

## MITOCW | 18. Spatial & Social Structure III: Colony & Post-colony

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**JULIAN** OK. Before we start, I've spoken to a quite number of you about your papers. I'm a little surprised that you have  
**BEINART:** so much intelligence and so show little in this class.

It often fascinates me. I have various theories to explain it, but they're not important. Let me start off by asking you what you thought about the story of Johannesburg. What struck you? [INAUDIBLE].

**AUDIENCE:** What was the story you told of the additions to the houses?

**JULIAN** Yeah.  
**BEINART:**

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah. I guess what struck me with that is that, you know, on the one hand, there's this constant appreciation of sort of individuals' efforts and vernacular practices that come about. But then those so rarely are institutionalized and are often restricted. So that was one thing that struck me.

**JULIAN** Well, these were not restricted, nor institutionalized.  
**BEINART:**

**AUDIENCE:** No, they weren't. Yeah. But I guess in common in practice-- but here in the States, if you're zoning through so many things, you know that that is-- even if that's appreciated, there's never much thought into how to encourage that.

**JULIAN** Well, we presume that we passed the stage of needing to externalize our importance. We haven't got the motive  
**BEINART:** for doing it. If we have, we do it in tyranny and not externally, so the theory would go.

We still believe, probably, that we've reached a level of civilization that doesn't require idiosyncratic or highly personal expressions in public. We look at popular art all over Africa and say that this is a culture which has properties, but is still moving towards a climax. Its climax will be-- much, though, the world of Manhattan would be a climax. That's one theory.

Another theory is that, in people in the developing world, there are not many resources available to them. So they have to develop their own resources.

Later in this class, when I talk about Slum Dwellers International and the latest configurations of self-help organization, you will see that the strength of people to organize themselves, a fundamental premise of anarchism, is now rearing its head as the only resource that poor people have against enormous bureaucratic odds.

So you can see it is a very optimistic idea. The successes of SDI and its equivalent on three continents so far would suggest that there is something to be gained from not exploiting but using or collectivizing the resources of people in poverty towards organizing a better situation for them.

John Turner in Latin America, John Auerbach in Holland, were both at MIT at the time I arrived here. And we shared stories about what this kind of thing meant. Any other reactions? What about the imposition of racial classification?

Does the market impose similar strictures on the location of people? Was the South African situation just another version, an extreme version, of what the market does anyway? Remember Western Native Township was located next to a dump. Soweto was located next to very obnoxious land. I think sewage farms and so on.

Isn't this what happens? Look, I'm looking at extreme situations in order to do the difficult thing of generalizing back to normality. I'm not taking Boston as a case.

I'm not taking [INAUDIBLE]-- well, I am taking [INAUDIBLE] as a case. And what I'm trying to do is what perhaps medical professors do when looking at teaching about cancer. They look at the worst case, the most extreme case of the disease, in order to make the point as clearly as possible.

I think there is a sense in my using Johannesburg. South Africa would not have been marginalized had it not put race classification into law. Nobody boycotted America in the early years of the century, of the last century, by having local conditions against Black people.

Many of the countries who voted against South Africa in the United Nations were imposing harsher, but not legalized national constitutional devices in favor of the separation of white and Black or poor and rich. Does that make any sense?

What about rejoicing on the products of poor people? When poor people struggle to maintain some decent life beyond poverty, we rejoice.

**AUDIENCE:** Are you saying this from a schadenfreude perspective or from a--

**JULIAN** Probably.

**BEINART:**

**AUDIENCE:** --or from a-- we just enjoy what they produce and enjoy the--

**JULIAN** It's difficult. I'm judging from the response that I have had in many parts of the world when showing this material over a number of years on the BBC and all over the place. It was on the cover of three architectural magazines in the same month in 1966.

**BEINART:**

It's a long time ago, but there was something. Whenever I went somewhere, architects were saying, gosh, if only we, our clients in social housing, had that capacity to individuate the buildings. And John Auerbach, amongst others, made big theory in his book supports and others of the process of indwelling as being something that we should cultivate.

Architects should only build if it required support systems to let people finish the work themselves. In the three cases which I want to deal with very briefly this afternoon, we find a number of different things operating. The Mexican-American border is 1,952 miles long. It's the longest border in the world, the least defended and the most patrolled.

It's the largest tourist crossing in anywhere in the world. Yet it has 11 binational cities along the border. They vary from Tijuana, San Ysidro, San Diego, to Ciudad Juarez, and El Paso to the wonderful mix Californian pair of Calexico and Mexicali, which is a wonderful anagram of the linguistics. Nogales, Nogales, Brownsville, Matamoros on the Gulf. How should we regard the cities?

I will show evidence to show that they operate in some ways as unified metropolitan areas, which would mean that this subregion along the border could be justified as a separate identity from either Mexico and the United States.

**AUDIENCE:** When I was in the Mexican government, we used to study the thesis a lot. And I remember talking to people especially, in Tijuana San Diego, on both sides of the border. They actually refer to the city as the Metropolitan area Tijuana San Diego. And their perspective on the crossing point, on the checkpoint right at the border, is [INAUDIBLE] sort of a permanent nuisance that they have to deal with in their daily lives. Because people work and commute daily to the city.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah. In all of these cases, there's an important friction system operating. In this case, it's between white people and non-white people, between people of Hispanic heritage or an Indian heritage and-- El Paso is amongst the poorest parts of the United States.

When I was on the border in-- after Jimmy Carter became president, I attended some of the meetings which he and the Mexican president set up on some of these border towns.

Octavio Paz says that Mexico, crossing the border, is one of the ways in which Americans satisfy their obsessions. It refers to a larger idea. And that is the uses of slums in metropolitan areas. In *Sherlock Holmes*, the Prince Royal goes off to smoke or take cocaine in the East Indian London. Sherlock Holmes himself smokes something or other.

The poorest part of the population provides a setting for the doing of semi-legal or illegal things, prostitution and so on. So if you enlarge that and you see Tijuana and San Diego as a pair-- in Kevin Lynch and [INAUDIBLE] study of San Diego of Tijuana, which is in the reading, it's one of the best pieces of small scale difficult planning that I know. It's in the reading for today's class.

You get a sense of this idea that-- remember Steve McQueen? He's a famous American male actor who got cancer and a lot of publicity associated with him crossing the border to the South to get the illegal drug laetrile, which is not available in the United States.

Of course, it didn't kill his cancer. But the phenomenon of there being a haven, a special environment which provides the majority or the superior, quote "superior" class, with satisfactions which are elicited in their own surroundings.

**AUDIENCE:** The phenomenon still stands today. Close to the border, there's a huge amount of pharmacies.

**JULIAN** Yes.

**BEINART:**

**AUDIENCE:** They sell medicines that here, in the States, would be either restricted by a prescription or not available.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Well, two reactions to that-- the border between East Germany and West Germany-- also, borders attract a kind of marginal population. There's a wonderful little book in your reading called *On The Border* by Tom Miller-- he's a *New York Times* journalist-- which records a trip from Brownsville, Matamoros all the way to Tijuana and the extraordinary things he finds.

He finds a town which specializes in the smuggling of peacocks to Chicago in the back of trucks. He finds the most powerful AM station in the United States, a right-wing propaganda radio station which the government of China asked the United States to intervene with.

So there's a kind of erotic condition where you bring two notions together. I don't know what the theory behind that is. But it seems to be the case that the behavior of a lot of activities on this border are different from the internet.

**AUDIENCE:** There is a book by the editor of Foreign Revue [INAUDIBLE] Moises Naim. The book is called *Illicit*, where he studies borders in details as constructs that, because of their-- artificial blockage of goods, services, and people's daily activities, it brings out a particular kind of inhabitant of these places.

**JULIAN BEINART:** This Mexican-American border serves a number of other functions. It serves as the major avenue of illegal immigration into the United States. I don't know if there's illegal immigration south from the United States into Mexico, but--

**AUDIENCE:** There are a lot of people that go to Mexico. We don't ask Americans for a visa. They enter, and then they stay in Mexico and live there.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah. There are, according to government sources, 12 million illegal immigrants in the United States. The census or one of the government agencies claims it only arrests one out of four people who try to take their bodies.

56% of illegal immigrants in this country are Mexican. So this border serves as an avenue for the movement of people from-- what would you call Mexico? What would you call the United States? The United States offers more, presumably more, opportunities for increasing wealth.

There are many stories that are humorous surrounding that there are people who live in Mexico and work in the United States illegally every day. One of the stories in our meeting was told by a young man who dresses up in jogging clothes like an American, crosses the border every morning at 5 o'clock, starts jogging on the American side and works as a gardener, returns home at night.

These are funny stories. Immigration into the United States is politically and spatially still very unresolved. America was built by immigrants. I'm an immigrant. And I've taught here for 34 years. It shows how poor the local population is.

[LAUGHTER]

I'm jumping all over the place. I just want to cite you statistic about immigration. "United States remains a magnet for immigrants. The US is among the best at assimilating them. As a result, half the world's skilled immigrants come to the US. Between 1990 and 2005, immigrants started a quarter of the new venture-backed public companies in the United States."

So again, we are at the crossroads theory. On the one hand there's the conservative position that a nation should take care of its own people and selectively choose people who wish to get into that country, not have a random system of entry.

The US Congress is likely to take up immigration following the failure of the previous President Bush who comes from Texas and was under a lot of pressure, set about building a \$60 billion fence over the 2,000 miles. He reduced it to 700 miles, ran into enormous problems of land rights in Texas and was sued and abandoned the whole project. What else about the Mexican-American border?

**AUDIENCE:** Right now in Mexico, there is a huge [INAUDIBLE] immigration reform because of what happened on [INAUDIBLE]. But they were talking about immigration reform in the early Bush days in 2001. Actually, President Fox came as well to the conference--

**JULIAN  
BEINART:** Yeah.

**AUDIENCE:** --one week before 9/11. As soon as 9/11 happened, that whole discussion got derailed. And the priorities of US policy shifted. So it moved from an idea of having an immigration reform to an idea of security.

And we've been talking about immigration. There's a lot of talk about immigration reform again or getting back into the political agenda. And now that the marathon bombings happened again, you can follow it up in Mexican media.

There's another notion of, oh my god, it's this story all over again. It's happening all over again. It's going to be the security concerns are going to take over the political discussion.

**JULIAN  
BEINART:** Yeah. Cheap labor is important in a capitalist industrial economy. So immigration will be supported by capitalists--

**AUDIENCE:** Yes.

**JULIAN  
BEINART:** --i.e. people who politically are normally conservative. So there's an ambiguity about this position. The strength of cheap labor-- Mitt Romney was accused of using Mexican workers to fix his garden without paying them legally.

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah.

**JULIAN  
BEINART:** Anyway, what do you-- you have a population in this belt on either side of the border where people speak two languages, share telephone services. Industries in one country are located across the border into another-- there's 3,000 American industries which pay no taxes.

They move south across the border, but pay tax only when the finished products are returned to the United States. This is the second largest labor source in Mexico according to a recent item that I read. So we have the United States exporting its industries around the world to pools of cheap labor.

One of the closest and, therefore, reducing the costs of transportation is Mexico. So you have another version of the relationship between these two countries. Pro this kind of effort are people who believe that it stimulates jobs in a poor country.

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah. And then there is a backward relationship of strong-- actually, a relevant part of the Mexican population that feels that it's a highly unjust situation because the territory of most of the western [INAUDIBLE] states in the US used to belong to them. So there's a social resentment that has grown in parts of the population that has been instigated.

**JULIAN** Yes, I should have mentioned. For so many of you not Americans or Mexicans that the present status of the  
**BEINART:** border is the result of war. Much of Texas, California, Arizona, a number of states even going as far as Wyoming--

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah, it's California, Nevada, Colorado, part of Wyoming, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas.

**JULIAN** And California.

**BEINART:**

**AUDIENCE:** And California.

**JULIAN** Yeah. Yeah. There's a long history to all of this. Between 1846 and 1854, the United States won a war against  
**BEINART:** Mexico in which the United States took possession of a large part of the Southwest of the current United States and paid Mexico \$18 million. That includes the Gadsden Purchase, which was an additional operation.

So this border dates back to the same date that Haussmann took power in Paris, a number of European conflagrations in 1848. 1848, there were 137,000 British troops in India. It's a signal date, 1850, 1848.

1850-- London, the largest city in the world, the first European city to be the largest since Rome. So many things have a [INAUDIBLE]. But I think it's important to point out that this heritage, which you point to, is probably more likely to be absorbed now except for people who wish to maintain their political enemies against the United States.

The future for all of these situations-- and I'm going to try to cut these stories short and ask you to ponder as to what the urban mystic response should be to these places. You are likely to be asked, like I was, to venture an opinion about one of the days on the border the chief planner of Juarez, who is Mexican, and the chief planner of El Paso, who's Mexican-American, met for the first time in these discussions.

They discussed water. They discussed illegal settlement. They discussed fumes that were coming from the Asarco lead plant into Mexico.

That night there was a dinner. And I was sitting next to the woman who was the representative of the US government Foreign Service. And she asked me how I was enjoying the day.

And I said, it was remarkable. It felt so positive about this interaction and the promises that the people made to each other. She said to me, remember, we fought a war against these people once. So my naive academicism was piloted off in a very bad direction.

What else can I say about-- read Tom Miller's book if you want to know what the border is like. I think we'll leave the Mexican-American bipolar series.

The piece I gave you in the handout today from 1981 *US News and World Report*-- "Where Yanks and Mexicans Live Together and Like It." "Linked by twin industries, two-way trade, and now by trolley line, San Diego and Tijuana offer an object lesson in international cooperation."

I don't know if that is justified, but I leave it to you to make a judgment about that. The fact is that there are not many conditions in the world where two nations, one presumably belonging to the First World, another belonging presumably to the Second World, go inside.

European cities extend their labor relationships across to North Africa to Turkey as migrant labor. South Africa built its gold mines on migrant labor from as far north as Malawi and Tanzania. But here we have a conjunction of two systems around urban areas, which are just a fence away from each other.

One of the models for the future of Jerusalem was, in fact, a kind of city which had no border running through the city. It wasn't a divided city at all, but the city which mediated issues such as customs and security in other ways. Maybe with electronic technology we'll be able to introduce ways of assessing personal movement and personal behavior more adequately.

One is always fascinated by what happened on Monday afternoon here in Boston. This lecture is being recorded, so I have to add the date. This is the Monday after the marathon bombing.

How much evidence seems to be available simply through the common practice of people, teenagers having telephones which record material? So one maybe in future be able to see enormous diversity to cities, given an environment of relative peace.

If you look back historically at Europe, the wars between Spain and Holland, between Spain and England, between France and Germany, between Germany and Poland and Russia, between Napoleon and northern Italy, between the Muslim city of Istanbul and Budapest and Vienna.

I mean, I'm not even going very far back. I'm going back to the 18th century, 17th century. To believe, at that time, that there would be a common union in which there would be no passports required to move from France into Belgium or from France into Germany would have been impossible to imagine.

One of the things I learned from Kevin Lynch was his incredible belief in the capacity of human beings to improve themselves. And his evidence was always that urbanism could be properly administered, be a vehicle for doing this. Cities educate people. They teach them new ways.

Johannesburg is not the city that it was when Soweto was created. The reason, as I mentioned over and over again last week, was the South Africa sought for a rural solution to its problems because urbanism educated people to their political right, to [INAUDIBLE].

And the Bantustan policy which was the last of the major efforts by the Afrikaner government in South Africa was anti-urban. We move to the broad body of stuff, which we normally refer to as colonial-native relationships.

A colonial-native relationship is a relationship in which a dominant external force occupies another country and imposes its will around a number of polarities. For Britain it was dangerous to go to India.

The life expectancy of a British soldier, if they stayed in Britain in 1883, was 59.5 years. If they went to India, it was 37.7 years. So the preoccupation of the British was that India was an extraordinary environment. It was dangerous.

It was also seductive. The British, under Victorian rule, by and large repressed sexuality. You come to India where sexuality is abundant not in terms of personal behavior, but in terms of cultural expression.

If you really E.M. Forster's book of *Passage to India* in 1924-- has anybody read Forster? He's one of the greatest English writers. You must read him. Read a *Passage to India*. You'll get a-- look what happens.

A young English woman called Adele arrives in India to marry the son of the Mrs. Briggs, I think. I'm not sure. I don't remember.

They meet a handsome young Indian doctor called Dr. Aziz. Dr. Aziz is a trained medical man. And the interaction is quite spontaneous.

Dr. Aziz invites them, the mother and this young woman, to visit some caves nearby called the cave the Macabar. This is all fictitious, of course, but you see the story.

This young woman is so distraught in the caves by the echo that come back whenever they speak that she goes off. She goes crazy and runs away. She comes back to the British civil station and accuses Dr. Aziz of having assaulted sexually.

The British claim that Indian men are sexually attracted to white British women and should be punished for that. The Indians claim that this is a hoax, that this woman was hysterical. It goes to court and Dr. Aziz is, at the end of the book, freed from the case because this woman breaks down in court and admits that she made the wrong accusation.

**AUDIENCE:** There's a very telling part of in the story about the button on the back of the shirt, which Dr. Aziz shares to an Englishman, but had forgotten. And then when they're qualifying Dr. Aziz and they get to the button, they link that to the notion that no Indian could ever behave like a true gentlemen because they forget the small details.

[LAUGHTER]

So they tie it down. And it tells you a lot of the rigidity that society played on all those small constructs as artificial classifiers of people.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah. You know, it raises another issue for me. And that is we require novelists to see a situation and write about it in a way that reality cannot do. That is for those of you interested in film and its impact on our understanding of cities. There's so many movies which depict conditions in cities in heightened form.

It took E.M. Forster sitting at Cambridge to write a book at-- he visited India. Anyway, so here the polarities are complex. For the British, they were three diseases that had to be counted, environmental diseases of the air, vegetation, soil, water, humidity. Number two-- behavioral diseases, diet, alcohol. And number three-- social diseases, sexual diseases.

I will show you some of the images from some of the literature. One of the notions was that disease, as in London about the same time, was carried through the air. So the ventilation system in the bungalow and in the hat was a similar situation which allowed air to pass through.

I will show you a section through a parade ground, which is ventilated up and down. I'll show you a diagram of the amount of air you need to be safe. This is all before Snow and the discovery of cholera as the waterborne disease.



The choice, you will see, for an Indian, at least for an English bureaucrat, was between a bungalow-- bungalow, again, is a term which comes from the native language, from [NON-ENGLISH]. You must remember that the headquarters of the capital of India with Calcutta before it was moved by the British to Delhi from a [LAUGHTER] world, world of speaking another language to Hindu.

The word veranda is also a word that's been built into English architecture. There are a number these terms which refer to spatial components of the colonial city-- the maidan, which is that breathing space of open space between the native city, much like South Africa. The native city and the new white enterprise would be separated by space.

Critical distance was another feature of the dominant-native relationship. You want to be as far as possible from them. A book colonial city argues that the French colonial environment was different because the French have always assumed a more liberal position about body contact.

And the British have always resisted. So the British-- the notion of staying as far away from the native not only because of the air, but of some kind of distancing of context, metaphysical perhaps, but also physical and spatial. Typically, the British built a military presence first or the cantonment on the other side of the maidan, and then built what is called the civil station just beyond the cantonment.

The civil station was, again, a set of bungalows spaced like a suburban American landscape with enough air floating around, and nothing was dense. The native city was dense. I'll show you some images of the native city from the British view.

So attenuated space was an important component. I've given you two pages on the next big adventure, and that's the building of New Delhi. The building of New Delhi, or the planning in New Delhi, took a number of forms.

One of the important members of the committee was a man called Lanchester, John Lanchester, who was an acolyte of Patrick Geddes and believed in constructive surgery. So his first ambition was to link the new plan to the native city of Shahjahanabad, which is one of the oldest cities in the Far East. I think since-- God only knows-- the 13th. When was the origin of Shahjahanabad?

**AUDIENCE:** [INAUDIBLE]

**JULIAN** Prior to Shah Jahan, it was a settlement. In the 14th century, it was considered the largest city in the Far East. So  
**BEINART:** Shahjahanabad, after the riots, the British took over parts of Shahjahanabad and made it a military presence as well.

But Lanchester's plan was to try to link Shahjahanabad to this new development. There are various iterations by the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens and Sir Herbert Baker. Here what I've given you is a sketch of five different planned discussions ultimately resulting on the Raisina Hill solution, the [INAUDIBLE] Hill Solution.

The notion which prevails throughout is that British classicism or the British interpretation of Greek and Roman classicism was a way of educating the native population to standards which they couldn't achieve by themselves. The second one was that the site needed to be high in elevation, so that it would dominate the world.

These are primitive ideas which you can see in the laws of the Indies as well of a colonial proposition needing to educate and subdue the population. Remember, in the laws of the India, the rules are that the natives are not allowed to see the cathedral until it's finished. You have to use the force of the cathedral's elevation to dominate.

You cannot see the construction of the cathedral. The construction is a process of admitting viability-- not admitting viability-- admitting weakness.

So Edwin Lutyens, who was a very good architect-- you should look. For those who are interested in architecture, look at his project Lindisfarne in England quite different from this. Anyway, I'll just quote the manifestation of some of these ideas.

"Indian buildings, even the Taj Mahal, were picturesque and decorative, but pervaded by childish ignorance of the basic principles of architecture. The Indic style, he argued, simply does not have the constructive and geometrical qualities necessary to embody the idea of law and order, which is being produced out of chaos by the British administration.

Would [INAUDIBLE], he wrote sarcastically, had he gone to Australia, have burnt his knowledge and experience to produce a marsupial style?" Can you imagine a marsupial style in Australia?

His argument is that to disembody classicism, which had been produced out of centuries of thought by Europeans, to disembody it and to make it into Indianism would not only be difficult and foolish, but would not embody the purposes of British colonialism. That is to educate and maintain dominance over people.

So correctly speaking, classicism used in this sense is a disembodiment of the universality of human experience. He says that human experience is manifest at a higher level in 500 BC in Greece and is maintained for 2000 years as the dominant form of expression in architecture not to be vitiated by any local cultural evidence.

Of course, there were no great Indian architects. One has to look at Chandigarh as another importation of a European architect to deal with this question of what is Indian and what is universal. We'll deal with Chandigarh in this class if we have time.

I recently wrote a piece on Chandigarh for a book, which is a result of a talk we gave at the 50th anniversary of Chandigarh. So all of this adds up to a very concise explanation of the planning and architectural content of New Delhi as being an expressive and controlled system of dominance.

We need to know now-- and I have many post-colonial Indian architect friends and have been in partnership with one. So I think I understand a little bit about their reaction. Modernism was a vehicle for destroying all kinds of notions of colonial-native relationships, I think. Do you think so?

**AUDIENCE:** In some way, not entirely.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Not entirely-- but there were people like Rudyard Kipling and his father, who also were British, who took a different view of India. So I suppose they were eccentric to India. but modernism has allowed India to bypass the question of style in a sense as being politically important.

I mean, people like [INAUDIBLE] and many others have used modernism as a free liberal expression of what they think a new society should be about despite the polarities between Hindu and Muslim in the current India, despite the enormous polarities between wealth and poverty after-- anyway, so what do you think?

**AUDIENCE:** I think modernism has replaced even a lot of the traditional Indian [INAUDIBLE] have. The Indian architecture has been influenced by [INAUDIBLE]. And there's so many influences.

**JULIAN**  
**BEINART:** Absolutely.

**AUDIENCE:** By saying that modernism is a free expression or is something that negates all of that does not really-- I don't know. It doesn't sound--

**JULIAN**  
**BEINART:** Well, it doesn't negate it. But it was agnostic. It did not associate itself with anything else, but its own invention. In doing so, it denied the aspirations of Indianism maybe.

**AUDIENCE:** But what is Indianism? Because [INAUDIBLE].

**JULIAN**  
**BEINART:** Well, absolutely. So Chandigarh was easy to-- Nehru understood that to get Corbusier to come along and design his image of new capital city for the Punjab would require somebody who had the capacity to overwhelm the Indianness in the same way that Louis Khan in Bangladesh built his world in Dhaka.

Le Corbusier traveled all over India before. He writes all about Indian construction and Indian materials. Louis Khan does the same thing. Louis Khan buildings, parliament building, marks the end of a day of work. And then the next day, the bricks or the stones are sort of marked in relation to the labor as if this is-- I mean, this is another big story.

But let's leave the story to concentrate on racial polarities. Maybe these extreme polarities disappear with education, disappear with change, so liberals would believe.

**AUDIENCE:** So what are you saying, that through education [INAUDIBLE]?

**JULIAN**  
**BEINART:** Through education one presumes that changes in idle worship transform people to being religious [INAUDIBLE] in history. The European evidence of the-- there's no animation-- no, not animation, no active hostility between Spain and Holland.

Although the Spanish did terrible things to them. We're going to do a class on architecture and memory or urbanism and memory because some of this has been written about. I do believe that the only solution for Jerusalem, if there is any solution, which is going to take time, is if there were some force which introduced itself into Israeli education.

Israeli education is dominated by the religious groups, who insist on portraying Arabs as rapists, and villains, and so on. The reverse is true. If you look at the high school books, some of the books in Jordan, and Syria, and so on, they depict Jews as Shakespeare depicted the *Merchant of Venice*.

Now, you don't go around England any more writing books about Jews as the *Merchant of Venice*. That stopped in the 16th century. So there's historic evidence that people do, cultures do, change their mind.

What about the future of Johannesburg? There are 40 million Black people in South Africa today. There are 6 million whites and 6 million coloreds making a [INAUDIBLE] population. That means that Black people are 80% of the total population of South Africa today.

What is the policy with regard to Soweto? You are a brilliant MIT graduate. You're hired by the United Nations to advise the South African government, as I was.

What do you do? You've got to take care of rebuilding education for 40 million people. You've got to introduce health systems. You've got to provide jobs. 25% of young Blacks in Johannesburg don't have jobs.

You can't socialize the society quickly enough because foreign investment, which is fundamental to South Africa's capital, will flee. So you cannot nationalize the gold mines, as many of the ANC people have wanted to do. So let's look at Havana and Cuba for a moment simply before we write all of these off as the dustbins of history.

Look, this is tough stuff. It's not urban designers planting a few trees in Iowa. This is what is happening by and large in important parts of the world and has happened. You've got to have some understanding of these extremely difficult situations.

Havana was a Laws of the Indies city. Between 1959 and 1988, it was host to Soviet sponsorship. And as I look at the plans for when we were in Havana and in end of 1978, I think-- a couple of things.

One of the ideas taken from Russia was to normalize the relationship between the country and the city. If you remember Shirov's plan for Moscow, which I discussed with you, there was an attempt to increase public space on the periphery of the city in a wide belt around the city. The only city in the world where this has been put into place is Havana.

Lenin Park has increased the number of square foot. In 1959, there was 1 square meter of open space per capita in the city. In 1978, when we were there, it had increased in 11 square meters per capita, 3 in the city, 8 outside in Lenin Park. Whether people are actively using Lenin Park is another story.

Right from the first Castro invasion, it seemed that the idea was to frustrate the growth of the city and favor the development of the countryside. Again, this idea is central to South African apartheid, which I mentioned over and over again, but with a different meaning. You couldn't easily migrate into Havana unless you could find a job.

At least you had somewhere to stay. The population of Havana decreased after Castro's takeover. Instead of the huts and small property ownership, a new rural environment was created.

Small towns of 2,000 people about 10 kilometers apart were attempt-- I'll show you some of them-- to put a kind of layer of measles across the land, all an attempt to rejuvenate the idea of the country.

One of the first things that Castro did-- Castro himself, his government, his policies-- were to take to send young men and women from Havana out into the country to talk to older people and to try to teach them how to read and write. The whole image was a kind of world in which there was the division between rural poverty and urban wealth would be destroyed.

I often think Israel and Cuba have a lot in common by virtue of being small countries. In small countries, you have a presence of the land in much-- how does a kid growing up in New Jersey know about Yosemite? It's too large. It's too long. It's too big. It takes special effort.

But if you're living in Havana and it takes 5 minutes to get into the country, it's a different story. Young Jews in Israel are enormously competent at biblical history partly for political reasons, but also partly because the sites are there. You go south to the Negev, and you can see where [INAUDIBLE] sacrifice sheep or whatever. I'm just making that up. [INAUDIBLE] didn't sacrifice any sheep.

So the Picadura Valley, one of the major changes in the rural landscape, was to the Picadura Valley was-- there are two major industries, agricultural industries in Cuba, the production of tobacco, which is a refined cultured the industry and the production of sugar, which is the harshest industry, agricultural industry there is.

Castro made important efforts to utilize these symbols. He didn't nationalize the tobacco industry. He allowed it to remain under local control, but not nationalized. He nationalized the sugar production industry completely and reduced its size.

In the Picadura Valley, for instance, he removed all sugar growth and resurfaced the land with new agricultural material, got Canada to help them to produce a cow which could produce milk in the tropics. The Picadura Valley now produces milk for Cuba. These are important elements of transforming the rural productive world.

So the polarity, which I want to focus on here, is just-- there are many other aspects of-- by the way, modernism, when we visited, was the only style of building that was available in modern Cuba, decorated modernism using super graphics was very-- I'll show some of these products.

The use of the past selectively-- for instance, the operation which sent Cuban troops to Angola to help the African Liberation movement was called Operation Carlota. Who is Carlota? Carlota was this woman slave who led the rebellion against the United Fruit Company.

It was a political move to-- oh, god, I forgot about the time. This is so interesting. Let's just leave it at that.

The Cuban story has transformed, of course, since 1978. I'm talking about a time when the pure impulse under Soviet dominance, the change-- the use of micro brigade labor and so a whole set of things which operated at that time.

Cuba is now a semi-socialist state, opening up to diverse forms of homeownership, property ownership, different categories of tourism, and so on. You see how much land of the Southwest of the United States Mexico controlled in 1821, 1836, 1848 to 1854, and 1980.

This diagram indicates the special list of a region of 11 bipolar cities strung over 2,000 miles. Next.

This is a famous-- Ricardo, you were referring to this image. This is a Mexican settlement up to the border in the case of Tijuana, various conditions from Tom Miller's book of the border running across this vast distance. Next.

Kevin Lynch and Donald Appleyard's work looking at the regional relationship between Tijuana and San Diego showing how water-- water is one of the biggest concerns between the United States and-- the United States claims that Mexico owes the United States something like 60 billion whatever, gallons of water, which Mexico has illegally used to supplement its population. Water is an issue in Mexico--

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah.

**JULIAN BEINART:** --severe issue. Next. This was at the time-- tourists, \$5 million per year. It's obviously much more today. Next.

Use of the region by La Jolla High School students-- use of the region by Tijuana residence. Next. The linear, dense, arterial street of the Mexican environment-- the isolated shopping center in the San Diego space. Next.

This is a plaza in Ciudad Juarez. This is a view of the central part of El Paso. There's one person, two people available in the photograph. This is all due to a whole complex juxtaposition of urban renewal and so on. Next.

Despite the operation of two separate cities, the daily traffic volume represents that of a unified metropolitan area. Next. This is a happy picture on the right of border guards on the American side on the right playing against Mexican border guards on the left. Nobody knows who wins. The border is in the air. Next.

Immigrant crossing-- next. Next. An Octavio Paz-- Americans come to Mexico to satisfy their obsessions.

**AUDIENCE:** There is a [INAUDIBLE] that is very much ingrained in Mexican psyche. And it's about the crosses and the little memorials of people that have died crossing from Mexico to the States.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah.

**AUDIENCE:** They turn up in places like Arizona. They're actually actively hunted down.

**JULIAN BEINART:** I thought you were going to refer to the 6,000 people who were killed per annum in Juarez.

**AUDIENCE:** Oh, yeah, yeah. And then it goes on the other way around in Juarez. Especially women working in rural maquilas.

**JULIAN BEINART:** In the maquila industries.

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah, in the maquila industries. [INAUDIBLE].

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah. Apparently, real estate in Juarez, according to *The Wall Street Journal*, is more expensive than in an American industrial site.

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah.

**JULIAN BEINART:** What accounts for the violence?

**AUDIENCE:** What?

**JULIAN BEINART:** What accounts for the violence? The 6,000--

**AUDIENCE:** There's been a lot of wild theories, anywhere from gang to cults to women trafficking to the States for sexual purposes. But what is very strong is the fact that the majority of them are women that work in maquilas. And most of them are abducted while on their way to work.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Yeah. Sorry, we have to carry on. Maquilas are the name given for American industries which locate in Mexico, maquiladoras.

**AUDIENCE:** Yeah.

**JULIAN BEINART:** Next. Here's the native city Shahjahanabad, 1683 Shah Jahan, and so on and so on, the cantonment, and the civil station. Next. The dense native city-- and the depiction on the postcard of the British view of that city. It looks a bit like Moscow in its early days. Everything is seen from a distance. Next.

Here is the calculation of the amount of air you need to be safe. Here is the attempt to ventilate a parade ground. Next. The basilica form, which allows ventilation through at upper level-- and the headdress modeled after the basilica form. Next.

The layout of the civil station, this is an interesting cartoon from [INAUDIBLE]. Ensign Green is appointed as junior commissioner in [INAUDIBLE]. His friends suggest he needs to get a house on the right.

The house on the right is the scientific version, above the ground, ventilation everywhere. He's determined to build this kind of house, however. This kind of house negates all the scientific premises, but it has all of the meaningful elements to which we associate with formal exposition.

He hasn't got the money to build this number two, so he ends up with number four, a native kind of construction called the bungalow. Next-- from the bungalow to the various versions of construction. Next.

The British maintenance of some of the outdoor practices-- here the playing of garden games or social events. The maidan-- the space that's left between the native settlement in Calcutta, the veranda. Next.

The final plan-- Shahjahanabad about on the north Connaught place, a commercial environment as a stepping stone to the New Delhi. Next-- many of the spatial forms used from the day of the Persians onwards.

Next-- Connaught Place. Next-- the great Viceroy's Palace with the chanceries on either side-- the secretariats, I'm sorry, on either side. Herbert Baker is regarded as attempting to introduce the Indian experiment into the [INAUDIBLE] system in detail. Next.

Havana-- the Laws of the Indies plan on the right. Next. The empty city-- I'm sorry the slide is so dark on the left. Next.

1978-- the suburban house is divided into two. And a major attempt is made to use Eastern European prefabricated material-- We'll be through in a second-- with micro brigade labor, teams of 33 people from industry building their own housing with specialist help.

Next. Buildings which are kept, a hut on the left, is an attempt to show what Cuba was like and colonial power. The building on the right has only recently been opened again.

This building was closed. When we were there, it was considered unsafe. But in fact, it indicated the kind of architecture which was too personal. Next.

This is an interesting-- this is the premises of the City Bank of New York. Just on the wall as you go beyond these columns, there's a plaque which says, this building is now used for the children of Cuba, not for capitalist use. So you maintain the distinction between what it was in the past and the present.

This is the same version. What is this saying? The Picadura Valley on the right is a bunch of new rural people with a Bulgarian television set.

Next-- Lenin Park and the super graphics on the right. Next-- the use of powerful political images. Next. I think that the last.