

THE THREE TRILLION DOLLAR KINDERGARTEN.



***"THE GOLDEN GARDENS OF
EDINNU", aka "PACIFICATION BY
BUNKER-BLOCK"***



A SHORT INTRODUCTION TO THE 'GIANT'.

It seems hardly possible that there would be anyone alive on this planet who did not know that catastrophe would befall them if they should seriously disturb the Great American Public. Nikita Khrushchev was one of these local-boy innocents when he sent the hound Laika beeping across the wide skies of Mom and Pop's back yard. The suicide of Western Communism was Khrushchev's epitaph. The USA was smarting from "losing" the China that they had helped fight Japan. Ho Chi Minh had never directly harmed Uncle Sam. But who could not notice that while the USA 'lost' Vietnam, the level of death and destruction was apocalyptic. I never read anything persuasive of the reasoning behind the Saudi Boys who flew the airliners into the Twin Towers. The Aeroplane first flew in the 20C USA. The skyscraper was a 19C American invention. The symbolism of contriving that these two All-American machines should kill thousands of Americans was viscerally forceful. What did these silly boys expect would happen? One may assume that it was not for the Wahabis to get off scot free and for the Afghans and Iraqis to suffer an endless death.

A WHOLE CONTINENT QUADRATED. WAS IT FOR 'ARCHITECTURE'?

The USA knows, from recent experience that it was they, alone, who made America. They are not going to forget this. There are "red lines" that one does not cross when dealing with this giant. The USA is as 'strange' as any human culture. One must be aware of that which make the USA 'different'. One of these is that North America is an entire continent that has been "quadrated". No other stretch of the Globe has received this hubristic stamp to anything like the same extent. In 1953, when driving my first automobile Northwards in Alberta I used to extinguish my headlights so as to navigate by the brilliant prairie full moon. The only danger was meeting a sudden right-angle kink that existed only because these endlessly straight roads had to jink sideways occasionally as they all converged onto the North Pole.

A CULT OF SOLITUDE: JEFFERSON'S "SAXON DEMOCRACY".

Thomas Jefferson, while governing the USA at the height of the 'Enlightenment', set, in 1873, his Geographer-General Thomas Hitchens to walk in straight lines to the Mississippi. The land was "Sectioned" into one-mile squares. This readied America for Jefferson's political ideal of a "Saxon Democracy" of farmers. Each would build a central hut and chop down trees until, like Stanley greeting Livingstone, the Neighbours met each other across their denuded boundaries. Jefferson's political theory was that his citizens would be so isolated from each other that the corruptions of real-politic would be eliminated. The congress of these marooned hermits would be with God, aka the Rain-guage. The French, Spanish and Canadian colonists settled along natural features like rivers and other routes. By dwelling close to these conveniences, they found it easier to socialise. Whether this corrupted them I cannot say. Studies have shown that it kept them freer from registered insanity than the citizens of Jefferson's "Saxon Democracy".

THE ALL-AMERICAN 'INDIVIDUAL' OWNS LAND 'IN FEE SIMPLE'

Andro Linklater argues, in his book "Measuring America", that the USA speaks English because the ownership of land 'in Fee Simple' was current in Britain 200 years before either France or Spain. He reports that there were only five 'freeholders' in the whole of Spanish California. All others held their land on leases from the King. Ownership in Fee Simple enabled the individual landowner to exploit his land exactly as he pleased, without regard for any external agent. It was this form of ownership that attracted such a huge press of immigrants to the seven British East-Coast colonies that they overwhelmed the more sparsely occupied French and Spanish lands. Linklater argues that when this was combined with London's Banks, overflowing with global capital, and the roads built along Jefferson's quadrations, turning the Continent into an ocean whose ships cargoes on wheels, then little more is needed to explain why it is English, as Bismark presciently remarked, that is spoken in North America.

ANTE-DILUVIA AND THAT "SINKING FEELING"

In 2001, the tropical storm Allison dropped 35 inches of rain onto Houston. 70,000 homes were flooded and nine billion dollars of damage caused. I experienced a lesser one of these. The small roads serving Rice University are built like shallow canals along which the large local automobiles plough ahead with rushing water up to their axles. To cross from one to the door of one's destination is to walk through an industrial douche. It is a submarine experience. Yet when I built my best building, ever, in Rice University Houston, its site had already sunk nine feet during the hundred years since that University's foundation in 1912. Houston is only fifty feet above the storm-tossed Gulf of Mexico. It was still legal, in the 1990s (it may still be so), to dig a borehole and pump at will. Will the USA ever curtail its cult of individual liberty? Only they can decide.

SOME FRIENDLY ADVICE: "TURN UP THE HEAT".

Many educated Americans feel today that they should become "less American". They are wrong. Humanist America is mostly a disaster. Americans should never abandon their origins. They need to become "more American". But to do so they need to pick-up more from abroad. America was the great melting pot. They should turn up the heat and throw more into the cauldron. What I took to them in Houston, with my best building, was a set of ideas that would make them 'better' at what they already do. These ideas are not natively 'English'. Architecture was invented elsewhere. Neither, even where brilliantly executed, has Architecture ever been effectively theorised. I have tried to remedy this deficiency. My theorisations were invented by an Englishman who loves America. And when has the 'exotic' ever prevented the USA from taking what it wanted! America had, when it was 'great', a way of making everything 'its own'.

'THE ARCHITECTURE OF PACIFICATION (and so of Peace).

It is surely time, after pouring three trillion dollars into the sands of the Middle East, to consider the well-attested utility of Architecture, of the 'proven' idea-bearing sort, to the project of installing a 'Constitution'. Whereas the military of the West is brilliant, and almost beyond criticism, the Anglo-American West found itself so surprised by its failure to 'win the Peace' that a positive torrent of books and papers have been published, mainly in the USA, which feels its loss more keenly than Britain, to discover how and why it lost what I think is fair to call, as I have in my 44 Lectures: "The War of the Arts of Peace".

REGIME CHANGE.

A campaign of "regime change", whether invited or not will fail to achieve its object unless the destined re-constitution (with a small 'c'), is inscribed with the absolute permanence of building-it-into the lifespace of the targeted state. Recent events in Iraq and Afghanistan prove the futility of merely 'writing' a textual constitution. Text is, for most humans, a 'secondary reality'. Regime Change, if it is to be in any real sense 'constitutive' must be written in the tarmac, steel, wood and stone, not to mention polychrome ornament and giant graphics, inlaid pavement-floors and all of the quotidian of the human lifespace itself. That is what is meant by what I term an "Ontic Constitution", a Constitution that has become en fleshed, reified and carnally 'real' (as was meant - etymologically - by 'Royal').

NO 'HEAVY WEAPONS'.

Yet no such possibility exists with the tools offered by the 'Architecture Autre' invented by the 20C. Indeed the most 'Modern' of them, which is "Deconstruction" *expressly excludes* any such utility. It is somewhat ironic that the three-trillion dollar regime-change initiated by the Neo-Conservatives of the USA coincided, almost exactly, with the absolute inutility of the essential tool of Architecture to their efforts of pacification! These were 'Conservatives' (even if only "Neo"), of all people, who did not know how to use a 9,000-year-old Medium! The Anglo-American failure in the Middle east cannot be blamed upon the Military, as-such. The 'hot' war was won in four weeks. It was lost *at home* by the peculiar incompetences of Anglo-America's gubernatorial culture.

I have read the following books in order to discover if any of them had any sense, any intimation at all, of the role of anything like the Architecture of the Ontic Constitution that is the ambition of my 44 Lectures.

1. LOSING IRAQ: "Inside the Postwar Reconstruction fiasco", David L. Phillips. WESTVIEW PRESS 2005.
2. THE OCCUPATION OF IRAQ: "Winning the war and losing the Peace",

Ali A. Allawi. YALE 2007.

3. WE MEANT WELL: “How I helped lose the battle for the hearts and minds of the Iraqi People”, Peter Van Buren. METROPOLITAN BOOKS 2011.

4. THE ENDGAME: “The inside story of the struggle for Iraq, from George W. Bush to Barack Obama”, by Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor. VINTAGE 2012.

5. WRONG TURN: “America’s deadly embrace of Counter Insurgency”, Colonel Gian Gentile. THE NEW PRESS. 2013.

6. THE GOOD WAR: “Why we couldn’t win the war or the peace in Afghanistan”, Jack Fairweather. JONATHAN CAPE 2014.

7. WHY WE LOST: “A General’s inside account of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars”, by Daniel P. Bolger. MARINER 2015 (1st Ed. 2014).

8. HIGH COMMAND: “British Military Leadership in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars”. HURST & Co. 2015.

Unsurprisingly they did not. It only confirms, by the reports of the participants, why the “Three Trillion War” was such an extraordinary POLITICAL failure while the four-week blitzkrieg was such an outstanding MILITARY success. It was not, really, that, as Napoleon observed of the Russians as they burnt Moscow: “these people do not know when they are beaten”. It was that no one on the Allied side knew how to win the “War of the Arts of Peace”.

REAL ESTATE TO ESTABLISH THE NEW REAL.

Architecture, of the sort exercised for the 9,000 years prior to the 20C, has the ability to coincide real-estate with discursive mental activity. While not fulfilling the impossible ambition of Le Queu and his proposal for an *Architecture Parlante* to address the sans-culottes of the 18C French Revolution, it can serve to cargo ideas to those who have learnt how to unpack them. The City-Quarters described in Lectures 40 to 44 are designed to be capable of being ‘iconically-engineered’ to become a home to any and every variety of cult, cults or cultures - both singular and plural. How much better would it be if such permanently-useful real estate were to be a principal instrument of Regime Change itself, rather than left behind as thousands of tons of dusty concrete “T-Walls” after a failed pacification? Bomb-proofed bunker-blocks can begin life as the lower, foundational floors of "Handy-Square" city blocks. These are then completed, during the period of counter-insurgency "regime change" into prettily onamented and coloured real estate - thus helping to pay for the costs of the expedition!

A "WAR OF THE ARTS OF PEACE".

It is necessary to design the military campaign to include the delineation of the sites required for however many of the “Constant City-Quarters” are

needed to inscribe these 'walk-in' Constitutions. If one is going to destroy a city for purely military reasons one could have an eye for its future employment as the ritual theatre of an Ontically-inscribed Constitution that will build "Regime-Change" permanently into the defeated state.

THE "HANDY-SQUARE": STAGE ONE: "SHINING LIKE THE SUN".

The idea may sound over-ambitious. In fact it is rather simple. These city-blocks begin as 110x110 metre square gold-sprayed pre-cast concrete fortresses with 2m deep earth roofs planted as mortar-bomb-proof gardens. These shelter the invaders. Spraying the bare grey concrete with gold paint shows respect. The Basra sun heated the city up to 53.9 °K this last July. A golden city block would shine with an amazing brilliance under such photonic bombardment. Gold shows that the Invader has some class. Gold is the sign of the incorruptible sun. To go around in a military uniform covered in what looks like the spill from a kitchen trash-bucket shows no respect for the ancient culture of the 'Two Rivers'. It offers them no hope that the invader knows anything more than the dark and dreary chemistry and physics of death and destruction.

FROM FORTIFIED CIRCULATION TO OFF-STREET MASS TRANSIT.

The trenches required for underground pipes wires, drains and services, when over-floored with concrete as they usually are, can be left un-backfilled for some time to act as shrapnel-protected circulation trenches. Vehicular supply routes, which must flow directly from the Airport into this new City-Quarter can be by underground tunnels of large diameter pipe segments whose above-ground will be a cordon sanitaire patrolled by drones which will destroy anything that moves. This is to prevent sabotage. This supply circulation will be later converted into an underground, rubber-wheeled, off-street movement system for the completed City-Quarter. Such is the extraordinary poverty of imagination of our 'modern' city planning that no one ever thinks that cities will clog with automobiles - through they have done this every day, everywhere, for the last five decades! A rubber-wheeled dual energy 'metro' system is easier than a metal-wheeled railway to integrate with existing suburbs as the rubber-wheeled vehicles can surface and become petrol driven buses or electrical trolley-buses.

"HANDY-SQUARE" STAGE TWO: WORKSHOPS BELOW, FLATS ABOVE.

The older 'bunker-blocks' are transformed by stainless steel mesh shotnailed over their golden flanks. Onto this is stuccoed their final coverings in cobalt blue and venetian red and all the other luscious hues that modern chemical chromatology has learned how to make capable of resisting Iraq's ferocious sun. Even the miserable brown muck favoured by the military can take its place as a decent ochreous umber. Then the "Bunker Block Bases", now with a securely blooming "Square (3rd floor roof), Garden, can be built upwards to their permnent completion before becoming occupied by

Tenants. During this completion of the stucco-faced inhabited super-blocks further, encircling and protecting (gold-sprayed raw concrete), new blocks are methodically added from prefabricated concrete parts that are cast and formed inside the first-to-be-erected "bunker blocks". These older ground-floor workshops then become commercial industry under the garden-apartments. The complete city-quarter, when built, is lived-in only by those who have learned how to participate-in and operate its built-in and surface-scripted Constitutions both political, cultural and economic.

THE 'CITY-QUARTER'.

One way of organising these Handy-Squares of around a hundred households is to constitute each one as a joint-stock company whose Householders are its Shareholders. When one of the duplex apartments is sold the share goes with it. The share allows its owner to participate in the government of the company in whatever way its Constitution allows - including its profits and losses. This gives all of its householders an interest in promoting and benefiting the 'company' which is also their property. A similar constitution could be applied to any larger grouping of handy-squares and "fluvial blocks" all the way up to a whole City Quarter. These new 'cities-next-to-a-city' was how both the Greeks and the Arabs introduced their conquering cultures. These willing and well-trained early populations would likely be refugees, both local and ex-patriate, who respected the Western way of a deperonalised, supra-tribal, supra ethnic Constitutionality. They would mediate the transition from sectarianism.

APPROPRIATING THE BODY-POLITIC TO THE ONTIC CONSTITUTION.

While building and occupying the first 'Handy-Squares', the first prefabricated Fluvial Blocks would be also begin to be rapidly assembled (the Constant City has only two 'block-types' for the moment). The Fluvial Block also accommodates residences and even some street-level uses. But it is also used to form the 'cité administratif, with its towers (quite modest at around 20-30 floors), the 'Place des Pouvoirs' and the Nymphaeum-quarter. I use French and Latin because the English vocabulary of City-Design is compulsively positivistic. It lacks a reasoned attitude to the metaphysical. The British Empire was culturally-disruptive rather than constructive. The 'American Century' less deliberately-so, but as seemingly ineffective. The Socio-Plastic use of the Fluvial Block is original and unique to the Constant-City Method of Pacification. It is to appropriate the Body Politic of the society in question and situate it within the Fluvial Narrative along with the Event Horizons of the Ontic Constitution. Its huge and carnate spatial body not only manifests the idea of the Body Politic but also inscribes it, especially at each Event-Horizon, in colour and gold (gold is essential in Asia) with both the ideas of the East AND, which was the whole 'point' of the Iraq Campaign, with the "Rites of Reason" that are the mark of the 'West'.

FROM WRITING ON PAPER TO WRITING ON WALLS.

The effect of this will, it is proposed, be more effective than the promulgation of a 'Western Type' Constitution as a written document that is merely 'voted' into being. It was its failure in Iraq that prompted my interest in this modern use of what L.B. Alberti, in the 1430s, titled "The Paradigmatic Medium of Civilisation". It recalls the fact that, for most of its history in the theoretical writings of the West, from Augustus Caesar until the abolition of walled cities at the end of the 19C, Civil Architecture was never entirely separated from Military Engineering. Architect-Practitioners were expected to be skilled in the whole spectrum. Now that war is discussed in its most advanced academies as no longer being entirely that of the "manoeuvring of large formations", but of "operations conducted in the midst of populations" (of persons identified only with difficulty as combatants), we seem to have returned to the sorts of 'war' in which 'walls' have, once again, a "war-fighting" role.

THE POVERTY OF THE PUNITIVE.

To put it bluntly, the 'punitive' recourse to the institutionalisation of the Constitutionally Democratic Politics of the West has, at least in Asia, largely failed. Those who resist it know that if pushed too far the USA will physically damage them to an almost unbearable degree. But this physio-craic primitivism has, if anything, reduced even further the appeal of Western Ways.

THE SEDUCTIVE PLEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT.

An Ontic Constitution entails that if a conflict turns to war, then after the enemy culture is defeated, its 'body politic' will be reified within an entirely re-built quarter of its capital city, and any other major cities chosen for such transformations. This Quarter will be permanently occupied by Westernised ex-patriates and even immigrants. Its government will be entirely in the 'Quarter's' hands. Its public rites and rituals, of which there will be a deliberate excess, will illustrate the reasoned and provocately projected ethos of a 'transformed' culture that combines the local with the global. This demonstrative, local and massively permanent "regime change" will inscribe, on the conquered own soil and in their conquered's own language and culture, the critical ideas of the West, not the least amongst which will be the seductive powers and pleasures of self-government and the joys of the free expression of opinion and argument. Needless to say that amongst these will be, and this will be a dramatic day, the moment at which the females of the conquered culture will be recovered from the restricted and ancient role of being mere 'breeders' and released into the Western freedom of being citizens free to choose WHAT they will be. Children are a blessing but the spirit must be free to choose.

TRIBALISM AND ETHNICITY WITHIN THE UNITARY 'STATE'.

The patent 'constitutionality' (at every level from the economic to the metaphysical), of each Quarter of a Constant-City leads it to be able to accommodate the 'spirit' of a culture. There could be a Quarter for each component of the Nation of Iraq. These would be divisions with a long history, such as distinct 'Quarters' for the national sub-cultures of the Sunni, Shia and Kurd. The smaller fractions could be accommodated within a larger one in the way that, for example, the Kurdish quarter might be more sympathetic to Yazidis or Assyrian Christians.

THE ULTIMATE AMBITION OF MY GENERATION.

The failure of Iraqi Freedom was its inability to constitute a culture for what one might designate the 'central' quarter. The particular virtue of the 'Constant City' formula is that it is a "city that is always the same", however large it grows or however reduced the size to which it shrinks. Its phenomenologies of constitutionality, whether political, economic, social or simply poetical/spiritual are both local to each separate Quarter as well as universal, or 'total'. This invention was always the ambition of my WWII generation, besides which all the puffery of the last half-century is mere drivel - of the sort haemorrhaging every minute from our useless Architectural Academies. These universal topological phenomenologies can also encompass the whole vastness of a Metropolis. Both Quarter and City revive, in the way that Mellart discovered the aboriginal 'internal motor' of Architecture, the original role of the city itself in each of the five original city-generating cultures. The Constant City adds-back the ritual space in which the Body Politic can reify itself through quotidian experience and then all the way up to complete rituals and other epiphanic incarnations.

THE IMPOTENCE OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN WEST.

The age-old cements that used to bind human institutions can no longer be conveniently used. They were those of War and Religion. War has become both too expensive as well as too destructive. Religion, that continues in some cultures, no longer 'works' for the West. The final destruction of the Nation of Iraq was not the ambition of the brief war of Iraqi Freedom. Iraq may have been ill-governed by the Baath Party as it collapsed under Saddam. But today, after every effort by the "Coalition", the ex-nation has split into three essentially autonomous regions. Iraq no longer exists as a 'governed state'. Nor does the West seem to have any way at all, to make of it even what it not yet was, a new Nation.

This tendency for larger political wholes to fissure can be witnessed even in Britain, once reasonably-considered to be a simple island whole that was united by an incredible history. Who could have imagined that the parts of the Union Jack would want to reduce to an even smaller, even more miserable little fragment, when viewed from the vastness of a globe which

no longer has to pay them any notice. What do the British think they count for today, stripped of their Empire? As for the Scots or the Welsh?. What do they mean? Essentially very little indeed on the map of twenty-first century global politics. Without the means to build a 'universalising' spirit we seem to drift backwards into puerile, backyard, rustic tribalisms.

RITUAL SPACE AND THE 'BODY POLITIC'.

The ritual space of the Constant City offers both the central quarter and, even the whole metropolis to the institution of the peaceable arts of rite and symbol so that both ancient and local versions of the 'Body Politic', as well as the necessary epiphanies of the future nation, can be reified. The ambitions for the future and the nation cannot be anything but resolutely scientific and reasoned. The central, or "National", quarter, in a city as torn as Baghdad would arguably do best by doing its best to carry-on its discourse speaking the global language of English. A nation newly-formed, or radically renewed after a civil war, cannot allow one of its sub-cultures to violently dominate the others - as in the past. The English no longer rule India. But the English language remained as one of those chosen by the Indan State to mediate between its disparate parts after de-colonisation. English is spoken better, more clearly, and with a larger vocabulary, in India today than it is by most inhabitants of its originating island.

AN ENGLISH NO ONE CAN SPEAK BUT THE ENGLISH.

The Island's language is, in fact, no longer its own. It is, by the facts of our peculiar History, now the Global Lingo. This gives pain to some natives of the island. Everyone else has their own language, some even have one that no one else speaks at all. Only the English have no 'secret' language. This is situation that some islanders are attempting to rectify. They seek to invent an 'English' that only they can decipher. Well, good luck to them, as long as they can still speak the Queen's Own.

IMPERIAL MANDARIN RETIREE = 1945 BRITISH LABOUR EM-PEE.

The dimension of the quotidian lifespace that can be designated a settlement's 'ritual space' is, inter alia, the theatre of what Hannah Arendt calls "the Space of (political), Appearances". What little of it remained from our history was **DELIBERATELY DESTROYED** by the post-WWII Labour administration. The story is told in Lecture Three: "The End of Urbanity". The returning Imperial Mandarins of the Labour Party applied to **THEIR OWN PEOPLE** the governing principles that had served the British Empire for its long centuries. What else could they do? They knew no better methods than to disparage, insult and ignore the metaphysics of the 'subject peoples' and to attend only to the narrow spectrum of the 'positive' matters of technology, industry, war and finance.

'BRITISH' INDIA AND THE 'TABOOS' OF IMPERIAL RULE.

My father was born in India. My grandfather went there after being born

in Scarborough. My mother was born in Rosario, Argentina. I was born in Malaya - as the imperial possession was then known. While 'British to the racial core' I was never imprinted with the Britain of green hedgerows and misty dampness. I came here when I was twelve. It was already too late. I warm to the smell of cow-dung and rock-dry earth. I returned to India after 42 years. I visited it on behalf of two Clients, one British and one Indian. I could not 'return' as a mere tourist. One cannot be a 'tourist' in a country one has 'owned' for centuries. I had to be 'on business'. I felt enormously 'at home'. Yet it was the dense mass of an Indian crowd that so affrighted some American visitor that he became a stellar advocate of the 'Ecological Movement' and prominent adviser on human over-population.

A CAPABLE AND PRACTICAL PHYSICALITY.

We British had, during those centuries made excellent measured drawings of the sub-continent's architecture. I have some of the Leather-bound volumes of this Archaeological Survey of India. We composed historical works on its many varieties. The Raj supported schools of architectural design. Its officers had designed and built many buildings in an amiable style that was loosely known as Indo-Saracenic. Lutyens hated it, which is why his buildings, however marvellous, were a useless model for India. One of the better English manuals of Architectural composition was carried in the knapsacks of the Royal Engineers whose institution had scripted it to aid their work.

THAT WAS INCAPABLE OF METAPHYSICALITY.

Yet, during all those centuries, India had to wait for the 20C before anyone from the West composed a text of which Rabindranath Tagore could finally say was a proper 'understanding' of the subcontinent's architecture. It was composed by Stella Kramrisch, a German-Jewish refugee from Hitler who married an English army officer. Kramrisch ended her days in charge of the Indian collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Britain today is just as 'ruined' as the Middle East that we have so recently assisted in destroying. The peculiar thing is that we know this, but cannot either see why or what to do about it. This is because we, and in Britain especially, are still incapable of putting the Medium of Architecture to profitable use.

PUTTING YOUR NEW POWERS TO WORK.

To understand why this should be so is the partial ambition of this essay and its exploration of the "Architectural Interior": theatre of the "Rites of Appearing" - both at the scale of personal intimacy and that of a whole city-quarter. To understand this incapacity, and to learn how to rectify the defect it will be necessary to follow my Course. Those who do so will learn an entirely new operational vocabulary as well as the old skills needed to put it to work.

