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A F R I C A N S T U D I E S I N S T I T U T E

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Reconstructing South Africa's cities 1900-2000: a prospectus (Or, A cautionary tale)

by Alan Mabin and Dan Smit

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If the title of this paper appears a trifle ambitious, readers may rest assured that the authors recognise the possibility that so broad a sweep as a survey of a century - including, not least, some thoughts on a decade of that century which still lies in the future - may unsettle an audience more accustomed to better focused and more compressed topics. Nevertheless, the paper is offered to the African Studies seminar as one of the first fruits, wizened though it may be, of a project which has long struggled to yield products of any kind. The reasons for this slowness may become apparent in the concluding sections. The intention of this paper is to outline the account which our research has led us to form, and thereby to gain some response from within and beyond the seminar on the viability, suitability and acceptability of our present conception of our work.

The burden of the present weighs heavily upon the account to follow, for the inspiration of the project of which it represents a partial fruit lies largely in the present fervour of reconstructionist thinking which surrounds and permeates South African society today.

The story to be told here may be captured almost entirely in the following six sentences. During each period of extreme stress and turmoil in our past ninety years, the idea of reconstruction has loomed large. A primary tool of reconstructing society has equally been presumed, by many parties, to lie in urban planning. As less turbulent times return, governments have attempted to reshape the society, and more particularly the cities, by developing new institutions, laws, visions, systems, personnel and plans. In each major case, however, the programmes of progenitors of such ideas have been overtaken by the accession to power of new regimes - at government or merely planning system level - which have co-opted the new institutions, etc., to their own programmes; or they have, less spectacularly, faded away as the complexities of government overwhelm initially exciting but idealistic visions. At present, urban planning is being wheeled out, dusted off and reformulated as a primary instrument of remaking South Africa, much as it has been several times before. The paper sympathises with these moves, but sounds a cautionary note in the midst of the prevailing enthusiasm for a fourth great reconstruction of our cities.

I

South African urban planning as a conscious attempt to use state power to influence, direct and control the course of urban development has its origins in at least two major sources during the nineteenth century. One of those stimuli came from continual efforts to dictate (and often restrict) the pattern of black settlement in urban environments, to which tradition we will return below. The other key source of urban planning lay in attempts to regulate private subdivision of land for urban uses in the late nineteenth century. In all parts of what

became South Africa, authority showed some uneven interest in directing the results of private initiative - in circumstances where governments did not themselves lay out new towns or additions to older ones. For example, the South African Republic exercised a typically *ad hoc* form of control by negotiating contracts affecting tenure conditions and layout with farm owners and by implication developers, when the latter sought to set up the later Reef towns (such as Roodepoort in 1897).[1]

The expansion of capital seeking speculative and investment opportunities greatly changed the nature of urban growth in the 1880s and 1890s. Governments which previously had felt little need to exercise control over private developers found themselves faced with innumerable attempts to make profits through township establishment: and faced with the uncoordinated and often very socially costly results. Natal seems to have experienced a need to address this problem first, and did so through the first six sections of Law 11 of 1881.[2] More substantially, the Orange Free State moved to expand and consolidate such limited power as governments possessed to direct urban development. Like the coastal colonies, that republic had established a surveyor-general's office (in 1876), amongst other things to exercise control over the layout of towns.[3] Only a dozen or so new towns were established between that date and the acceleration of urban growth which accompanied the expansion of gold mining and rural transformation in the southern highveld in the 1890s.[4] But the new pace of change saw haphazard if privately profitable subdivision of land around the established Free State towns, which authority sought to control. Thus, in January 1894 the OFS became the first state in southern Africa to establish an apparatus dedicated to controlling urban form through the passage of the 'recognition of townships' law.[5] The institution which it created, setting up a townships board to consider applications for the creation of 'townships', provided a model for more coherent state intervention in the period after the 1899-1902 war.[6]

The new regime in the Orange River Colony wasted no time in laying the groundwork for a new form of urbanism. Before the Treaty of Vereeniging had been signed a proclamation

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[1] Transvaal Archives Depot, Pretoria (TA), Transvaal Colonial Lands Department records (LD) 1637, 3157/08 're Cancellation of sales in semi-government townships', Memorandum for the legal advisers 705/1910: the Roodepoort Venture Syndicate acted in this instance as developer.

[2] Further research on this period in Natal is awaited.

[3] GJG Smit, 'Ontstaanfaktore van blankedorpe in die Oranje-vrystaat gedurende die tydperk 1822-1902', unpubl. M.S&S. discourse, University of the OFS, Bloemfontein, 1987, p. 67.

[4] cf. T. Keegan Rural Transformations in Industrialising South Africa (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1986).

[5] PL Lefebvre and BBL Jackson (eds.), Statute Law of the Orange River Colony (Bloemfontein: Argus, 190?), pp. 225-6.

[6] On the little-known field of planning in the early years of the century, see T.B. Floyd, Geskiedenis van Stadsbeplanning in Suid-Afrika, in E.W.N. Mallowes (ed), Summer School of the SA Institute of Town Planners (Johannesburg, 1959), pp. 6-19, and D. Smit, The political economy of urban and regional planning in South Africa 1900-1988: towards theory to guide progressive planning practice (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Natal, Durban, 1989) pp. 97-110. However, almost no primary research has been published on the issues considered in this section of the paper.

cleared the way for new local authorities to be established with a wide range of potential powers, and within another two years fully-fledged municipalities had been created.[7] However, if a programme of remaking the towns of the Free State had emerged, it was a minor event by comparison with the energetic period of reconstruction in the neighbouring Transvaal.

As in the Free State, urban reconstruction began in the Transvaal even before the peace treaty had been signed.[8] Milner's government of occupation established interim forms of local government within weeks of taking over the southern Transvaal. Milner's network found people with a modicum of British experience to appoint, including Lionel Curtis, whose knowledge of local government restructuring in London was peculiarly appropriate, as Acting Town Clerk of Johannesburg. Riva Krut and Charles van Onselen have shown how assertive and successful the initial stages of the reconstruction movement were in Johannesburg, in the hands of Curtis and others: extension of boundaries, laying the foundations of the electric tramway system, and accomplishing the removal and redevelopment of the 'insanitary areas' in what are now Newtown and surrounding areas.[9] As a physical reconstruction scheme, the early implementation of the redevelopment of the old Brickfields remade the west side of the city in a new image - that supplied by the new colonial government. But the energy expended in this type of reconstructionist activity was so considerable that to expect it to be replicated many times elsewhere would, perhaps, have been to ask too much. Indeed, as the colonial government began to grapple with the greater complexities of local government and electoral politics, such grand schemes began to recede from the prominent position which the 'improvement scheme' occupied in 1902 and 1903.

Amongst many other measures which the authorities took to secure the powers considered necessary to recast urban society through the processes of social and civil engineering, the creation of new local government structures ranks as one of the more significant instruments. Municipalities set up under the municipal ordinance of 1903 acquired powers to regulate 'the closing of buildings ... unfit for human habitation' and to require 'the giving of notice and deposit of plans by persons wishing to lay out building lots or new townships'; but as

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[7] Orange Free State Archives Depot, Bloemfontein (OA), Orange River Colony Publications (ORC) 78, Proclamations issued in the Orange River Colony from the date of annexation to the promulgation of the constitution, Procl. 8 or 1902, pp. 77-78; and Statute Law of the Orange River Colony, Ordinances 6 and 12 of 1904, pp. 993-1019, 1047-1053.

[8] For general discussions of the reconstruction period in the Transvaal B Bozzoli, The Political Nature of a Ruling Class:Capital and Ideology in South Africa 1890-1933 (London 1981), esp. Ch. 1 & 2; DJH Denoon, 'Capitalist influence and the Transvaal government during the Crown Colony period', Historical Journal 11(2) 1968, pp. 301-331; S Marks and S Trapido, 'Lord Milner and the South African State', History Workshop 8, 1979, pp. 50-80; AA Mawby, 'Capital, government and politics in the Transvaal 1900-07: a revision and reversion', Historical Journal 17(2) 1974, pp. 387-415; and D Yudelman, The Emergence of Modern South Africa: State, Capital and the Incorporation of Organised Labour on the South African Gold Fields, 1902-1939 (Cape Town: David Philip 1984), esp. Ch 2 & 3.

[9] R Krut, A quart into a pint pot: the white working class and the 'housing shortage' in Johannesburg, unpubl. BA Hons dissertation, Univ of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1979 [9]; C van Onselen, Studies in the Social and Economic History of the Witwatersrand 1886-1914: 1 New Babylon (Johannesburg: Ravan, 1982) pp. 180-183. See also Report of the Johannesburg Insanitary Area Improvement Scheme Commission 1902-03 (Johannesburg, 1903).

subsequent experience showed, they found it hard to enforce these early slum clearing and town planning provisions.[10] As a result, Curtis, who had been transferred from Johannesburg to running the local government division of the Colonial Secretary's office, noted in mid-1904 that

> '... an impatient public never anticipated how much time must elapse before the finished conditions of an English town would be reproduced in one of these raw communities. Still less was the cost realised ...'[11]

Curtis ran a local government department which saw its role as extremely interventionist with regard to the subordinate local authorities:

> '... the officials of the Government responsible for the administration of the Municipal Ordinances must be less in their own offices than in those of the Local Authorities where they can see the thing in action and learn at first hand how to improve and facilitate its working. The importance of this kind of personal link is a thousand fold greater in this country than in England.'[12]

But the municipalities presented a dilemma to the Assistant Colonial Secretary. The increasing complexities of governing the Transvaal had altered the situation from one where, in the early years of reconstruction, major changes had been accomplished 'with a stroke of the pen'. The weaknesses of the chief instrument of urban reconstruction, the municipalities, forced the colonial government to take more powers itself in an attempt to impose its view of urban order on the ground. The 'native pass system' increasingly came to be regulated from Pretoria, rather than by local administrations.[13] And, partly because of its desire to control the development of the urban Transvaal, the government introduced in 1905 the idea of controlling 'township establishment' at the centre.

Curtis based the legislation which established the Transvaal Townships Board explicitly on the Free State law of 1894.[14] Many of those interested in the profitable and uncontrolled process of land subdivision, of course, vigorously opposed its introduction. Foremost among them were associations of real estate agents, who pointed out that the 1905 session of the Legislative Council was to be the last of that nominated legislature, pinning their hopes for defeating such government intervention on a future ability to manipulate an elected assembly.

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[10] Clauses 30 and 32 of the Transvaal Ordinance Establishing Municipalities, No. 58 of 1903.

[11] L. Curtis, Assistant Colonial Secretary for Local Government, Report of the Local Government Branch of the Colonial Secretary's Office, Transvaal. Colonial Secretary's Department. Annual Reports for the Year Ended 30th June 1904, p A.20.

[12] ibid., p. A.21.

[13] L. Curtis, With Milner in South Africa (Oxford 1951), extract from diary dated 25.04.1901, p. 217; cited in Van Onselen, *op. cit.* p. 181; Municipal Corporations Amendment Ordinance of 1904, and Curtis's comments on it in *ibid.*, p. A.16.

[14] TA, Colonial Secretary (CS) 598, 3853, L. Curtis Assistant Colonial Secretary (Division II) to Sec. Law Dept. 24.06.1905.

'Too wide a power has been given to the proposed Township Board, practically to veto the sale of private land', complained the Pretoria and Districts Real Estate Agents Association. A new Real Estate Agents' Association of the Transvaal was set up to fight the passage of the ordinance. But all this activity simply confirmed Curtis in his determination to 'push through' the measure, 'otherwise quantities of land will be laid out in townships during the next ensuing year in anticipation of controlling legislation'. Curtis, together with the Surveyor-General (WH Gilfillan) and the Registrar of Deeds (GMA Deneon), became a member of the new Board from September 1905. The Board immediately began to require all applicants 'to make ample provision for a Location, Compounds, Depositing sites, Cemetery, Parks, Market Square, etc., etc.' and to require endowments of up to 25% of the land in new townships to be transferred to the state or local authority. The Townships Board even evidenced an ability to impose conditions on the developers of the speculative townships which had sprung up between 1901 and 1905, such as the notorious speculative cases of Johannesburg North and Fairland. But its drastic reduction of the pace of development of new urban land led to much contention in a period of concern over the ability of the white working class to purchase freehold property and thus supposedly become a stable component of the new urban order.[15]

With the Townships Board a new instrument had been created which would allow government a much greater measure of control over urban *growth*. Powers to redevelop or reconstruct *existing* urban areas - to plan in many of our contemporary senses of the term - remained limited. Many commissions of the Transvaal colonial government continually but somewhat ineffectually recommended solutions to urban problems through greater government powers or by creating new planning institutions. The Johannesburg Roads Commission, chaired by Curtis sought to demarcate effective main road routes through the developed parts of the Rand, recognising that 'The Witwatersrand is in fact like one great township'. The Financial Relations Commission of 1905-06 urged that effective urban planning would require the 'Multiplication of local bodies to be avoided.' 'There is no more futile source of waste, whether of time or money, than the multiplication of co-ordinate bodies, each independent in themselves, but operating over the same area and subject to no common authority ...' 'Your Commissioners recommend therefore that all the present Boards and Committees should cease to exist, and should be recreated as committees of a Central Committee representative of the Municipalities and ratepayers of the Rand.' In February 1906 the Executive Committee of the Transvaal accepted this recommendation to create a 'Witwatersrand Joint Committee', but, perhaps because of a high degree of sensitivity to the needs of the mines (evidenced by a failure to recommend that the Rand Water Board be merged with this new committee), the Joint Committee failed to achieve very much and faded

[15] TA, CS 598, 3992 'Townships Ordinance', Pretoria & Districts Real Estate Agents Association to Committee in re Draft ordinance re New Townships, 21.08.1905; Real Estate Agents' Association of the Transvaal to Attorney General, 26.08.1905; L Curtis to Colonial Sec., 22.08.1905. Van Onselen in Studies..., Chapter 1, pp. 27-30, esp. footnote 49, p. 42. Amendments to the Townships Ordinance in 1906, 1907, 1908 and 1909 seem to have been designed in varying degrees to mitigate the effects of the reduction in new township development.

away by the time of Union.[16] The responsible government which succeeded the non-accountable post war administration in 1906 showed little or no interest in enhancing planning powers of government or municipalities, and the early exhilaration of reconstruction dissipated in unrealised dreams.

The roots of this failure to create substantial and lasting urban planning powers on the part of the reconstruction government and its successor in the early twentieth century Transvaal may perhaps be located in the always contradictory nature of urban planning in capitalist society. Such planning may, as Shoukry Roweis put it, play a mediating role in 'territorial politics'; to do so, however, requires some sort of consensus in a reasonably proactive state that such a mediating role is necessary.[17] As the urban redevelopment of the Milner years and the conflict over the introduction of the Townships Board showed, private interests wanted the power of government to remake urban areas in ways suitable for their activities, yet hated interference in their ability to dispose of their property as they chose. While 'town planning was part of the currency of progressive paternalist ideas circulating in the British Empire in the early 20th century', and while events and successes in the campaign for town planning legislation in Britain were eagerly followed in certain quarters in the Transvaal, depression, conflict and caution on the part of colonial administrators did not lead in the same direction as in Britain, where the Housing, Town Planning Etc. Act of 1909 - passed a week before the fall of the Liberal government - inaugurated an era of much stronger intervention inside existing cities.[18]

The obscurity of the fate of the institutions of urban planning in our period demands a degree of obscurantism to unearth. Because we know, today, so little of the creation of the South African state after Union, the innumerable petty contests and even the few great trials of strength affecting the erection of the new state apparatuses remain hidden from view, awaiting the attention of historians who might (perhaps) find in those experiences some lessons for the participants in erecting 'a new state'.[19] The two urban planning institutions which did exist prior to Union, the OFS and Transvaal townships boards, still survive today. In the lifetimes of today's practising planners, these bodies have always been provincial institutions. Yet at the time of Union, it was by no means certain that such apparatuses of colonial government would simply become agencies of the provinces into which the four colonies were transformed. Rather, as with many other bodies (?), their administration was absorbed by new departments of the new Union government - some of which were based on

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[16] Final Report of the Johannesburg Roads Commission 1904-05 (Pretoria: Government Printer, 1905), para. 11; Second Report of the (Transvaal) Financial Relations Commission 1905-6 (Pretoria: Govt. Printer, 1906), para. 44; (note the centrality of financial relations between levels of authority in determining planning functions); Report of the Rand provisional Joint Committee (Pretoria, 1908), p.2).

[17] S. Roweis, 'Urban planning as professional mediation of territorial politics', Environment and Planning C: Society and Space 1, 1983, pp. 139-162.

[18] RK Home, 'Town planning and garden cities in the British colonial empire 1910-1940', Planning Perspectives 5(1) 1990, esp. p. 27; 'Conference on Town Planning', Institute of Land Surveyors (Transvaal) Journal, 1(7) 1908, p. 277; J Minnett, 'The Housing, Town Planning Etc. Act, 1909', The Planner: Journal of the Royal Town Planning Institute 60(5) 1974, pp. 676-680.

[19] A phrase used by Jay Naidoo, Cosatu General Secretary, in The Star 16.04.92.

existing colonial departments.[20] At first the Department of the Interior absorbed, formally at least, the work of many former colonial departments. However, the new Union Department of Lands acquired a wide range of responsibilities, including the administration of almost all previously colonial land legislation, and the Townships Boards passed from Interior into its jurisdiction in August 1910. Just as bureaucracies are sometimes assumed to do, the Department of Lands set about strengthening and extending its roles and functions, and indeed proposed to standardise the way in which urban land would be handled by authority, under the enthusiastic leadership of Abram Fischer, Minister of Lands.[21] In November 1911 the Lands Department published a draft bill to 'nationalise' township establishment legislation. But the bureaucratic designs of the Lands Department came adrift among the complexities of regional politics, provincial administrative ambitions among them - and Natal provincial zealotry in particular.[22] Not because the provinces jealously sought to guard their rights to direct urban change, but because they sought in general to expand their revenues, all or most legislation which affected provincial powers adversely ran aground in the early years of Union. Not only did Justice Laurence, in a minority report to the Financial Relations Commission written in November 1911, argue for greater efficiency through provincial adminstration of townships and town planning; but Senator Churchill and others took up the same refrain when Fischer introduced the Bill in the Senate; after acrimonious clashes between the Minister and, especially, the Natal Senators, the Bill faded from sight at the close of the 1912 session. By April 1913 the Department had given up its hopes of controlling urban development. For what Laurence had recognised as the first attempt at national urban planning legislation, the government substituted a provision transferring power over 'the laying out of townships' to the provinces in a schedule to the Financial Relations Bill of June 1912; the provincial power 'to establish and administer townships' finally became law upon proclamation in October 1913.[23] Thus the Union government transferred control of the subdivision of land for urban use back to where it had previously resided: Pietermaritzburg for Natal, Bloemfontein for the Free State and Pretoria

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[20] In some cases the Cape colonial departments provided the basis for the new Union departments, in others elements of three or four colonial departments were merged, and in a few cases new departments were created - not necessarily immediately - into which colonial elements, temporarily grouped under Union ministries or provincial administrators, were sometimes absorbed.

[21] Central Archives Depot, Pretoria (SA), Department of Lands (LDE) 555, 7294 'Townships Board - appointment of members', esp. TG Truter, Actg. Sec. to Tvl. Administrator, to Sec. for Interior 29.07.1910; Actg. Sec Interior to Sec. Lands 05.08.1910, and Actg. Sec Lands to Actg. Sec Administrator Tvl. 09.08.1910. See also Union of South Africa, Annual Reports of the Department of Lands, 1912, 1913, U.G.-62-'13 and 41-'14.

[22] For a discussion of provincial power disputes in the first twenty years of Union, see EH Brookes et.al., Coming of Age: Studies in South African Citizenship and Politics (Cape Town: Maskew Miller, 1930), esp. contribution by JH Hofmeyer, pp. 319-332.

[23] Union Gazette Extraordinary, Govt. Notice 1920 of 1911, 20.11.1911, Bill to regulate the laying out ... of townships; Union of South Africa, First Report of the Financial Relations Commission (GH Murray), U.G.11-1912, Memorandum by Mr Justice PM Laurence, p. 21, para. 83; Hansard (Senate), 14.02.1912 cols. 95-100; 27.05.1912 cols. 543-548; 29.05.1912 col 574; SA, LDE 152, '309 'Planning of towns', Sec for Lands CT to PD de Wet, Vryburg, 21.04.1913; Bill to regulate and determine financial relations ... between the Union and the several Provinces ..., Union Gazette Extraordinary 14.06.1912; Financial Relations Act, No. 10/1913; Proclamation 255/1913, SA Government Gazette, 24.10.1913 p. 403.

for the Transvaal.

This obscure tale, apart from providing a striking pointer to a degree of ignorance of how state bureaucracies come to be constructed, demonstrates how the instruments of urban planning fell from a position of great prominence in the era of reconstruction in the early years of the century, to a matter of minor interest in power struggles over regional politics. Certainly, Herbert Baker's 1911 plea for 'central government' to have 'wide discretionary powers, acting through trained experts ... able to control the laying out of townships in their infancy ... to limit the number of houses per acre in different zones ... to reserve sites for public buildings, and the location of factories'[24] had only partly been realised in the Transvaal and OFS by the time the location of power over township establishment was resolved in favour of the provinces - where it has mainly remained until the present. At that point much larger forces had clouded the horizon, ushering in a new era of death and destruction, and once again - as with the war fought half a generation before - laying the foundations of an era of reconstruction.

II

The South African experience of reconstruction in the opening years of the twentieth century provide an illustration of the catalytic role which war and social upheavals may play for planning initiatives. This experience is by no means restricted to South Africa, of course; and the first world war both retarded, for its duration, and accelerated, upon its conclusion, many movements for urban planning as a central instrument in remaking society. Wartime conditions helped to draw many governments towards a more interventionist approach, coupled with a new (or revived) sense of social urgency; but the idea of urban planning devices as a means to reconstruction had been much longer in the gestation, as Dennis Hardy shows in the case of the flowering of the long-standing garden city movement in Britain during and after the first world war.[25]

It has previously been argued that the 'social reform' and 'technical' concerns of urban planning were separated from the 'very beginning' of the town planning movement in South Africa, and that the movement concentrated on accomplishing the means to implement the technical side - zoning, and its *accoutrements*.[26] The movement for urban reconstruction, however, was by no means limited by a narrow technical view. If, in spite of its calls for town planning as a means to the end of urban reconstruction, the planning framework so created became narrow and technical, what remains is to explain how that technicism became entrenched - how planning became divided between social and 'practical' concerns.

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[24] H Baker, 'Architecture and Town Planning: a lecture', presented in Pretoria 11.07.1911, South African Architectural Record 24(3) 1939, pp. 92-105.

[25] D Hardy, 'War, planning and social change: the example of the garden city campaign, 1914-18', planning Perspectives 4, 1989, pp. 187-206.

[26] D Smit, The political economy of urban and regional planning in South Africa 1900-1988, unpubl. PhD thesis, University of Natal, Durban, p. 55, following N. Patricios, 'Urban planning - its basic aims', Planning and Building Development 16, 1975, 55=75 (also published as an inaugural lecture, University of the Witwatersrand, 1976)

During the war of 1914-18, many pressures for a new approach to the cities and towns of South Africa began to re-emerge. As costs rose, housing shortages deepened and 'slums' grew, so wartime conditions produced demands for something to be done. Thus the 'disclosures' of slum life in Cape Town by Canon (later Bishop) Lavis brought forth demands for 'some plan upon which the city shall develop both residentially and industrially', and a large committee to address the housing question in Cape Town was formed in November 1917.[27] Members of the technical professions called for town planning as a means to accomplish radical social improvements after the war: DE Lloyd Davies wrote in the civil engineers' journal of town planning as means to accomplishing new social goals, while in his presidential address in September 1918, WW Harries told the Institute of Land Surveyors:

> Not long after the proclamation of peace there will, in all probability, be a great movement for things to be placed upon a higher plane ... I imagine, therefore, that at no distant date prime attention will be given to conditions of living and - to strike at the root of the question - town planning will receive its due consideration.[28]

While some of this literature emphasised 'city beautiful' concerns[29], a marriage between state intervention and private initiative as well as between social reform and technical means was suggested by some of these authors; for example, Harries proposed that the townships boards should become agencies for planning the paths of urban expansion, inviting public competition to carry out the work required to accomplish the plans proposed.

In various parts of the country, movements began to emerge towards the end of the war for reconstruction and for urban planning as an integral component of that task. In some cases, these movements were founded on activity which had emerged before the war, but which had achieved little and which had declined during the war itself. In Durban, which established a town planning committee in its Council in 1912[30], the foundations existed for a strong reformist planning lobby. As elsewhere, strong links existed with planning movements internationally, or at least in British dominions and colonies. Thus the City Council sent illustrative material to the 'Conference and exhibition on town planning and housing' held in Adelaide, South Australia in September 1917. Although the former town planning committee had lapsed, the City created a town planning advisory committee in September 1918, including in its membership such luminaries as the redoubtable Senator Churchill.[31]

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[27] cf. various articles in The Architect and Builder, Cape Town, 1917; esp. 1(1) p.6; 1(2) p. 28; 1(3) pp. 59-61, pp. 128-9.

[28] DE Lloyd Davies, 'Notes on town planning', Proceedings of the South African Society of Civil Engineers 14, 1916, pp. 107-117; WM Harries, Presidential address, Institute of Land Surveyors (Transvaal) Journal, 3, 1918, pp. 531-540.

[29] e.g., 'Town planning in South Africa', The Journal of the Association of Transvaal Architects 2 (1) 1916, pp. 11-12.

[30] cf. Natal Archives Depot, Pietermaritzburg (NA), Durban Town Clerk's records (3/DBN), 4/1/2/162, 31 'Town planning: Vol 1: 1912-1915'.

[31] NA, 3/DBN 4/1/2/162, 31 'Town planning vol 2 - 1913/16-192?'.

In Johannesburg, during the war, the well-established architects' association proposed the formation of an organisation to push for planning. The City Council began to urge the necessity for local authorities to have greater powers if social and physical improvements were to be accomplished in the cities and towns. The professions called public meetings to discuss the need for planning, and calls for national legislation and the creation of a national Town Planning Commission emerged.[32] A Town Planning Association (Transvaal) finally came into existence in May 1919.[33]

During the same period, Cape Town played host to the introduction of the "Garden City Movement" into South Africa. The agency was provided by Richard Stuttaford, a member of the Union Cabinet who was disturbed by the housing shortage and "rack-renting" that was all too evident in South Africa. The ideas were those of Ebenezer Howard whose works Stuttaford had read. On visiting Britain in 1917, he took the opportunity of seeing one of Howard's projects, Letchworth, and met Howard in person. He returned to South Africa determined to launch a Garden City Movement. In motivating garden city principles Stuttaford argued as follows:

> My policy differs fundamentally from the ordinary policy pursued in the development of land for building purposes. The old method is that the land is cut up and developed with the single aim of bringing the most return to the original owner within the shortest time; the results, as seen all over the world, are crowded dwellings, the narrow streets allowed by the Local Authority, want of air space and recreation space, and sometimes no provision even is made for the proper making of roads. I maintain that from the public point of view that is economically unsound. In the future it costs vast sums in widening streets and in sanitary and other control, but, what is more important, it all tends to fill our hospitals with sickly children and physically unfit adults, and creates breeding spaces for infectious diseases ...[34]

Stuttaford made use of his personal financial resources and of his access to government to launch a Garden Cities Association and to initiate Pinelands, 'South Africa's first Garden City'.[35] Thus soon after the end of the war, each of South Africa's major centres had acquired some form of organisation determined to apply urban planning to the resolution of pressing social problems. The professions associated with the planning movement clearly identified the bottom line as 'THE PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION'.[36]

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[32] JATA, 2(5) 1917, p. 117; Johannesburg City Council minutes, 24.07.1917, pp. 498-500; Journal of the Institute of Land Surveyors 3, 1918, pp. 475, 539; Building, 3 (10) 1918 (June), p. 159.

[33] GSB Andrews, 'Town Planning in Johannesburg: from mining camp to city', Building 4(15) 1919, pp. 306-310.

[34] SB Myers, 'Garden cities: a new approach to our housing difficulties', South African Architectural Record 38(3) 1953, pp. 24-33.

[35] JWP Logan, 'Garden cities for Africa: Pinelands: a venture at Cape Town', Town and Country Planning 4(13) 1935, pp. 26-28.

[36] Journal of the Institute of Land Surveyors of the Transvaal, 4(1) 1920, p. 1.

As the First World War drew to a close, the flu epidemic accelerated new thinking about reshaping the cities and towns. The Union Public Health conference held in Bloemfontein in September 1918 not only bemoaned the circumstances which had allowed flu to spread so rapidly and destructively, but marked a milestone in the movement to correct those circumstances. If the state was to intervene effectively, it apparently needed new powers and apparatuses to enable it to do so. Not only did provincial administrators clamour for more powers: they also demanded more funds to address the key issues of slum clearance, housing and town planning, as AG Robertson, Administrator of the Transvaal saw it.

> The essential difficulty of the local authorities was the question of money, and there was great difficulty in doing anything in the way of eliminating slums. They had not the funds to carry on those activities satisfactorily ...[37]

From the conference and report of the Influenza commission, which followed in February 1919, emerged two critical steps intended to aid in post-war reconstruction. Under the Public Health Act of 1919 a new national Department of Health was created. Among its powers under the Act - resulting from suggestions made by Charles Porter, the Medical Officer of Health in Johannesburg who had attended the 1918 Town Planning Institute Summer School in Britain - were provisions allowing it to regulate land subdivision and use, including forming zoning controls, both inside and outside municipal areas, which were all that remained of the strong lobby urging fully-fledged provision for town planning either in this Act or in complementary legislation. The second step lay in the government's recognition of a need to provide not only approval but financial assistance for local authorities to undertake public housing schemes.[38] However, a considerable struggle between the Labour Party and the government preceded this resolution.

From all quarters of the country, pressing demands were emerging from local authorities for the right to raise funds for public housing provision. The Transvaal Municipal Association lobbied the Provincial Administration for 'powers to carry out housing schemes and acquire land for the purpose' in January 1919.[39] Cape Town gained the Cape Municipal (Provision

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[37] TA, Transvaal Provincial Secretary records (TPS), TA9907 'Public health conference Bloemfontein', minutes of proceedings of public health conference held on September 16, 17 and 18, 1918, p. 45.

[38] cf. Editorials in Medical Journal of South Africa as follows: 'The Influenza Commission's Report', 14(7) 1919; 'The Public Health Bill' and The Unhealthy Areas Improvement Bill', 14(8) 1919; and 'The Public Health Act', 14(11&12) 1919. For some pointers on the town planning lobby in relation to these bills, see TA, TPS, TA9907 'Public Health Conference', Preliminary statement on behalf of the Municipal Council of Johannesburg, 27.01.1919, p. 3: 'The council urge the inclusion in the Act of a Section dealing with Town Planning'. The memorandum was signed, among others, by Mary Fitzgerald and Charles Porter, the MOH. See also TA, Transvaal Local Government Department (TPB) 1203, TA10023 'Municipal housing and town planning', Porter to AG Robertson, Administrator, 01.07.1919, and s. 132 (1) (g) and (h) of the Public Health Act, No. 36 of 1919.

[39] TA, TPB 1203, TA10022 'Municipal housing ordinance', Sec Tvl. Municipal Association to Prov. Sec., Pretoria, 23.01.1919.

of Homes) Ordinance.[40] Durban secured the introduction of a 'Housing Draft Ordinance' in the Natal Provincial Council in May 1919. Against the backdrop of a local election campaign, the Labour Party members of the Johannesburg Council had begun a campaign for public housing powers in mid-year. Meanwhile, the Transvaal Provincial Administration had introduced amendments to the Local Government Ordinance to empower municipalities to address the housing question - without providing strong powers or financial assistance. This draft ordinance was referred to a select committee in May, whose work was superseded by a decision to appoint a provincial local government commission of enquiry in June. By that time the Labour Councillors in Johannesburg and Benoni were champing at the bit of housing policy.[41] The appointment by the government of a Housing Committee to investigate the possibility of new legislation in July 1919 would appear to have been stimulated by their campaign; the opposition of many parties to the Unhealthy Areas Bill resulted in that measure being referred to the Housing Committee too.[42]

In order to further the cause, and acting on the encouragement of the Administrator, FHP Cresswell introduced a Bill in Parliament to fill the gap which his Labour comrades had identified. However, the Bill was defeated at its second reading on 15 September 1919.[43] In its place the Johannesburg Labour councillors introduced, through JH Gow, MPC, a draft ordinance in the Provincial Council during November. However, the argument that the matter should await the reports of the Housing Committee and the Local Government Commission won the day, and allowed the government to retain control of the reconstruction process for the time being.[44] In the event, the Housing Committee reported on 19 November 1919 (though its report was published only in 1920). The major recommendations of the Committee passed into law in the Housing Act, which was passed in mid-1920. A new instrument, the Central Housing Board, was created under the Act, with Sir Edward Thornton as its first chairman. The Board proceeded to disburse such funds as government made available, to local authorities whose applications were approved by Administrators - and, in the case of 'natives', by the Department of Native Affairs.[45]

Thus the first flush of contention over the rebuilding of the cities after the first world war had resulted in potentially powerful, but very vague, town planning legislation under the Public Health Act - which the Health Department would find difficult to implement. Housing

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[40] C. Elias, A comparative analysis of Government housing policy and Cape Town City Council housing policy, 1890-1935, unpubl. MA thesis, Univ. of Stellenbosch, 1980, p. 63.

[41] TA, TPB 1203, TA10023 'Municipal housing and town planning', Natal Provincial Sec. to Tvl. Prov. Sec. 16.05.1919; Town Clerk Johannesburg to Administrator, Pretoria, 16.07.1919; Cape Times 16.09.1919, 'The Transvaal Housing Bill'.

[42] For the appointment of the Housing Committee, see Union Government Gazette 01.08.1919, Govt. Notice No.976 of 24.07.1919.

[43] Cape Times 16.09.1919.

[44] TA, TPB 1203, TA10022, correspondence.

[45] On the Housing Act in general, see S. Parnell, 'Shaping a racially divided society: state housing policy in South Africa, 1920-1950', Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy 7, 1989, pp. 261-272.

policy, a field of activity which would have major impacts on the forms of urban South Africa, had been divorced from town planning *per se*. Yet the potential still remained for a strongly reformist approach: Thornton remained on the staff of the Department of Health, whose secretary, J. Mitchell, was a strong advocate of an integrated approach to health, housing, town planning and reconstruction. But his Department did not succeed in implementing this approach. Among the reasons for its failure to do so were lack of funds and difficult relationships with other authorities. But perhaps the primary issue lay in the division between 'native administration' and other aspects of urban governance.

As noted in passing earlier in this paper, one of the founding sources of urban planning in South Africa lay in continual efforts to dictate (and often restrict) the pattern of black settlement in urban environments, beginning at least in the nineteenth century. Initially, and unlike other colonial settlements of the era such as Singapore, South African town layout did not make provision for housing each 'ethnic' group in separate districts. The towns were conceived as primarily white places; while poorer, rented housing areas, at least in the Cape Colony, might tend to evidence a correlation between darker skin colour and lower incomes, town plans left the indigenous population whose lack of money excluded them from the property market to fend largely for themselves on the periphery of more formal settlements, assuming that they chose or were forced by circumstance to seek access to urban activities.[46]

The specific allocation of land to segregated 'locations' for people other than the generally dominant whites began to gather momentum in places such as Port Elizabeth from the 1850s on. In the Transvaal the republican government also sought to demarcate areas for minority groups - Malays and Indians - with the result of numerous 'Asiatic Bazaars'. In the Cape Colony, the municipality of East London acquired specific powers to segregate Indians, but that was unusual both in discriminatory principle and in the conferring of such powers on a municipality. The emergence of large mining companies in the 1880s and 1890s led to the development of the segregated, single-sex compound as a model for urban segregation.[47] Soon after the turn of the century several local authorities began to embark on public housing programmes both in locations and in compound form, which usually required specific central (colonial) governmental approval.[48] Thus, if a general pattern could be said to exist, local authorities enjoyed little autonomy in the allocation of land to different uses or occupation by different 'races'.

Colonial legislation during the immediate post-Anglo-Boer War phase altered this situation by providing for some control over the subdivision of land and expanding local authority powers. Amongst other powers, the government transferred control of Asiatic Bazaars to municipalities and gave at least some of them the power to establish 'native' and 'coloured'

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[46] A.J. Christopher, Port Elizabeth, in A. Lemon, Homes Apart: South Africa's Divided Cities (London: Paul Chapman Publishing, 1991), pp. 43-45.

[47] A. Mabin, Labour, capital, class struggle and the origins of residential segregation in Kimberley, 1880-1920, Journal of Historical Geography 12 (1) 1986, pp. 4-26.

[48] For some of this history see M. Swanson, The sanitation syndrome: bubonic plague and urban native policy in the Cape Colony 1900-09, Journal of African History 18 (3) (1977), pp. 387-410; A. Mabin, op. cit.

locations. Some authorities acted on these powers; Johannesburg, on a wave of racism fed by an outbreak of plague in crowded inner city neighbourhoods, moved as many Africans as it could manage to its first 'native location', at Klipspruit where part of Soweto stands today, in 1904.[49] In all aspects of land use control including racial zoning, however, public powers were weak, as the following (1909) resolution of the Ermelo Town Council illustrates:

> that the Government be asked to amend the law so as to prohibit Asiatics residing or trading in places other than those set apart for their occupation.[50]

We have seen above how little was accomplished in the first reconstruction period and its aftermath in the way of urban planning. Similarly, despite strong recommendations by the Transvaal Municipal Commission of 1909 that 'local authorities be required to make provision for sites for .. occupation' by 'Asiatics, natives and coloured persons', neither municipalities (with individual exceptions) nor the Townships Board acquired clear powers in this regard prior to the first world war. Nor were those powers clarified until after the eventual adoption of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act in 1923.[51]

The government first drafted an 'Urban Areas Bill' intended to help stabilise the African population of the cities and towns, in 1912. However, it withdrew the proposed legislation pending the passage of the Land Act (passed in 1913) and the Native Affairs Act. Although the latter only reached the statute book in 1920, Smuts decided to publish a new Urban Areas Bill in December 1918. This new draft incorporated the principle of compulsory segregation, though allowing exemptions. It also introduced new ideas, such as the separate 'native revenue account' in local authorities; and proposed restriction on the right of unemployed Africans to remain in towns.[52]

Social upheavals following the war and flu epidemic, including the 1919 disturbances, led to the government appointing a committee chaired by Colonel GA Godley to investigate the question of controls on movement by Africans. Its report recommended urban segregation

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[49] TA, Colonial Treasurer series (CT) 152, T34/8 'Transfer of Asiatic Bazaars from Government to Municipalities', and SA, Land Tenure Advisory Board series (ARG) 10, Act 1/1/2/3/16 'Representations from public - Transvaal - Johannesburg City Council', schedule attached to D.R. Blaine to Deputy Town Clerk 02.07.38; and on Klipspruit, N. Kagan, African settlements in the Johannesburg area, 1903-23 (unpublished MA thesis, Univ. of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1978).

[50] TA, Local Government series (TPB) 539, TA 1395 'Asiatic Bazaar general file 1907-21', Town Clerk Ermelo to Colonial Secretary, Pretoria, 28.07.09.

[51] Report of the Municipal Commission 1909 T.G.12-1909, para. 71; TA, LD 1424, 29 'Powers of Townships Board in regard to Native Townships', HS Gilfillan, Chairman Townships Board to Secr Law Dept., 19.03.1907. For examples of the tortuous nature of planning 'native locations', and the effect of confusion on the residence of Africans in towns, see H Sapire, African urbanisation: struggles against municipal control in Brakpan, 1920-1958', unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ of Witwatersrand, 1988, esp. pp. 44-65; and TA, TPB 986, TALG 6872 'Balfour - Native Location - Establishment'.

[52] This account follows TRH Davenport, 'The historical background of the apartheid city to 1950', in M Swilling, R Humphries and K Shubane (eds), Apartheid City in Transition (Cape Town: Oxford, 1991).

but municipal development of 'native villages' in which home ownership would be encouraged, as well as some amelioration of the indignities imposed by pass systems.[53] It is important to recognise that this reports came into a period of great concern over the future of the cities, a period in which all those with voice to say so recorded their views that deep changes in the administration of urban growth were needed. Those views, however, differed fundamentally over just how such matters should be approached. Unfortunately we know little about how even articulate and well-resourced black opinion viewed these matters, not least because the commissions concerned consulted few Africans and much of the evidence they did collect has been lost.

But the kind of urban future envisioned by Godley was expunged by the government's eventual acceptance of the Transvaal Provincial Local Government Commission's (Stallard) view[54] that Africans should be regarded as temporary residents of urban areas, with all the planning consequences that flowed from that acceptance. Chief among those was the entrenchment of the separation in practice between planning for 'locations' and planning for the rest of urban South Africa. It is arguable that this measure, more than any other, underlay the division of planning as a technical exercise from the social reformist vision which had inspired its founders internationally and its apostles in South Africa.[55]

Oddly enough, the Stallard Commission itself took a broad view of urban planning.

> Housing problems ... are intimately connected with neglected town-planning ...
>
> The general objects of the town-planning scheme shall be so to plot the development and reconstruction of the area, and particularly the part thereof directly affected by the scheme, as to secure the healthfulness, convenience, amenity, and commercial development of the area - to improve and develop the area to the best possible advantage.

The Commission recommended the appointment of Provincial Town Planner, who they felt should be an 'expert' of 'ability and energy' paid sufficient to attract 'the very best man'.[56] But these recommendations could not be acted on by the provincial administration, even had they wished to do so: apart from the view that these were overly interventionist ideas, the legal powers to institute such planning did not fall within the terms of the small but significant clause of the 1913 Financial Relations Act under which three of the provinces had taken over township establishment regulation. Perhaps it should also be pointed out that the removal of location planning from the sphere of 'real' urban activity under the best-known

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[53] Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on the Native pass Laws, 1920 U.G.41-1922.

[54] Report of the Local Government Commission 1921, T.P.1-1922.

[55] On urban planning as a continuing reformist and even revolutionary construct, see P Hall, Cities of Tomorrow: an Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

[56] T.P.1-1922, paras. 224, 226 and 233.

Stallard recommendations militated against a truly reformist vision of planning being carried forward.

Nevertheless, a struggle for integrated planning did continue. It was largely conducted by the Secretary for Health, Mitchell, supported by the various local town planning associations. Mitchell's campaign began with a circular letter to municipalities in August, 1921, in which he sought both ideas and support for model town planning regulations, which at that stage he still believed might be imposed on local authorities through the vague but broad section 132 of the Public Health Act. But most local authorities showed little interest in, or opposition to, Mitchell's scheme. It was the Transvaal Town Planning Association which drafted model regulations, and circulated them for comment.[57] Fundamentally, these regulations provided for zoning of uses, densities, and other typical technical forms, not for the integrated idea of reconstruction inherent even in the Stallard conception of planning; but they probably exploited the potential power of the Public Health Act to the full. By October 1921 Mitchell was calling for new town planning legislation.[58]

If Mitchell's drive to accomplish more effective planning was undercut by the existing legislation and the reluctance of local authorities to support him, the efforts of the associations were also hampered by divisions in their own ranks. Thus the withdrawal of the Institute of Land Surveyors from the Transvaal Association proved threatening to that voluntary body.[59] But the campaign continued, supported by visiting practitioners such as AJ Thompson, planner of Pinelands, by local luminaries such as Charles Porter, and by Mitchell himself, at every available public opportunity.[60] The energetic Health Secretary, however, had to admit, in the annual report of his Department, that he lacked the staff and organisation for town planning. Dr Mitchell devoted considerable time during the years to 1925 trying to secure agreement to a variety of approaches: the establishment of a town planning section in his department was his most ambitious plan, but failing that he sought to have new legislation passed, provincially if not nationally, and at the minimum to accomplish regulation in non-municipal areas into which urban expansion took place - especially in the Cape.[61]

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[57] TA, Town Clerk Germiston (MGT) 251, 92/3 'Town Planning Association Transvaal 1919-32', Mitchell to Town Clerk, Germiston, 04.08.1921; Mitchell to Secr. TTPA, 20.09.1921; TC Germiston to Secr Public Health, 03.12.1921; NA, 3/DBN 4/1/2/162, '31 Town Planning vol 2 1917-24', correspondence; 'Draft model regulations for Town Planning', South African Survey Journal 1(2) 1924, pp. 95-100.

[58] J A Mitchell, 'Local authorities and the public health', Medical Journal of South Africa 17 (5?) 1921 pp. 99-102.

[59] TA, MGT 251, 92/3, minutes of meeting of the Executive of the TPA(T), 26.08.1921.

[60] cf. Cape Times 30.05.1922, 'Importance of Town Planning'; C Porter, 'Town Planning Past and Present', presidential address to TTPA 09.12.1922, in Building 7(28) 1922, pp. 111-116.

[61] Department of Public Health, Report for 18 months ended 30 June 1922, p. 215. Voluminous correspondence records Mitchell's efforts, and those of his allies; cf. SA, Dept of Health records (GES) 2236 and 2237, 23/38B and 22/38C 'Housing and Town Planning 1922-24' and '... 1924-5'; Dept of Public Health, Report for year ended 30.06.1923, p.257.

However, the drift away from integrated approaches to urban planning continued. Despite encouraging noises made by Prime Minister Jan Smuts and Mines and Industries Minister FS Malan at various points in 1923 and 1924, government seemed unable to make up its mind.[62] Provincial authorities gradually moved in the direction of adopting some sort of town planning measures, though reluctant to put much in the way of resources in to the issue.[63] At this stage it is difficult to discern the reasons for this dilatoriness, even if only minimal control were at issue; but perhaps one reason lay in the reluctance of the Smuts government in its closing months to alienate any constituencies. Thus George Hay, Labour MP, threatened that

> During the next Parliamentary session a Bill will be introduced with the object of making the Townships Board a servant of the community, and not of the companies.[64]

Thus with the change of government in 1924 legislation finally became possible; and the Hertzog government agreed to Mitchell's last gasp proposal of adding urban planning powers to those which the Provinces already enjoyed. Once again, it was in a financial measure - this time, the Provincial Subsidies and Taxation Powers Act no 46 of 1925 - that the change was made. Labour MPs such as M. Kentridge made it clear that they were pleased with the new situation.[65] But the reduction of planning to a technical shadow of its former socially exciting self had moved a few steps further through the footdragging of the early twenties.

In the longer run, each of the Provinces did pass ordinances to provide for local authorities to undertake urban planning. The Cape was first in the field, in 1927; but its attempt was permissive, and no local authorities acted under it - they too living in fear of propertied interests. Thus it was the Transvaal Ordinance of 1931, drafted in many respects along the lines of the 1909 British legislation, which gave rise to the first serious activity by local authorities. It provided for preparation by municipalities of schemes controlling land use, density, building size and position - the traditional technical controls of town planning. For the larger municipalities town planning in this sense became compulsory, while the province retained powers of approval and review.

For the first time, a demand for the services of planners as such emerged. Most of the municipalities which were required to undertake planning joined in the Witwatersrand and Pretoria Joint Town Planning Committee, established in 1933. This body initially attempted to appoint its own planning staff, and on the recommendation of Raymond Unwin among others hired Charles Reade, well known for his work in initiating town planning in South

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[62] cf. 'The government an town planning', South African Survey Journal 1(3) 1924, pp. 120-121.

[63] cf. Correspondence re town planning in the Cape in SA, GES 2236, 23/38B; and in Durban and Natal generally, NA, 3/DBN 4/1/2/162, 31 - Town planning vol 3 1924-29.

[64] Rand Daily Mail 17.01.1925.

[65] Hansard, 14.05.1925, col. 3218.

Australia, Malaya and Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia).[66] But Reade died within days of arriving in Johannesburg to take up his appointment, and the Joint Committee moved on to appoint consultants instead of its own staff. In the obvious absence of experienced planners inside the country, the English firm Adams, Thompson and Frye accepted appointment. Longstreth Thompson became 'regional planner' for the municipalities of the Witwatersrand and Pretoria, spending several months each year in South Africa between 1935 and 1939. He appointed various South African representatives, the most significant of whom was Colonel P.J. Bowling, who left a position in Northern Rhodesia to become perhaps the most influential figure in South African town planning from the late thirties until the fifties.

The conduct of planning under the Transvaal ordinance, and the later amended Cape, Natal and Free State provisions, tended to become rather narrower than might have been the case had people of greater vision been involved. The combination of many factors - segregation policy, pandering to the propertied and a narrow kind of professionalism - led urban planning to become a disappointing substitute for the exciting practices imagined by the pioneers who had called for reconstruction in the aftermath of the first world war and the flu epidemic. Thus another phase which began with a great vision of the urban future ended with a from of urban intervention which fell far short of the powerful instrument its progenitors had wished it to be.[67]

III

If town planning had appeared to be a central instrument of the reconstruction demanded at the close of the Great War and the influenza epidemic, it certainly could not be said to have been effectively marshalled in favour of that reconstruction. It took a decade and a half for urban planning to get going, and as local authorities and their consultants proceeded their activities narrowed from the early enthusiasm to the drafting of schemes and the boring regulation of development which most town planning students come to fear as their lifelong fate.[68] By the time the majority of local authorities in South Africa engaged in town planning activities, an entirely new set of circumstances had emerged, and indeed yet another wave of reconstructionist euphoria - by far the strongest yet - had overtaken the country.

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[66] TA, MGT 247, 92(2) Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee, correspondence of 1933; Krugersdorp Town Clerk's series (MKR) 138, 9G Town Planning Association Transvaal 1939-1942, 'Town planning on the Witwatersrand - its history and development' memorandum by Acting Town Engineer, Krugersdorp, 20.05.1942; J. Tregenza, Charles Reade: town planning missionary, in A. Hutchings and R. Bunker (eds) With Conscious Purpose: a History of Town Planning in South Australia (Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986), pp. 45-60; and W.C.D. Veale, Charles Compton Reade: first town planner, South Australia, in Australian Town Planning Jubilee Conference 1967 (Australian Planning Institute, 1967), pp. 75-80.

[67] This account is far from exhaustive on the varied measures which gave considerable powers to local authorities to reshape urban environments. In particular, the passage of the Slums Act in 1934 greatly strengthened the powers of local authorities to condemn buildings and whole areas to demolition; cf. S. Parnell, 'Racial segregation in Johannesburg: the Slums Act, 1934-39', South African Geographical Journal 70, 1988, pp. 112-126.

[68] Perhaps fortunately, many town planning students find that their lives are not all limited to service behind the development control counters of local authorities.

That urbanisation and industrialisation accelerated in the thirties and forties, especially during the Second World War, is a commonplace. Local authorities struggled to cope with these changes and at the same time to foster industrial development in their own areas of jurisdiction (and revenue).[69] Central government departments, too, grappled with the issues; apart from the obvious importance of the Native Affairs bureaucracy, others investigated, debated and recommended courses of action. Among those was the Department of Health, traditionally concerned with matters of housing and urban affairs. Its most visible act in the late thirties was to appoint a committee to investigate what it called 'irregular' settlement on the fringes of municipal areas, a phenomenon which had become widespread. This committee, chaired by Thornton, chairman of the Central Housing Board, travelled widely, heard hundreds of witnesses, and noted that

> The vast majority of witnesses who appeared before [the] Committee stressed the need for the prevention of further uncontrolled peri-urban settlements ... [L]ocal authorities pointed out that ... there would be nothing to prevent [irregular] settlements arising beyond [their] boundaries.[70]

As the war progressed the problems identified by the Thornton committee accelerated, but the central government offered no relief. For local authorities the occupation of potentially lucrative land by irregular settlers, rapid growth of both industrially employed and unemployed population and pressure on housing meant that action seemed rather more urgent. United Party central and local governments excused *ad hoc* policies on the grounds of the war; but that did not mean a vacuum in thinking through the restructuring which would both be necessary and possible after the war's end.

From the early forties, the Smuts cabinet became increasingly concerned with 'reconstruction' in the post-war world. Certain figures played a key role in shaping the government mind on these matters, one of whom was H.J. van Eck, who Smuts had appointed to establish the Industrial Development Corporation in 1943. Just as the IDC foreshadowed a more interventionist role for the state in the peacetime economy, so various state departments began to think along similar lines: the 'reconstruction' reports of several reveal the legitimacy which such thinking had achieved by the end of the war.[71] In common with other countries, a role for planning surfaced at a much wider scale than the tinkering with the location of commercial activities within neighbourhoods and other mainly technical concerns which had emerged in the inter-war years. The trend was made explicit, among other places, in the addition of some planning functions to the old Central Housing Board in

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[69] P. Bonner, The politics of black squatter movements on the Rand, 1944-52, Radical History Review 46/7 (1989), pp. 89-116; P. Maylam, The rise and decline of urban apartheid in South Africa, African Affairs 89 (354) (1990), pp. 57-84; and H. Sapire, African urbanisation: struggles against municipal control in Brakpan, 1920-1958 (unpubl. PhD thesis, Univ. of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 1988).

[70] Report of the Committee to investigate the administration of areas which are becoming urbanised but which are not under local government control (Thornton), UG.8-1940, p. 15, para. 47.

[71] See, e.g., Report of the Reconstruction Committee of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry (Pretoria, 1944-5).

its new guise as the National Housing and Planning Commission.[72] It became general in provincial and local authorities, as the following cases illustrate.

In Cape Town, the idea of reconstruction blended readily with the work on reclamation of the foreshore from Table Bay, which began before the war. Central Government was directly involved in the genesis of plans for the reconstruction of the city, through the railways administration, which in 1940 appointed Longstreth Thompson of London (consultant to the Witwatersrand Joint Town Planning Committee) and Professor Thornton White of the University of Cape Town as its planners. Cape Town appointed EE Beaudouin, a French planner. Both produced grand plans for the reconstruction of central Cape Town, which eventually came before a Joint Technical Committee in 1945. The City Council's planners recommended wholesale demolition in District Six and new roads (the progenitors of the Eastern Boulevard) to link the land thus released for commercial and industrial, as well as more salubrious residential uses, to the new foreshore - envisioned, according to Naomi Barnett, as the recreation of inner Cape Town.[73] Following the war the foreshore part of the plan, as eventually adapted by Roy Kantorowich, and some of its ancillaries, were carried out: perhaps their major effect was greatly to enhance the size, power and prestige of the City Engineer's Department, which under the egregious Solly Morris attempted - in large measure successfully - to conduct a centralised, grand planning approach to the whole urban structure of Cape Town.[74]

The Natal Provincial Administration's 'Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee' report on provincial and town planning[75] provides a fascinating glimpse of the concerns of the period. Appointed and chaired by Douglas Mitchell, Administrator of natal, this Committee held lengthy hearings and compiled massive evidence on every conceivable urban issue. For example, it spent the 27th of May 1943 in Durban, taking evidence on housing and planning problems from the towns clerk estates manager and deputy city engineer of Durban, among others. Inspection of sites followed.[76] From the deliberations of the

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[72] The paper does not accommodate discussion on initiatives to reconstruct the cities through housing policy and practice in the forties, a vital field which will not be neglected in proposed future products.

[73] N. Barnett, A chapter in the history of Cape Town's District Six: destruction planned, 1940 (unpubl. paper, Dept of History, UCT, 1989).

[74] Sources for the reconstruction of Cape Town include 'Union's waterfronts', The South African Architect 1(1) 1939, p. 28; Cape Archives Depot (CA), Stellenbosch Town Clerk's records (3/STB) 4/1/70, 6.23 'Town planning - Cape Town foreshore 1940', EE Beaudouin, 'Outline of scheme (foreshore) for Cape Town, South Africa, 13.06.1940; GE Pearse, 'Cape Town Foreshore Plan', South African Architectural Record 32(3) 1947, pp. 51-65; The Cape Town Foreshore Plan (final report of the joint technical committee) (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1947); R. Kantorowich, letter to South African Architectural Record 34(4) 1949, pp. 87-88; university of Cape Town Library (UCT), BC 672 SS Morris papers, SS Morris, 'City of Cape Town: Metropolis of Tomorrow: a Development Plan for the Central City and Foreshore Areas, March 1951'; R. Kantorowich, interview with A. Mabin, Manchester, UK, 13.07.1991.

[75] Ninth Interim Report of the Post-War Works and Reconstruction Committee regarding Provincial and Town Planning (Pietermaritzburg, January 1945).

[76] NA, 3/DBN 4/1/3/243, 31D No. 1 'Post War development', Minutes of proceedings of the Provincial post-war works and reconstruction committee, 27.05.1943 in Durban, pp. 49-103.

committee emerged the idea of setting up a board or commission to direct planning in Natal in the post-war period - an idea which took several years to be realised, the Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission coming into being only in 1951.[77]

As the provincial committee progressed, the idea of racial zoning as the key to post-war reconstruction of the cities began to emerge as central to the planning instruments which the committee attempted to formulate. This idea was strongly fed by the inputs of the Durban Corporation. The energetic activities of its Estates Manager, AE Mallinson, in investigating possibilities for public housing in the post-war period led to the appointment of a committee to consider post-war development, which in the end more or less adopted Mallinson's April 1943 vision of racially-zoned, 'possible development under a scheme for a hundred years ahead'.[78]

These two themes - the creation of new planning apparatuses informed by new visions of a long-term future, and the essential component of racial restructuring - permeate much of the reconstructionist movement which gained in force from 1943 onwards. This convergence of thinking is apparent from the reports of the Social and Economic Planning Council (SEPC) which Smuts set up under the direction of Van Eck to advise the cabinet. Its fifth report, on 'Regional and Town Planning', published in 1944, drew together a number of the threads stressed here: urbanisation, planning and segregation.

The SEPC placed the need for expanded and better coordinated planning firmly in the context of state intervention.

> While it is widely accepted that the special advantages of the private enterprise system should be preserved, it is also accepted more and more widely that it is necessary and proper for the State so to control it as to make sure that important social objects will be attained. These are widening in range ...[79]

Planning, the SEPC argued, needed to fulfil a number of aims: coping with 'accelerated urbanisation'; doubling the existing urban structure within a few years; guiding urban development to match the 'real economic prospects of different regions' and to 'do credit to our national aspirations'.[80] Like the Thornton committee, and perhaps for similar reasons, the SEPC was a little vague on the specifics of planned segregation:

> It is further imperative that in the allocation of land for development a sound distribution, so important in a mixed community, be ensured. This will not

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[77] Natal Town and Regional Planning Commission, Town and Regional Planning in Natal (NTRPC: Report No. 21, 1972).

[78] NA, 3/DBN 4/1/3/243, 31D Vol 1, Mallinson to Town Clerk, 22.04.1943; Report of Special Committee re Post-War Development, minutes of the City Council of Durban, 27.09.1943, pp. 619-704.

[79] Social and Economic Planning Council: Report No. 5: Regional and Town Planning UG.34-1944 (Pretoria: Govt. Printer), p. 1 para. 3.

[80] ibid, p. 2, para. 12.

> be achieved without guidance as there is every reason to suppose that in its absence past trends will continue ...[81]

Quoting approvingly from various reports (Barlow, Scott and Uthwatt) intended to chart the course for post-war planning in the UK, the SEPC adopted the contemporary British approach to urban planning: in particular, the notion of creating coherent communities separated by green belts, together with careful planning of residential and employment sites and the transport between them.[82] In the South African context, this approach translated easily into the idea of planning racially distinct, well-separated zones:

> The Union has a large and growing permanently urbanised non-European population. The Council ... therefore, urges that in the lay-out of new townships, the replanning of existing ones and the erection of state-subsidised housing schemes, full use should be made of the principle of planned neighbourhoods, protected from other neighbourhoods by "green belts" of cultivated and park land and at the same time reasonably close to work places.[83]

While the public face of such reports avoided strong recommendations for a nationally-directed policy of urban segregation affecting all racial 'groups', the correspondence of the officials of the SEPC leaves no doubt that this was what bureaucrats had in mind. Citing the report of the Thornton committee as evidence of the need for new segregatory planning powers, the Acting Secretary of the SEPC wrote to the Secretary for the Interior in September 1945 that

> The [Social and Economic] Planning Council has indicated in the Fifth Report that it regards the separation of residential areas of different races ... as a function of town planning in this country ... Residential segregation must be the result of a valid and accepted National policy ... no legal basis exists for it at the present time ...[84]

Through what agencies or departments or levels of authority a policy of residential segregation could have been implemented was left equally unspecific by the SEPC report, but again, it seems fair to suggest that one of the tasks of the national department of planning, proposed by the report, would have been to undertake at least the co-ordination and probably the approval of race zone planning. Smuts's government did not open a national department of planning to house such a special organisation. But it did create two new agencies, one to co-ordinate planning, especially regionally, of land allocation including the

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[81] ibid.

[82] ibid, pp. 1-2, 7-9.

[83] ibid, p. 5 para. 31.

[84] SA, Social and Economic Planning Council series (SEC) 47, 12/5 Vol 2, Acting Secretary of SEPC to Secr. for the Interior, Pretoria, ?.09.45, p. 8. The role of liberal members of the SEPC, in particular Senator E.H. Brookes, remains a puzzle.

racial allocation of land; and the other to administer new legislation providing for stricter segregation of Indians.

As the war drew to a close, the government was forced to come to grips with the political nettle represented by 'Indian penetration'. The first Chapter of the 1946 Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, which applied both to the Transvaal and Natal, provided for the demarcation of Indian areas outside which an Indian could not acquire or occupy property. It also created an administrative body - the Land Tenure Advisory Board (LTAB), headquartered in Pietermaritzburg - to recommend which areas should be so declared as well as performing a watch-dog function. An administrative section was created in the Department of the Interior to assist the LTAB, together with an inspectorate. These moves represented an attempt to go beyond the ad hoc motions which seemed to characterise the Smuts administration. They show that the Smuts government was inclined to respond to the urban segregation issue by providing for racial zoning and in creating a centralised body to oversee that process. In these respects, the Asiatic Land Tenure Act of 1946 was the direct precursor of the Group Areas Act, as Festenstein and Pickard-Cambridge have noted.[85]

While the LTAB's initial powers were limited to Indian segregation, the UP government established a regional planning body at much the same time with far wider potential planning powers. In an environment hostile to central economic planning, Smuts hesitated to establish a national department of planning[86], or even to convene a conference to discuss ways of implementing the report of the SEPC on regional and town planning.[87] But the development of an urban population on the new goldfields in the northwestern Free State, the western Transvaal (between Randfontein and Klerksdorp) and the eastern Transvaal highveld (Bethal district) demanded some sort of planning action. The government established the Natural Resources Development Council (under the Natural Resources Development Act No. 51 of 1947) in October 1947. This Council (hereafter NRDC) succeeded an ad hoc 'Advisory Committee on Development in the Northern Free State', whose chairman, F.J. du Toit, became the first chairman of the NRDC. One of the members of the NRDC's staff, T.J.D. Fair, wrote a decade later that the NRDC was the first regional planing body established in the country with significant, if limited powers.[88] For the Smuts government it represented a significant departure, for the NRDC was able not only to co-ordinate the activities of other planning bodies, but, in 'controlled areas' such as the three goldfields regions mentioned, no township development could take place without its approval. As a result, and given an energetic staff, it was in a position to initiate planning for the general allocation of land uses in those regions.; it could and did exercise this power with respect to racial zoning, thereby determining the broad pattern of 'group areas' and African township positions in places like

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[85] M. Festenstein and C. Pickard-Cambridge, Land and Race: South Africa's Group Areas and Land Acts (Johannesburg: SA Inst. of Race Relations, 1987).

[86] Interview with T.J.D. Fair, conducted by the author, Cowies Hill, Natal, December 1990.

[87] SA, SEC 47, 12/5 Vol 2, D.D. Forsyth to H.J. van Eck, Chairman SEPC, 21.08.46.

[88] SA, Natural Resources Development Council series (RNH) 279, PA3/3/5, First Annual Report of the NRDC to 31.12.1948; T.J.D. Fair, The regional approach to planning, in E.W.N. Mallowes (ed), Summer School of the SA Institute of Town Planners (Johannesburg, 1959), pp. 47-67.

Welkom, Westonaria and Kinross.[89] The NRDC thus became the key national planning agency, the imperfect culmination of the wartime proposals for new agencies to carry forward the reconstruction of urban South Africa.

On the other hand, the Smuts government's restriction of the powers of the NRDC to the controlled areas meant that it offered no new grand plans for existing metropolitan areas, let alone small towns. In most of urban South Africa, decades of rapid growth, irregular urbanisation, industrialisation, small public housing schemes, property speculation and general social change left vast numbers of people without adequate shelter. Overcrowding, inadequate services and, of course, social pathologies as well as the ambitions of property developers left municipalities to confront difficult problems which were made no more tractable by the existence of the NRDC, LTAB and Native Affairs bureaucracies.

Yet the growing cities urgently needed space for expansion, which the planning machinery seemed unable to provide. Social upheavals like the 1946 mineworkers' strike and political moves such as the self-disbanding of the Native Representative Council, with its echoes in location advisory boards, contributed to uncertainty. The environment of apprehensiveness must have been enhanced by the results of the 1946 census, which for the first time showed nervous white administrators that the cities all had majority black populations - which were increasing much more rapidly than the white minorities.

In short, the UP government failed to deal through planning with very real urban problems; and it failed to offer any alternative at all to segregation as the prime means by which the problems of the cities would be solved. Ad hoc segregation did not work; planned, compulsory segregation appeared to do so, as the UP's own creations - the LTAB and NRDC - set about demonstrating. The UP failed to heed the recommendations of the SEPC for planning of a new order to deal with

> visible evidence of mistakes and abuse [in the absence of public control] to secure the right use of land ...

Nor did it act on the realisation that with

> the advent of a road motor system, of a wider supply of electricity and of industrialisation[90]

a new order of planning had become possible. In the view of some, even liberal planners, like A.J. Cutten, the NP government which came to power in 1948 did 'what should have been done over the previous decade' in attacking urban problems.[91] And it did so, at least to begin with, by bending the UP's own instruments - the LTAB and NRDC - to its own, far more radical, programmes of reconstruction.

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[89] Interview, T.J.D. Fair, December 1990.

[90] SEPC 5th Report, p. 2 para. 9.

[91] A.J. Cutten, Johannesburg City Councillor and 'well-known town planner', in debate on Western Areas removal, Rand Daily Mail 21.05.52.

When the Herenigde Nasionale Party (HNP, or NP) came to power in May 1948 it did so on the basis of a manifesto which made clear the party's commitment to compulsory urban segregation. But there is nothing in the Sauer report of 1947, upon which the manifesto was based, nor in the works of prominent ideologues such as G. Cronje, to suggest the means by which compulsory segregation was to be achieved.[92]

One element in HNP ideology which had a long history and which set it apart from the UP might be identified: that segregation should be made retroactive for everyone, therefore implying that people should be deprived of tenurial rights and bodily moved out of any 'mixed' areas they occupied. The HNP gave the idea if not the practice of compulsory segregation a cohesion and comprehensiveness which it had not enjoyed under the UP; the government needed to find instruments by which that comprehensiveness could be implemented and cohesion achieved.

DS Van der Merwe, who was responsible for the committees which recommended compulsory segregation, chaired the LTAB. Unsurprisingly, he recommended the continuation of the LTAB to undertake the task. The GAA, obviously, was drafted in concert with the production of the report, and provided for exactly this measure.[93] The NRDC staff in turn found themselves enmeshed in the tasks of planning racial restructuring of the cities, for example through appointments to the Mentz Committee of the Department of Native Affairs (which planned the locations of new African townships for the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area; and in innumerable 'subsidiary planning committees' charged with the racial zoning of such areas as Durban, Pietermaritzburg and the East Rand.[94]

The scale of urban expansion in the fifties and sixties surpassed anything which had preceded the period. While significant densification took place through high rise residential and commercial building, a hallmark of the period lay in the suburban boom which turned every South African city, even those which had previously had internationally more usual density patterns (such as Cape Town) or those which experienced simultaneous high rise growth (such as Johannesburg), towards a much more profligate use of land. Planning facilitated this process in a number of ways: through road network planning, for example. In turn suburbanisation affected planning, particularly through the demand for private planning work generated by property developers, which led to the first substantial period of growth in private consultancy. It should also be noted that fairly strict policing of racial reservation of land created space for middle class, white suburbanisation, and that the inefficient but effective regulation of land subdivision by townships boards contributed in a number of ways

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[92] Verslag van die Kleurvraagstuk-kommissie van die Herenigde Nasionale Party (Sauer Report - obtained thanks to D. Posel); G. Cronje, 'N Tuiste vir die Nageslag: die Blywende Oplossing van Suid-Afrika se Rassevraagstukke (Johannesburg: Publicite, 1945); and G. Cronje, W. Nicol and E.P. Groenewald, Regverdige Rasse-Apartheid (Stellenbosch: CSV, 1947).

[93] A Mabin, 'Comprehensive segregation: the origins of the Group Areas Act and its planning apparatuses', forthcoming in Journal of Southern African Studies, 1992.

[94] cf. SA, Native Affairs Department (NTS) 4601, 934/313(2) vol 6 'Racial zoning: Native Residential Areas: Witwatersrand'; TJD Fair, interview with A Mabin, Cowies Hill, 1991.

to the process. All this took place within the framework of planning essentially created under earlier regimes; but within framework adapted to the exigencies of apartheid. Thus was the reconstructionist vision of the mid-forties perverted to the ends of a new government.

IV

Since the accession to power of the National Party in 1948 many elements have been added to the planning system.[95] Most recently, the old public housing programmes of the fifties and sixties have declined into a new state strategy for accommodating urban growth in informal extensions upon swathes of land beyond the existing African areas but within the same sectors of urban space. This strategy is just as confining as anything ever developed under the group areas act and related legislation, and places most informal settlements far away from the city centres.

This zoning of informal land use has largely been achieved through the application of the guide plan system which has gradually, bureaucratically, and probably quite effectively been implemented since 1970. Orange Farm, for example, sits comfortably in an area 'guide planned' for 'blacks'. Guide planning continued uninterrupted until 1991; it remains to be seen what type of planning under the new Physical Planning Act passed in June 1991 will actually replace it - or whether something essentially similar proceeds through the new structure planning system. The approach appears still to be one of top-down, comprehensive master planning, with statutory results binding subordinate authorities. In the new physical planning system under the Act which passed in June 1991, it would seem that the never-released National Physical Development Plan 2 (successor to the 1975 document and its revisions) could in a new guise play a powerful role in shaping structure planning at regional and metropolitan levels - if it survives the interim period in which some would hold we now find ourselves.

The physical shaping of metropolitan areas lies substantially in the hands of metropolitan transport advisory boards (MTABs), created under the Urban Transport Act. These bodies supervise the actions of core city planning departments which, usually far beyond effective public scrutiny, plan highway routes and construction, and, since the mid-eighties, are also empowered to conduct landuse/transport planning exercises (Lutsplan) which could have the effect of setting broad land-use patterns by determining the landuse policies of local authorities to a high degree. Overlapping with these exercise in public planning, the Department of Transport - which exercises considerable financial power over MTABs - also spends a lot of money on private consultants, such as the Masstran consortium which is presently making proposals on options for public transport development in the central Witwatersrand. Despite attempts at public participation in some of these exercises, physical plans for future metropolitan areas are being developed beyond effective public or even political control.

Since the early eighties some parts of government and near-government agencies have laid much store by the non-statutory national regional development system, comprising regional

[95] Subsequent paragraphs are drawn in large part from a report in preparation for the National Local Government and Planning Policy Project (affectionately known as LOGOPOP).

development associations (RDAs), the 9 (originally 8) regional development advisory committees (RDACs), and a National Regional Development Advisory Council (NRDAC). Each level involves private and public sectors and supposedly has ready access to policy makers and ministers. This system, more than anything else, provides for public-private sector partnerships in promoting local and regional development, but it has not necessarily worked terrible effectively. With the reduction of significance of the regional industrial development programme (RIDP) and its indirect incentives and direct payouts to companies locating in certain chosen points, it may be that this regional development system will work more effectively in determining, for example, allocations of central resources.

In the cities a number of other processes have meanwhile occurred which are deserving of attention. We have in mind the various forms of 'redevelopment' which have proceeded in the seventies and eighties. The common characteristic of these processes is that they involve a substantial increase in or multiplication of investment in restricted areas of the cities. Gentrification of older 'white working class areas' like Melville, Observatory (Cape) etc provide examples. Some residential areas have also been converted into commercial areas - something which began in the fifties in Braamfontein, was aided by slums act and group areas demolitions in Doornfontein and similar areas, and which reaches its peak in places such as Parktown, Rosebank, central Randburg and Sandton, which reveal almost total conversion from residential to commercial (office) land uses. Even the Sunday Times Business Times has felt compelled to remark on the 'new standards of extravagance' which characterise most of these office redevelopments.[96] These last types of processes have often been strongly encouraged by town planning devices. Although rates income from such redeveloped areas must be substantially increased, the cities nevertheless appear to have recovered rather little in the way of 'betterment' (payment for increased value in private hands resulting from pubic planning action) from such processes.

There has been rather less regulation of the processes of redevelopment in the townships. However, private upgrading, as well as extensions of lettable space often in back yards, have certainly multiplied the density of investment in township urban space. The degree to which they have done so may in some cases be as high as that of the commercial redevelopments in town. But the township cases have been smaller scale and have led to highly mixed land uses. Difficult questions are posed by these developments with respect to the future of land use regulation and development control. Of course in many townships the process has involved minimal new, unregulated investment which has increased the density of population rather more than the density of investment - most back yard shacking would fall into this category. Recently both the availability of IDT funds and the growth of a national discussion have placed the question of how to foster processes of consolidation in existing areas of all kinds higher up the agenda.

A further urban phenomenon, then, is that of deterioration rather than redevelopment. It proceeds apace in some township environments, and in some inner city environments, and perhaps elsewhere. Here the social value of investment in the built environment is

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[96] Sunday Times Business Times Top 100 02.12.1990, p. 21. Other colourful phrases employed by David Carte: 'splurge on corporate palaces ... for Randlords ... Can there be a country anywhere boasting such sumptuous working environments? Meanwhile half our nation is homeless.'

deteriorating. Again difficult planning problems are posed. South African planning experience in the field is limited to two approaches: demolition of deteriorating areas, or encouraging gentrification through physical neighbourhood improvement schemes such as those which Johannesburg has mounted in districts such as Brixton. Neither helps the poorer citizens who live in such areas or may need accommodation at the lower ends of the markets.

The sixteen years since the Soweto uprising of 1976 have been among the most turbulent in the country's history. Virtually every aspect of everyday life in South Africa has become politicized. For black people it has been a period of mobilization, of optimism about change, of heroism and of struggle. It has also been a period of violence, of fear, of strikes and of massive disruption. For Whites, whose everyday lives have been less directly disrupted, it has been a decade of uncertainty, insecurity, fear and, of change. It is easy to sensationalize crisis and conflict, but few would regard the comments made above as overly melodramatic. It is not surprising that in this context of upheaval, urban planning related issues such as the improvement of living conditions in South Africa's townships and shacklands, have been brought sharply into focus. In fact, urban and regional planning has been thrust on the centre stage of crisis resolution. Given this increasing centrality, and given the increasing polarization of South African society, urban and regional planning has itself become much more politicized. What had previously been a rather sedate, unexceptional, technicist and consensual profession, has suddenly become high profile and conflict-ridden. Such conflict is, of course, inevitable when planners begin to ask questions, somewhat belatedly, about the social role that they are actually playing.
Since 1990, from national Deklerkism and from local negotiations which began as a means to end rent and service charge boycotts - so far with mixed success - has come a turn to development work. Once again in our history a cry for 'reconstruction' has grown in volume. The Greater Soweto Accord of September 1990 calls for urgent action in greater Johannesburg to 'investigate and make recommendations for implementing solutions' to the physical problems believed to exist.[97] Since the parties to the accord ranged from the Soweto Civic Association to the Transvaal Provincial Administration, it provides evidence of the breadth of the contemporary belief in urban reconstruction. The Urban Foundation produces its oddly-titled series Policies for a New Urban Future. Academic authors call for 'reintegration' and some even connect their ideas explicitly to the reconstruction movement of the forties.[98] The Labour Bulletin writes of the shift 'from resistance to reconstruction'[99], and the urban service NGOs publish a new supplement for the 8 000 readers of Work in Progress titled - inevitably? - Reconstruct.

Amongst other things, this shift has meant that planning professionals (officials and consultants) have increasingly interacted with agencies whose raison d'etre is to offer

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[97] An accessible transcript of the Accord may be found in History in the Making 1 (2) November 1990, pp. 29-38.

[98] D. Hindson and M. Byerley, 'Violence, peace and planning in the D(urban) F(unctinal) R(egion): from racial fragmentation to re-integration', paper devlivered to Social Contract Symposium, Airport Sun Hotel, October 1991; and J. McCarthy, 'Urban reconstruction and South Africa's future', Richard Turner Memorial Lecture, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 29 May 1991.

[99] South African Labour Bulletin 15 (6) 1991.

planning services to community-based organisation - the organisations which supply the main 'opposition' party in most local-level negotiating fora. The emergence of new questions of the relevance of urban planning to the real problems of some groups in the cities, and concern to make it more effective in those areas, and the widespread interest of urban planners in such questions, may be illustrated by the level of participation in the four conferences which branches of the SAITRP have thus far held on such topics (Cape Town in September 1990, Durban in March 1991, Johannesburg in June 1991 and Orange Free State in October 1991).[100]

It should be remembered that many of the changes in plannng practice which have already occurred are not rooted in any sort of radical shift, but rather in state-originated reform. A cogent example has to do with the fate of the Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, which took over township planning in the early seventies from the white municipalities. Under Botha's reforms, black local authorities emerged as the legal planning agencies in the townships, while the boards were transferred to the provinces, only to be submerged in the past few years in provincial restructuring. These changes have given both experience and power to the consultants who have served the BLAs (and the boards), and have recreated a powerful planning role for the provincial administrations. The extent of confusion and obfuscation in these areas is enormous. Planning at metropolitan levels and site-and-service project levels is conducted secretively. It is in these processes that much of the future shape of the urban areas is, arguably, presently being decided.

In the bantustans, urban planning is largely conducted by central authorities in Pretoria and their consultants, and to a lesser extent by tiny bantustan bureacracies and their generally much more powerful consultants. There has been some reform of planning rules and procedures, but urban places are generally much less regulated than they are in white municipal areas. Here again lie difficult problems for the future planning system.

In the white-run cities, meanwhile, post-modernism has emerged in the property development industry with waterfront developments (even in Johannesburg - witness Bruma Lake) and a general decline in the regulatory function which town planning had exercised over the private sector over a generation or so. Large project development seems to be the name of the game. So far local authorities seem to be poor players at extracting planning agreements which would benefit surrounding areas as has been the case in other parts of the world - even in London's docklands. There are important questions here for fashioning the future planning system. Deregulation has of course reached its height in moves towards enterprise zones in which regulation of all kinds would disappear. Present local economic development initiatives must be seen against this backdrop: while planners may shift towards planning for local economic growth, most such initiatives involve a substratum of deregulationist thinking which could pull the rug from the basic land-use-regulating functions of the planning profession.

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[100] These reflections are informed by the authors' participation in local government/development negotiations (Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, Northern Joint Negotiating Forum, Greater Benoni Forum, Vaal Joint Negotiating Forum, Operation Jumpstart) and in project-specific work related to such negotiations (Cato Manor, Central Witwatersrand land availability study, etc), as well as the four SAITRP conferences mentioned.

It should immediately be noted that the question of violence is absolutely critical to the future of urban planning of any kind. It is impossible to imagine effective progressive planning being carried out in many urban areas of the country today, and destabilisation really does seem to undermine the prospects for local negotiating fora - e.g., the Alexandra Joint Negotiating Forum - to make progress with development work. But violence is far from being the only problem confronting those who would now reconstruct the cities. Entrenched intesrests of bureaucratic and propertied kinds; complex problems of government; the prospects of political power held, and accountability owed, to
much more diverse groups than simplistic, nationalist rhetoric would allow; each of these reminds us of the problems which have beset and, indeed, confounded, urban reconstruction in at least three previous periods. Will the making of the brave new post-apartheid world be the success story of the century?

V

We are not alone, of course, in cautioning against febrile optimism at the ability of urban planning to accomplish nirvana in South Africa's future. For example, Jennifer Robinson[101] notes the likelihood that 'the durability of parts of the old order ... especially that fixed in the built environment and embodied in professional knowledge and language' will ensure that 'the struggle for liberation' will not be over ni the short term. We wish to add to this notion of the persistence of older social and physical forms the argument that past programmes of urban reconstruction have tended to be overtaken by the accession to power of new regimes, which have perverted the idealism and vision of reconstruction to less attractive ends.

Ultimately of course the paper has a subjective intent. The *desired product* of our project is a monograph which the authors expect to complete sometime before the end of the century, and hope with favourable circumstances such as the suspension of all political negotiations to publish rather earlier. The present paper is offered to the participants in the ASI seminar in an optimistic attempt to gauge the response of that audience to the outlines of the intended monograph.[102]

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[101] J. Robinson 'Power, space and the city: historical reflections on apartheid and post-apartheid urban orders' in D.M. Smith (ed) Urbanisation in Conetmporary South Africa (London: Routledge, 1992).

[102] The paper represents work which is aware of the vastly different nature of the periods described. If that sense fails to communicate itself, we can only apologise. Please note that Dan Smit has not had the opportunity to review this paper prior to circulation. Thanks are due to Inga Molzen, to innumerable archivists, several interviewees and the CSD of the HSRC for assistance in this project.