control finds its existence with the gated community. In chapter *State of Exception,* we observed the camp as an interiority created to protect the exteriority from its content,

or rather a small pocket of exteriority created within an interiority. The gated community is its exact opposite. It composes an interiority protected against the environing exteriority. As Rem Koolhaas and his partners described in their *Exodus*[3] as a metaphor of West Berlin, gated communities can be said to host voluntary prisoners of architecture. People who choose to live in those districts made indeed a Faustian choice against their privacy and in favor of their security and the fact of living exclusively with the same social class or ideological group.

The extreme example of this scheme is obviously the Israeli illegal settlements of the West Bank in which private police within the area is replaced by civilian militias and governmental army. The population entering these militarized heterotopias is filtered by the small amount of entrances and their design as checkpoints. Gated communities can thus be said to be conceptualized on a medieval scheme that implies a state of continuous war against exteriority. It needs therefore to maintain a paranoid imaginary to retain its illusionary legitimacy to exist and to develop such defensive means against exteriority.

Gated communities, as examples of secluded and remote living communities, when studied at a larger scale then can be understood as examples of a suburban living in the strategical spirit the latter has been created in.

In fact, suburbia has been thought in the 40's and 50's order to respond to problems of national and domestic security. In *War Against the Center*[4], Peter Galison establishes that Suburbia has been created in the very beginning of the Cold War as a military strategy of urban and ressources dispersion in order to minimize the economical and human effect of a potential nuclear strike against the United States. This hypothesis also includes a solid study of the infrastructures designed in such a way that one part being destroyed would be easily replaced by the rest of the rhizomic network and even be used as military infrastructures in the case of a war situation.

3 *Exodus or the Voluntary Prisoners of Architecture* by Rem Koolhaas, Madelon Vreisendorp, Elia Zenghelis, and Zoe Zenghelis (Architectural Association 1972)

4 Galison Peter, *War Against the Center*. Grey Room 04, Summer 2001, 2001 Grey Room, Inc. and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

As far as domestic security is concerned, Mike Davis in *City of Quartz*[5], affirms that the design of Suburbia was part of a political strategy in order to destroy public space in the American city. In fact, in a will of control and security, free gathering of people was being too hazardous and uncertain for a system that bases its self-sustainability in the anticipation of its subjects' behaviors. Suburbia was thus a way to kill the Mediterranean model of the street to replace it with the road or the highway to prevent any social interaction between people as we will see in the next chapter.

In a conversation with Daniel Mock and Stephan Truby[6], Noam Chomsky evokes a similar aspect of the suburban invention. He in fact, recalls the 1940's General Motors, Firestone Rubber and Standart Oil California's conspiracy when those companies bought and destroyed the urban collective transportation system in order to make cars and oil as indispensable as they are nowadays. This conspiracy was then followed and institutionally implemented by the Eisenhower Administration's National Interstate and Defense Highway Act in 1956 which was the first real step of the American urban spreading.

Safety and security are thus being considered at every scale in order to assure both a transcendental control and an immanent state of surveillance between the city users. This dimension of architecture can be seen as fully included in the modern scheme of sovereignty studied by Foucault called biopolitics, a sovereignty based on the (daily) life of its subjects and that regulates it both in its biology and its anatomy in a precise set of operative cogs composing a system.

5   Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles.* New York: Vintage Books, 1992
6   Conversation between Noam Chomsky, Daniel Mock and Stephan Truby. Igmade. *5 Codes: Architecture, Paranoia and Risk in Times of Terror.* Boston: Birkhäuser, 2006.

CAPITALISM'S ARCHITECTURE

/// chapter 5

Market stalls in a shopping mall in Po Lam (Hong Kong) /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

So far, I have been focusing exclusively on the military-political aspect of the problem I propose to study in this essay. However, it would be deceitful not to evoke the economical system this first aspect attempts to protect namely Capitalism. In fact, Capitalism necessitates a space, and architecture, more or less consciously can be ready to provide it.

This chapter will be divided into three parts which will attempt to explore the process of gentrification and the two paradigmatic examples of capitalist architecture: privately owned public spaces and shopping malls as a new form and organization of public space.

Gentrification is a process extremely illustrative of how Capitalism operates. In fact, only a part of the capitalist system is based on the more or less objective value of manpower and raw materials. A very important other part is provided only by values that are based exclusively on something

virtual. That is how a low social class neighborhood, one that despite a not so comfortable aspect provides a relatively cheap place to live in the center of a city, can be transformed into a desirable new area occupied at night by the young middle class.

This process usually starts without any transcendental will, with a little amount of middle class young people who decide to move to this type of districts in order to benefit from the low rents and the authenticity of the neighborhood. Politicians, speculators, and developers do not take long to discover the potential of such areas in the center of the city. For the politicians, it constitutes a good opportunity to get rid of a population that is considered risky and marginal; for the others, it is a very good way to develop a lucrative financial investment. When legislation is taking measures to transform this "*dangerous neighborhood where nobody wants to come out at night*" into a "*better and safer place*,"[1]-to a place that the authorities can fully control- speculators buy the current buildings, raise the rent considerably from year to year until the tenants cannot

1   The City of Paris even advertises this kind of action with the slogan "*Here we build a civilized space*"

pay anymore and eventually either replace them with tenants that can pay the higher rates or even demolish the building. The developers can then intervene and build new complexes commercial and residential complexes .

Gentrification sometimes requires several years to become actually effective; however, it often implements itself in a much faster way, such as in Williamsburg's neighborhood in Brooklyn where it only took six years to transform a low social class black area into a high middle class white neighborhood.

Capitalism cannot maintain complete control of every aspect of a city just as its greatest architectural invention, the skyscraper, cannot be limited by urban codes.

It does not bear either that its best architectural invention, the skyscraper that virtually reproduces infinitely a parcel of land for only once its price, could be limited by urban codes. That is how, in 1961, the City of New York made a deal with private entities in order to reform those codes. In exchange of a significant area of public space on their parcel, corporations and private

owners would be authorized to build their towers higher. However, this little zone of public space was not meant to be given to the city so those private actors remained the owners and controllers of this area. They therefore maintained the right to authorize or forbid activities from taking place or people from passing though those spaces.

Under an appearance of openness, privately owned public spaces are in fact extremely selective of their public. Employees working in the towers are of course welcome; those open spaces are part of a post-modern biopolitical capitalism that appears as taking good care of its subjects. People who spend money on those sites in order to buy coffee, hot dogs, or newspapers are also targeted for this type of public spaces. Others are regarded as unwelcome even suspect, and can be asked to leave in case of a "subversive" activity such as playing with a ball, taking pictures, or picnicking.

Both corporations and governments are satisfied with those public spaces. Corporations are able to build taller skyscrapers, provide open space for their employees, and develop commercial activities while governments see their public space being maintained by private actors and any potential space of gathering being controlled and supervised.

Shopping malls are another typology of private spaces open to the public under controlled circumstances. Once again, two birds are being killed with one stone: the paradigm of the Greek Agora as public space is replaced by a hyper-controlled space owned by private corporations and this space is able to be highly productive for consumption. Shopping malls, in their contemporary version, are said to have been invented by the Austrian-American Victor Gruen in the 1950's. In fact, he is probably the first one to have thought of this pure capitalist architecture as an element of urbanism. In an America whose middle class –for whom shopping malls were intended- was rapidly expanding to a large spread out suburbia, shopping malls represented the equivalent of old European city centers, a pedestrian place of gathering and activity. However, probably from observing that those European public spaces had hosted the various national revolutions and insurrections, the United

States placed this new kind of public space within the framework of privatized supervision, security, and control. As Mike Davis describes it for Los Angeles, "*The 'public spaces' of the new megastructures and supermalls have supplanted traditional streets and disciplined their spontaneity. Inside malls, office centers and cultural complexes, public activities are sorted into strictly functional comportments under the gaze of private police forces.*"[2]

By designing this space as an interior area accessible by definite entrances and supervised by dozens of video cameras and sensors, corporations were able to minimize the number of undesirables that were allowed in "*their public space*". The design is also oriented in order to compose a whole interior fantastic world that is supposed to be perceived as better than the outside reality. This world is safe, clean, warm, entertaining and attractive, which fits with a depolitized population that is more attached to standards of comfort than some abstract principles of freedom.

The main characteristic of capitalist design is to leave nothing to chance. Indeed chance provokes uncertainty and uncertainty provides an illegibility that can be unproductive for Capitalism. Supermarket products are placed on their shelves according to various consumers surveys and marketing studies; malls are designed in such a way that in order to reach the place their consumers intended to visit, they would have to see the integrality of the shops in passing; hyper-visibility discourages homeless people, kids and political activists to use privatized public spaces. Legibility is the ability of Capitalism to transform space into an object, both marketable and controllable.
The interesting thing about such precision in the design is that one can diametrically invert this process in order to reach illegibility and therefore compose a resistive architecture.

2   Davis, Mike. *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*. New York: Vintage Books, 1992. p265

RESISTIVE ARCHITECTURES

/// chapter 6

Drawing for New Babylon by Constant Nieuwenhuys

What I define by *Resistive Architectures* is the ensemble of architectural apparatuses defined by either, their legal status or their physicality as a resistance towards the normative establishment. These architectures are not defined by belonging to a revolutionary manifesto but rather to a state of continuous or evanescent resistance emitted directly from a system's interiority. These states can be studied either by their relationship to the law or by their typology depending on the nature of their resistive characteristics. One can distinguish three main attitudes towards the law that can adopt an architecture: legality, "unexpected legality", and illegality.

The first one is obvious; it consists in an acceptance of the law as the only realm of action and somehow, supposes that the written principles of the legality should absolutely prevail for society. However, this attitude is not as easy as it seems since law and

norm are intricate and therefore resist against an establishment that produce this norm constitutes a difficult and complex assignment. American architect Teddy Cruz, for example, often bases his projects around problems of Mexican immigration and integration in Southern California. In order to implement his office's work, he organizes negotiations with the local institutions and attempts to prove the qualities of his projects for the collectivity. This process has the advantage of being relatively durable and the disadvantage of constituting a long process full of concessions that is in contradiction of the urgency of the needs that the project responds to.

In contradiction of this attitude stands one that consists of what Thoreau called *civil disobedience*. In fact, when the law is considered to be serving other interests than the ones it originally served, then one has the right [1] to violate the law. When Max Rameau observed simultaneously the situation of homeless people in Miami and the fact that an important amount of land in this same city was being used for financial speculation, he decided to *reclaim the land* and create a temporary village on it as a response to the homelessness issue. Rameau considers "*right of home*" an inalienable right and still succeeds to maintain the existence of this illegal "village" by the recognition of this right by the legal neighborhood. One can possibly argue in favor of this right by observing that the right of vote –probably less pragmatic but more symbolic of democracy than the right of home- is maintained in the United States by the possession of an address. Being homeless therefore constitutes a state of sub-citizenship that is not compatible with the values of the republic.

Another architectural actor of illegal architectures is Gordon Matta Clark. In fact, he was forced to leave the United States after creating what is now, one of his most famous pieces, *Day's End (Pier 52)* due to the controversy created. This piece consisted of architectural interventions in an abandoned warehouse in New York's harbor and eventually obtained a retroactive legality due to its deemed work of art status. This decision appears as symptomatic of a system that can

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1   the French 1793 Constitution even says the duty: "*When the government violate the people's rights, insurrection is for the people the most sacred and the most essential of its duty*"

possibly accept some room for "legal flexibility" if it is recognized as part of a set of normative codes and can be placed in the category of "Art".

What I call "*unexpected legality*" is an attitude situated between the two previously mentioned. It consists of a careful study of law and the extraction of some pockets of ambiguity within it. This ambiguity can be taken advantage of in order to place an architectural project and providing a safety from an illegal status while simultaneously adopting a behavior that is not concurrent with the norm.

Spanish architect Santiago Cirugeda applied this attitude to several of his projects in Seville. One of them is as harmless as useful to illustrate this process: In Seville, when a landlord discovers graffiti on one of his walls, a law authorizes him to set a scaffold in order to be able to erase it. The duration of this temporary installation is up to three months. Cirugeda, via the production of graffiti of his own wall succeeded to set a scaffold-like balcony on his apartment for the whole summer. This project, as anecdotic as it is, illustrates this position towards the law that can have more "crucial" impli-

cations such as in Turkey where a law forbids to the police the destruction of home that has been already achieved but rather places this same destruction within the judicial frame. The physical implications of this law is the over-night creation of illegal slum houses that can thus legally exist until Justice orders its delate destruction.

Architecture can thus resist against an establishment by its legal status; however, its own physicality can also be a factor of resistance. In fact, this chapter proposes to study two different typologies that offer a resistance against an absolute control to a transcendental entity: the labyrinth and the hole.

The labyrinth, in its classical representation, is the quintessence of the architect's absolute control. The line is traced from above, its author has a total vision of the space, and he is amused to see bodies below subjected to his architecture. When he writes *The Trial* and *The Castle* in the 1920's, Franz Kafka reinvents this notion of labyrinth by creating a maze that escapes the control of its developer, the giant administrative system. The fact that Kafka never achieved his book and that the

chapters' orders has been reconstituted by Max Brod lead to think that this labyrinth even escaped to the author's control himself. Each reader could then composes another chapters' order and Brod was probably uninspired in his choice to end the book with K.'s death that gives a peremptory achievement to the novel. On the contrary, my own order would start from this death episode and introduce the whole narrative as death itself in its infinite duration.

This labyrinth created by Kafka will find a space in 1941 through Jorge Luis Borges and his *Ficciones* in which space is composed both by the same notions of infinite and the random. Eventually, during the 1950's, Constant Nieuwenhuis brought an architecture to this labyrinth by the creation of *New Babylon*, the urban territory of the Homo Ludens' continuous *dérive*[2]. Those three labyrinths, whether they are administrative, spatial, or architectural, all own the characteristic of escaping any form of transcendental

control and therefore can be said to constitute true resistive architectures. Considered in the core of an urban fabric, the labyrinth can thus become the space liberated from the authority or at least, favorable to alternative ways of life. That is what could be observed in Algiers' Casbah and the Kowloon Walled City in Hong Kong. When the first one was embodying the Algieran space of resistance during the guerrilla against the French Army in the late 50's, the second one was set free from the police who were afraid to enter in it until it was destroyed in 1993 by the English authorities.

As I wrote earlier, the second paradigm of a resistive architecture thanks to a favorable typology is the hole. Subterranean architectures are created via a process that is fundamentally the contrary of usual architectures. In fact, instead of building space by superposition of material within a milieu that can be assimilated as hollow, subterranean architectures are being built by a process of excavation of material within a milieu that can be assimilated as full. This construction protocol is therefore preventing architecture to hold an externality but rather to be

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2   The dérive has been invented by the Situationnists in the 1960's to characterize a drift in the city lead by unrational decisions and celebrating a freedom of movement in the exploration of the various city's psychogerographies.. Constant, close from the Situationnists defined itas the only activity of his New Babylon.

composed exclusively by its internality. This characteristic is interesting in the ambiguity it implies; caves, tunnels or other subterranean networks have been and still are paradigmatic spaces of resistance against transcendence thanks to their conceptual invisibility to the outside world; however, this absence of externality also allows them to contain an environment within clear limits and thus to apply control to the same environment.

In Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari's terminology[3], subterranean architectures are negotiating between smooth and striated spaces, they are the *holey spaces*. *Holey spaces* are produced by the blacksmiths who are neither part of the substance like the nomads are, nor assembling fragments of it like the sedentary do. They are directly acting on the substance and thus modifying its configuration. They don't create an internality by building a frame but rather incise the earth and inhabit in it. The three dimensionality of this milieu –the earth being different from the ground- allows the creation of laby-

rinthine networks of paths and rooms within it regardless of the gravity which rules the "surface world". Paris' Catacombs are exemplary in this regard; they embody an incredible subterranean maze. This urban labyrinth has never succeeded to be ever fully mapped and while continuously growing it hosted many heterogeneous programs such as boneyards, shelter of resistance during the German occupation, youth gathering and even pornographic theater.

The subterranean world stands in the collective imaginary as the milieu of the unknown, the illegible, the hidden. Indeed, those notions are not really valued by Christianity in the elaboration of a universal moral. Going towards the unknown therefore implies a movement down in the earth, imitating Gordon Matta Clark's 1975 attempt to dig a hole in the ground of his Parisian apartment in order to explore the dark matter of the undeground. Yet, nobody celebrates more beautifully this exploration than Reza Negarestani does in his *Cyclonopedia*:

"*Disturb and irritate, dilate and contract the repressed cavities of the*

3   Deleuze, Gilles, and Guattari Felix. *A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia 2.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.. See also next chapter

Earth: Tunnels and tubes, burrows and lairs, acrid bungholes and perforated spaces, its fanged vaginas, slits and the schizoid skin. Unclog and squeeze the earth; exhume its surfaces; makes an earth whose conundrums cannot be solved by recourse of their origins or causes."[4]

In a world where sovereignty is operative through surveillance and processes of normatization, holey spaces embody resistive zones by hiding their internality from the outside and therefore, make those processes becoming obsolete. They are also allowing an escape from the schemes already evoked in this research, as the physicality of "surface" architecture provides a transcendental control.

That is how the Palestinians living in the Gaza strip difficultly manage to bring in supplies, digging tunnels that ignores the Israeli blockade walls, or how a small amount of Mexican immigrants succeeded to enter in the United States' territory by going under the physical border.

Holey spaces are interesting for ar-

chitects in the fact that they can be designed but necessities tools that already exist but are usually used for other purposes such as destruction. Such a detournement can be interpreted as a breakage of Aristotle's *hylomorphism* that advocates Deleuze and Guattari. In fact, the mater being acted on, by means that are not achieving the purpose they have been designed for is breaking the predeterminism of forms that the tool implies.

Despite their non-subterranean characteristics, bunkers can somehow be considered as holey spaces as well. Their surface's thickness is so important that one could think of them as a hole within an artificial earth. Their beauty consists in their absence of foundations thus allowing them to move when an explosive impact occurs nearby. This ambiguity between heaviness and lightness and its will of composing a mineral landscape in a given biotope maintain an interesting mix between the State apparatus and the resistive movement, between the striated and the smooth.

4   Negarestani Reza. *Cyclonopedia. Complicity with anonymous materials.* Melbourne: Re-Press 2008. p51

SMOOTHING & STRIATING SPACE

/// chapter 7

Barricades in the rue Saint Maur in Paris during the 1848 Revolution /// Daguerrotype of Thibault

In 1980, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari published a collection of essays written as a sequel of their first book dealing with "*capitalism and schizophrenia*", *Anti-Oedipus* (1973). This book is entitled *A Thousand Plateaus*[1] in reference of the way it should be read, one plateau after another no matter in which order. This chapter, *Smoothing and Striating Space* is dedicated to three of the fourteen chapters composing this book. Those three chapters, respectively entitled:

227: Treatise on Nomadology; The War Machine,

7000 B.C.: Apparatus of the Capture

1440: The Smooth and the Striated

Those plateaus elaborate about two transformative processes that Deleuze and Guattari call *smoothing* or *striation* as two antagonistic operations and visions of territories.

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1   Deleuze, Gilles, and Guattari Felix. *A Thousand Plateaus : Capitalism and Schizophrenia 2.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987.

Smooth spaces are the territory of the nomads while striated spaces are created by sedentary. Their conflict is a confrontation between the State and the *War Machine*, the *Logos* and the *Nomos*, Chess and Go, Movement and Speed, Arborescence and Rhizome, Royal Science and Nomad Science. The whole chapter on Nomadology is built on those manichean antagonists and their incompatibility with each other. However, as established by Manuel De Landa in his book War in the Age of Intelligent Machines[2] , it has been recognized that only State's armies that have been adopted a nomadic way of operating were to be victorious in the long term. Strategies of capture are therefore constantly elaborated by the State in order to appropriate the War Machine. This whole conflict is fundamental for architecture in the relationship this discipline has always maintained with military strategies in history.

As indicated in the introduction, Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari elaborate a definition of the smooth space and the striated space based on their ab-

solute opposition at every level. The following paragraphs will therefore attempts to make an inventory of the notion used in this regard in the definition of these two types of spaces.

The State is a settled institution that established a set of rules and provides to its subject the insurance that the more they will actually conform themselves to those rules, the more they will socially evolve within a pre-established hierarchy. The War Machine, on the contrary is fundamentally non civilizationnal in the way that it is not interested in the notion of progress. Its structure can be organized in a protohierarchical way but the latter remains sufficiently fragile in order to be easily overthrown in case of strong disagreement.

The first symbols used to establish the confrontation between striated spaces and smooth spaces are made by attributing to each the principles of two games, respectively Chess and the game of Go. In fact, Chess establishes a function and therefore a skill to each entity composing both armies. Its production is therefore a strategy based on hierarchal relationships between those entities. As far as the practice of

2   De Landa Manuel. *War in the Age of Intelligent Machines.* New York: Zone Books, 1991.

the Warfield is concerned, both armies try to conquer the biggest part of land in order to exercise a control over it.

On the contrary, the game of Go is based on fast movements of *territorialization* and *deterritorialization* intensifying a conflict in one zone, then leave it and attack the next one. The function and power of every pawn are the same, thus allowing interesting potential turnarounds. Another extremely interesting aspect of this comparison yet not mentioned by Deleuze and Guattari consists in the fact that the Chess' pieces are operating with the walled frame of the squares whereas Go makes its pawns moving on the line as soldier funambulists. In this regard, it seems appropriate to recall that when the Wall of Berlin has been deactivated, the people were not just climbing up the wall in order to reach the other side but rather to inhabit for a moment this one foot wide world.

One can however observe that both Chess and Go dramatize the opposition of two armies which operate with the same organization and strategy. It would therefore be extremely interesting to elaborate a set of rules for a game that would confront a nomadic War Machine like the Go's army and a State army like the Chess' one.

What Deleuze and Guattari calls *Royal Science* is interesting for architects since they use their very example in order to express the essence of this sedentary discipline. In fact, architects tend to avoid the notion of spontaneity and improvisation in favor of planning and control. That is why the architect -maybe they ought to say the engineer- appears in this regard as the paradigm of the Royal Scientist. In fact, the example of the Gothic journeyman who applies a nomadic science by improvising their design directly on the construction site depending on the forces felt in situ. On the contrary, architects establish plans which are the direct expression of their transcendental control over the matter and architecture's users. The examples of Orleans and Beauvais' Cathedrals are then evoked as failures of the nomadic Science to provide a perfect safe built environment but rather to insert in its design a dose of uncertainty. This notion if interesting in the fact that the State cannot accept this degree of uncontrol, based on its original promise of security contained in the social contract. The fact that those two Cathedrals have been built according to nomadic science's principles and

eventually collapsed are an expressive manifesto of considering risk and danger as fully integrating part of the lethality of life and the awareness of it.

The act of striating space is fundamentally inherent to the birth of agriculture and therefore to property as well. Indeed, agriculture is the first act that brings value to the land and this results in the parcelization for ownership. Agriculture additionally brings a population to become sedentary and therefore the need and implementation of new tools. This process of innovation is called progress and is the base of a civilization's growth. Architecture embodies the striation and thus defines the limits of the land. Property is thus claimed and wars can begin. This narrative is perfectly expressed by the myth of the creation of Rome. Romulus established the limits of the city by digging a trench (or building a wall depending on the version). When his brother Remus leaped across it, Romulus killed him for the first violation of private property in Roman history .

Architecture creates an inside separated from the outside and whose property is being claimed by people or institutions. Lines of property are being virtually traced and architecture materializes them into violent devices actively controlling bodies. The wall is quintessential and paradigmatic in this regard and is operating at every scale, from the domestic wall of an apartment to the United States' border with Mexico via various scales of gated communities. The original city's limit from Romulus however disappeared during the 19th century to let the city diffuse and spread into a quasi total ambient milieu.

The following paragraph will elaborate about how the urban Warfield became a territory submitted to processes of striation and smoothing since the 19th century.
The first one implies Paris' situation between the First Empire and the end of the second. In fact, this fifty-six year period of time in French history saw three revolutions emerging from the Parisian urban fabric. As both a theoretician and a practitioner of urban insurrection, Auguste Blanqui makes the link between two revolutions of 1830 and 1848, the Paris' Commune in 1871 and urban modification in a conflict situation. In fact, he took actively part of

the two revolutions and was emprisoned during the Commune which lead to him bein considered as an icon of the resistance against the governmental forces. In 1866, he wrote a small manual entitled: *Esquisse de la marche a suivre dans une prise d'armes a Paris* which establishes an extremely precise protocol of modification of the Warfield in order to optimize it for the weak –yet victorious- camp of asymmetrical urban conflict:

"*This labor done, one put the two lateral barricades together by piercing the thick walls that separate the houses situated on the defense's front. The same operation is executed simultaneously, in the houses on the two sides of the barricaded street until its extremity, then backwards, on the right and on the left, along the parallel street, on the defense's front and on the back. Openings have to be practiced on the first [ndt: first floor in Europe is second floor in the United States] and last floor in order to obtain two ways; work is being achieved in the same way in the four directions. All the blocks of houses of the barricaded streets should be pierced in their perimeter, in such way that fighters are able to enter or exit*

by the back street, out of sight and out of reach from the enemy.

The interior of the blocks generally consists in courtyards and gardens. One could open access between those spaces, as they are usually separated by weak walls. It should be even compulsory on the bridges whose importance and specific situations expose them to the most serious attacks. It would be therefore useful to organize companies of non-fighters such as workers, masons, carpenters, etc. in order to jointly achieve work with the infantry. When, on the frontline of defense, a house is more particularly being threatened, one demolished the ground floor staircase and one achieves opening in the various rooms' floor of the first [second] floor in order to shoot the potential soldiers who would invade the ground floor to apply some bombs. Boiling water can also play an important role in this circumstance. If the attack embraces an important extent of the front, one cuts the staircases and pierces the floors in all the exposed houses."[3]

3   Blanqui Auguste. *Esquisse de la marche a suivre dans une prise d'armes a Paris* (non official translation by Léopold Lambert) in *Maintenant il faut des Armes*. Paris: La Fabrique, 2006. p280

The urban modifications that Blanqui advocates for, are precisely applying processes of striating and smoothing the space . In fact, the construction of barricades with the paving stones of the street [4] adds another layer of striation of the city which interacts with its normal functionality. On the other hand, the piercing of holes through the walls associated with the destruction of staircases tends to deny the physicality of architecture and thus smooth the urban space. With those processes, the city is assimilated as a single malleable matter that can be acted on and reconfigured according to the needs of the insurrection army.

The ability of the insurgents to act on this matter, and therefore to manipulate the Warfield in favor of their strategies probably has a lot to do with their victories in 1830 and 1848. On the other hand, the Paris Commune's ultimate defeat against the Versaillais, was very likely influenced by the State's modification of the same Warfield for the last two decades by Napoleon III and his Baron Engineer Haussmann as seen in the first chapter.

The second example in French history and the French State strategies of counter-insurrection. It occurs between 1954 and 1960 in Algier's Casbah where the first operations of the FLN[5] were being organized. In this regard, Gille Pontecorvo's 1966 pseudo-documentary film entitled *The Battle of Algiers* depicts the guerrilla opposing the French paratroopers with the Algerian anti-colonialists within the labyrinthine Casbah. The chronology is important here: The typology of the Warfield is in a first period perfectly used by the Algerians who apply what will later be Deleuze and Guattari's definition of speed as the absolute character of a body whose irreducible parts (atoms) occupy or fill a smooth space in the manner of a vortex, with the possibility of springing up at any point . Whoever is carrying out a mission for the FLN, strikes intensively then immediately disappears in the maze of the Casbah. However, some years later, by following the officer in charge of the counter insurrection Lieutenant-Colonel Mathieu's strategies, the French paratroopers manage little by little to capture the War Machine's principle by acting directly on the Casbah's

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4 Blanqui actually established very precise calculations about the necessary amount of them

5 FLN: Front de Libération Nationale (Algerian insurrection army)

materiality and infiltrating the organization of the FLN. The final result was the absolute suppression of resistive forces in Algiers in 1960. Nevertheless, the resistance had to last long enough to provoke a national mobilization that would lead eventually to the Algerian independence in 1962.

A final example of urban striation and smoothing in a conflict situation would be one studied by Eyal Weizman. In 2006, in an article entitled *Lethal Theory* , Weizman analyzes the Israeli General Aviv Kokhavi's strategy during the 2002 siege of Nablus' Palestnian refugee camp in the West Bank. In fact, Kokhavi developed a theory of inverted geometry that avoids the camp's streets in order to move through the wall of the dense urban fabric and this way, surprise the Palestinian fighters. This technique also reduced the spectacular damages in the camp to deep scars within homes, invisible from outside and therefore insignificant to the International Community.

"*Rather than submit to the authority of conventional spatial boundaries and logic, movement became constitutive of space. The three-dimensional pro-gression through walls, ceilings, and floors across the urban balk reinter-preted, short-circuited, and recom-posed both architectural and urban syntax.*"[6]

It is not innocent that the State that succeeded the capture of the War Machine is a state who established war as its main contingency and its population as entirely composed of soldiers[7]. The elaboration of the oppression towards the Palestinians led the Israeli Army to associate a striation of the space both by its walls, colonies and roads and to adopt a nomadic behavior, springing up from its border, infesting Palestinian land and folding itself back in its own territory. This coexistence of State and War Machine is probably due to the status of the Jewish People who was involved in what Deleuze calls a *common becoming* due to a long persecution through ages and who eventually become a State. Thus was established a normalizing benchmark that internalizes some of its subjects and oppress the others.

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6   Weizman Eyal. *Hollow Land*. New York: Verso, 2007.
7   Military service is compulsary for every Israeli citizen.

BRYAN FINOKI

/// interview

Bryan Finoki is the editor of the internet blogSubtopia since 2005. His work is an excavation of the politics of space that underwrite the nature of the contemporary city. In response to a pervasive culture of fear, secrecy and constitutional sabotage, he confronts what he calls the "sub-architectural" dimensions of militarism and incarceration to further expose corruption's refuge and the contesting forces that together shape the built environment. Using architecture and geography as a prism through which to interrogate the design and political production of space, his writing is a definition of military urbanism that expands our understanding of the everyday violence of the global city's creeping securitization. If Empire is a hidden landscape then Bryan's documentation not only helps to reveal it, but also shows an immense counter-landscape that is emerging in its fissures and shadow.

Léopold Lambert: Whenever somebody talks about control apparatuses in the city, one immediately evokes technologies such as surveillance cameras or sensors. However those devices seem to me as representing the control much more than actually applying it. What I mean is that they do not avoid anything to happen; they just act on people's imaginaries in order to activate self-censorship in them, aware of the fact that they are being monitored. On the contrary, architecture in its physicality seems to me much more able to organize space in order to apply a whole set of control on it. My intuition is that architecture is never innocent. By that, I do not mean that each spatiality has been necessarily thought and designed as a political weapon but rather than this status is inherent to architecture and cannot be avoided. To which extent could you agree to that?

Bryan Finoki: Well, in a general sense you might be right, but it is also important to understand the surveillance camera's crucial role of acting within a larger scheme of security and defense tactics designed for the contemporary post-9/11 city. On one hand, the surveillance camera does more than just activate self-censorship in people but actually works to prevent certain activities by assisting other modes of delivering lethal force. An extreme example of this would be the surveillance cameras used by the Israeli Defense Forces positioned along the Gaza border that just so happen to be coupled with robotic snipers, which together can scan and fire upon pre-tagged and categorized targets. The surveillance cam is merely part of a broader weaponization of surveillance. Surveillance is hardly this passive device that many people think it is. Just consider the UAV (drone) carrying out strikes and "targeted assassinations" in Pakistan and elsewhere. While this may be the ultimate iteration of this, surveillance needs to be seen in context of the types of violence that the camera serves as a precondition for.

Other less egregious cameras in the UK are attached with loudspeaker systems so that camera operators can vocally reprimand people they observe and deem are up to no good. And surveillance camera along the US-Mexico border and in parts of London have been put into the hands of civilians who can control them much like a game over the internet now,

turning the passive cam into a whole new realm of citizen surveillance and vigilantism, not to mention the bizarre pastime entertainment implications of the technology this way. This is obviously the direction these sorts of mechanisms are moving in; roboticization, automation, "smart surveillance", "participatory panopticonism", and, what I might call "lethal surveillance"; in other words, turning the passive device into an active weapon.

However, in most cases still the surveillance camera is proving more effective as a detective device rather than a preventive one. It's less about being able to stop a crime, than it is about achieving the means to archive space/time in order to go back and search out and recreate the mapping of the criminal. Of course, surveillance systems are designed with the intent of preventing crimes and acts of violence, and (more importantly) are certainly sold to us on this premise as well, but they appear more useful as a post-event device rather than a pre-event one. But, then again, I'm hardly an expert so, what do I know? However, as much as the police state would like us to believe these systems are useful in preventing crime (and without ques-

tion there are times when they have been), I am skeptical. All of this rhetoric seems mostly to be in service to the politics of surveillance and establishing the legal rationales (as flimsy as they may be) for eroding privacy rights and passing laws that further empower the state's ability to intrude into civic affairs by normalizing ubiquitous surveillance systems. Further, the rhetoric goes a long way to filling the pockets of security industry lobbyists and the companies they represent who manufacture this stuff. Much of this technology, from the tiny traffic cam to the TSA's full body scanners, have been sold to Congress by companies who are making a killing (no pun intended) off of the Defense budget.

Yet, another angle is the video camera in the hands of the police at activist rallies attempting to criminalize the protestor, or the FBI's surveillance of left leaning activist groups; or, in the hands of the activists themselves monitoring police activity. All of this is even more compounded by the double standards that allow video cameras to be mounted from almost every building where they can observe not only public space all the time but cross into areas of other private space invasion, while laws are routinely passed making it

increasingly illegal for the public to photograph certain buildings or urban spaces because those sites have been deemed sensitive to national security. The video camera as a simple object becomes an intense nexus point in the constant spatial political negotiation of the homeland city's production as both a site of necessary preservation as well as one of a compulsory target that helps to justify the War On Terror national security discourse. The simple placement of a surveillance camera in any place, certainly a prominent civic space, suggests a lot about not only how that space is politically perceived, but about how the state imagines it (and wants it) to be perceived. Cameras are used today to both ward off people (the homeless in office parks) as well as to attempt to prove to others that a place is safe (for tourists in Nogales, Mexico along the border).

But, with that said, absolutely, I agree with you -- this obsession with "panoptic urbanism" and the iconic CCTV camera that hangs over every doorway and upon every building in the "civil" world like some empire of miniaturized cyclopean cops waiting around the corners eager to make an arrest, has become more symbolic of a quasi-theological aspiration for control than anything else. Those cameras are the new iconography of self-obsessed state power – like the church crosses and the Roman statues of old, they've now been made into ornamental nodes of networked and technologized power that wants to project a kind of apotheosis of itself through the security landscape. It's not the Pentagon as God, but the Pentagon acting as if it were in control of God itself. Even more frightening is how many people buy into this type of display, and take similar faith in the surveillance camera and the security apparatus as they would in God. The U.S. has made a strange religion out of its obsession with surveillance culture. Just look at Reality TV.

Nevertheless, it's all emblematic of the state's desperation to create an omniscient illusion of control and an ever-expanding image of its power at a time it is highly debatable whether all of this is just a sign of crumbling state power, or in fact state power's more crafty enhancement. Either way, from a cultural perspective it is the 'society of spectacle' and the Orwellian prophecy manifesting together in the pornographic micro-governance of

what geographer Steve Graham calls the matrix-like spatialization of 'architectures of control.' It is security as space and as the spectacle itself; "security theater" as Bruce Schneier I heard first call it. On one hand, it allays certain mass fears of being infiltrated by unwanted agencies, while on the other it only engineers new mutant forms of mass-hysteria all over again by triggering what can only be imagined requiring such measures. This engineered hysteria is very linked to financial modes of coercing consumerism and all the pathologic tactics intrinsic to fear culture. It is fear itself deployed as the greatest technology, to get people to buy into the politics of secrecy and security, and ultimately the economy of war that so depends on spending and social welfare cuts, and voting away their own civil and human rights in the name of "freedom." What better way to trample on peoples' rights and take them away than getting them to just willfully forfeit them? Fear created and deployed as a technology this way is the real weapon of mass destruction, if you ask me.

The fact that a lot of those surveillance cameras in street corners and parking lots don't even work (!), and that people are self-censored (as you say) by the mere suggestion is ancient psychology by now, classic Sun Tzu 'art of war' deception stuff. Here, architecture is but the facet for this mythological nervous system that lives and breathes within our infrastructure, watching us, preying on our every move, taxonomizing our behaviors, criminalizing our very publicness; it is a fantasy of surveillant power and of a system that dreams of keeping eternal vigil over our very thought processes themselves. It's a manipulation of people's sense of faith; it's dangerously constitutive of its own kind of religiosity. The architecture here simply baits one into social obedience, conforms one into the subservience of a false market of state control, all the while masquerading as this "safe place", taking on the appearance of safety. Architecture now is caught up in this strategy of entrapment, treating everyone now as a potential combatant. We are in effect now completely interrogated by the urban landscape.

To a very large extent, power thrives mostly because it goes unchecked and is able to propagate a simulation of itself that expands it territory far

beyond its actual measure. There is a visual economy to surveillance that constantly intimidates us into voluntarily surrendering to its gaze. The hollow circuitry of the CCTV scam becomes the storage device for a culture of total complicity, from the architecture's buttressing of power to the citizen's surrendering to it. Many studies have concluded that all these cams do little to actually prevent crime, but in many cases only exacerbate fears and suspicion. People are therefore handicapped by the fear of crime before any crime has even been committed.

Certainly, I also agree with your assessment that the physicality of architecture is more dangerous as a form of social control because we are talking about physical space, that which inherently not only takes up a set of coordinates on the map and carves up physical dimensions of our existence, but also generally requires another political and economic landscape in order to legislate and get it built within the coded world of urban planning, construction policies, private development, institutional finance, negotiation, all of which exist mostly far out of the hands and attention of the general public, and to which public opinion

is often thrown in late at the end by token protocol, and so forth. In terms of American urbanism, you might say it is as genocidal today as it was in the beginning, though the parameters and definitions have changed. Even though we are not burning down Native American communities anymore and replacing them with settlers the killing is still there just at the level of institutional racism now, it just isn't as blatantly obvious anymore. Instead of building fair and equitable affordable housing we are swindling people through predatory lending and foreclosures and filling prisons and shutting down schools instead. Urban renewal and the great hopes of modernizing public housing in many ways has shown to be more akin to the colonial legacy of internment and proxy incarceration, all performed at the level of the institution now. All of which of course links back to the prison and military industrial complexes finding ways to profit.

Architecture as an object of power operates on many levels, as you well know, from the design of prisons to the frontlines of urban gentrification, to the psychological molding of modernist space conformity. The very architectural image itself is a document of

power. The design doc and the blueprint, much like the map, by nature is an inscription of a form of power. It is, as Eyal Weizman articulates better than most, the medium through which politics happens. It is "political plastic" he says. Architecture is the materiality through which politics are reified. It is not only how we physically negotiate the landscape but how one imagines it, how one imagines it for another, and perhaps how one can also reclaim it. In this regard it is inherently colonial. It is through architecture that so many socio-economic and political legal forces are contested and spatialized, concentrated and formatted for a larger geopolitical terrain. Architecture is violent, there are a number of contexts for observing this, and while defined by a politics, or embodying of a politics, architecture is the embedding of social ordering and class divisions, and various forms of knowledge that can only be fossilized by its construction. It can also be a form of obliterating knowledge and people such in the case of urbicide. Yet, architecture is also just a technology that depends on how it is used. I am not here demonizing architecture, but only want to stress that many times it is hardly innocent.

I am also a strong believer that the boundaries and powers of architecture extend well beyond those physical spaces that have been designed and built by just architects, but also are embodied by spaces that end up more or less de facto in the urban environment; these would be seemingly inconsequential architectures, emergent spaces, default containers of power: architecture not by formal design but as the product of other agendas and actors that just give way to space production in their own processing of power through the built environment. Such spaces, as innocuous as they may be (a squatters' settlement), or as dangerous as they are clandestine (interrogation rooms), in my mind amount to another vast dimension of physical space that rarely gets discussed; that is, this notion that the environment can be harnessed not only as a weapon but as a formatting for a larger politics of secrecy to operate beyond normal oversight. This occurs either in a very aggressive way through post-9/11 urban fortress design, or in the seamy folds of space where jurisdictions are less pronounced, in spaces of nondescript context which then can be used for the purposes of carrying out certain political objectives or crimes,

like torture, for instance. These are insidious under-the-radar pawn spaces in the age of hyper-urban geopolitics; unassuming space that becomes the beacon for the distribution of power through more covert means. The landscape as a mother board, the politics of secrecy as an operating system, architecture as the coded objects of a governing spatial logic.

And, on the other side of the spectrum, everyday space as camouflage for normalizing militarization. While architecture in a formal way has always existed in some close relation to power and defense, these sub-architectural spaces (spaces that haven't been designed for defense so much as they have been co-opted by the dominions of defense and the spatial logic of the war machine) are equally deputized to expand some notion of policing, some notion of suspending the law in favor of unilateral limitless superpower. They are spaces of exceptional power by virtue of their lack of design.

Léopold Lambert: The situationists were affirming that the only architectural operation that could be considered as a resistance towards an insti-

tutional power is its actual destruction. Would you agree with that –which is pretty much the same than saying that architecture is always linked to this type of power- or do you rather think that an architecture that owns some resistive values in its physicality is actually possible?

Bryan Finoki: I am very curious about the notion of the subversive architect, one that uses architectural design and innovation to game the system, to get around certain political constraints, or to help recalibrate the urban environment in some way that currently operates at a level of injustice, or illogic. I love the thought of a voluntary architectural suture. I don't think architecture is so intertwined with power that it cannot be trusted on any level and therefore cannot exist. On the contrary, I am inspired by how architects can perhaps use their skills and knowledge and the value of architecture as a political art, and as a space of urban negotiation with institutional power, to in effect bring changes about spatially on their own. It seems the architect is in a good position to at least try and force new balances of power by establishing dialogs with the existing political structures through the medium of built

environ design that might be able to challenge the institution in some way.

I guess (and probably due some to the fact I am not an architect but always thought I would go on to become one) that I still have this vision of running around with a stealthy team of architectural hackers to bring some level of public space reclamation and political renegotiation through my fly-by-night urban interventions. But not subversive for subversive's sake, rather making adjustments to the built environment that relieve space of certain blockages of flow, efficacy, and ethicality. Spaces that need to be relieved of their pulsing commodification, their innate exclusionary principles; something like architectural acupuncture where architects are in it to restore a kind of level of optimism to space, to alleviate anxiety intrinsic within modern space, and ultimately to help instigate public agency.

All of this can be done I think in the open, too. This doesn't have to be a group of secret space hackers. But, hacking and restoring justice in a spatial sense seems a ripe job for the architect, who not only may have an opportunity to bring some sensible level of change to the landscape that the institution may be preventing all along, but an opportunity to help wrestle control of the very meaning of architecture out from under the dominant thumb of wealth division and power, defense and the politics of secrecy, which seem to colonize space without much dispute or even public awareness. I think design has a lot to play in generating new knowledge this way, enfolding the public in the process of producing their own environment, one that can also bring communities into new models of political process. It's about architects helping to interpret space for others, so those people can then construct their own narratives through architecture; new public narratives, political narratives, devising new political structures that architecture can help stabilize.

Léopold Lambert: Your answer raises a difficult question that I still did not settle on yet, which is about the legal status of a resistive architectural proposition and thus its degree of violence. This position towards the law can be, I believe, summarized with three various examples: The first one is Teddy Cruz's which establishes a negotiation with the institutional power, the second

one comes from Santiago Cirugeda who takes advantage of the law's tiny faults and imprecision and eventually the last one consists in an illegal status which could be illustrated by Max Rameau's action. Those three attitudes have both benefits and inconvenience. A strictly legal action which effect is fully understood by the institution is very often long or even impossible to obtain but has the potentiality of acquiring a real stability and durability. On the contrary Max Rameau's civic disobedience that reclaims non-occupied speculative land in order to host homeless people appears as a very efficient and expressive action but remains constantly susceptible to be suppressed by authorities. Cirugeda's game with legality thus seems as a good equilibrium between those two positions; however it requires an extensive knowledge of the law and allows only to operate in an extremely narrow field of possibilities.

Do you have a clear attitude towards those three possibilities or are you as indecisive as I am?

Bryan Finoki: I think all are equally noble and applicable depending on the circumstances. There is no one overarching strategy, per se. If the objective is to develop a means for brokering social and economic equality through space then I think there can be a role for the architect in nearly every context, and as each scenario comes with its own unique constraints and injustices the architect would need to address those uniquely through different tactics.

Since architecture is not only a political act but is the interface through which politics is in effect practiced – this demands an entire spectrum of practices and practitioners that can navigate all of the nuanced demands of the global landscape. So architects or 'architecture' must constantly find ways of reinventing and re-inserting itself in striving to reclaim and redefine the political. Where I fear space has been colonized by what I called the 'sub-architectures' of the War On Terror, I also think that the types of architectural interventions possible here could lead to some sort of new sub-political power, that may be productive in some ways but also counter in others.

With every new context of "spatial injustice" (for lack of a better term), or "spatial violence" comes the need for a specific deployment of spatial prac-

tice that can engage it. Of course, it depends on how intensely, directly or indirectly, one wants to engage the power structure, and at what level, angle, etc. I think the three architects you have mentioned are probably all making positive impacts but are not immune to critique either, and that is a good thing. I don't want to believe that there can be such a righteous single formula for a single notion of spatial justice or practice. It needs be learned and spatialized in the very exercising of these types of ongoing spatial negotiations with power – change and justice itself must find itself on a constantly evolving landscape. It has to be discovered as it goes.

Nor do I think that spatial justice can be merely cemented by architecture alone. Just as the military urbanists are out to take total control of the city politic through the ruling principles of security as they can be substantiated and enforced through the landscape, not only do I not know if that is even possible but I don't think the opposite could hold true either – that a utopian space could ever, or should ever, exist by any sort of force (force in the form of spatial power). It is all about mediating the constant conflict, keeping the

scales tipped on the side of fairness, building architectural devices, scales, tools and properties that can help to mediate politics equitably; accepting in order to defuse the inherent violence of the built environment. Perhaps true democracy is always one degree from collapsing and ceasing to be an open system. That is, if democracy becomes so systematic and guaranteed by a total system of justice, and the law and its checks and balances become stagnant somehow, architecturally-mechanized, if you will, then perhaps democracy ceases to exist. I don't know.

There is a certain entropy that seems essential to all progress. I come from the school of thought that democracy can only exist as it is exercised and maintained, established, contested and re-established, and this wages its own kind of battle. The politics of space aren't so stable either. They can't be, and maybe even they shouldn't be, given or guaranteed. As Steve Graham asks, if a 'secured city' is the model, then what are we headed for? A Singapore model of restricted urbanism, sanitary capitalist space with elegant fists of iron looming in the background?

Spatial politics is its own kind of ether. I mean, it's messy, full of gradients and ambiguity, and may not be so easily calculated by a single system of governance or any one totality as we would like to imagine it. Especially not by one that a type of architecture could ensure, who knows. Could architecture help mediate a landscape of various totalities? Maybe. A student I worked with in San Diego speculated on creating a kind of zoning system that would measure the ethics of space to force a re-examination of the spaces we've created and whether they are fair, or good for the whole or not. And then, to ask, could we enforce a new set of spatial standards according to their corresponding degrees of ethicality? From debates around private tolls and public restroom access to the ways neighborhoods are zoned in order to mask certain racial politics. To see a homeless person on the street then becomes not only a political or economic question, but a spatial and ethical question as well – and perhaps a way to take new forms of responsibility for urban homelessness and get serious about really trying to systemically address it. But it's not as easy as simply zoning everything either. In fact, that can often defeat the purpose and

even impede more subpolicial manifestations of progress.

While I might choose to accept for now that the real realm of 'spatial politics' always operates to some extent on a sub-political level, I do think there is an entire spectrum of spatial legality that needs to be mapped, more so for understanding's own sake than any belief that the domain of spatial politics can ever be fully governed, or provide governance. It is more spontaneous and chaotic than that. A certain aspect of spatial power (and any form of power for that matter) needs to remain out of control, coming in and out of sight.

This spectrum (from the architect's perspective) would need to look at more literal architectural provocations of social empowerment through design and building code, but would also include the ways the practice must perhaps reconstruct the course of its education, or new ways it engages communities who aren't paying customers, and to think about the harmful visual politics and economic structuring that architecture puts into the built environment. More so, I think architects have a lot to offer outside the scope of design/build.

But from the point of view of this would-be spatial-political spectrum itself, I imagine it much larger by looking at everything through a spatial lens. I think what's most interesting for me is architecture's potential for helping to mobilize and maneuver within all of these other very connected fields of interest. The architect is already situated between the public, private, and institutional sectors of power. So, if everything can be diagnosed on some level spatially and we get everyone talking about the architectural relativity of their own micro universes and personal geographies, and see the inherent political struggle within the spatial contexts of their lives, then I think people would be more willing to acknowledge their own role and ability to help unravel and reclaim their own spaces and the public domain. Let's face it – we are facing ever-increasing compressions of space by forces of privatization and securitization. You have to be concerned about what's being left for public agency in all of this. People are already beginning to put together the nature of the crisis as a spatial one, which could roll the carpet for the spatial expert to help navigate the terrain. I don't know, maybe I am glamorizing the political potential of the architect far more than I should. Maybe none of this is even making much sense!

The question for me is: how can the architect help the public to reconsider the spatial implications of its immediate world, as a diagnostic tool? Then, how can projects be initiated to link other subjects, like geography and political theory, activism, industrial history, cartography and neuroscience, education, art, social justice, etc. – overlays that can be explored to somehow make the intolerable aspects of our environment more apparent, and to call attention to critical urban issues like rampant privatization, subtle partitioning – domestic enclosure and segregation. I see architecture as a spatial device to help decode the more secret political landscape that lurks behind the built world, and one that can get people activated in the production of their own space.

I also acknowledge architecture's complicity in constructing this uneven landscape – and the bare politicality of architecture as a cubic measure for politics. Can architecture in a sense ever be politically ungendered? I don't know. I don't think so. Can it even

be neutral? Not sure. But I like the idea of the architect creating spaces that allow for the public to appropriate them and to retain some imprint of their own. To politicize them in their own way. And this is nothing new. Lebbeus Woods gets at all of this precisely. Anyway, I am rambling terribly now.

Léopold Lambert: You were talking earlier of those "insidious under-the-radar pawn spaces"; I tend to include those spaces in the realms of heterotopias following Foucault in this regard. The interesting aspect of them is the fact that they can either be spaces of pure oppression or resistive zones. I don't think that what happens in those heterotopias or even the fact of their existence have to be confronted by any ethics or morals; the main issue here is the fact that in some of them –the ones you were talking about- people are being forced to enter those zones.

In your opinion, is this distinction enough to recognize the oppressive heterotopias from the resistive ones?

Bryan Finoki: I am not sure. My gut reaction is it can't be that reductive. Oppressive/Resistive, Just/Unjust, Public/Private, etc., yet I find myself falling into this type of dualistic trap all the time in my own reasoning, so it is a very good question. I think there is violence in the very paradigm itself: that is, the enclosing, privatizing, the perverse hierarchicalizing of space, the campification, and the suspension of the law itself that Agamben describes. Why are there resistive zones in the first place? Because they are resisting the oppressive ones? It is surely more complex than that. I like what I heard Deborah Natsios say not too long ago, which was something to the effect: that this is not simply the carceral spreading itself out on some new pervasive level through a plurality of prison spaces, which would still observe a distinction between a 'here' and a 'there'. This is about creating spaces of exclusion where people already stand, zoning them out of access, de-sovereignating a person's space, which then in turn forces them through other spaces of exclusion and control in their quest to better their lot. But, essentially, the 'in' and 'out' paradigm is being swapped for a total breakdown and intermixing; a kind of pixilation of the carceral within the spatial field of the sovereign – no clear distinction any more of here and there, just total ambiguity which is maybe even more violent than any clear distinctions. This is what military

urbanism is all about in my view: eroding the difference between civil and military, splicing the good guy and bad guy, turning everyone into a potential criminal, treating every space as one of a crime. As much as it still operates on this logic, the spatial product now sees everyone and everything as the suspect now -- all space necessitates policing now in the eyes of this new securitopic paradigm. In other words, the prison is everywhere.

It's all about controlling the flows of everyone and everything to the extent that we are all the subjects of some form of exceptional violence.
To Natsios' point, this is not the same as the carceral strategy because at least the prison (in principle) operates with the intention of reform, with the ideology of trying to turn the inmate into a potentially productive citizen again, even though 'reform' is a loaded term and includes its own critique as Foucault has well given us. But, with the prison comes still a notion of a here and there, in and out, and an investment in the inmate, if theologically as a savior of his polluted soul, and as part of a larger ideal of a justice system. Of course, as much as prisons theoretically aim to reform and return the

inmate back to society, they are also places set up to permanently remove others. It can't be this black and white. Ultimately, through the prison, the inmate is both bound to the system but also disenfranchised within in, left in a kind of legal limbomania.

What is going on now both within the city and beyond is in some ways worse than the prison, because it encloses the way a prison encloses but without the responsibilities and obligations of prisons. These pawn spaces I speak of are a kind of prison space without even the bare minimum legal standards of prisons; a prison without having to be held accountable as a prison. And further, they imagine all space as an extension of this exceptional carceral violence. We are all subjects of the warden now, bars are no longer required. We are all imprisoned right where we stand, in our own homes, by the politics of surveillance, the violence of neoliberal capitalism. The rule of law is indefinitely suspended, there is no political accountability anymore.

In terms of distinguishing between oppressive and resistive heterotopias, I think I am struggling with the idea that spaces produced out of fear of the

other and superimposed onto people ideally would not exist, but Agamben's camp-fix seems pretty accurate, in so far as we are all the subjects of different forms of camps now that seem extended from other deeper forms of political violence – from torture camps to social media-tribes – so how do we de-campify? I am not sure if that is even the question. Or, is it merely a matter of how we chose to create our own camps, to occupy the space of the camp, reoccupy, colonize and de-colonize the camps and ex-camps for our own resistive agendas? To move the politics of the camp into a greater matrix of spatial openings and connections – building our own network now for maneuvering within and between them. I am interested in how spaces can be configured spacio-politically in order to preserve some degree of transparency. With these oppressive zones come new layers of secrecy that exist at core institutional levels that need to be exposed. However, again, I think various strategies should apply, and in some cases de-militarizing the exceptional heteroptopias is as much the goal as perhaps arming our own configured heterotopias and preserving our own needs for tactical secrecy.

Perhaps, that is to suggest there is another kind of militancy in de-militarization, a necessary violence in non-violence, and at times variations of violence might be perfectly justified. I don't know. As time goes on for me the idea that violence could be justified becomes increasingly less easy to discern. Again, an entire taxonomy of heterotopic space as it relates to political violence should constantly be drawn, and our actions should be taken with an understanding and consideration for the larger history of spatial violence and on what occasions it has and has not been justified, and then perhaps from there we begin to establish our own logic.

Israeli Civil Settlement of Pisgat Ze'ev as seen from the eastern side of the Separation Barrier /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

ISRAELI COLONIAL APPARATUSES

INTRODUCTION

/// Colonial Architecture in Palestine

Separation Barrier in East Jerusalem /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

In order to explore in a more detailed way, the mechanisms of architecture as a political weapon, we now have to choose a situation to analyze thoroughly. Colonial architecture offers a large spectrum of oppressive apparatuses as it both violently claims a territory and organizes the latter in such a way that the local population's biopolitics is being controlled and oriented. Since 1967 the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territory constitutes a domain in which architecture exercises

a tremendous power on the bodies as well as the organization of daily life as we will see in the following chapters.

In the frame of this research and the architectural project that follows it, I will concentrate my attention on the Israeli colonial apparatuses operating in the West Bank rather than in Gaza, East Jerusalem, or the Arab villages on Israeli territory. In no case, this choice should be understood as a personal attribution of priorities. The global im-

prisonment of Gaza, the arrogant appropriation of the totality of Jerusalem, the consideration of Israeli Arabs as sub-citizens and the continuous denial of the right to return for exiled Palestinians are not less important than the current situation in the West Bank and remain as worrying than unjustifiable. In a similar way, this part of the book points out only issues that concern the built environment in order to remain coherent with the thesis of this book, but it does not have the pretention to unfold the amplitude of the problems created by the occupation. This situation has unfortunately triggered a tremendous amount of human tragedies both for Israelis and Palestinians; however what I want to bring attention on here are the material cogs of a colonial system. Those implement themselves in a much longer term than the punctual event of human drama and are developed and decided in the cold detachment of the Israeli bureaucracy's offices. Their effect, nevertheless, could not be more concrete to the Palestinian people.

The two following maps attempt to report respectively analytically and metaphorically the Israeli occupation and its implication on Palestinian territory. The Colonial Apparatuses map attempts to provide a global vision of the West Bank with the filter of the Israeli military and civil occupation. It focuses on five of the six apparatuses that will be developed in this part of the book: the Separation Barrier, the I.D.F. checkpoints, the Israeli civil settlements, the Israeli exclusive axis of transportation and the Area [C] in which the army has full power. Each of those apparatuses contributes to the daily systemic oppression of the Palestinians of the West Bank that has been conceived since 1967 as a precise and well thought strategy of colonization.

The Palestinian Archipelago is a metaphorical map that attempts to represents the territorial situation in a more illustrative form. The islands are the rare pieces of land that are under Palestinian control and the reefs represent the various Israeli illegal settlements that populate an important part of the West Bank.

The transportation between those islands is uncertain and can be filtered or even prevented by the state of Israel anytime the slightest security issue is being claimed. Each of those islands then become as many open sky prisons thus affecting, the economical, professional and familial lives of the Palestinians within a same territory.

COLONIAL APPARATUSES IN THE WEST BANK

ISRAELI SETTLEMENT
Israeli civil settlements within the West Bank
violate the article 49 of the Geneva
Convention (see appendix).

GREEN LINE
1949 armistice agree-
ments after the Israel-
Arab war.

Jenin

IDF CHECKPOINT
Checkpoints are set up all over the
West Bank, in order to control and
prevent Palestinians' movement.

Tulkarm

Tubas

Nablus

Qalqiliya

ISRAELI ROAD
The West Bank counts an
important amount of (road)
axis forbidden to Palestinians.

Salfit

ISRAEL

Ramallah

Jericho

PLANNED BARRIER
Despite an advisory opinion of the
International Court in 2004 an impor-
tant amount of kilometers is still planned.

East Jerusalem

SEPARATION BARRIER
80% of the 700km of barrier are built on
Palestinian territory. Construction started in
2002 under Ariel Sharon's administration.

Bethlehem

DEAD
SEA

AREA (C)
61% of the West
Bank is under total
Israeli control.

JORDAN

Hebron

THE PALESTINIAN ARCHIPELAGO

PALESTINIAN ISLAND
Island stands metaphorically for a piece of Palestinian territory on which Palestinians actually exercise a relative autonomy.

ISRAELI MARE MAGNUM

ISRAELI REEF
Reef, here, stands for an Israeli Civil Settlement within the West Bank.

SEPARATION BARRIER

/// chapter 1

Separation Barrier in East Jerusalem /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

The Israeli Separation Barrier was supposed to materialize the border between Israel and the Palestinian territories within the West Bank. However, according to the 1949 border (*Green Line*), the current wall stands almost always in the Palestinian territory. It has a double function for the State of Israel; the first one is of course to filter every Palestinian movement towards Israel, it also attempts to include the largest possible amount of Jewish settlements on the Israeli side of the wall. The most

illustrative example of this is Ariel's where the barrier dives twenty miles deep within the Palestinian territory and therefore makes Palestinian activity and movement very difficult between the cities of Salfit and Qalqiliya. The barrier also isolates cities by composing enclaves, here again the city of Qalqiliya is particularly striking. This city and its neighbor, Hable, are only situated a mile away from each other. However, both of them have been almost surrounded by the wall and

accessible only by territorial corridors of 400 and 200 yards wide respectively. Those two enclaves have been created in order for the Israeli settlement of Alfe Menashe to remain on the "western side" of the wall. A road links the two enclaves together but when this road is closed by the I.D.F., Palestinians have to drive for twelve miles in order to go from one city to its neighbor.

This barrier easily allows Israeli settlers to discriminate against Palestinian permit owners hours of delays and inspections at the various entrances/exits checkpoints along the Wall. Those checkpoints can also be simply closed depending on the intensity of the geo-political situation or on the versatile good will of the Israeli Defense Forces. The wall claims indeed a territory. In this regard, it includes the majority of the urban area of the Palestinian capital city, East Jerusalem, within the Israeli land and thus separates Palestinian populations.

Built as a temporary device, it gained an important judicial flexibility and was also relatively well accepted by the International Community thanks to this status. The Israeli Supreme Court is indeed more eager to accept the expropriation of Palestinian land if this process is effectuated in an illusive limitation in time. The infinite temporariness is of course defined by the continuous state of exception evoked during the first part of this research.

In his book, *Hollow Land*, Eyal Weizman describes the process of the barrier's planning as a continuous variation from populist political decisions, to versatile Court judgments via engineers' egoistic whims, ignoring the illegality of this architectural piece built on Palestinian territory:

"*the Wall has in fact become a discontinuous and fragmented series of self-enclosed barriers that can be better understood as a prevalent 'condition' of segregation – a shifting frontier – rather than one continuous line neatly cutting the territory in two.*"[1]

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1   Weizman Eyal. *Hollow Land*. New York: Verso, 2007. p176
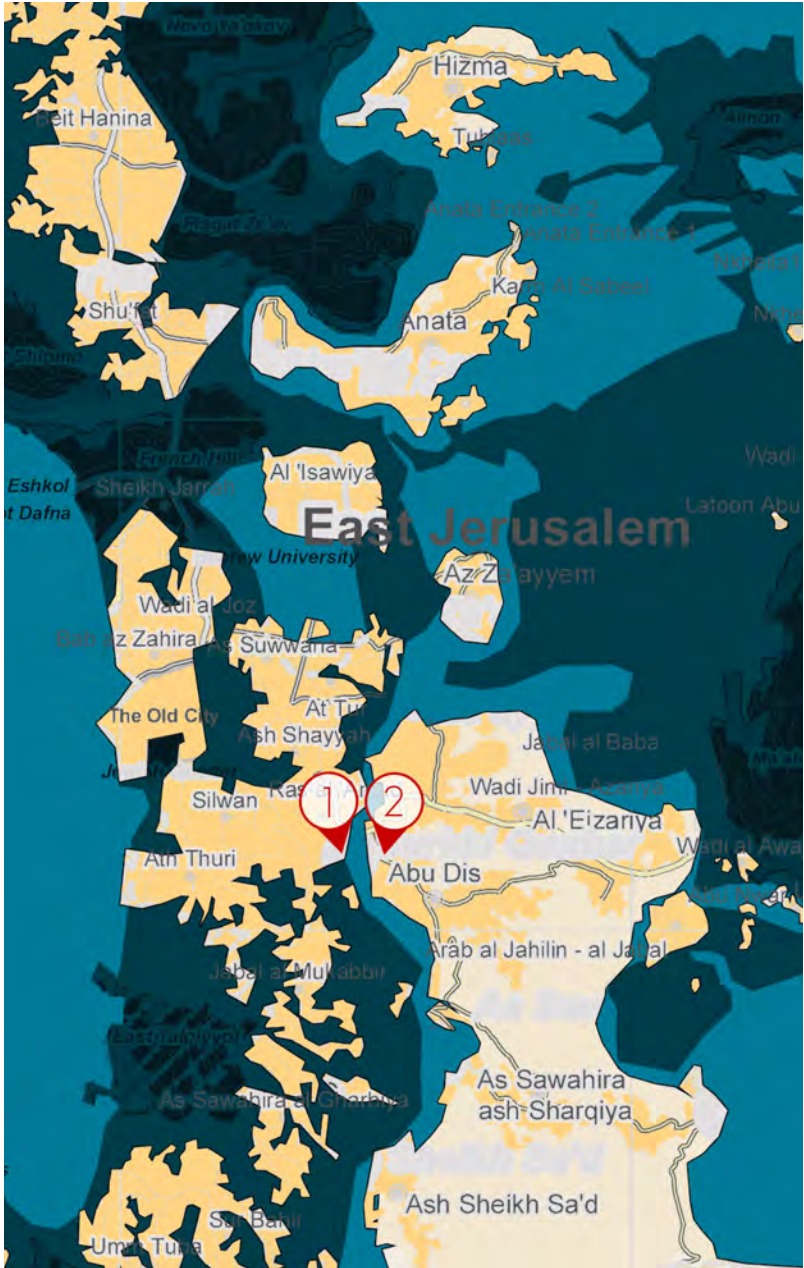
1/// Palestinian district in East Jerusalem (occupied by Israel) /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

2/// Same location on the eastern side of the Wall in Abu Dis /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

I.D.F ROAD CHECKPOINTS

/// chapter 2

Ephraim Checkpoint (Tulkarm region) /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

Israeli checkpoints in the West Bank are a means to prevent, control and filter Palestinians' movement on their lands. They also constitute a reaction to the political situation: When the conflict is particularly tense, their use is as much of a "risk control" as a way to oppress Palestinians and limit or dissuade their movements.

Several types of checkpoints exist. Those that are set on the line of the Wall and therefore grant an access to the western side of it, imply a control of every vehicle and every pedestrian[1], their goods, their passports, permits etc. Some other checkpoints are spread all over the West Bank (mostly at every entrance of cities) and control the amount and flow of vehicles depending on the soldiers' mood and the orders they receive.

This last point can appear surprising as such an important responsibility should not be interfered by subjective factors

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1 Bus commuters are requested to go off and walk through the checkpoint)

like the soldiers' mood or personalities. Nevertheless, the checkpoints are the scene of daily humiliations for the Palestinian people. Indeed, the soldiers, often very young[2] and under pressure, an important amount of them regularly abuse of their power. Taking advantage of their off the record quasi-immunity and the ambiguity of their role, those particular soldiers individually contribute to the aggravation in the collective Israeli oppression.

The malicious absurdity of those checkpoints is also to refute the implication of a border with an interiority and an exteriority, the checkpoints inside Palestine are representing an interface between two interiorities. Their goal is in fact more to biopolitically act on the Palestinian daily life by controlling the movement and therefore decreasing it to its minimum, than to really assume its role of interface between two milieus. Gatherings of people are therefore contained to their strict locality, thus constituting an additional difficulty to an organized resistance and to a unification of the Palestinian People. The uncertainty related to the difficulty of

passing each checkpoint is also fully integrated in the destabilizing production of stress of a whole nation.

The architecture of pedestrian checkpoints like the main one, Qalandiya between East Jerusalem and Ramallah is also directly participating to the oppression towards Palestinian bodies. The latter must often wait for a very long time standing up and in line in the outdoor narrow corridors of the checkpoint. The turnstiles, in this matter, seem to reach the height of sadistic apparatuses. They are often too narrow, the Israeli soldiers in charge of the checkpoint's regulation very regularly lock them while one or two persons remain stocked between the bars, thus triggering a claustrophobic feeling encouraged by the time spent to wait prior to it.

2   The three year military service starts right after high school. Israeli soldiers are thus often less than twenty-one year old.
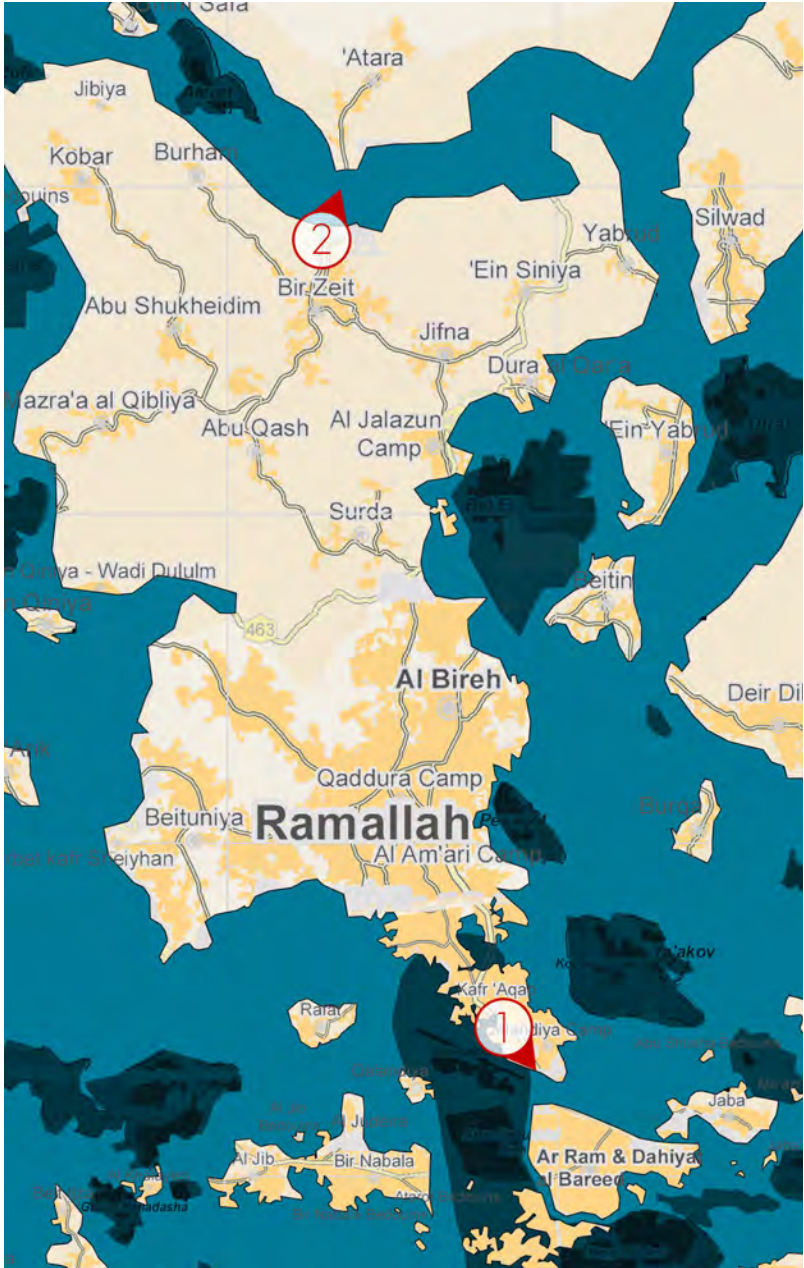
1/// *Qalandiya* is the main checkpoint to access East Jerusalem /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

2/// *Atara* is a regular road checkpoint in the north of Ramallah /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

ISRAELI CIVIL SETTLEMENTS

/// chapter 3

Rimmonim Civil Settlement (Ramallah region) /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

Israeli civil settlements within the West Bank are violating the article 49 of the Fourth Geneva Convention that stipulates that "T*he Occupying Power shall not deport or transfer parts of its own civilian population into the territory it occupies.*" [1]. However, thinking that they simply occupy a land they do not own would be observing them in a very superficial way. In fact, they constitute a very important weapon in the

1   *Convention (IV) relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War.* Geneva, 12 August 1949.

Israeli strategy of oppression against the Palestinians. All the scales and categories of building engineering are involved in this strategy; nothing is left to chance by Israeli planners, engineers and militaries.

The geographical dimension, to begin with, is studied to disturb as much as possible Palestinian life. In fact, the longitudinal aspect of Israeli settlements functions as an obstacle in the local geography thus forcing Palestinian movement to be blocked or diverted.

The topographical aspect of settlements are probably the most essential dimension: They occupy the top of the hills in order to maintain a constant supervision of their surroundings, benefit from the best view on what they consider to be their land by right and constitute a very visible provocation for whoever sees them. Each settlement owns one or several tall mirador that increases this hyper-vision or at least maintains the external appearance of it. The master plan, then, imposes a strict density of settlers' houses thus allowing a defensible space to be constituted. Finally the settlements own independent infrastructures from the Palestinian ones including roads, antennas, water and power supplies.

Looking at the settlements' history is also very eloquent in term of Israeli society's ideological shift. The first settlements, in the 1970's were indeed the product of self-determination of some orthodox Jewish small groups who valued the Palestinian's land for religious reasons. Their societal organization was based on the primitive socialism of Zionism, and their precarious settlements were set as *Kiboutz* or *Moshav*, composing agricultural cooperatives.

This religious and ideological motivation to colonize the West Bank quickly became a political and economical instrument in order to achieve a perfect domination on the Palestinian people for the State of Israel while organizing a new capitalist market based on a made-up suburban dream. The paradigm of this politico-economical scheme remains the largest settlement in the West Bank: Ma'ale Adumim. This veritable city -the settlement currently hosts about 35 000 inhabitants- has been mostly planned and built in the 1980's as both a political mean to control the road from Jerusalem to Amman and an economical medium to constitute an interesting offer for the Israeli middle class working in Jerusalem or in Tel Aviv. In fact, while each settlement in the West Bank constitutes one more pawn in the simulacra of negotiations between Israel and the Palestinian Authority, it is obvious to observe that expropriated land allows lower prices for a population whose poor sense of ethics has been ideologically driven by the Israeli institutions.
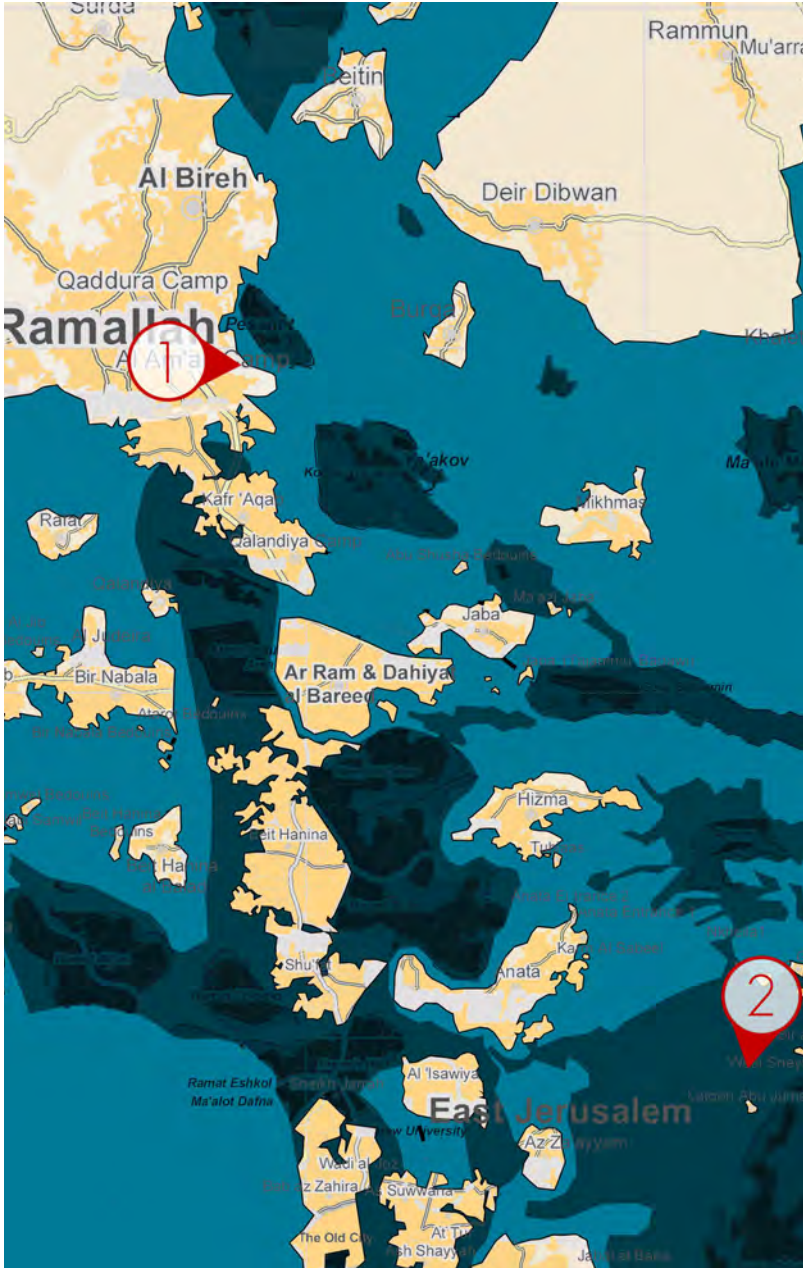
1/// *Pesagot* (background) is a settlement near Ramallah /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

2/// *Ma'ale Adummim* is the largest settlement in the West Bank /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

SEGRAGATED INFRASTRUCTURES

/// chapter 4

Separated roads in East Jerusalem /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

The West Bank is said to function on several various layers. These layers run above and underneath each other without ever touching. The main reason for this is to differentiate between the infrastructures used by, on the one hand, the Palestinians, and on the other hand the Israeli Army and settlers. Indeed, the differentiated use of infrastructures allows the State of Israel to simply deny the very existence of the Palestinian. In this regard, no interface is made between the two People who live on the same land. Roads, water pipelines, power lines, antennas are thus built especially for the Israeli colonization actors. The interdiction of access for Palestinians to such equipment allows for a filter between the two populations and therefore caters to maximize the comfort of one while controlling the other one. That is how, as far as roads are concerned, it is extremely easy for an Israeli citizen to drive from any settlement in the West Bank to Tel Aviv while Palestinians

need to spend one hour and a half [1] in order to go from Ramallah to Bethlehem when those two cities are only geographically separated by twenty five kilometers. Various tunnels have been thus built for the Israeli to reach both safely and quickly their territory without having to interact with the local population.

The most exemplary case of this superimposition of layers on one piece of earth is situated in the North of Bethlehem with the viaduct and tunnel of Gilo that allow Israeli to reach very easily East Jerusalem from the West Bank. The following text is Eyal Weizman's description of this situation in *Hollow Land*:

"Although the road is under Israeli control, both the valley it spans and the city it runs beneath are areas under Palestinian control. As the road threads itself through this folded, topographical arrangement of different jurisdictions, Israeli territory finds itself alternately above and below the Palestinian. This physical separation of transport infrastructure also cuts through the territorial labyrinth created by the Oslo

Accords. The tunnel and bridge are under full Israeli control (Area C), the valley below the bridge is under Palestinian civilian control (Area B), while the city above the tunnel is under Palestinian civilian and military control (Area A). When the bridge's columns rest on Palestinian ground, the 'border' runs, presumably, through the thermodynamic joint between the column and the beams."[2]

This policy of separated infrastructures that recalls the South African Apartheid is ratified by the International aid and especially the American one which financially supports the construction of roads that are used exclusively by the Palestinian population.

2   Weizman Eyal. *Hollow Land*. New York: Verso, 2007. p180

1   This does not include the potential time spent in checkpoints, depending on the security level.

1/// Route 443 is an Israeli road in the West Bank near Ramallah /// Photograph by Amir Terkel

2/// Beit Jala bridge/tunnel is part of an Israeli road in Bethlehem /// Photograph by Justin McIntosh

AREAS OF CONTROL

/// chapter 5

Village of *Sheiyhan* situated at the border of Area C /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

One particularity of Palestinian urbanism is that the West Bank's city limits are determined by the Israel Supreme Planning Committee and according to the three areas determined by the 1993 Oslo Accords which were secretely signed by the Palestine Liberation Organization and Israel.

Area A is supposed to be totally under Palestinian civil and security control, Area B is an ambiguous area under Palestinian civil control and Israeli security control and Area C is entirely under Israeli civil and security control. As the map introducing this part of the book illustrates, such fragmentation of the land creates a Palestinian territory that can be assimilated into an archipelago in which each island represents a piece of land more or less controlled by Palestinians. Any movement between these islands is then susceptible to be controlled, slowed or even forbidden by the Israeli army based on the observations made in the second chapter of this part of the book.

Palestinian planning and construction is forbidden in Area C as the I.D.F. exercise absolute control over it and manage to maintain a between the Palestinian cities and the Israeli settlements. Moreover, this zoning has been established by the State of Israel in such way that Palestinian villages are not able to expand on the land.

The result of such legislation is a high density of villages that appear and function more like city fragments than veritable villages. Buildings often count four or five floors and each of them stands very close to its neighbor. Only the main cities own enough land in order to really expand in a more or less normal way since they are situated within larger parts of Areas A and B. Villages have to deal with a decrease in agricultural economy which suffers from this urban code. In fact, the disappearance of Palestinian agriculture is highly beneficial for Israel, not only for its own economy, but also because the land ceasing to be exploited can be considered as State Land. This way , it can therefore legally colonized by the settlers according to Israeli Law and most cases of those injust exprapropriations brought to the Supreme Court

are being denied of justice as we will see in the following interview with Palestinian lawyer Raja Shehadeh.

The fact that Area C constitutes 63% of the West Bank territory illustrates the seizure that Israel exercises on the Palestinian territory. This "official" seizure is even more important in the facts, as the Israeli army has never hesitated to penetrate within the Palestinian "islands" when it wanted to. Those military invasions particularly intensified during the beginning of the second intifada from 2000 to 2002. The sieges of Nablus and Jenin in 2002, are the unfortunate examples of such operations that destroyed the majority of those two cities' refugee camps

1/// Palestinian village of *Beit Liqya* surrounded by Area C /// Photograph from Palestineremembered

2/// Abandoned constructions after closure by the Israeli army /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

MILITARIZED DESTRUCTIONS

/// chapter 6

Palestinian home destroyed by the I.D.F. in Nablus (2006) /// Photograph by Michael Loadenthal
flickr.com/photos/michaelimage

The systematic and organized destruction of Palestinian homes constitutes probably the most violent mean of architectural oppression that the State of Israel uses against the Palestinian people. The Gaza strip remains the principal scene of these operations, but the West Bank, as well, suffers from more or less arbitrary destruction of homes by the Israeli.

The charismatic tool of this destruction is the bulldozer *Caterpillar D9* that has been specially customized by the Israeli Defense Forces in order to be able to operate without any escort and thus without fear of the traditional makeshift means of Palestinian defense which mostly consist in stones on the contrary of what the usual Western opinion may be. This vehicle is seen by the population as the first tanks were considered during the First World War; veritable behemoths dehumanizing the opponent as the pilot himself is not visible. from outside

As we saw in this study's second chapter of the first part, the urban transformation by destruction both touches population's privacy and the symbolic and organizational function of a city. By regularly destroying Palestinian buildings or districts, Israel prevents Palestine to construct itself and at the same time, violates the very private life of people who live in those buildings. As far as the symbolic aspect is concerned, the destruction of one's home in front of one's eyes without any means of resistance is a demonstration of strength that wants to appear not only for a locality but rather as a global phenomenon.

The destruction of a building being more spectacular and in this way more "media-friendly" than the construction of one, Israel remains aware that the International Community could, to some extent, be touched by images of destruction; therefore, the army strategically waits for an important event to distract the world's attention to destroy a significant Palestinian building. In her photo dossier, The Architecture of Destruction, Israeli theorist Ariella Azoulay thus explains how the army took action after the New York 2001 attacks, and the diverted attention of the International Community resulting of it, in order to destroy the old Al-Muqata'a government building:

"*This is how one of the men of the Engineering Corps among the building's destroyers described it: "As soon as the second plane hit the second tower, we got the okay to go ahead. The army always does this when there is something special on the world scene. Say, for example, when Princess Diana was killed and world attention suddenly went elsewhere, they [the army] give us the 'Go ahead'. There are a thousand and one contingency plans that would eventually make a lot of noise, and this way no one even hears about it.*"[1]

This testimony illustrates how years after years, the State of Israel understands the mechanism of International opinion and how to position itself as such as it will never fully outrage the latter.

1   Azoulay Ariella. Photo Dossier. *The Architecture of Destruction* in Ophir, Adir, Givoni, Michal and Hanafi, Sari. *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion - Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. New York: Zone Books, 2009. p176

1/// Israeli customized bulldozer *Caterpillar D9* along the Barrier /// Photograph by Joe Skillet

2/// Palestinian home destroyed by the I.D.F. Nablus (2006) /// Photograph by Michael Loadenthal
flickr.com/photos/michaelimage

EXTREME URBAN EXAMPLE: HEBRON

/// chapter 7

Garbage from an Israeli Settlement above a shut down market /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

The situation in Hebron (South part of the West Bank) is particularly violent in its spatial configuration. In fact, for the reason of a common religious history: Hebron hosts Abraham's grave, the Palestinians and the Israeli settlers and soldiers are living extremely close to each other and therefore the local population has to suffer from the daily violence resulting from this friction.

Settlements and their agricultural fields around the city are situated very close

to the Palestinian roads which are therefore bordered by kilometers of fences and several observation towers. The space is thus under constant supervision and constitutes a potential warfield in case of a rise of violence. However, the most intense situation is located within the old city itself that opposes the Palestinian inhabitants to Israeli urban settlements. What has been illustrated earlier with walls, checkpoints, colonizing architectures, and observation towers become inten-

sified in a dense Palestinian area, pressurizing the people in their daily lives. The market street is symptomatic of the extreme situation: barbed wires run all along the buildings' walls while above, a metallic wire grid has been set up in order to protect the market from the settlers' projectiles, garbage, Molotov cocktails and other various objects they manage to find.

Further along this street, *The Tomb of the Patriarchs*, hosting the graves of Abraham, his wife Sarah, his son Isaac and his grandson Jacob, is situated within one of the most sacred Mosque in Islam: the *Arlbrahimi Mosque*. However, as this holy building exists in an area controlled by the Israeli army, access for Palestinian Muslims depends on the good will of the soldiers. The site is also accessible for Jewish people and more specifically Hebron's settlers, which often leads to more or less violent conflicts. The most tragic episode currently remains the February 25th 1994 massacre, when an Israeli settler, Baruch Goldstein, entered the mosque and shot at the members of the congregation, thus wounding 125 Palestinians and killed 29 more. Moreover, the riots following this massive killing saw 19 more Palestinians protesters killed by the Israeli army. While this event was condemned by the majority of Israel's representatives, Goldstein still remains a hero for a significant amount of settlers in Hebron.

Hebron is thus the extreme example of friction between the local Palestinian population and an aggressive ideologicaly charged settler population. Just like in some districts in East Jerusalem, the colonization is three dimensional: as the ground floor and the streets can be inhabited by the Palestinians but the upper levels of the same buildings as well as the elevated connective circulation paths are forcefully occupied by Israeli settlers.
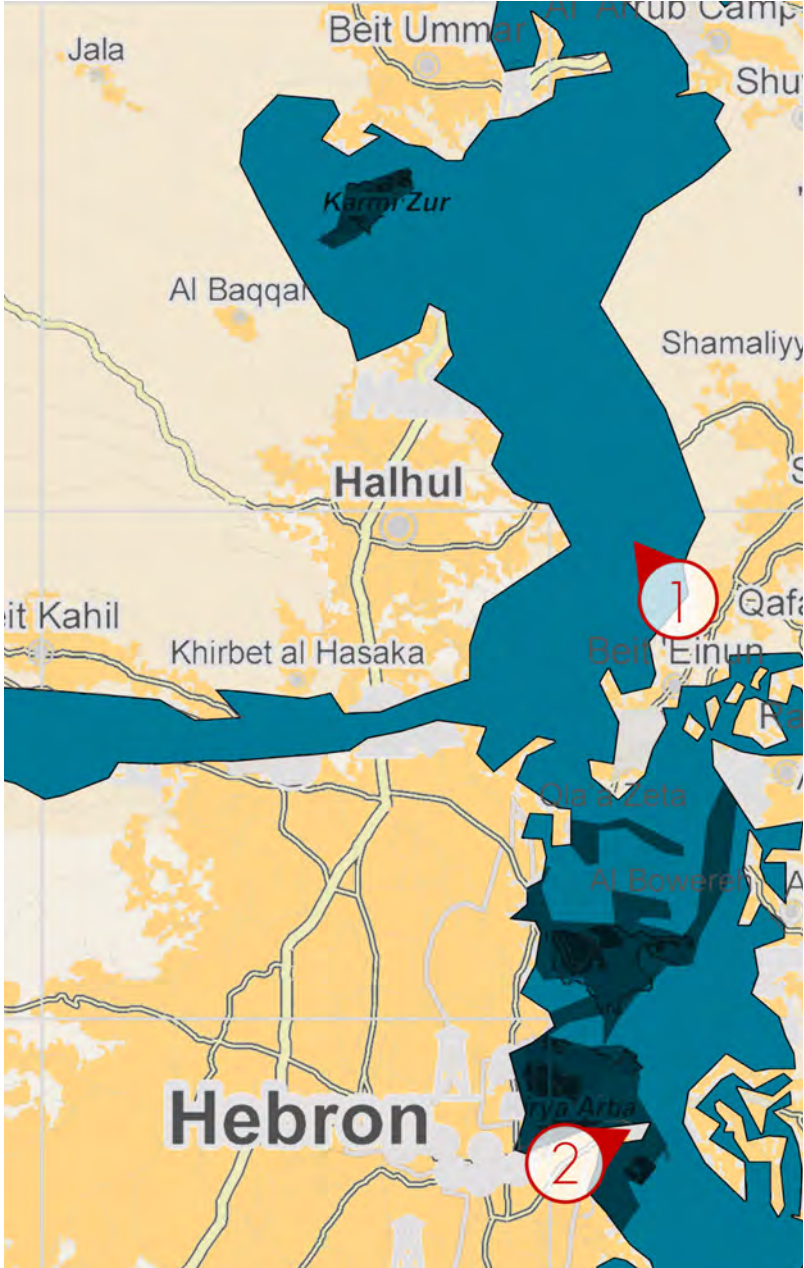
1/// Settler agriculture under observation tower's supervision /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

2/// Market street in Hebron under an Israeli settlement /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

RAJA SHEHADEH

/// interview

Walk in Ramallah's hills with Raja Shehadeh /// Photograph by the Palestinian Festival of Literature

Raja Shehadeh is a lawyer in Ramallah since the end of the 70's and has dedicated his carrier to cases of expropriation of Palestinian lands by the Israeli. He wrote several books, including Occupier's Law and *Palestinian walks*.

The interview of a lawyer at this point of this book is not innocent for two main reasons. The first lies in the fact that the notion of territory is indubitably linked to the notion of law and that any architect who would undertake to design a project tackling this notion of territory should be aware of both the national and international legal context in which he designs. The second one is related to the fact that no design can have the ambition of solving the issues involved in this situation. In fact, a resistive architecture here can only express those issues and very locally challenge them. The Palestinian struggle against occupation lasting for more than thirty years now, the discipline that seems to have the capacity to bring solution is Law.

Interview in Ramallah on 21st July 2010

Léopold Lambert: The particularity of your actions is that you are a lawyer. Despite the fact that law is violated every day by the State of Israel, what may be some naivety from me makes me think that it is the one domain that can save Palestinians from oppression. Would your expertise agree with that?

Raja Shehadeh: When I started as a lawyer, I had an exaggerated view of the importance of law. I took very seriously that law was a weapon. I still consider seriously that law is a way of preserving civilization. I have great respect for and belief in International Law, because it came as a result of wars, terrible devastating wars. In the beginning, the International Law for the protection of civilians came from people who did not think that they could stop wars with law but that within the reality of war and hostilities, there could be some protection for civilians and that there could be limitations on conquest the acquisition of territories. So something as basic as the Geneva Convention and the Hague regulations say very simply that no gain should be made through belligerency. So if a war takes place, regardless why and who started it, and territories are occupied, the occupier may transfer its civilian population to the occupied territories. It's very logical. It does make sense and it should be preserved, this is a very important principle.

At the same time, there are things that derived from this principles. If the situation lasts, the occupier may do certain things and may not do other things: he may not change the law, he has to care for the welfare of the occupied population and so on. When I came back from my legal studies, I saw that the basis of these principles were being violated and that no work was being on done on this in the late 70's. Very little work was being done. Verbal condemnations of Israel were being made but not real studies which were really important to do.

So, yes, I do believe in law. And I also believe in taking legal actions to test the possibility of how far you can go and what was the legality of the Israeli actions. The Israeli government and politics were telling the Israeli settlers that they were not taking anybody's land because this was state's land. Of course we must not forget that even if it

were state land, the occupier may not take it to use to established settlements for its own population. The whole project is wrong. The Israeli supporters of settlements tried to show it is done through proper legal means, I and my colleagues showed there was no legal basis for taking Palestinian land. It was tantamount to stealing land.

At the same time, it was not really clear to me how the Israeli legal apologists were thinking and what was the nature of the legal arguments they were employing to justify their other policies in the Occupied Territories. So it was a process of discovery in a sense. Then, after going through quite a lot of case work, in court, by thinking, by reading and exploring the legal aspects, I began to understand that what underlies the Israeli position is religious ideology. Ultimately, what they are saying is: "This land belongs to us. God gave it to us". How do we get to appropriate it, is a mere detail." In furthering this the Israeli High Court played an important role. For example in the very first challenge to the High Court, the military had used the method of expropriating the land near Ramallah. When the Palestinian owner of the land challenged

this order, the Court said: "Expropriation is not a proper way of taking the land because expropriation implies long term and the occupation can not be for a long term..." They didn't say taking the land of the occupied population for building settlements for the occupier's population is wrong. Just that this way of doing it is not right. What they were also saying was that if you use expropriation to take the land, the implication is that the land is not yours because you can only expropriate other people's land.

Later on, in another challenge, which was in Nablus where there is now the settlement of Elon Moreh, they said that expropriating private property was illegal but also that if the land were to be declared "State's Land," then that it would be possible to take it for establishing a settlement. So since that case, the Israeli military government has been "expropriating" the land by declaring it State's land. To carry this out they changed the local law. One of the principles of the International Law is that you cannot change the local laws and there are local laws about what constitutes State land and who can make such a claim

and who has the burden of proof and what it takes to lift it. They changed all of this and reversed it. They said: "Anybody who claims that it is not State's land (that is challenges an order the military makes that a certain land is State Land) has the burden to prove this." So instead of the takers proving that the land belonged to the State, it was to the other party who had to prove otherwise. The burden of proof was shifted. And they went further by restricting the definition of private land to land which is actually used continuously for ten years and so on. They made it more and more difficult for Palestinians to succeed in holding on to their land and protecting it from being taken by the settlers. Every time we managed to break through, they raised the bar and made it yet more difficult.

In the beginning, we thought that we could burden the system by bringing many cases and through applying moral and psychologically pressure by essentially proving that it was but a process of large scale theft of the land. But we were dealing with a government with seemingly unlimited resources and they started to make it more difficult and more expensive for us to pursue these cases. For example they made it necessary that we had to submit along with the case, survey maps of the entire area under consideration which sometimes included scores of acres, What the government making the claim should have done was shifted to the private owners.

It became clear to me that the basis for the actions of the Israeli government was not legal but ideological, namely that the whole of the land in their view was public, that the only legitimate public was the Jewish public, that the Jewish public had this land 2000 years ago then they left, and meanwhile other people, non Jewish, came and used the land, now those people are on parts of the land so the part where they actually using will for the time being be left to them, but only these areas, all the rest will be "returned" to its rightful Jewish owners.

Then, a very important process started at the beginning of the 1980's, which is the land use planning. The British had made statutory regional plans for the central and southern region of the West Bank; and the Israelis decided to revive these plans which were done

in the Mandate times and were still being enforced in Jordan. Jordan had also passed a Planning Law in 1966. Through military orders this law was basically massacred. Where the law had involved the community in the course the planning, this was canceled and all the members of the Supreme Planning Committee became Israeli military personnel. Most of the lower committees were cancelled. Then they took those original plans and they simply unilaterally amended them. Of course those plans did not include any settlements because they were created before 1967. So the Israeli military planners placed settlements in the middle of these region and started making local zoning plans, town and village plans for all the Palestinian villages in the West Bank. The just drew a circle around the built up areas and declared this to be the border of the village for the next forty years. When negotiations seemed to be on the horizon this process was speeded up so that by the time that the Oslo Accords were signed statutory zoning plans for all the villages had been completed which the Palestinian Authority is not allowed to amend. The confinement of the Palestinians was achieved and the

bulk of the land was left for the establishment and expansion of the Jewish settlements.

Again, I and other lawyers and planners started in the late eighties to take objections against these plans. A good number of objections were submitted. Sometimes they accepted to revise the plans but it was very difficult. This is why now, when you travel in the West Bank, you notice how the villages do not look so much like villages anymore. Traditionally the villagers built one floor with a garden and there was a sense of space because villages like cultivating the land around their house. Now, most villages have houses of several floors and they look cramped. That is because they are not allowed to go beyond the set borders. When they do the Israeli army come with their bulldozers and demolish this "illegal" homes.

Not only was Israel taking Palestinian land, they were denying the Palestinians from expanding on what was left for them. The process, interestingly enough, follows that of Israel; of Galilee mainly. In Galilee, you notice the exact same phenomenon. The Arabs' villages, towns and cities (Nazareth

for example) are all very cramped. The villages would own land, outside of these, but they would not be allowed to build on it. Same process here. Not as severe as in Israel but with the same pattern.

And there was also a plan for the roads which was published in 1984. Not only did they plan for the settlements but also how the settlements would relate to Israel and how they would be connected to each other; connected in such a way as to disconnect the Palestinians from each others. It is all part of a total vision. It actually started very early on and that is why I felt it was very important to work on the legal aspect. Through the legal aspect, you can explain, reveal, describe, expose how this works.

Léopold Lambert: Even if the suspect is pretty much the same person than the Judge?

Raja Shehadeh: Yes; because as long as they say: "You have the means to appeal, to object.", then you have to use it in order to use all your options. Your case will be a very much stronger case if you have done this. I was able in 1985 to publish my book Occupier's

Law in which I was saying that I, not only know that it is a case, but I have tried to go through the Israeli set channels to object and to challenge. The result was that the case became stronger by going through those processes.

Léopold Lambert: If we attempt to focus a little bit on architecture itself; as Eyal Weizman wrote about the notion of urbicide as being not included enough within the International Law which is not specific enough to architecture; maybe an extremely useful project here would be to redact a law that focus very precisely on architecture: its construction but also its destruction.

Raja Shehadeh: Actually, a good case to compare with would be South Africa. Also there they used architecture and town planning to implement their apartheid laws. It was very much part of the policy. I don't know how it all looks now but it is not easy to undo.

Léopold Lambert: But in this hypothesis of a new law, architects and lawyer should work together to make it happen. Do you believe yourself that there would exist any way to implement it on the international scene?

Raja Shehadeh: We have to distinguish between a situation where the state has sovereignty and one where there is occupation. In the case of the Occupied Territories international law says that: "Regardless of how the building takes place or how the appropriation of land takes place, it is illegal."
In the case of South Africa, it was also covered because apartheid was a crime against humanity. Perhaps in the Israel of 1948 it would be more appropriate in the sense that the Palestinians were Israeli citizens, and as such they were subjected to a process in which urban centers are done in such a way as to oppress them. It might work better in the framework of a sovereign country in which one group of the population is submitted to urbicide. In the case of Gaza and the West Bank it is already illegal.

Léopold Lambert:So does that mean that you don't believe so much in this architectural international law?

Raja Shehadeh: I would not be against it as such. I would not say it is a bad thing for example to describe the situation here as one akin to apartheid because it helps people to understand the situation. If there is an international law that looks at architecture, that's a plus! But it is just an addition to an illegality that is already implied.

Léopold Lambert: My point would be that if one observes the current situation in which Israel violates the law on a daily basis but the International Community do not take the measures against that, then one could think that fragmenting the law into series of very precisely described cases of violation through architecture that could ultimately lead to several recognition of these situations.

Raja Shehadeh: Yes, that's true. I also think that when you are developing an international law, you obviously do it for more than one case, for more than Palestine and Israel; so perhaps, by focusing on this case and showing how an aggressor implements policies, you can also prevent it from happening in less typical cases; in urban centers for example or with gated communities.
I think it is an important development, it is a departure. The International Law has not moved in this direction, it is a good direction to move to.

AN ARCHITECTURAL DISOBEDIANCE

MARITIME ROUTES
The maritime routes are clandestine and
celebrate the freedom of movement
between islands of the Archipelago.

WETLANDS OF
JAMMA'IN

WETLANDS OF
KIFL HARIS

NEW MARITIME ROUTE

WETLANDS
OF MARDA

ARIEL REEF

ISRAELI MARE MAGNUM

LIGHT HOUSE

FAULT LINE

NEW ISLAND

WETLANDS

WETLANDS

SALFIT ISLAND

INTRODUCTION

/// A disobedient building for two Palestinian populations
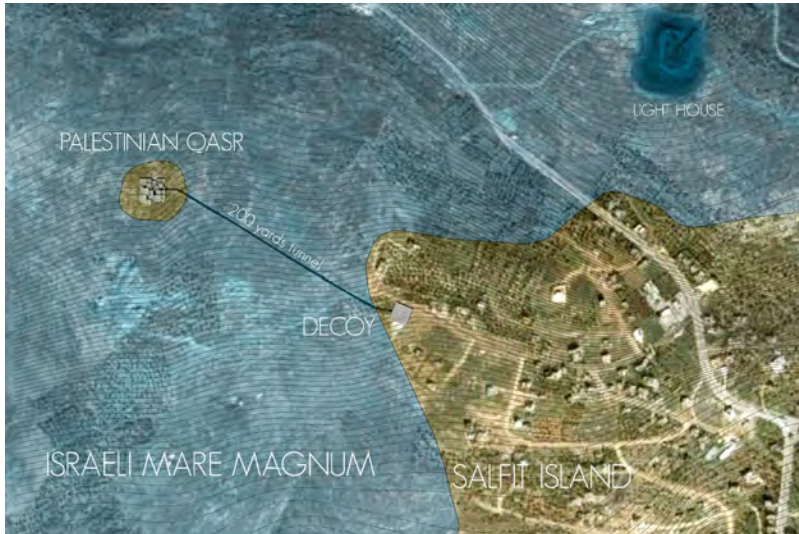
Zoom in the metaphorical situation plan /// original data extracted from Google Earth

After having established the power of architecture as a political weapon, this research can now inform the development of a project which, rather than defusing these characteristics, attempts to integrate them within the scene of the Palestinian struggle. The chosen site is located near the city of Salfit, which faces the delicate neighborhood of the large Israeli settlement Ariel and the presence of the Separation Barrier. However, the first component of the colonial apparatuses that

this project intends to address is the fragmentation of the West Bank into Areas, as explained in the previous part of this book. As a result, the project is built within Area C as a form of disobedience to the colonial Law.

The first architectural challenge that is faced responds to the camouflage of its own construction in order to exist. The construction site is linked by a 250 yard tunnel to another site located in Area A to provide the necessary ma-

terial and manpower transfer from bone area to another unnoticed.

The second architectural challenge is the development of the inevitable narrative that describes the project's "illegality" and its potential destruction, which will fundamentally influence the design.

This project also attempts to address the issues created by the Israeli occupation by focusing on two populations that suffer particularly from it.

The first population is constituted by the farmers who encounter various issues that are more or less closely linked to the occupation. Palestinian agriculture is regulated by the Paris Protocol of 1994. According to Caroline Abu-Saba in her essay Cultivating Dependence: Palestinian Agriculture under the Israeli Occupation, "*the Paris Protocol was designed for Israel's advantage. Its principal effect was to institutionalize Palestinian economy within the Israeli economy.*"[1]

In fact, by entangling the two economies together, Israel is able to control

and regulate Palestinian imports and exports that subsequently favors their own agricultural products over Palestinian products. On the national scale, the control over movement exercised by the IDF, as expressed in previous chapters, makes Palestinian agricultural products more time consuming and expensive to move from their production sites to the different cities in the region; the food distributors of the West Bank are now forced to import Israeli products. On the international scale, it is very easy for Israel to invent a series of administrative and material complications exports at the Tel Aviv airport before the Palestinian products can actually leave the Israeli territory. Beyond this, there are other agricultural issues related to the place of production itself. Most of the arable lands of the West Bank are situated within Area C in which Israel maintains absolute power over movement, security, planning and construction. Where there are lands that have not been expropriated by the Israeli Authorities for the construction of settlements, there is a conflict between Palestinian farmers' homes and their farmland. It is, indeed, not rare to see a farmer who has to cross the Separation barrier or

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1   Abu-Saba Caroline. *Cultivating Dependence: Palestinian Agriculture under the Israeli Occupation* in Ophir, Adir, Givoni, Michal and Hanafi, Sari. *The Power of Inclusive Exclusion - Anatomy of Israeli Rule in the Occupied Palestinian Territories*. New York: Zone Books, 2009.

some kind of fence or road operated by the Israeli army on a daily basis. This movement is therefore submitted to the varying good will of the IDF to let farmers cross this obstacle, often after a significant period of time. Israel also exercises control on the West Bank's aquifers; water usage for irrigation is limited and expensive while the Israeli settlers –who also cultivate the land and export their products- are able to use this same water in a mostly unlimited way.

Facing those difficulties, it is not surprising to observe a significant rural exodus in the West Bank, encouraged by the relative economic development of cities like Ramallah or Nablus, which more or less gives the illusion to offer job opportunities. Nevertheless the Palestinian unemployment rate in the West Bank currently remains above 20% and therefore participate to increase the gap between the classes of the Palestinian society.

The second Palestinian population, on which this project focuses is the Bedouin populations. Indeed, the Bedouins and their flocks are considerably limited in their movements by the various colonial apparatuses enumerated in the previous part of this book. The

Bedouin culture has developed a nomadic way of life for centuries and the curtailment of their movement becomes a tremendous violence inflicted on the Bedouin identity.

The following project is an attempt to express an active resistance to those issues through its program, its practice and its sheer existence. As it focuses on those two populations, it hosts a double program.

The first program is an agricultural platform associated with a storage space and a dwelling that can be compared to the traditional Palestinian Qasr (Arabic for castle.) The Qsar is a small building on arable land that hosts the functions of the farmers. The agricultural production done on site can also participate in the development of a local scale sub-economy, offer job opportunities, and, of course, become additional space to cultivate crops.

The second program is a caravansary usable as a shelter for the Bedouins and their flocks for any period of time. It provides a "port" in a network of new "maritime" routes between the "islands" of the Palestinian Archipelago. They can thus affirm and celebrate

their freedom of movement in a similar way than the one described by Raja Shehadeh in his book, *Palestinian Walks*[2] in which he recounts his regular walks in Ramallah's hills as a form of individual resistance against the limitations implemented by the colonial power in the freedom of movement.

The elements that constitute the architecture of this project are not innocent. As the Palestinian Authority attempts to trigger important operations of fast building development in the Area A, the question of developing a vernacular and contemporaneous Palestinian architecture seems to have been forgotten. Due to this, the project attempts to observe the traditional paradigms of the two populations considered. As written above, the Qasr embodies the role of the farmers while the tent remains the model of Bedouin architecture. Just as the contrast between those two populations is striking, one being sedentary and the other nomadic, the differences between the two architectural paradigms are intentionally antagonistic.

While the Qasr is built of stones and expresses the stability of the earth, the tent is made of textile and relates more to the sky.

The following project celebrates this contrast by creating a continuous dialogue between these two architectural vocabularies.

2   Shehadeh, Raja. *Palestinian Walks: Forays into a Vanishing Landscape* . New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008.

A small part of Ariel as seen from the Palestinian city of Salfit /// Photograph by Léopold Lambert

The Israeli civil settlement of Ariel is the third more important in size within the West Bank. About 20 000 settlers live in it and Ariel hosts a University counting 8 500 students coming either directly from the settlement or from the Israeli territory, easily accessible for whoever owns a permit.

Another part of the settlement /// Photograph 2 by Salonmor

The Palestinian city of Salfit is the main city of the West Bank province of the same name. The city counts 9 000 inhabitants who live in a valley supervised by an observation tower of the Israeli Defense Forces situated between the city and Ariel Settlement. Salfit attempts to respond to the demographic growth by expanding but is severely limited by the limits imposed by Israel.

Photograph 1 by Léopold Lambert /// Photograph 2 by Ralf Lotys

The site for the Palestinian Qasr is situated on the North West of Salfit, several hundreds of yards within Area [C] where Israel prohibits the construction of any Palestinian buildings. Some Bedouins have nevertheless temporarily settled on this site and seem to be tolerated as their very light and fragile tents are probably considered as negligible by the Israeli army.

Both photographs by Léopold Lambert
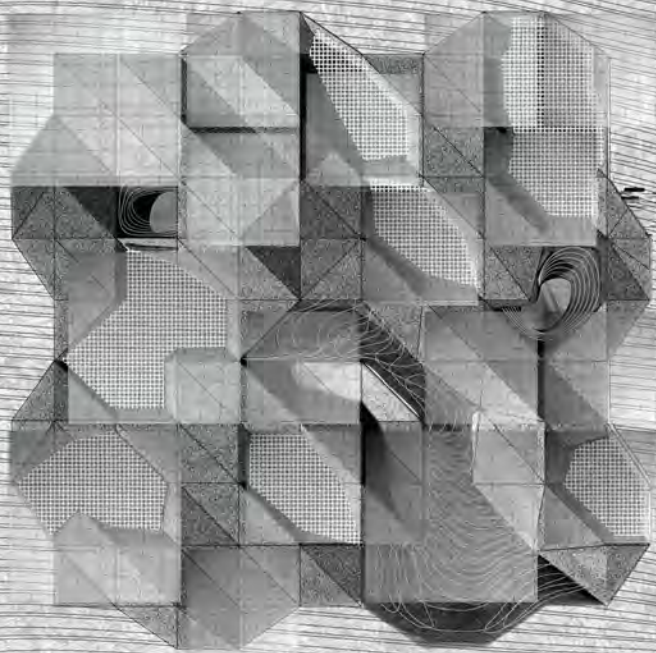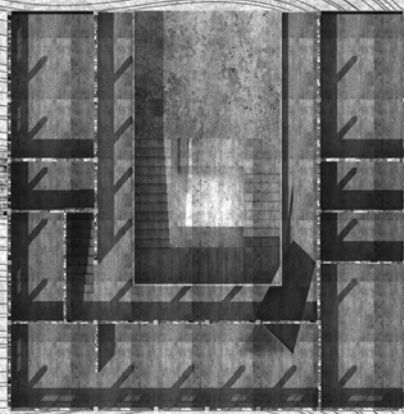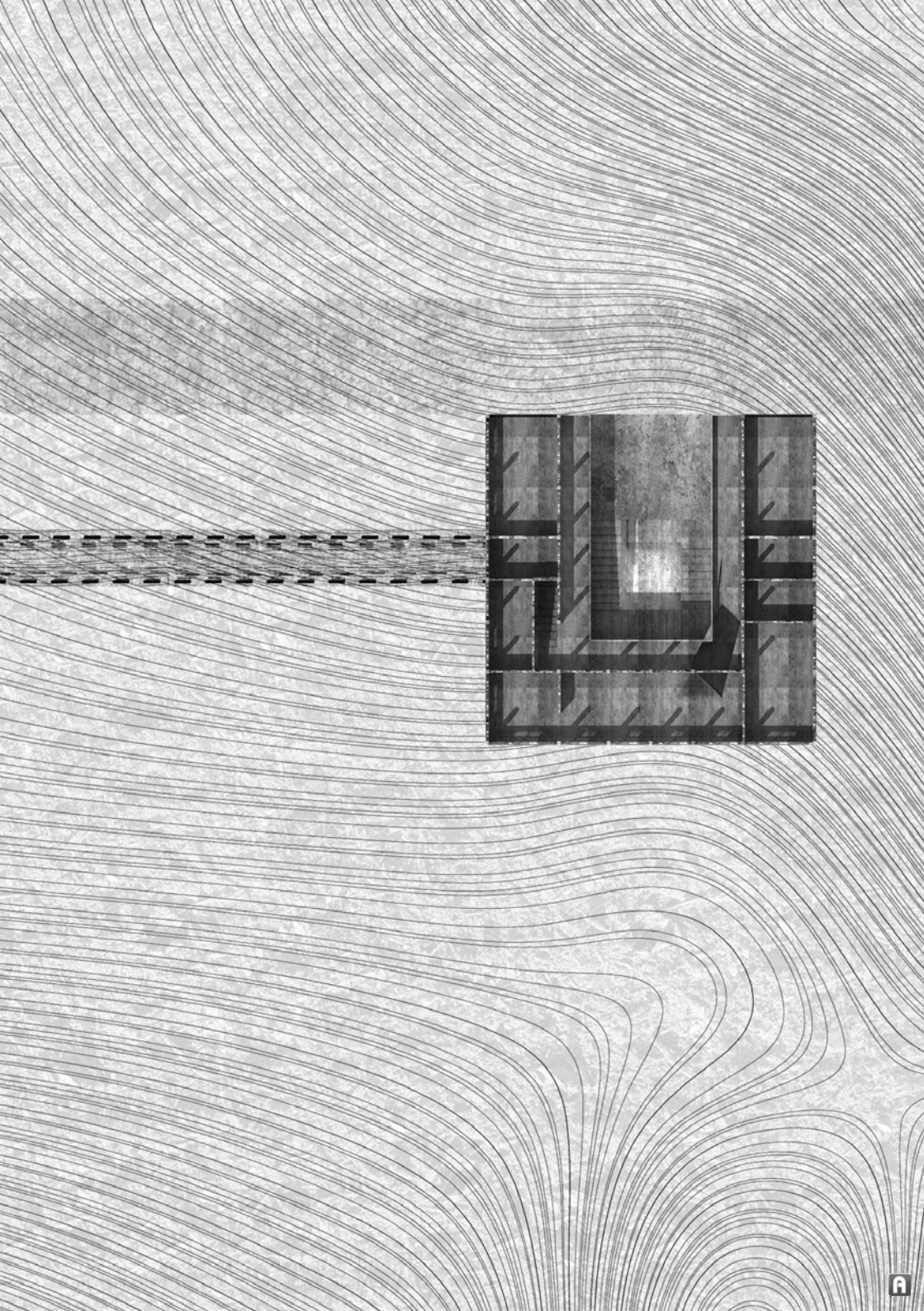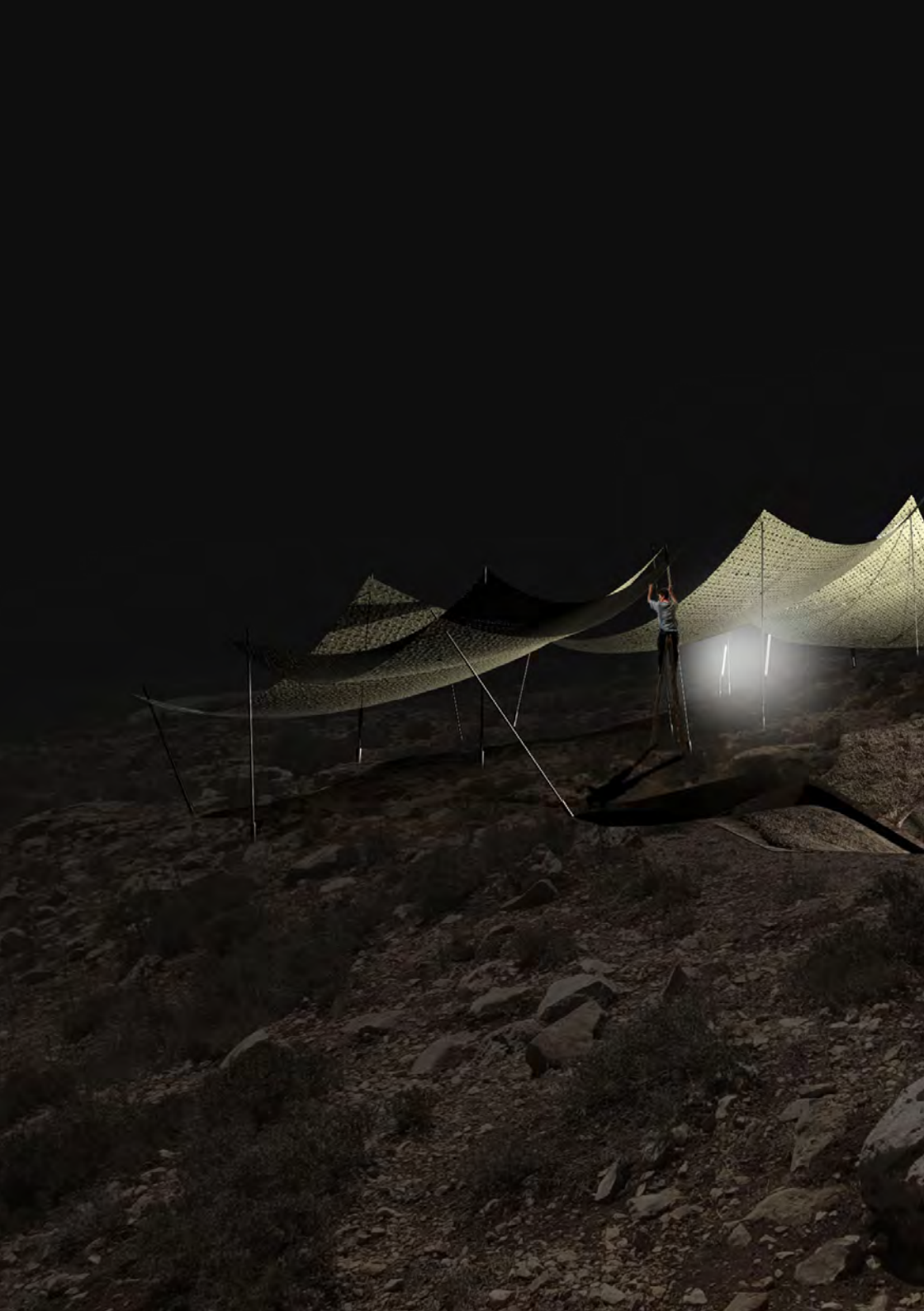
A set of tents is installed at night in order to camouflage the underground dwelling and the construction of the agricultural platform. From a certain distance those tents are perceived as a temporary Bedouin settlement that can be removed easily if needed.

When the construction is achieved, the Qasr remains camouflaged yet operative and thus owns two degrees of solidity. The first one, composed by the tens is extremely fragile and give to the building an apparent ephemerality. The second one, a combination of the agricultural platform and the underground dwelling brings to the Qasr a solidity which ensures its survival in time.

The construction of a "decoy" building within Area [A] authorizes the Qasr builders to bring equipment close from the site without drawing attention of the Israeli settlement or the patrolling army.
The center of the decoy is a large stairway connecting to the tunnel towards the Qasr in order to allow a transfert of equipment, goods and people between the two buildings. The decoy is used as both a storage building on the ground floor and a long term dwelling on the first floor.

excavation of the ground

reinforcement bars placement

bigger stones excavated setting
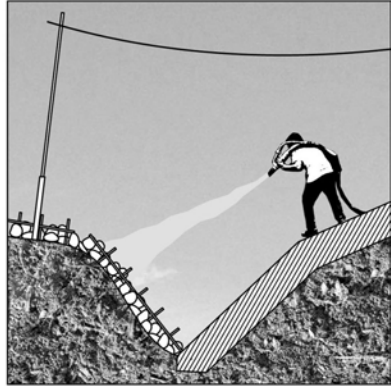
shotcrete layering
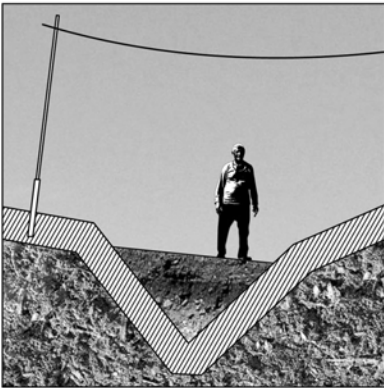
finer soil excavated replaced for agriculture
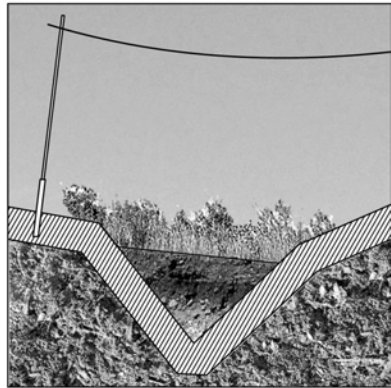
agricultural platform in operation
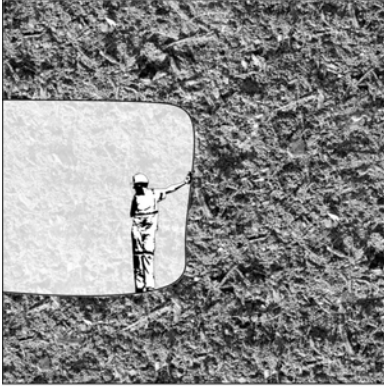
underground dwelling
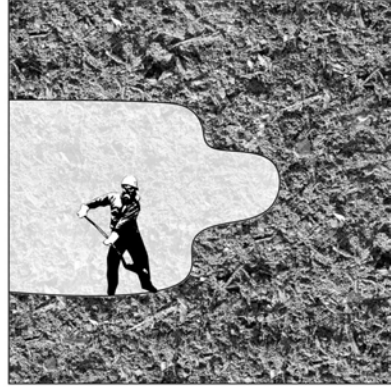
excavation of an alcove

reinforcement bars placement

bigger stones excavated setting

shotcrete layering
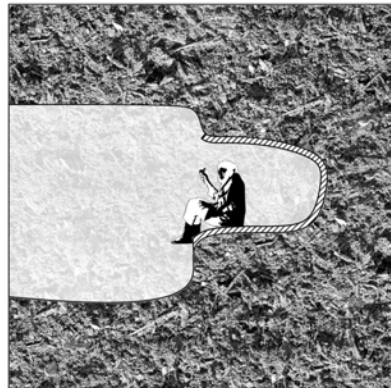
finalized alcove
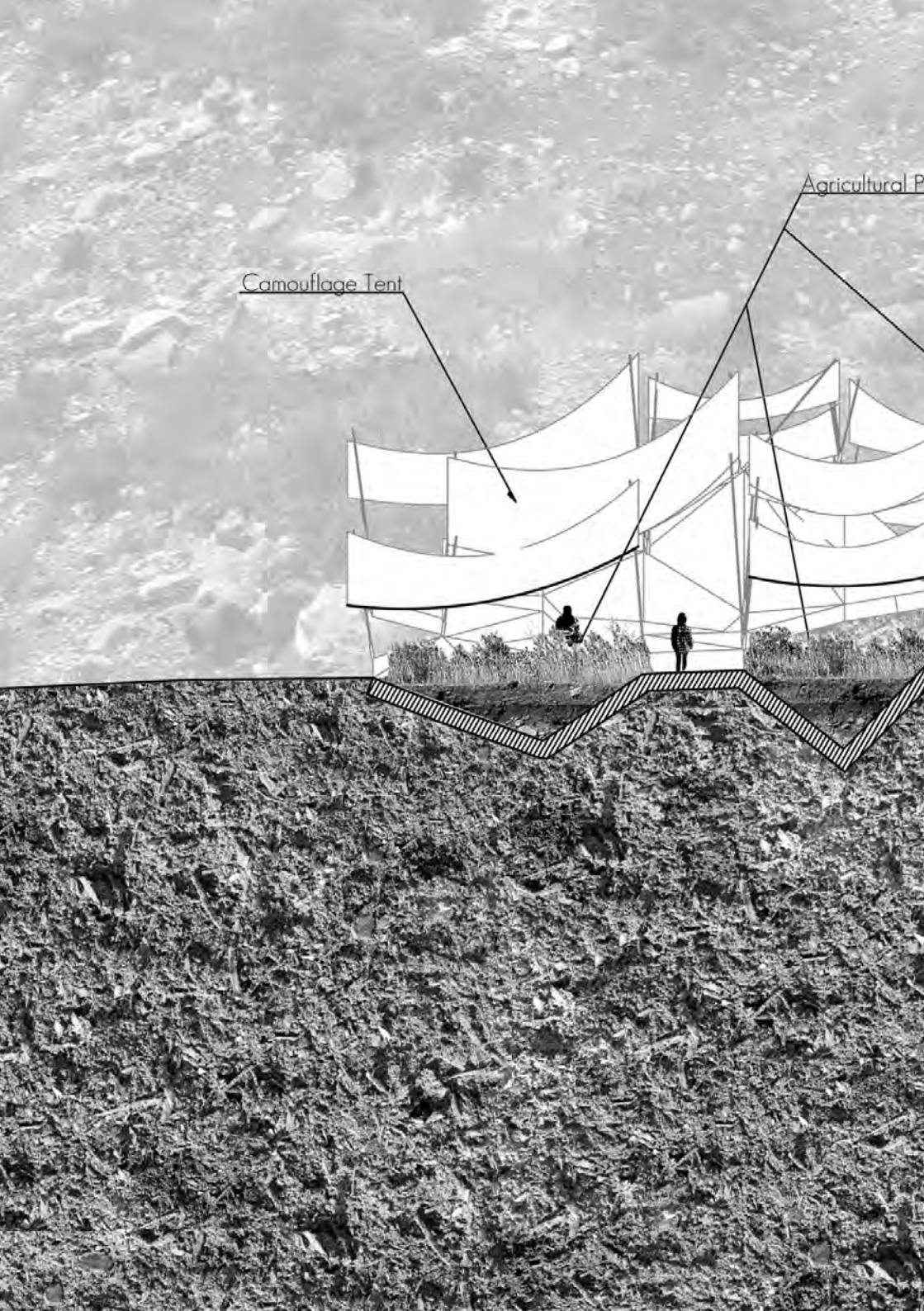
Camouflage Tent

Agricultural P

latforms

Interface Between Underground & Surface

500mm Thick Concrete
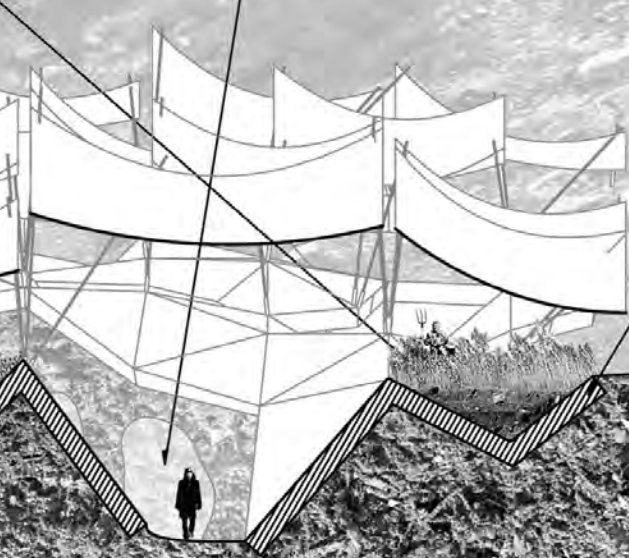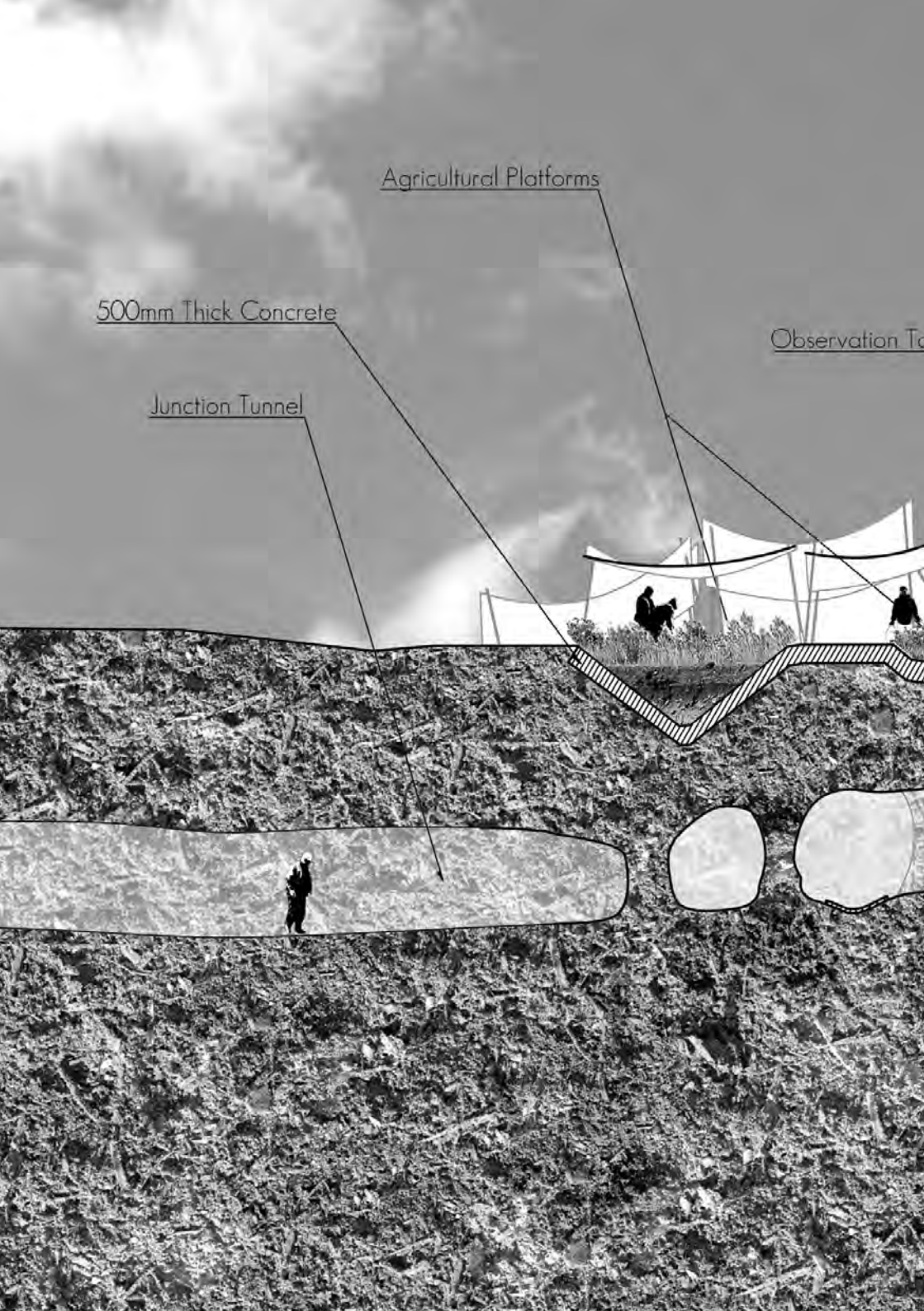
Agricultural Platforms

500mm Thick Concrete

Junction Tunnel

Observation To

ower

Well

Alcove
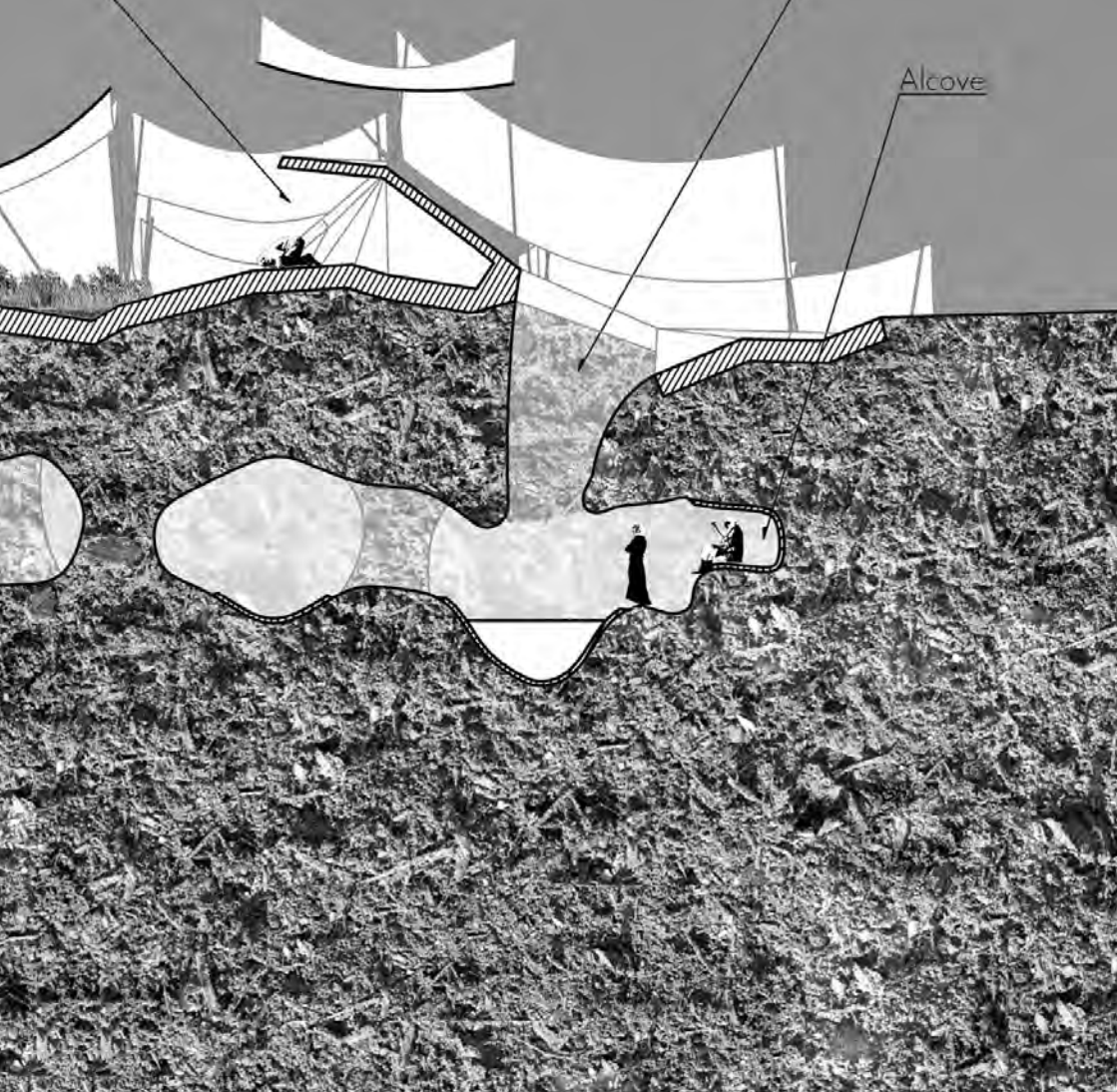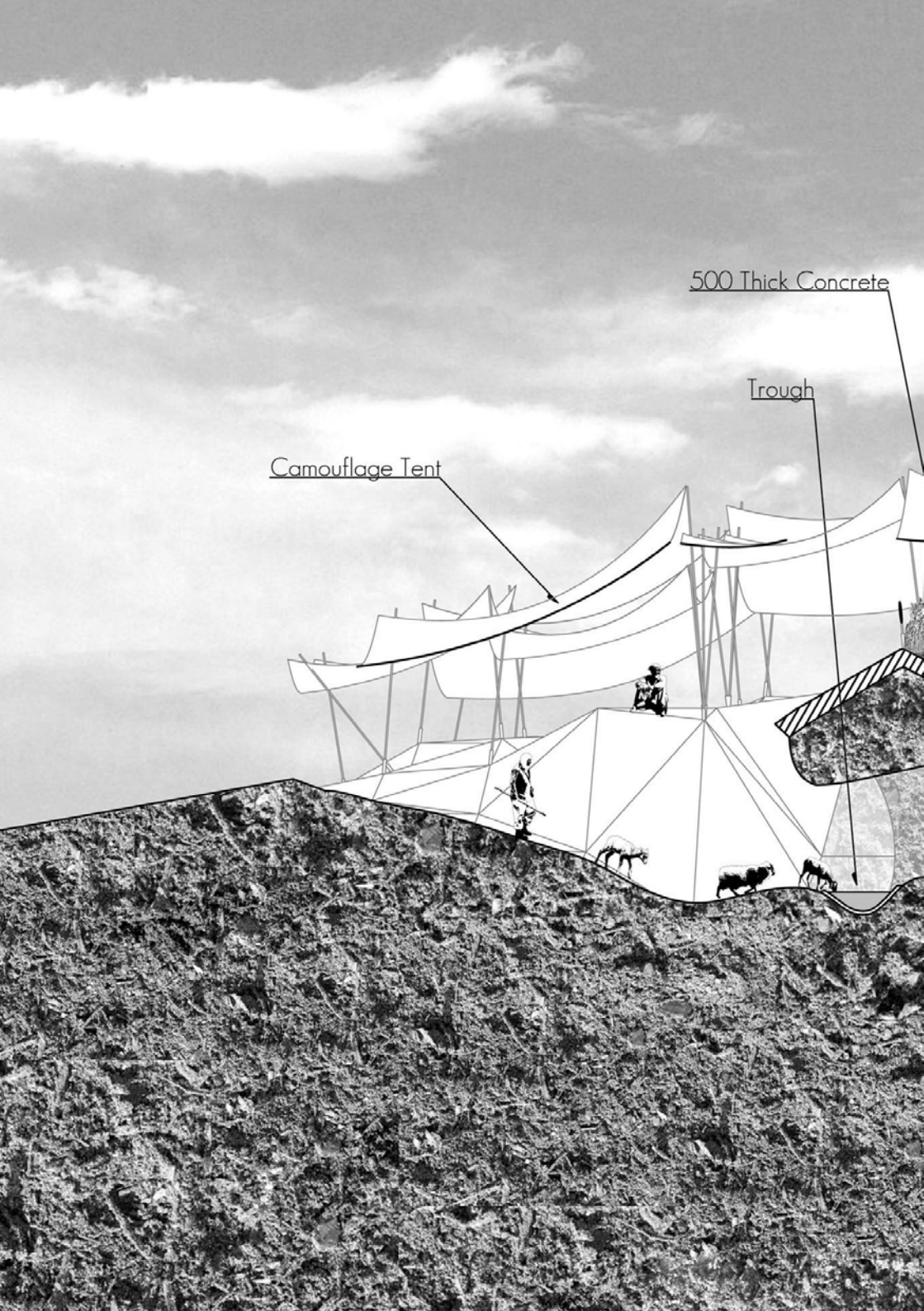
500 Thick Concrete

Trough

Camouflage Tent
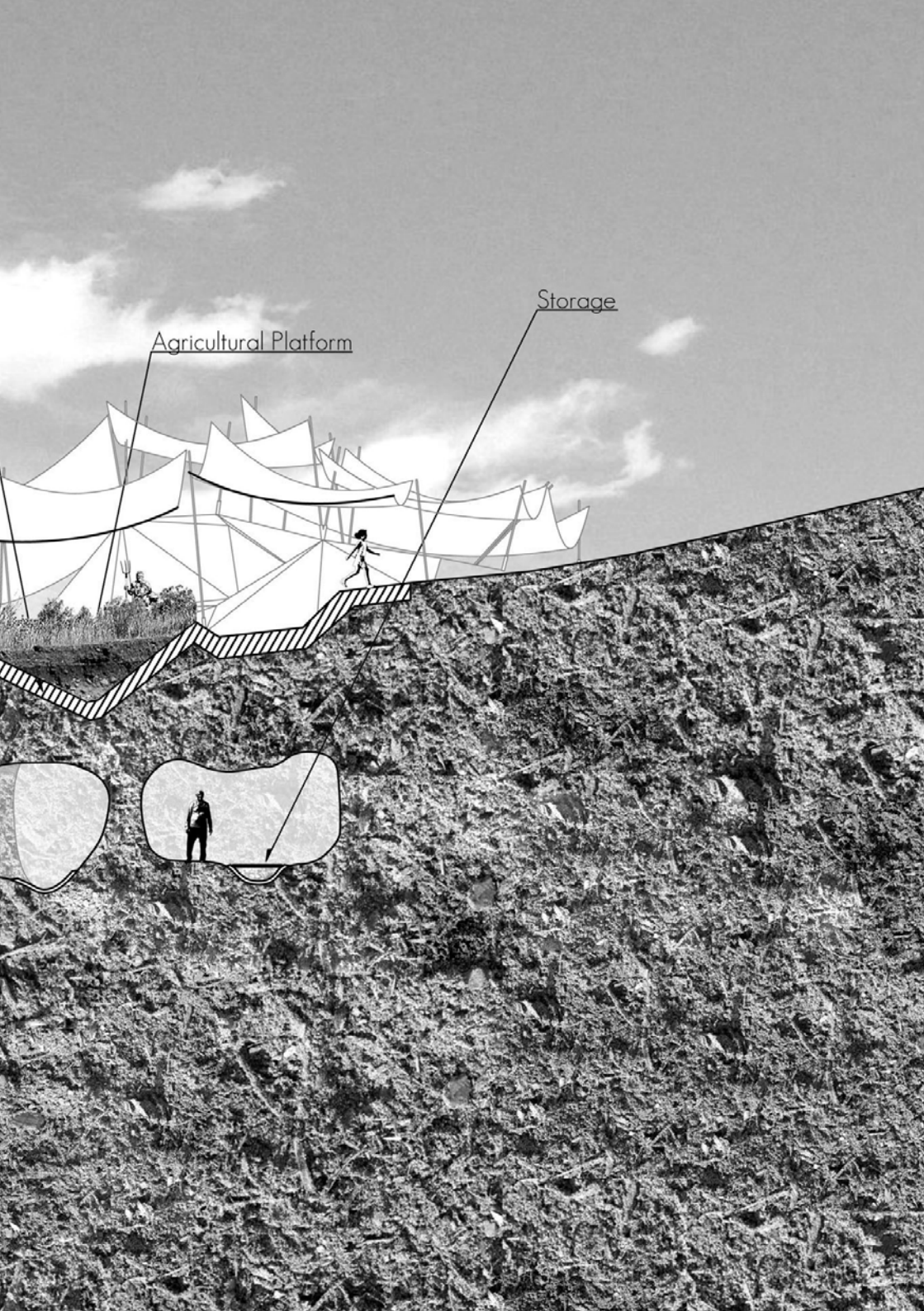
Agricultural Platform

Storage

Underground Dwelling

Ob

oservation Tower

Interface Between Underground & Surface

Agricultural Platform

500mm Thick Concrete

Well

Table

Storages

Earth Column

Tunnel Towards Area [A]

Sheepfold

Alcove

Water Trough

Food Trough

The tunnel coming from the decoy building arrives within the Qasr by the underground dwelling close from the sheepfold and various agricultural storages.

As seen in the previous construction sections, the inhabitability of the underground dwelling is ensured by spraying shotcrete on the earth in order to create various means of dwelling like alcoves for example.

Concrete and earth mix themselves together, thus blurring the limits between spaces of inhabitability and the underground condition. The dwelling is also the space that farmers and shepherds have to share together in a continuous negotiation of cohabitation. Its non-comfortability reveals the assumed difficult sense of domesticity of people engaged into a political struggle.
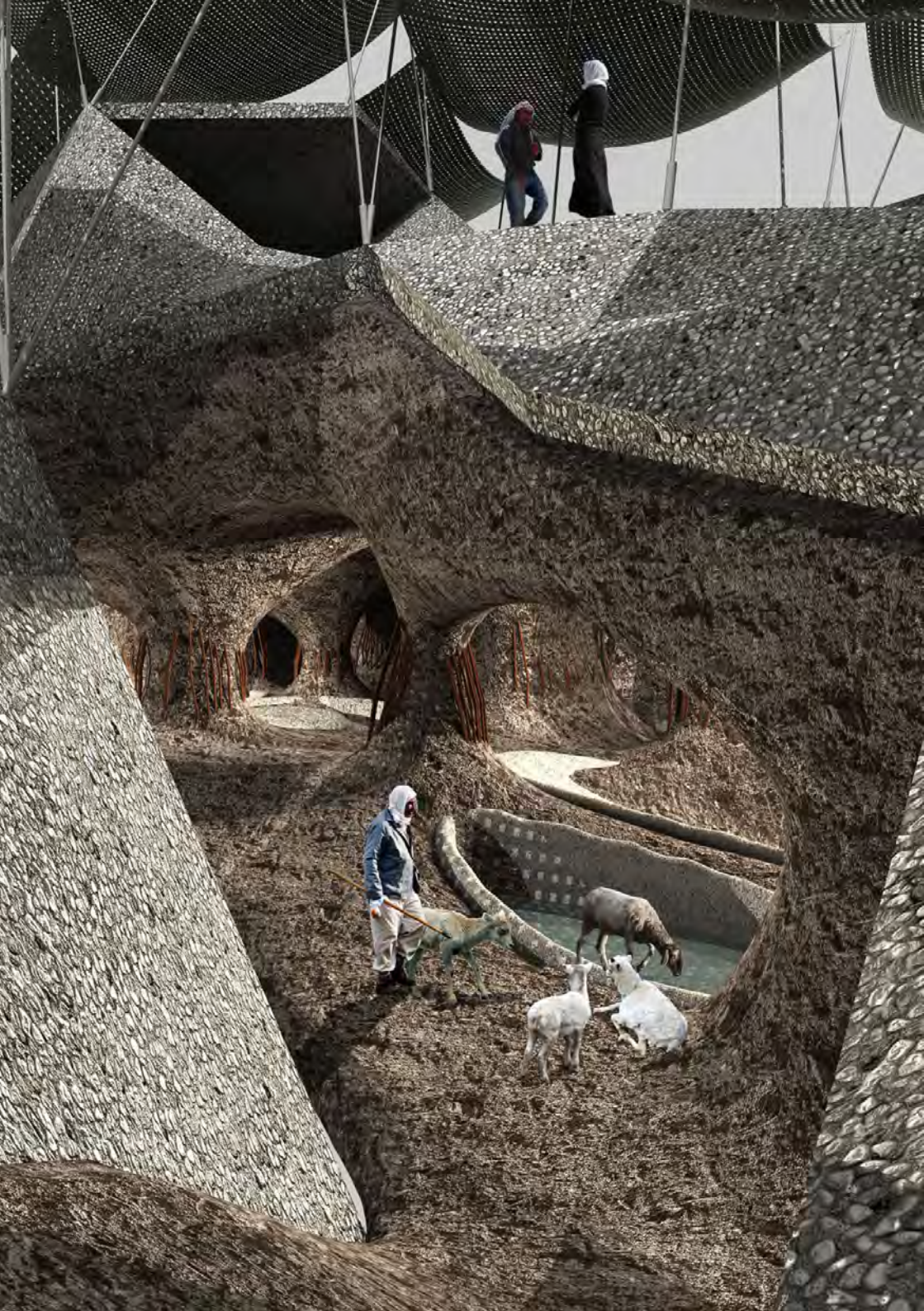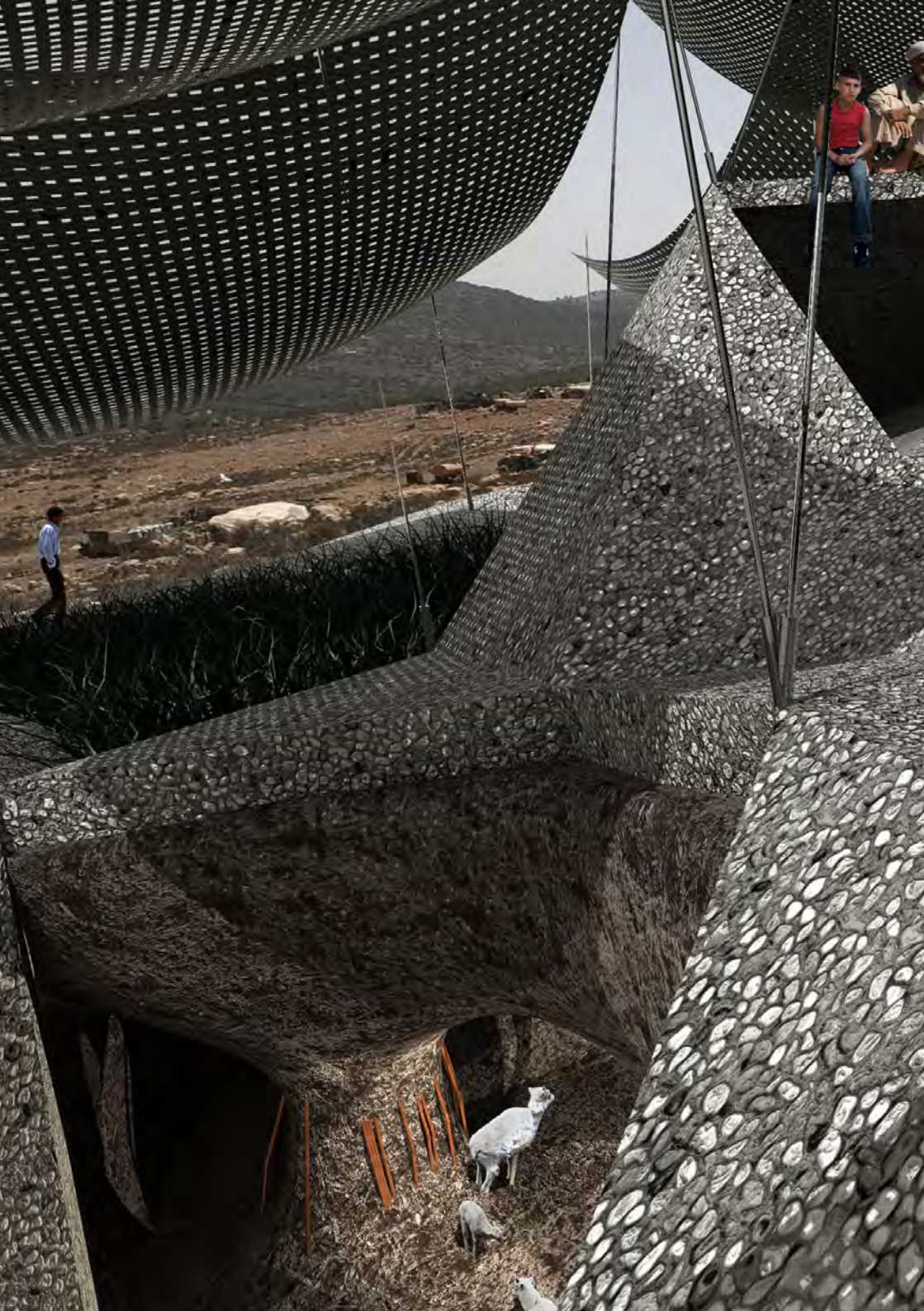
The daily rhythm of the Qasr is organized by the working activities of the two populations, farmers and shepherds. Both spaces, agricultural and pastoral are clearly determined but intricated into each other, thus maintaining a form of negotiation. From the "entrance" of the Qasr, the three layers are clearly understandable. The textile tents' layer recounts its fragility and precariousness while the earthly underground dwelling and the concrete agricultural platform affirm their solidity and their "grasp" on a territory that they are claiming.

A potential, yet credible scenario in the life of the Qasr implies the Israeli Defense Forces eventually discovering the Palestinian architectural disobedience to its Law and achieving a surface attack at some point. One can thus imagine the I.D.F. applying its usual scheme of destructive achievement, using the unfortunately well known armored Caterpillar D9 bulldozer in order to destroy the Qasr.

As I already pointed out earlier, the textile layer would obviously present no resistance to those means of destruction. However the concrete layer, by its geometry and its situation di-

rectly above the earth, the slope, by its narrowness and the underground dwelling, by its metallic reinforced columns, can be considered as many obstacles to a proper demolition of the building. In this regard, the I.D.F. is likely to be satisfied enough of the evacuation of the Qasr and its serious deterioration, not to undertake an expensive and energy consuming attempt for an absolute destruction

The Qasr's ruin thus remains in the landscape. Time accelerates then the process of hybridization between the building's material and the site's earth, dust, rocks and wild vegetation. The

Qasr seems, this way, to become a product of its territory in a strange inversion of claims. Children of Salfit find in it, an unexpected ideal playground, both frightening and attractive. The ruin is visible from the city and everybody knows it as the building that the Israelis did not succeed to erase.

In fact, there is something fearfully obsessive in the systematic absolute anihilation of Palestinian villages emptied by the Nakba of 1948 in a more or less unconscious will of erasing of tracks of presence of a people on a territory. Buildings are the most obvious of those tracks and their rooting in the land can be considered as a claim of this same territory. The policies of construction and destruction of the State of Israel are therefore fundamental in this conflict that consider the land as the object of the deep disagreement between two national narratives.

That is why, each Palestinian building's ruin is a symbol of the Israeli oppression, but more importantly a physical mark of existence of the Palestinian people. In an asymmetric conflict, this existence has definitely resistive values and this Qasr stands as a celebration of this resistance., a sort of glorious ruin that unexpectivally ends up victorious from an uneven combat.

CONCLUSION: SYMPATHY WITH THE OBSTACLE

SYMPATHY WITH THE OBSTACLE

/// conclusion
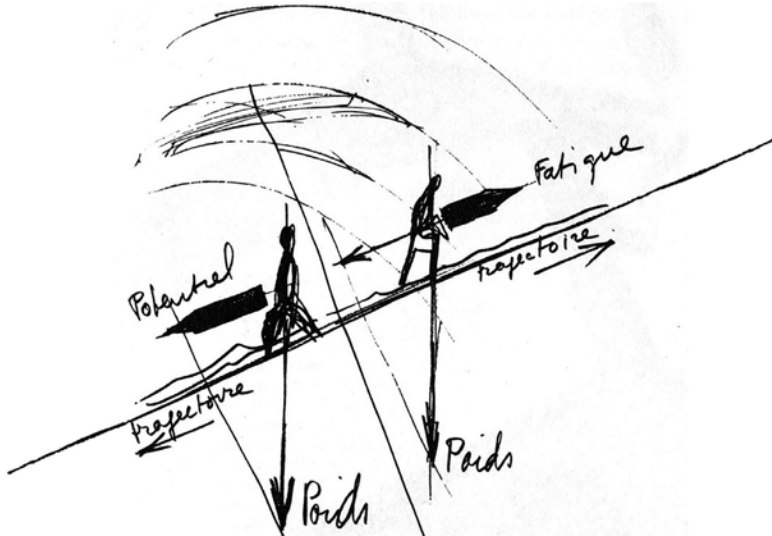
Drawing by CLaude Parent for the *Oblique Function /// Architecture Principe* (Parent/Virilio) 1964

This research and project coming to an end, it seems appropriate to establish a series of important points. First is to stress that the design project *Weaponized Architecture* cannot in any way be considered as part of a "*solution*" to the Palestinian struggle. To claim the contrary would be either naïve or even a dangerous renunciation for any legal intervention. The only discipline that seems indeed qualified enough to bring about "solutions" is the practice of International Law. Unfortunately the latter cannot be affected without the agreement of the International Community, which itself is mitigated by the veto power of the five winners of the Second World War: The United States, Russia, China, The United Kingdom and France.

Weaponized Architecture does not claim to provide a solution. It instead offers the conditions of a continuous state of resistance towards oppression. One could argue that this architecture

can act as a precedent that could be reproduced throughout Area C in the West Bank, and in this way, contribute toward a potential "*solution*". It would be correct to suggest that the multiplication of illegal agricultural platforms could develop a significant sub-economy outside Israeli control, similar to the way that Indians organized a counter-economy based on the salt trade while under English colonial rule in 1930. Moreover, this same multiplication of such buildings could effectively create new "maritime routes" between the islands of the Palestinian Archipelago while proposing shelter to resistant nomads.

However, this project finding its essence in the negativity of a disobedient behavior towards the colonial law, it cannot register within the positivity of a "*solution*", no matter how influent it becomes in the frame of the struggle.

Further, this project renders itself only in the present tense. Much of debate around the Israeli-Palestinian conflict are being deliberately hijacked by the useless invocation of the past as an argument for granting responsibilities to one camp or another. In this case the past provides merely an explanation and most of the time, an excuse not to observe the current situation as it is. The architecture developed in this book thus ignores everything from the past just as much as the future. It does disregards the debate of a "*one state solution*" which qualifies the current Israeli policies as an apartheid, as well as a "*two state solution*," which qualifies them as a form of colonization. Resistance is always conjugated in the present and so is this project.

The second point regards the definition of weapon in the frame of this book. As we have seen, architecture is weaponized in order to serve various political causes, but we should not forget what a weapon really is. A weapon implies two antagonistic entities, in conflict. Yet the weapon exists regardless of the political reasons behind the conflict, and would remain the same in its essence even if the reasons for, or the participants in the conflict were to change. An illustrative example of this can be seen in the history of modern architecture. Modern architecture, with its economy of material and energy, was predisposed to serve a socialist society. Nevertheless, with time and its development in the United States

during the 20th century, it ended up providing the perfect framework that capitalism required to fully unfold itself. Obviously this is not to suggest that any weapon can be adapted by any aggressor to any situation, or to diminish the violence that results, which we have observed throughout this study. It rather notices that the political intentions behind an architectural apparatus are often overruled by the interests of another cause, one that understands and exploits the operating mechanisms of a given apparatus.

A third point concerns the notion of comfort. In a state of continuous resistance, comfort constitutes a weakness. In this regard, we can distinguish two types of non-comfort conditioned by architecture, and using Spinoza's terminology, we can define them as sad, and joyful. In his *Ethics*[1], he makes the distinction between the bad relations our body establishes with other entities which decreases its power, which he calls *sad passions*, and on the contrary, the harmonious relations our body manages to develop which increase its power, which he calls *joyful*

passions. Translated into architectural discourse, this philosophy makes the distinction between an architecture that maintains a sadistic violence on our body and another one which would enhance it and make it stronger.

In *Architecture and Disjunction*, Bernard Tschumi describes what we could call, in a Spinozist fashion, a sad architecture.

"*The place your body inhabits is inscribed in your imagination, your unconscious, as a space of possible bliss. Or menace. What if you are forced to abandon your imaginary spatial markings? A torturer wants you, the victim, to regress, because he wants to demean his prey, to make you lose your identity as a subject. Suddenly you have no choice; running away is impossible. The rooms are too small or too big, the ceilings too low or too high. Violence exercised by and through space is spatial torture*"[2]

This spatial torture, often experienced in traumatic nightmares, probably finds its most expressive representation in

1   Spinoza, Baruch. *The Ethics*. New York : Dover, 1955.

2   Tschumi Bernard. *Architecture and Disjunction*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996. p124

a short story entitled, *The Thousand Dreams of Stellavista*, written by James Graham Ballard in 1962. This text imagines psychotropic houses that sense the psyche of their inhabitants and modify their spatiality according to it. The plot is centered around the fact that the house inhabited by the main character hosted the murder of its last owner, and adopts a post-traumatic behavior that consists of the attempt of assassination of its new occupant:

"*Then suddenly the room grew calm. A second later, just as I had raised myself on one elbow, a violent spasm shook it, twisting the walls and raising the bed off the floor. The whole house began to tremble and twist. Caught at the center of this epileptic seizure, the bedroom alternately contracted and expanded like the ventricles of a dying heart.*"[3]

This excerpt introducing an assassin building, that modifies its spatiality and structure in order to kill its inhabitant, is not just a literary character but also a tragic reality. In his lecture *Forensic*

Architecture, Eyal Weizman observes that most of the 1,500 Palestinians who died during the 2008 Gaza siege were in fact killed by the buildings themselves, which were destroyed by the Israeli army's bombs. Western armies learned indeed how to affect the structural integrity of buildings in order to transform them into ruthless weapons that potentially could kill the people inside them.

On the other hand, the architecture manifested in this book, without falling into the passive state of comfort, attempts to reach the status of an architecture of joy. Two similar attitudes can be distinguished as exemplary in this matter. The first one has been expressed as a manifesto through the representation of the *Oblique Function*[4] created by French architects, Claude Parent and Paul Virilio in the 1960's. This architectural invention consists in of the systematic and exclusive use of tilted surfaces as the only component of architecture. A person moving on an inclined surface experiences gravity more intensely than one on a

3   Ballard, James Graham. *Vermilion Sands.* New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 1988. p 123

4   Parent Claude and Virilio, Paul. *Architecture principe: 1966 und 1996.* Besançon: Les Ed. de l'Imprimeur, 2000.

level plane. The "conquest" of this surface, this awareness of fatigue when climbing up the slope, or exhilaration when going down, strengthens the body as it forces it to compose a harmonious relationship with the surface in order not to fall. The *Oblique Function* and the projects that followed this architectural manifesto, can therefore be called, architectures of joy.

The second example, embodied by the architecture of Arakawa and Madeline Gins, affects the body in a similar way. In order to achieve their will "*not to die*"[5], they design houses or parks defined by uneven surfaces that also provoke an awareness in the body of its environment, and force it to adapt its behavior to "conquer" this architectural condition in a continuous attempt to strenghen the body. In his *Cyclonopedia*, Iranian philosopher Reza Negarestani formulates this problem as such:

"*Every soldier should be a traceur, a swerving projectile which has a deep sympathy with its physical obstacle.*"[6]

Negarestani also evokes the physical discipline that has been called parkour as the exact practice of such sympathy. In Parkour, human traceurs use indeed each obstacle as a paradoxal opportunity of movement, a burning surface that the body can lean on only for a fragment of second. This materialist manifesto can be considered as an ode to the Spinozist relationship between the body and architecture.

The latter is usually designed on the assumption of a finite knowledge about the body's capacities. On the contrary, Arakawa and Gins' architecture set the conditions for the beginning of an answer to Spinoza's following interrogation:

"*No one has hitherto laid down the limits to the powers of the body, that is, no one has as yet been taught by experience what the body can accomplish solely by the laws of nature, in so far as she is regarded as extension.*"[7]

Comfort is, in this regard, a fatalistic satisfaction for the well known capacities of the body and contributes to their reduction through inaction. Resistance can be only operative within

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5   Arakawa and Gins. *Reversible Destiny: We have decided not to die*. New York: Abrams, Inc., 1997.
6   Negarestani Reza. *Cyclonopedia: Complicity with Anonymous Materials.* Melbourne: Re-Press 2008. p135

7   Ibid 1. p53

the form of action and that is why architecture should provide an fertile environment for this action.

A fourth and last point tackles the notion of peace and war. As written above, *Weaponized Architecture* proposes a continuous state of resistance, or in a more provocatively, a continuous state of war. As Spinoza wrote in his *Political Treatise*, "*peace is not merely the absence of war.*"[8] Peace in Spinoza's definition is closer to the notion of concord that constitutes an unreachable horizon, guiding us in the resistance to any form of tyranny.

The conflict between Israelis and Palestinians is an example of the way the word "*peace*" has been transformed into a demagogical instrument. Organizing negotiations between Palestinians and Israelis in effect establishes a simulacrum of war resolution as an alibi for Israel to obtain a retroactive legitimacy for its colonial behavior. The reality is that there is no war in Palestine. The Spinozist peace is therefore not going to emerge out of negotiation but through the application of justice. Numerous intellectuals and politicians

became expert in mocking or despising the notion of revolution, because they cannot name one that they consider a success. This seems to be the absolute wrong way to interpret history and political struggle. The revolutionary act stands for itself, produces a moment of liberation and does not require a finality that would achieve a permanent state of this same liberation. Instead, it constitutes a horizon, unreachable yet directing the movement that aims toward it.

What Gilles Deleuze calls the "*revolutionary becoming*" (*devenir révolutionnaire*) is an attitude that places human beings in a process of resistance rather than in a utopian finality, as only something in progress can maintain life. XVIIIth century French physiologist Xavier Bichat stated that "*life is the ensemble of functions that resist death.*"[9] In this vision death is the extensive quality when life is the process of continuous resistance that confronts it. This book attempts to show that architecture can contribute to the spatial conditions of such a process.

8 Spinoza, Baruch. *Political Treatise*. Indianapolis: Hackett Pub Co, 2000.

9 Bichat Xavier. *Physiological Researches Upon Life and Death*. Philadelphia: Smith & Maxwell, 1809.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

/// The labyrinthine dark matter of the line's thickness

Excerpt from the graphic novel *Lost in the Line* by Léopold Lambert

Architecture is the discipline that attributes physicality to the lines traced on paper. In this regard, the architect wields the power to separate milieus by the mean of those lines, thereby applying a tremendous violence upon the bodies that become prisoners within. One immediately thinks of the famous geopolitical walls of our world; around Gaza and the West Bank, along the Mexican border, in the middle of Cyprus or Korea, etc. However, those walls are only the extreme illustrations of a more general and subtle system of architectural apparatuses that manifests a transcendental control on the bodies.

This characteristic of architecture can not only be explained by intrinsic qualities, but also for the close relationship it has maintained through history with military strategy. The latter, in its need for diagrammatization, rationalization and optimization, mutated 'the architect' into 'the engineer' who designs exclusively via those processes. The

more literal the translation from a diagram to an architecture, the more powerful the transcendental control becomes.

The labyrinth, in its classical representation, is the quintessence of the architect's absolute control. The line is traced from above, its author has a total vision of the space, and he is amused to see bodies below subjected to his architecture. When he writes *The Trial*[1] and *The Castle*[2] in the 1920's, Franz Kafka reinvents this notion of labyrinth by creating a maze that escapes the control of its developer, the giant administrative system. This maze will find a space in 1941 through Jorge Luis Borges and his *Ficciones*[3] in which space is composed both by the notion of infinite and the random. Eventually, during the 1950's, Constant Nieuwenhuis brought an architecture to this labyrinth by the creation of *New Babylon*, the territory of the *Homo Ludens*' continuous drift. Those three labyrinths, whether they are administrative, spatial, or architectural, all own the characteristic of not being controlled by their creators.

The labyrinth proposed in the following story attempts to be of this kind, as well. Just like the wall, this labyrinth is defined by a single line; however it considerably increases its thickness in order to allow a roving in the line. In fact, one transgression towards the line consists in walking on it, in the way of a funambulist (tightrope walker) experiencing spatially this one inch thick world. This labyrinth is an uncontrollable growing entity comprised of a forest whose use depends exclusively on its appropriation by people. The creation of a new environment that needs to be colonized in order to acquire a function implies the invention of a new architecture that adapts to its new conditions. Its violent architectural vocabulary is not innocent nor is the potential danger its experience implies. In fact, Italo Calvino's dream of remaining for a lifetime in the three dimensionality of the forest[4] entails a refusal of comfort, convenience and safety.

1   Kafka, Franz. *The Trial*. New York: Vintage Books, 1969.
2   Kafka, Franz. *The Castle*. New York, Knopf, 1954**.**
3   Borges, Jorge Luis. *Labyrinths*. New York: New Directions, 2007.

4   Calvino Italo, *The Baron in the Trees*. New York : Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1977
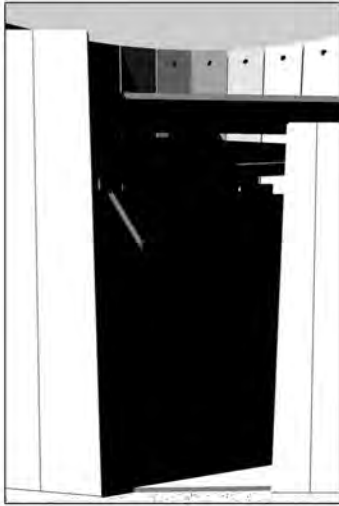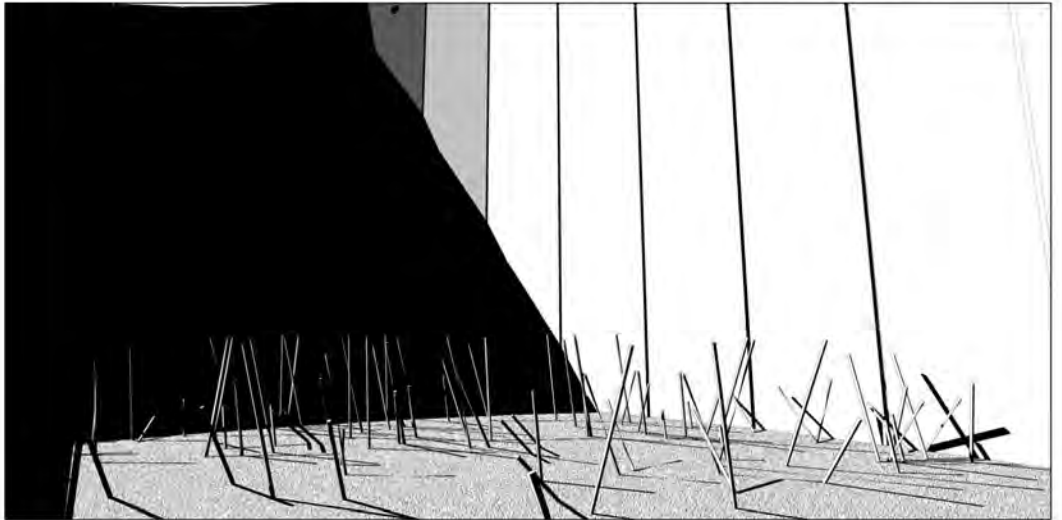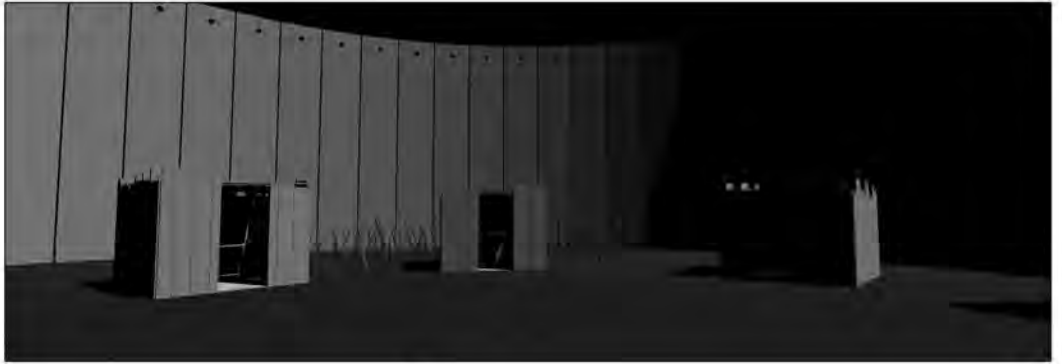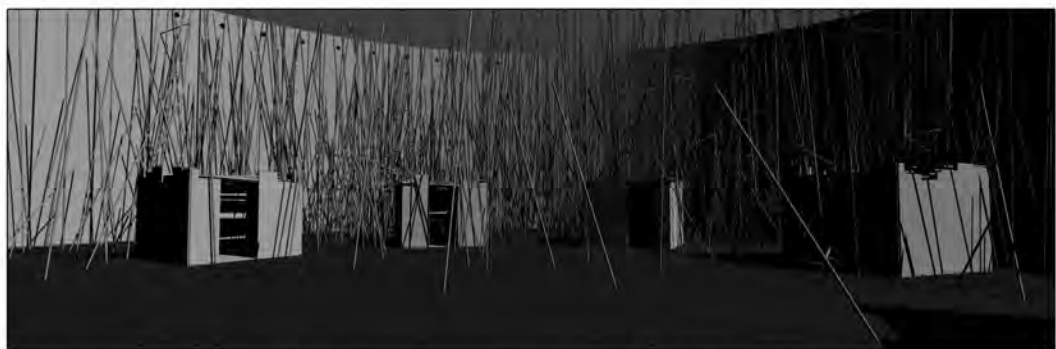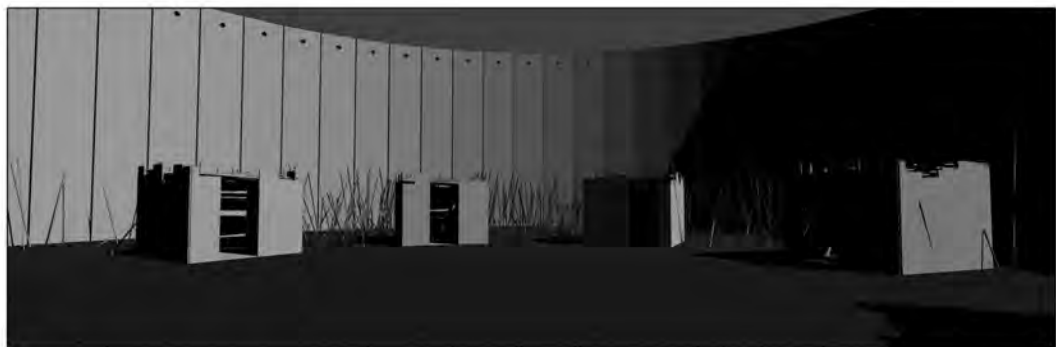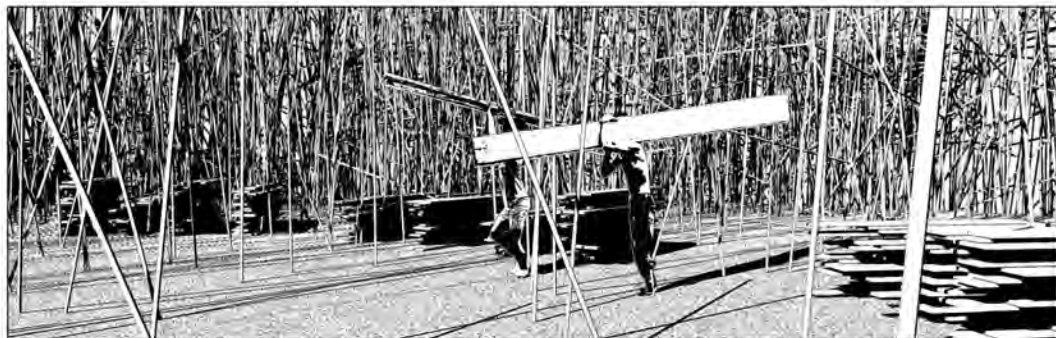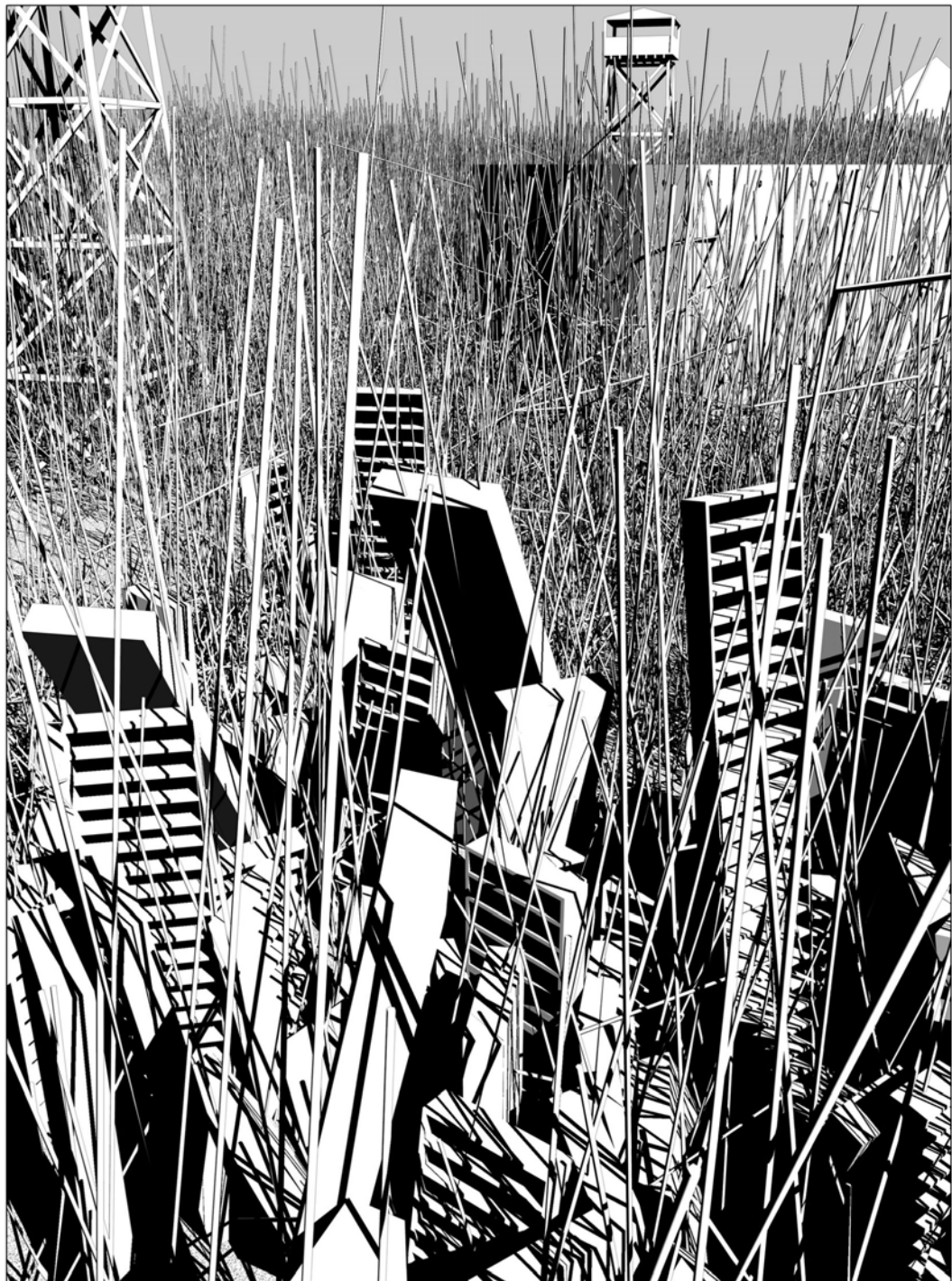
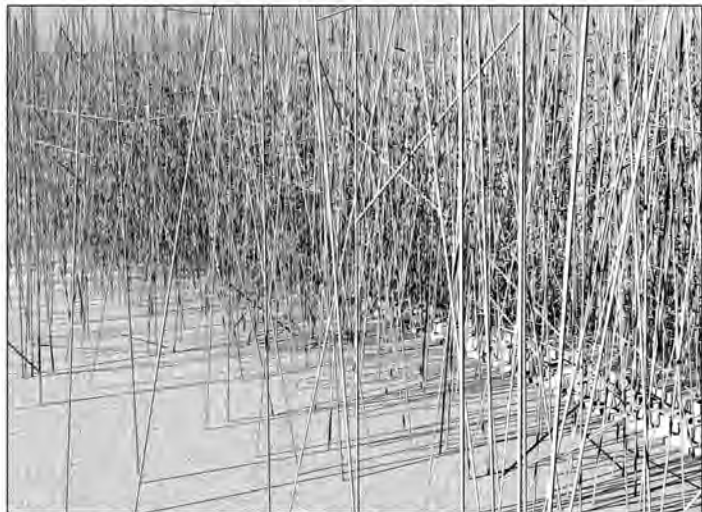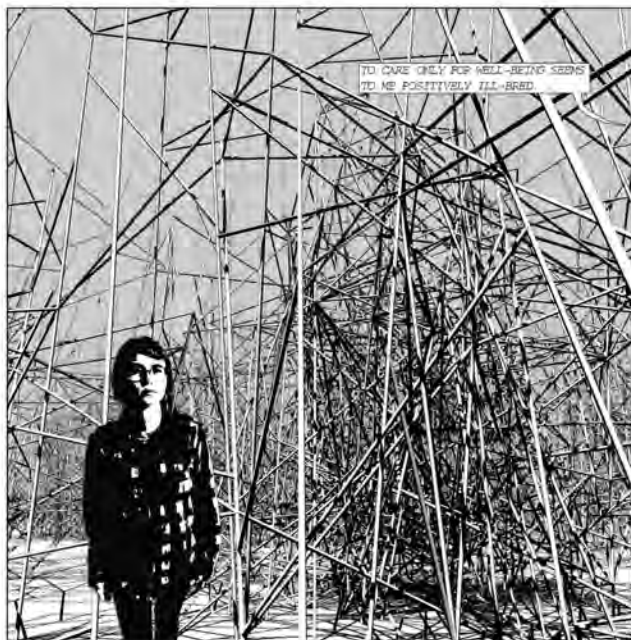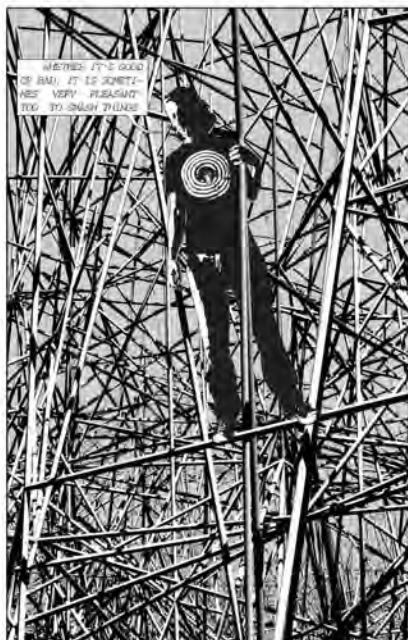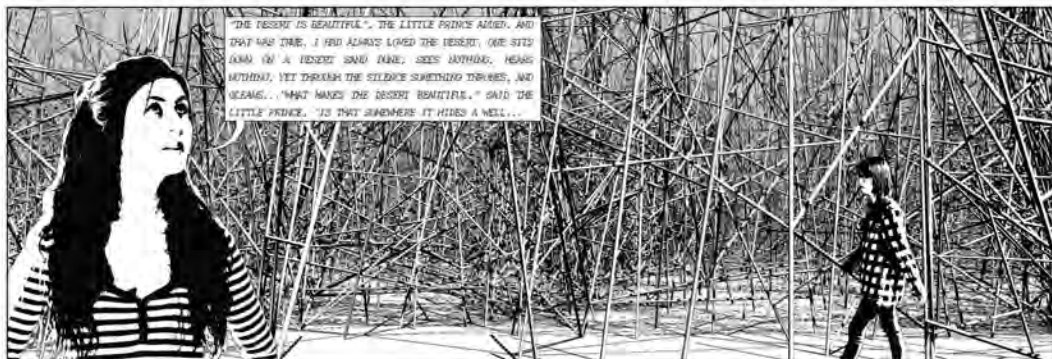TO CARE ONLY FOR WELL-BEING SEEMS TO ME POSITIVELY ILL-BRED...

WHETHER IT'S GOOD OR BAD, IT IS SOMETIMES VERY PLEASANT TOO TO SMASH THINGS

"THE DESERT IS BEAUTIFUL", THE LITTLE PRINCE ADDED. AND THAT WAS TRUE. I HAD ALWAYS LOVED THE DESERT. ONE SITS DOWN ON A DESERT SAND DUNE, SEES NOTHING, HEARS NOTHING. YET THROUGH THE SILENCE SOMETHING THROBS, AND GLEAMS..."WHAT MAKES THE DESERT BEAUTIFUL," SAID THE LITTLE PRINCE. "IS THAT SOMEWHERE IT HIDES A WELL...

SOMEONE JUMPED DOWN FROM THE PODIUM SO THAT THERE WOULD BE A PLACE FREE FOR K. AND K. STEPPED UP ONTO IT. HE STOOD PRESSED CLOSELY AGAINST THE TABLE. THE PRESS OF THE CROWD BEHIND HIM WAS SO GREAT THAT HE HAD TO PRESS BACK AGAINST IT IF HE DID NOT WANT TO PUSH THE JUDGE'S DESK DOWN OFF THE PODIUM AND PERHAPS THE JUDGE ALONG WITH IT
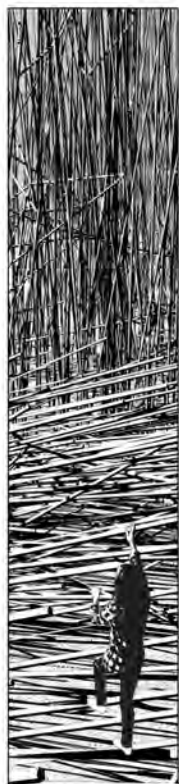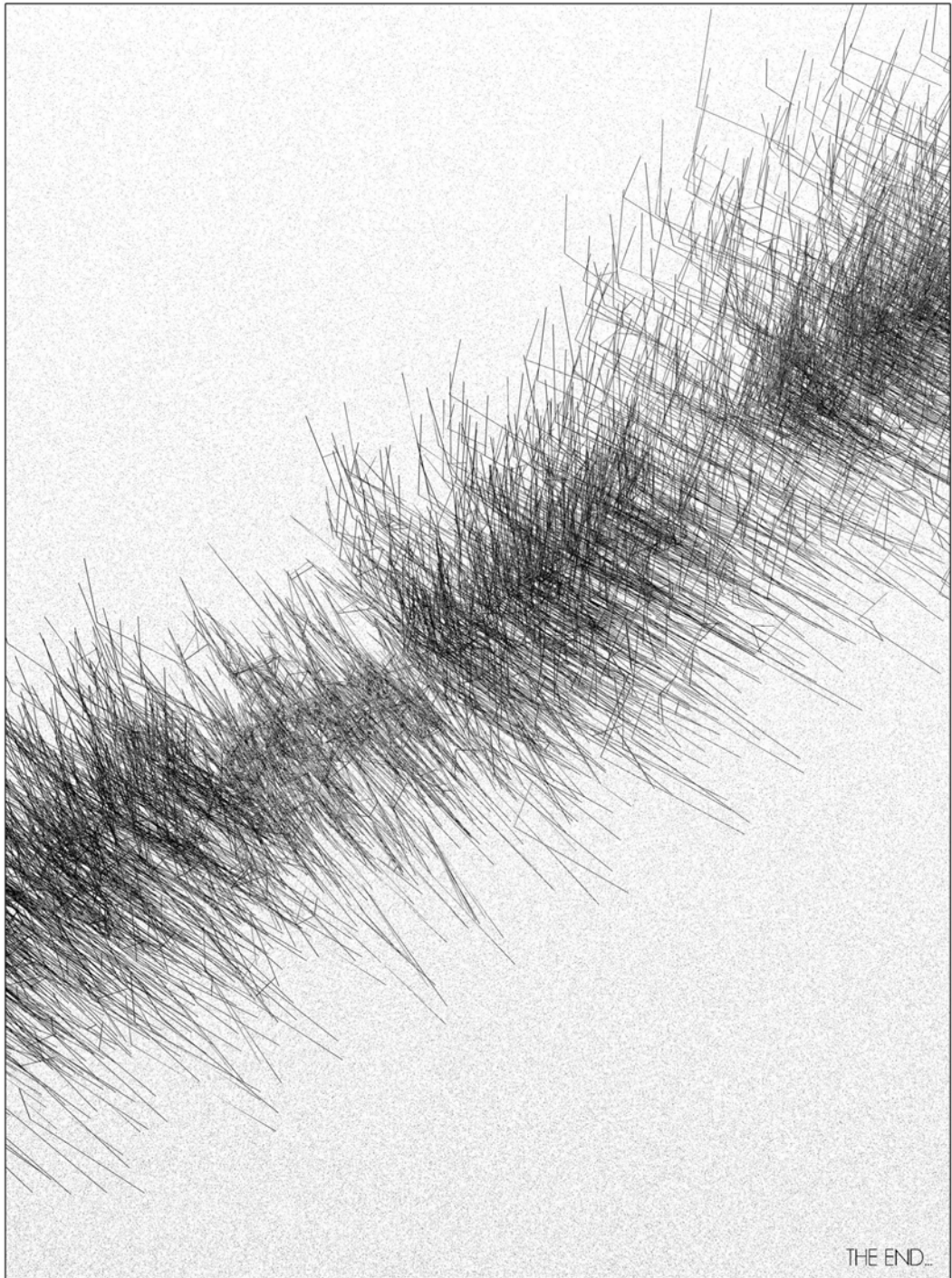
IT OCCURED TO ME THAT ANYWAY ONE MORE SUNDAY WAS OVER THAT MAMAN WAS BURIED NOW, THAT I WAS GOING BACK TO WORK, AND THAT, REALLY, NOTHING HAD CHANGED...

THE END...

Weaponized Architecture is an examination of the inherent instrumentalization of architecture as a political weapon; research informs the development of a project which, rather than defusing these characteristics, attempts to integrate them within the scene of a political struggle. The proposed project dramatizes, through its architecture, a Palestinian disobedience to the colonial legislation imposed on its legal territory. In fact, the State of Israel masters the elaboration of territorial and architectural colonial apparatuses that act directly on Palestinian daily lives. In this regard, it is crucial to observe that 63% of the West Bank is under total control of the Israeli Defense Forces in regards to security, movement, planning and construction. Weaponized Architecture is thus manifested as a Palestinian shelter, with an associated agricultural platform, which expresses its illegality through its architectural vocabulary.

Augmented-Reality Experience inside this book

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