Architecture and Ideology
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The Faculty of Architecture University of Belgrade and the Board of the Ranko Radović Award, within the Association of Applied Arts and Designers of Serbia, held an International Conference: Architecture and Ideology on the 28th and 29th September 2012, in Belgrade, Serbia. The Conference was dedicated to Dr Ranko Radović (1935-2005), university professor in Belgrade, Novi Sad, Helsinki and Tsukuba, a theoretician and an historian of architecture and city, urban planner, designer, graphic artist and a painter. The goal was to realise his idea of a conference in the subject, planned for 1992 as the third in a row, after conferences Architecture and History (1990) and Architecture and Technology (1991).

The invitation for participants had a great response within the scientific community all over the world and a great number of researches, over 160 of them, took a part – mostly from Serbia and other West Balkan and European countries, but also several coming from South America, Australia and Africa. Over one hundred highly interesting and valuable papers were presented at the conference and published as a CD publication.

The significance and success of the conference was confirmed in an interest of a prominent publisher - Cambridge Scalars Publishing, which recognized the actuality of the subject and the value of the essays, deciding to publish the book. Thanks to its initiative, we realized this book of twenty two most important papers presented at the conference, which in the best way reflected the idea of a significant impact of various 20th century political and social ideologies on society, urban development and architecture, especially in the time before and after the WWII. The selected essays elaborate the issues from the comparative and transnational perspective, in a broad historical and social context.

We believe that the book would greatly appeal to the world of academia, young researches of theory and history of art and architecture, professionals in applied arts, as well as sociologist, historians, philosophers, etc. They will find many encouraging issues and significant considerations related to interaction of the 20th century ideology and architecture.
In the end, as editors, we want to express our gratitude to all the contributing authors and, specially, to our colleagues from CSP for their kind cooperation and valuable help in preparing the book.

Editors
Belgrade, March 2014
PART I:

IDEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF ARCHITECTURE
Abstract | Ideology is in the political and cultural sense a relatively connected and determined set of ideas, symbolic representations, values, beliefs and forms of thoughts, behaviours, expressions, representations and actings which are common to members of a social group, members of political parties, state institutions or social classes. In literature the notion of ideology is introduced in several, often equally valued and variant, but contrary ways: (1) ideology is a set of positive and pragmatic beliefs, values, forms of behaviours, and actings shared by a group of theoreticians or practicians, i.e., members of a culture or specific differentiated formations in the frames of a culture, (2) ideology is a set of false representations, false beliefs and effects of illusions shared by members of a social strata, class, nation, political party, specific culture or world of art, which project possible, actual and immediate world of existence, (3) ideology is phantasmatic construction which serves as support to our reality, in other words, it is an illusion which structures effective social relations and masks traumatic social divisions or confrontations which could not be symbolized, therefore function of ideology is to supply us with bearable social reality, (5) by ideology it is referred to meanings, sense and values of structure power which particular social formation or society practice as a whole or to which it tends, etc. Louis Althusser defined ideology as representation of imaginary relations of individual to his or her real conditions of existence. In Lacanian theoretical psychoanalysis, a step further from Althuisser, it is shown that the role of ideology is not to offer to a subject a point of escape his/her reality, but to offer him/her the very social reality as escape form some as traumatic real core. In late modernist and postmodernist theories ideology is not defined as natural system but as a form of social symbolic and imaginary production of ideas, values and beliefs. Here explained concept of

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ideology will be applied to “reading” and “discussion” of architecture as social practice.

Key words | ideology, typology of ideological models, apparatus, representation ideology, apparatus, representation

1. Approaching the Concept of Ideology

I will begin with the completely simple distinction between politics and ideology. In the most general sense, politics may be defined as the sum of all pragmatic social practices and institutions whereby a social relationship or order is realised. Some theorists distinguish between politics and the political. The political is then defined as the multiplicity of all the antagonisms that constitute human society. Politics denotes social confrontation and attempting to resolve those social antagonisms, i.e. attempting to resolve the political, which constitutes society.

In political and cultural terms, an ideology is a relatively coherent and determined set of ideas, symbolic conceptions, values, beliefs and forms of thought, behaviours, expressions, presentations, and actions, shared by the members of a particular social group, political party, state institution, ethnic or gender group, or class of society. Therefore, ideology has the character of identificatory representation and perception. The ideology of an individual is the way s/he perceives her/himself as a singular subject in the context of her/his society, a subject in a community, the community as a subject, and therefore life itself, nature, and the world as phenomena for the subject.

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Fig. 1 Provisional Salta Ensemble, Ideological landscape: Berlin, 2012. (Photo M.Šuvaković)

Fig. 2 Provisional Salta Ensemble, Ideological landscape: Beijing, 2005. (Photo M.Šuvaković)

Fig. 3 Provisional Salta Ensemble, Ideological landscape: Ankara, 2007. (Photo M.Šuvaković)
In social studies and the humanities, the concept of ideology is defined in different, sometimes equivalent and variant, but sometimes also contradictory ways: 1) ideology is the sum of all positive and pragmatic beliefs, values, modes of behaviour and acting shared by a group of theorists or agents, that is, members of culture or a specific distinguished formation within the framework of culture; 2) ideology is the sum of all the misconceptions, false beliefs, and effects of illusions shared by the members of a social stratum, class, nation, political party, a specific culture or world of art, which projects a possible, actual, and current world of existence; 3) ideology is the sum of all the symbolic and imaginary, arbitrary and artificial effects produced by the media system in places of expected reality, ideology posits us as objects among objects of consumption, seduction, and ecstasy, that is, ideology becomes, by means of its media realisation, a techno-multiplied new reality (hyperreality); 4) in its essence, ideology is a phantasmatic construction serving to prop up our reality, in other words, it is an illusion that structures effective social relations and hides traumatic social divisions or confrontations that cannot be symbolised, therefore its function is to provide us with a bearable social reality; 5) ideology is the surrounding field of phenomena that emerges before our bodies and the conceptuality that accompanies that emerging, thereby constituting the subject, society, culture, and art; 6) ideology is the multiplicity of meanings, representations, and forms of the production of knowledge and representations that determine a culture, either necessarily or out of historical motivation, turning it from a non-regulated (or under-regulated) system into a regulated (or over-regulated) system of the production, exchange, consumption and enjoyment of sense, commodities, production, exchange, consumption, information, power, and the representing of representations; 7) ideology is the hidden (tacit, invisible, underlying) order that determines a given society or social formation, whether or not that society or social formation acknowledges it as its ideology; 8) ideology is a rational verification (legitimisation) of the status quo; 9) ideology is not reality itself, but a regulative relation or system of representations realised or offered by the state apparatus and institutions of everyday life; 10) ideology is the present experience of the human and the world; 11) ideology denotes the meanings, sense, and values of the power structure practised or aspired to by a specific social formation or society as a whole; and 12) ideology is a system of signs and signifiers whereby a society posits itself vis-à-vis any other system of signs and signifiers, thus positing itself vis-à-vis any other society, even itself as a society, culture, the world etc.
Fig. 4 Provisional Salta Ensemble, Ideological landscape: London, 2010. (Photo M. Suvačkić)

Fig. 5 Provisional Salta Ensemble, Ideological landscape: Sarajevo, 2008. (Photo M. Suvačkić)
Following Marx, Louis Althusser redefined ‘ideology’ as a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence. A specific ideology has its material existence because it is a socially active representation. From this materialistic ground, Althusser derived the following conclusions: a) every practice is enabled by ideology and unfolds via ideology and b) ideology exists only from the subject and for the subject. In that sense, ideology is a system of representations that carries out the interpellation of individuals as subjects vis-à-vis their real social conditions: *Ideology is a 'Representation' of the Imaginary Relationship of Individuals to their Real Conditions of Existence.*

Lacanian theoretical psychoanalysis, a step further from Althusser, has pointed out that the role of ideology is not to offer the subject an escape point from her/his reality, but to offer her/him social reality itself as an escape from a real traumatic kernel in the midst of human life. For, according to Lacan, a phantasm is not something that opposes reality, but the last support for that which is called reality. For instance, according to Slavoj Žižek: *Ideology is not a dreamlike illusion that we build to escape insupportable reality; in its basic dimension it is a fantasy-construction which serves as a support for our ‘reality’ itself: an ‘illusion’ which*

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structures our effective, real social relations and thereby masks some insupportable, real, impossible kernel (conceptualised by Ernesto Laclau)
and Chantal Mouffe as 'antagonism': a traumatic social division which cannot be symbolized).  

The ideological web of signifiers supports the subject by hiding the pre-ideological kernel that is enjoyment. In other words, there is something that precedes ideology and that is enjoyment. Ideology exists by hiding that which precedes, i.e. enjoyment. In ideology, not everything is ideology, i.e. ideological meaning; rather, that surplus is the last support of ideology. According to Žižek, there are two complementary procedures of ideology critique: 1) discursive ideology critique rests on demonstrating that the ideological field results from a montage of heterogeneous floating signifiers, their totalisation by means of entangling specific nodal points; b) the other procedure of ideology critique targets the kernel of enjoyment, the ways in which ideology articulates, implies, manipulates, and produces pre-ideological enjoyment structured in a phantasm.

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Late modernist and postmodernist social and cultural theories define ideology not as a natural, self-evidently human system, but as a form of social, symbolic, and imaginary production of ideas, values, and beliefs. An ideological system comprises: 1) symbolic and imaginary representations of ideas, values, beliefs, and samples of identification; 2) a subject who is socially produced for those symbolic and imaginary representations; 3) a social activity in which the subject of ideology expresses, presents, and conducts ideas, values, and beliefs in order to identify with her/himself, her/his community, etc. For instance, cultural studies define the concept of ideology, borrowed from Althusserian and Lacanian polemics, with the following schema: *The attempt to fix meanings and world views in support of the powerful. Maps of meaning that, while they purport to be universal truths, are historically specific understandings which obscure and maintain the power of social groups (e.g. class, gender, race).*\(^5\)

This casual sketch of ideology theorisations suggests that ideology is an important situation of human existence as a social and cultural phenomenon. Ideology constitutes the recognisability of the human situation in relation to its social and cultural reality, whereby the individual, culture, and society are transformed into subjects. But reality itself, reality for the subject, i.e. society, is not beyond ideology, but is essentially mediated by ideology as a constitutive human fiction. This ‘embarrassing knot’ constitutes the fateful dependence of the individual and the collective on the experience, identification, and understanding of human life.

**2. Ideology and Architecture**

My argument is that architecture is *essentially* a political and ideological practice that uses its techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic strategies to participate in the organisation of individual and collective human life, as well as in representing the symbolic and imaginary field of visibility of a society for itself and others. Except in rare instances of totalitarian political practices,\(^6\) the techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic modalities of architecture typically hide its political and ideological character. The fact that techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic aspects of architecture hide its

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political and ideological character shows that the practice of ‘hiding’ is essentially an ideological practice that posits architecture, especially modern and postmodern architecture, as a non-ideological or post-ideological state apparatus. That is why techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic modalities of architecture are ideological constructs that realise the symbolic and imaginary presentation of architecture as an autonomous field of human creativity or pre-, that is, post-political organisation of human life as a place of dwelling. With much precision, Martin Heidegger depoliticised and de-ideologised architecture by pointing to a fundamental dimension of human existence, i.e. to the character of habitation as a metaphysical event of human existence. In a similar way, techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic fetishism, posited as the concrete pragmatism of modern and postmodern architecture, likewise hides its ideological and political functions.

Therefore, analysing the political and ideological in architecture cannot be restricted to questions about architecture’s pragmatic functions, which are then embodied in a free creative act that transcends architecture’s techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic modalities to produce a ‘work of architecture’, analogous to the ‘work of art’. The political (executive) and the ideological (representative) must be studied by pointing that architecture’s techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic modalities are instruments of censoring the

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political and the ideological in the architectural product. In other words, the political and the ideological are not ‘functions’ or ‘meta-functions’ imposed on architecture, but ideological and political ‘contradictions and antagonisms of the very function and phenomenality’ of specific historical architecture. Therefore, the practice of architecture is in its character a signifier practice and that means a material practice, in which the social and the human are produced in the struggle to structure the visible, i.e. presentable order of power, rule, governance, and existence there and then.

If we accept all of the foregoing, the history of architecture is no longer a history of remembering the architectural works of the past, or a history of the traces of positing architectural works as traces of techno-aesthetic and techno-artistic ideas. The history of architecture then becomes a critical history of the social relations of production, exchange, and consumption of ‘architectural products’ in their singular situatedness via politics and presentedness via ideology. In other words, paradoxically, architecture is something other than that which appears as direct affective experience before the body and the eye. That other must be explored.
Abstract | The aim of this article is to explore how virtually the same perceptual aesthetic value of an architectural structure can be differentiated by the cultural response that is shaped by various ideological and political concepts. However, it seems that architectural structures in focus should be based on particular aspects of shaping, or at least, capable of reflecting more than one association with a deeper cultural meaning. This argumentation refers almost immediately to psychological issues involved in the process of creation and, let us say, manipulation with the possible social and ideological meaning of an architectural structure.

Key words | Ideology, architecture, historiography, theory, interpretations

The aesthetic perception and evaluation of a work of architecture should be closely linked with the psychological response to a few principles by which a building is structured. However, this psychological response can be equally manipulated by political power establishing a higher sense of collectivism and ideological grandeur. In that way, a building can embody and reflect both physical and psychological states. [1] In that sense, the term aesthetic rationalism refers to particular aspects of structuring which are by their essence rooted in a countable psychological response to, in this way, a shaped whole. In that context, the idea of existence of a collective sense of form among the contemporary members of society can be extremely helpful. It guides us towards particular psychological issues regarding the aesthetic perception and acceptance of architectural structure, and its cultural premises. [2] For the purpose of our exploration,

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we will use a few aesthetic categories explicable by rational means of psychological response to the perceptual values of an architectural structure.

One well known aesthetic category that can be explained in this way is the notion of the sublime. The origin of this aesthetic category is well known. However, for the purpose of our discussion we will mention one of the most exact definitions of the ‘sublime’ and its origin in the perception of pure nature. In his work on the sublime published in 1735, Hildebrand summarized the general opinion that all ‘the vast, and wonderful scenes, either of delight or horror, which the universe affords, have this effect upon the imagination…’ [3] This origin of the sublime will remain as the fundamental understanding of its perceptual values, but also as the essence for the explanation of its psychological influence on the observer in all arts using the sublime as an expressive force.

An early attempt to explain the psychological impact of the sublime on the human mind has been given by Baillie in 1747. In his work on this issue he concluded that the effect of the sublime is to build ‘a connection with great riches, power and grandeur; and though the mind may not reflect on these connections, yet from what I before mentioned, the passion occasioned by these things may exist in the mind without the idea of the things themselves’…[4] This position of how the sublime affects the human passion in general, particularly reflects on the issue which is very important for our discussion: the translation of the notion of the sublime into the field of architecture.

The eighteenth and nineteenth-century authors, founding their discussion over the issue on the previously mentioned general positions, established the rational categories of the notion of the sublime within a particular vision of architectural grandeur.

It seems that the best summary regarding the perceptual qualities producing the effect of the sublime in architecture, has been given by Burke, in his work originally published in the second half of the eighteenth century. [5] In his opinion, the sublime is leading the observer to the feeling of astonishment, admiration, reverence, and respect. To achieve these effects architectural structure should be extremely large by its dimensions, providing the sense of artificial infinity by succession and uniformity of its parts. To these characteristics we can add a few other features emphasized by different eighteenth-century authors, such as an elevated position of the architectural structure, the use of columns which provides the sense of durability, and the simplicity of form which gives the observer the opportunity to perceive the entire building at one glance. [6] (Fig.1)
For the purpose of our discussion, we will use a few architectural examples of highly similar structures in the perceptual qualities wherein one can recognize the aforementioned characteristics. The form of these examples, based on general premises of the notion of the sublime, can accept various cultural meanings, all of which are essentially linked to the general feeling of sublimity. In other words, an architectural structure is effectively capable of embodying different theological and ideological meanings, and can provoke various cultural responses.

Being a temple of an enlightenment ideal, a glorious house of God, or a building reflecting the glory of the state and nation, the presented architectural structures generally reflect the aesthetic notion of the sublime. (Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) However, at the same time, each of these similar structures emphasizes particular cultural meanings, each of which articulates the sense of ‘eternity’ so deeply embedded in the notion of the sublime. As Goller stated, there is a mental act in operation which converts the given form into thought. In that process a particular memory image can be produced, by which a large form enters a chain of ideas and is reproduced similarly. [7]

Fig. 1 Andrea Pozzo, Scene for the Wedding at Cana, 1685, from Perspectiva pictorum et Architectorum, Rome 1693, fig. 71.

Fig. 2 Germain Soufflot, Pantheon, Paris, Engraving after 1770.

Fig. 3 Christopher Wren, St. Paul Cathedral, London, 1675-1710.
It seems that the general notion of the sublime, coming from the field of psychological response to pure natural phenomena, and free from any particular cultural meaning, gives the possibility for an architectural structure to embody a particular cultural or political signification. However, this particular signification should be based on an idealistic value which cannot be individualized. To explain this phenomenon, we can refer to Adorno’s statement that ‘aesthetic objectivity, which is the reflex of nature’s being-in-self, brings to the fore the subjective-teleological moment of unity, as a result of which works of art become like nature.’ [8] Actually, in the perception of the given examples observers will first experience the general aesthetic value of the sublime, but in the second phase they will encounter numerous particular cultural meanings, and they will, according to that, possibly change their positive or negative association to the given form in the first place. This is possible because art and reality build a complex relation, and, as Adorno emphasized, ‘even the most sublime work of art takes up a definite position vis-à-vis reality by stepping outside of reality’s spell, not abstractly once and for all, but occasionally and in concrete ways, when it unconsciously and tacitly polemizes against the condition of society at a particular point in time…’ [9]

That is perhaps the reason why, for the majority of observers, the admiration of a building expressing the idea of the sublime can be spoiled by secondary information that refers to, for instance, the glory and eternity of the Third Reich. As argued by Abercrombie, ‘the first sort of perception, an automatic reaction to the visible building, is the basis for our aesthetic response; the second sort…more circumstantial, modifies and complicates that response.’ [10] However, the aspects of the secondary response can be more than influential in an overall psychological acceptance of the aesthetics of a building. We are talking about radical ideological positions they can modify the way in which aesthetic values of an architectural structure should be accepted and evaluated. Ideological, moral or humanistic approaches to aesthetic evaluation dominate here over the purely perceptual qualities of an architectural structure. They are arguing for the notion of discontinuity in the process of aesthetic evaluation of objects of similar perceptual qualities. By identifying Albert Speer’s building with the Nazi regime, and consequently with the Holocaust and the annihilation of human values, the observer rejects it as an object of ethical significance. Consequently, the result of aesthetic evaluation of this architectural structure is different when compared with other buildings of similar form. The Nazi architecture in this context is
more terrifying than sublime, and therefore it provokes rejection and not aesthetic acceptance.

Fig. 4 United States Capitol, Washington, Dome by Thomas Walter, after 1855.

Fig. 5 Albert Speer, Volkshalle, Project for the New Berlin, after 1937.

It seems that the cause of this phenomenon lies in the mode by which a building is identified with ideology, which psychologically links architectural structure and ideological meaning in a particular way. In the aforementioned example the building was not identified with the glory of the German nation in general, but with the Nazi regime in particular. This particular identification framed the aesthetic and cultural acceptability of the building and provoked a psychological response, as a result of which almost all government buildings of the Nazi regime have been destroyed. The same psychological response guided the condemnation and destruction of the sculptured saints of Notre Dame in Paris in the days of
the French revolution, because they have been wrongly identified with the kings and queens of the previous period. Contrary to the aforementioned examples the parliament building in Havana erected under the capitalist rule, serves the communist regime well, while also perhaps allowing an identification with the progress of the nation in general, and not just with a particular regime.

The second set of examples reveals slightly different connections between architecture and ideology than the ones previously discussed. A temple-like half open structure supported by enormous columns, and including a sculpture of a seated leader, provides the observer with the possibility of psychological identification on a personal level and, as a member of a group, on a collective level. It is an image of the grandeur of an idea which the temple like structure embodies. Strong columns are immediately equalized with the strength and durability of the idea of equality and freedom, while the presence of the leader’s image, positioned the idea on the level of human relations and enables the process of direct identification with humanistic ideas that the whole structure is reflecting. (Fig. 9, 10)

This process of collective identification with an ideological message is well explained by Adorno, who actually analysed Freud’s theory regarding the issue in question. Besides the fact that Adorno particularly discussed the issue of Nazi propaganda, the conclusions provide a general psychological model of the process of this kind of personal and collective identification with ideological patterns of thinking. Based on the Freudian theory of narcissistic libido as the trigger for idealization of ideological positions proclaimed by a politically leading figure, Adorno explains that this pattern of "identification through idealization, the caricature of true conscious solidarity, is, however, a collective one. It is effective in vast numbers of people with similar characterological dispositions and libidinal leanings." [11] Nevertheless, it seems that this process, in relation to our examples, is, as explained earlier, strongly supported by the particular architectural type. This is probably the reason why the project of the monument of Jose Marti repeats the type and the atmosphere of the Lincoln’s mausoleum. The structure is strongly suggestive, and is based on some of the premises of the notion of the sublime, but it follows the idea of the father of the nation through an idealized personal ideological position, which is embodied in the sculpture as a vital part of the whole. Through this idealization, a personal political statement is enthroned as a universal humanistic value and becomes highly aestheticized.
Fig. 6 Raul Otero & Eugenio Rayneri, *National Capitol Building*, Havana, completed 1929.

Fig. 7 Etienne-Louis Boullee, *Temple in the Time of God*, 18th Century.

How important the position of an idealized personal statement in this process is substantiates another example, where the lack of a leading political personality gives a completely different notion to the architectural structure. Although built as a half-open type temple, the Nazi monument of the eternal fire in Munich, being completely depersonalized, nicely reflects on Adorno’s notion of de-individualized social atoms which form fascist collectivities. In these social atoms the psychological dynamics of group formation have overreached themselves and are no longer a reality.
[12] This proves to be the essence of the Nazi ideology and propaganda, where even the soldiers guarding the eternal flame, are reflecting the political statement of depersonalization. (Fig. 11)

Levels of idealization of ideological positions may even influence aspects of creative thinking in architecture. We can find examples of this approach highly developed, for instance, in the early modern movement in general. For the purpose of our discussion we can take a few examples from Italian Futurism and later Italian modernism of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the circle of Bauhaus architects. They all relate to particular ideas concerning the values of industrialization, new materials, a dynamic sense of everyday progress in thinking and living, the development of social consciousness, the role of machines and transportation in the development of urban and architectural structures in practical and metaphorical ways. However, a closer analysis of the particular levels of the theoretical and practical development of these aspects reveals the different preoccupations and social roles that they play within the creative thinking of architects belonging to these circles of the early twentieth-century avant-garde.

Fig. 8 Albert Speer, Dome, Project, after 1937.

Fig. 9 Henry Bacon & Daniel Chester French, Lincoln Memorial, Washington, 1914-1922.

Fig. 10 Aquilis Maza & Juan Sicre, Monument to Jose Marti, Competition 1943.

For instance, Sant Elia through his texts and drawings reveals a level of general concern in the named aspects as driving forces of a new era involving new cities and new architectural structures. They provide new ways of living through the dynamic forces of a new built environment.[13]

However, when analysed within the whole Futurist movement, particularly