

A 6/2

ADDRESS BY THE DEPUTY MAY OF JOHANNESBURG
COUNCILLOR P. R. B. LEWIS TO THE MEMBERS
OF THE B'NAI BRITH LODGE, WEDNESDAY, 20TH
NOVEMBER, 1968.

The title of my talk this evening is JOHANNESBURG AS A METROPOLITAN CENTRE. What is it that makes a city or town a metropolis? Is it size, or what is it? Tonight I want to emphasise two aspects which, to my mind, are the essence of a metropolitan area. One is that it should have a marked influence in respect of its amenities on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. The second is that it exercises a strong magnetic influence, and is thus subject to intense attraction from people from outside its boundaries.

Firstly, let us see to what extent Johannesburg does create an influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries. I really think that this is so obvious that it does not need elaboration. Johannesburg is the centre of the Witwatersrand complex, the pivot of the Pretoria/Johannesburg/Vaal triangle, the area in which 40% of the wholesale trade of South Africa is conducted, 18% of the retail trade, whose Municipal produce market caters for 40% of the produce sold in the whole of South Africa, where 20% of the national industrial income is produced, where 35% of the financial and banking business is done, and where 13% of the white population resides.

Dealing with another aspect of its influence on a catchment area beyond its boundaries, I would like to say

a few words about the services provided by Johannesburg for surrounding areas. Some years ago it was decided by Johannesburg to build new sewage works outside the boundaries of the city, and close the disposal units within the city's boundaries. When the new works were planned, it was on a basis of their accepting sewage from a large number of areas surrounding Johannesburg, and these disposal works can truly be regarded as a metropolitan service. The disposal works in the north caters for the peri-urban areas of Sandown, Sandhurst, Portion of Bedfordview and Alexandra Township, while that to the south accepts sewage from the Roodepoort Municipality. Johannesburg also, in its sporting facilities, provides the stadia for international and provincial games, for the population far beyond Johannesburg's boundaries. Yes, Johannesburg can truly claim to be a metropolitan area if the criteria is influence on a large catchment area beyond its boundaries.

The second criteria I mentioned for a metropolitan area was a magnetic influence, the draw of people from outside. Why do people come to Johannesburg? What is the attraction? I would suggest work opportunity, better educational facilities such as universities, teachers training colleges, art schools and commercial colleges, a more varied life, diversification of interests. For immigrants, it is often the point of first arrival, and it is often there that people settle, the fact that for immigrants there are settlements of people from the country of their origin, the variety in community life, the attraction of people with specialist skills who, because of the very size and sophistication of enterprise, are able to find outlets for their

talents and abilities. All these, and many other factors, draw people to a city such as Johannesburg, so Johannesburg meets the needs of my definition of a metropolitan city in that its influence spreads beyond its boundaries and acts as a magnet, and will thus tend to grow. Johannesburg is, in fact, one of the vital metropolitan areas, not only in South Africa, but with world significance.

Johannesburg is still growing, and the following are population projections, not only for Johannesburg, but for the Republic as a whole :

Area & Year	Whites	Coloureds	Asiatics	Bantu	Total
<u>Republic</u>					
1960	3,088,492	1,509,258	477,125	10,927,922	15,002,797
1965	3,398,000	1,751,000	533,000	12,186,000	17,868,000
1985	5,203,000	3,383,000	849,000	19,583,000	29,018,000
2000	7,033,000	5,831,000	1,159,000	27,949,000	41,972,000
<u>Transvaal</u>					
1960	1,468,305	108,007	63,787	4,633,378	6,273,477
1965	1,617,000	125,000	71,000	5,167,000	6,980,000
1985	2,476,000	242,000	113,000	8,097,000	10,928,000
2000	3,343,000	417,000	156,000	11,556,000	15,472,000
<u>Witwatersrand</u>					
1960	766,379	78,134	39,915	1,296,486	2,180,914
1965	845,000	91,000	44,000	1,446,000	2,426,000
1985	1,294,000	176,000	71,000	2,266,000	3,807,000
2000	1,750,000	304,000	97,000	3,233,000	5,384,000
<u>JOHANNESBURG Metropolitan</u>					
1960	413,153	59,467	28,993	650,912	1,152,525
1965	456,000	69,000	32,000	726,000	1,283,000
1985	698,000	133,000	52,000	1,137,000	2,020,000
2000	943,000	230,000	71,000	1,623,000	2,867,000

Once a city has reached the size of Johannesburg its growth will continue. In a recent address Professor Wilfred Mallow, of the Witwatersrand University, analysed the factors that determined the increased productivity of cities. These were :

The first economy - the economy of proximity: the saving of time in communication between man and man, the heightened "collision of minds and wills" when human beings are crowded together. There can be little doubt that the human being thinks quicker, acts faster and co-ordinates better when he is crowded together in dense urban masses. Waste of time, waste of effort, waste of misunderstanding, waste of duplication are all capable of being reduced to a far greater extent in cities than in villages, and still more in big cities than in small cities.

This consideration leads to the second economy: the economy of scale. Size itself, once properly organised, is conducive to economy because size, like any organic growth, leads to reduced costs per unit produced and so increases productivity per capita. But the economics of scale can only operate with large cities comprehensively organised so that all components of a balanced community life are available : schools, hospitals, theatres, clubs, sport of all kinds : only with scale are these potentials fully realised.

The third economy arises out of the last. It is the economy of diversity. If scale produces economies, it also produces functional differentiation, diversity and

specialisation : and such diversity and specialisation can only exist after a certain size has been reached and passed: otherwise diversity is uneconomic. But diversity is the gateway to higher standards, itself an economy, and the setting of standards, as norms in national productivity, tends to be set in the big cities. It is the big cities that have been the pace-makers of modern societies.

The fourth economy is one that is often forgotten, but is vital to an industrial economy: it is the economy of innovation. Not only change in itself, but the rate of change is becoming a vital index of health in any modern society; and the conditions that are conducive to and actively encourage innovation, experiment and change represent vital elements of economy in any social system. Innovation arises most readily in a society with a high degree of internal mobility, where diversity and specialisation have provided multiplicity of both employment and leisure, and productivity is at a constant high level. All these conditions are more probable in the big, rather than the small city.

What are the world trends in the development of metropolitan areas, and can we learn from the experiences of the other cities?

A century ago five cities in the world had populations of over one million, but today there are 100 such cities. In the year 1960, 285 million persons lived in metropolitan areas of one million, but by the year 2000 it is estimated that 1285 million people will live in enormous metropolitan areas, and where the population is from 300,000 to one million

in certain areas, it will increase from 154 million to 820 million in the next forty years.

The first form of metropolitan government in North America was started in Toronto in 1953. The City of Toronto occupied an area of 35.1 sq. miles. Nine other local authorities formed an inner ring around Toronto and occupied 23 sq. miles. Three towns occupied an outer ring of 182 sq. miles. The 13 local authorities agreed to cooperate and create a metropolitan government. The main function of metropolitan government was to control the levying of rates, the borrowing of money and the provision of major arterial roads. It was also the wholesaler in such matters as water supply, sewage disposal and similar activities. The metropolitan government was also designated to serve as the central works agency for the entire metropolitan area. At the beginning the metropolitan council experienced many difficulties, but the necessity to plan and co-ordinate the development of this large area soon became very apparent. The population of the greater Toronto Council has extended very rapidly. Now, however, after the experimental period, it has been decided to reduce the number of boroughs from 13 to 6. It was because of this unique experience regarding the establishment of a metropolitan area that the Bureau of Metropolitan Research in Toronto convened a conference last year, which coincided with the Centennial celebrations in Canada; forty metropolitan cities scattered throughout the world, with populations of over 1 million people, were asked to send delegates to this Conference, and Johannesburg was fortunate to be one of the cities selected.

Last year a conference was held in Stockholm, organised by the International Union of Local Authorities, the subject of the conference being "Amalgamation or Co-operation".

Because of the need for co-ordinated planning, the world trend is for metropolitan regions to become larger and larger. Ninety local authorities formed the London County Council covering an area of 117 sq. miles. This has now been changed. The area of the Greater London Council has now been extended to 620 sq. miles. At the same time, the number of local authorities has been reduced from 90 to 32. In Sweden in 1949 there were 2,400 communes. These were later reduced to 800, and now the 800 are being reduced to 280 by amalgamation or merger. The Swedes found it necessary to establish a school to train their councils to function in this larger area, and this school, the Swedish Kommunskolan at Sigtuna, is just outside Stockholm. It was established in 1956 for further training of councillors, as well as officials of local authorities, and is the only institution of its kind in the world. A fine group of buildings, which include lecture halls and hostels, have been provided. During 1957 something like 100 specialised courses were offered there, of which the majority were of 5 days duration. Attendance varied, but the average number who attended such a course was about 50. An important point is that no lecturers are attached to the school permanently. For the purposes of each of the courses a panel of speakers is appointed from the ranks of the universities, central and local governments, and from other bodies. At each course

emphasis is placed on practical aspects.

The practice of amalgamation or merger is also taking place in France.

The dominant thoughts in my mind after attending these conferences are, firstly, the need for long-term planning, and, secondly, the need for all tiers of local government to co-operate to find a solution to the situations which arise from the congregation of such large numbers of people in the urban areas.

Johannesburg has formed a Forward Planning Division in the City Engineer's Department. In the late 1950s the Council employed as a Research Officer, a Dr. L. P. Green, and he studied and reported on Johannesburg in its regional and metropolitan setting. There were three reports, the first on the social structure, the second on the economic structure and the third on the administrative structure of the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Region. These reports provided a sound source of reference, and have been further developed by reports published by the Forward Planning Department dealing with the busway system, with European housing, with metropolitan Johannesburg in its relation to the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vereeniging region, with future housing needs for the Bantu population, and a report on the development of the central area of Johannesburg. Further studies are being made regarding the development of parks in Johannesburg, and on transportation.

I would like to ask a question. What is our position in South Africa? Are we following world trends? Are we benefiting from the experience of others? I suggest that we are not, and assert that we are damaging the national economy by not heeding the experience of other countries. As the population of the Republic becomes more and more concentrated in the cities, the fate of the cities has a substantial bearing on the fate of the nation, and unless, for one thing, the cities can solve their transport and traffic problems, they will choke to death. This is not a local problem, but a national one, yet what is the position? You all know of the announcement made that local authorities cannot expect further subsidies from the Province, or the State, in regard to the construction of expressways and major roads. Where do the State and Province collect the largest portion of their revenue? I would suggest that Johannesburg makes a very large contribution, and is entitled, from this contribution, to assistance in the construction of roads and expressways. The cities are the life blood of the nation, but in South Africa our Parliament is so dominated by rural constituencies that the welfare of the cities and towns is not receiving sufficient attention from the State.

Everyone realises the dominant part played by finance in determining what can and what cannot be done. This was recognised some years ago when the Borckenhagen Commission was appointed to examine the financial relationship between the State, the Provinces and Local Authorities. That Commission was appointed in August 1956, twelve years ago. It is understood that the report has at last been presented to

the Minister of Finance, but the report has not yet been published, and it is not yet known what the recommendations are, or whether they will be implemented. At a recent conference of the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants held in Bulawayo, it was suggested that we may have to regard the Borckenhagen Report in the same light as the mythical Flying Dutchman, the Wandering Jew and the Vanishing Indian.

I have told you of Johannesburg's endeavour to plan for the future, but there is need for a regional plan, for co-ordinated planning of the areas around Johannesburg, and around every large metropolitan area, yet ad hoc planning in the areas to the south and north of Johannesburg is the order of the day. Areas of ground are laid out as townships without thought to the road systems to carry the traffic generated by such townships, and with inadequate provision for parks or public amenities, or for the provision of public transport. Recent articles have highlighted the "no man's land" where no provision is made for ambulances, and there are large areas with inadequate fire services. This lack of planning can only lead to chaos. More and more power is being taken by the Central and Provincial Governments to control local authorities, instead of extending a helping hand to solve the many problems. More and more circulars are being issued, and helpful as many officials try to be, the very volume of work they have to do tends to slow up the whole administration. Can you believe that the Johannesburg City Council is not able to

lease any premises without the prior approval of the Provincial Authorities? That no lease to rent a house to an employee in a power station can be entered into prior to that lease being approved by the Administrator? We simply have to accept that local government is "big business" today, and like commerce and industry it has to make use of modern administrative aids such as computers, work study analyses, organisation and methods, etc., always with a view to serving its inhabitants and ratepayers all the better. Larger municipalities would, of course, have more problems - but possibly this may serve as a challenge to the best men and women to offer themselves for service on the councils concerned.

It has been very apparent to me during my period of office in the City Council, that Johannesburg has never outlived the attitude of higher authorities, when the "uitlander" was regarded with suspicion, and the development of this city was regarded with jealousy and antagonism. Let me be the first to say, however, that there have been faults on both sides. To me, one of the greatest needs is for all tiers of government to co-operate and plan and learn from the experience of overseas cities which, years ago, ran into the problems we are now experiencing. I sincerely trust that we can stop a lot of the sniping that takes place, and that we can get to grips with the issues at stake.

What of the future? Will the movement of the voters from the rural areas to the cities give Parliament and the

Provincial Councils a different emphasis by having more urban representatives? Will the problems of the urban areas receive the constructive attention that they need? Will the establishment of the Randse Afrikaanse Univer-siteit assist the attitude towards Johannesburg by objective research into the problems of the city by the students and staff? It is hoped that the contacts made here will result in the students identifying themselves with the problems of metropolitan areas.

I would again like to quote from Professor Mallow's Address.

Behind the various technical and administrative problems of the big cities today stands one fact : they are the greatest investment in physical plant that any nation makes in the modern world and the whole community, in both its public and private aspect, has made this investment. We have as citizens therefore an obligation to see that the maximum return is obtained on this investment.

There seems definitely some evidence that the bigger the city, the better the return on the investment. Japanese delegates at the recent conference on Metropolitan Problems at Toronto actually went so far as to say that the various economies of production created by the very big city might be of such an order that they could become critical in a nation's fight for survival in international trade : that the big city, like Tokyo or Nagoya, might be vital tools in a country's fight for economic survival. This aspect would appear to merit serious thought.

It is clear that in the total economy of a country, however strong its muscles and sound its circulatory system, it is the big cities that constitute its brain. The directive power resides in the big cities and for this reason alone of course the big city is vital to a country's continuing existence.

Finally, it is surely clear, to quote the words of one of the Hanover delegates to the Toronto Conference : "The crisis is not in the cities, but in man's capacity to deal with them".

The heat is on us : are we up to the job or not? We need a new approach, a more flexible attitude to change, and wider horizons with ever increasing size. Can, or will, we respond or not? And in time? It is up to us.

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FIRST NATIONAL CONFERENCE

SOUTH AFRICAN PROPERTY OWNERS ASSOCIATION LIMITED

PAPER FOR PRE-CONFERENCE READING

PANEL THEME: Trends in the Planning and Development
of our Cities.

SUBJECT: Planning of our Cities.

SPEAKER: Prof. E.W.N. Mallows.

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- 1.0 THE ORIGINS AND CHARACTER OF MODERN CITIES.
- 2.0 THE PROBLEMS AND THE NEED FOR PLANNING.
- 3.0 SOME CONTEMPORARY PLANNING POLICIES AND ACHIEVEMENTS.
- 4.0 SUMMARY.

1.0 THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF MODERN CITIES

- 1.1 The great cities of the modern world, as we know them today, are essentially products of the Industrial Revolution, which started in Britain about 200 years ago and which has been accelerating and expanding ever since. Between the old historic pre-industrial town - which most of us "post-industrial people" like to see as tourists, but never wish to live in - and the present post-industrial town - on which the modern world is based - there is a great gulf fixed which nothing will ever bridge. They live in two completely different worlds and we will never begin to understand our towns until we accept this difference as a fundamental fact.
- 1.2 Basically towns and cities have always been the service and non-agricultural component of the total productive force of any society. Even in the pre-industrial town most things not grown in the fields were made there and most buying and selling done there. It was only where men were thickly congregated together that these things could be done more quickly, more efficiently, and so more cheaply : where in short productivity could be maximised.
- 1.3 These characteristics were increased one hundred fold by the Industrial Revolution and with the consequent increase of urban productivity came a corresponding diversification and proliferation of functions. As the standard of living increased, schools increased, hospitals and welfare institutions increased, Universities appeared, and entertainment prospered; sport and leisure became important and the activities of man changed in character but increased in extent so that one man in his lifetime played far more roles than his father or grandfather. With this increase and attraction, the big city became thought of not so much as a sink of iniquity or the cemetery of men - as the pre-industrial city had commonly been called - but as the place of the bright lights where life can be lived more adven-

- 1.3 tunately, where one's capabilities could be exploited without artificial or historical restraints, where the fullest opportunities were offered for one's self-expression, where the multiplicity of contacts made personal friendships at once deeper, more numerous, and so much more rewarding.
- 1.4 It was these attractions, true or false, of the post-industrial big city that brought the people there in their thousands - and today in their millions - and have caused the contemporary urban explosion : not the motor cars, not the electric train, not the mechanisation and the de-population of the Countryside although all these have helped : but fundamentally the basic enhanced productivity of the urban areas, as the most efficient tool man has yet devised for increasing his total social productivity and so his mastery of his environment and his destiny.
- 1.5 In what factors, precisely does this increased productivity of cities - and particularly big cities - consist? It seems perhaps four classes of economics can be postulated as major determinants of this increased productivity and all of them can only be found in big cities.
- 1.6 The first economy is the economy of proximity : the saving of time in communication between man and man, the heightened "collision of minds and wills" when human beings are crowded together. Ecologists have shown many analogies of this in the animal kingdom : but whether the animals are relevant or not - and it appears the analogy has some relevance - there can be little doubt that the human being thinks quicker, acts faster and co-ordinates better when he is crowded together in dense urban masses. Waste of time, waste of effort, waste of misunderstanding, waste of duplication are all capable of being reduced to a far greater extent in cities than in villages and still more in big cities than in small cities.
- 1.7 This consideration leads to the second economy : the economy of scale. Size itself, once properly organised, is conducive to economy because size, like any organic growth, leads to reduced costs per unit produced and so increase productivity per capita. But the economics of scale can only operate with large cities comprehensively organised so that all components of a balanced community life are available : schools, hospitals, theatres, clubs, sport of all kinds : only with scale are these potentials fully realised.
- 1.8 The third economy arises out of the last : it is the economy of diversity. If scale produces economies, it also produces functional differentiation, diversity and specialisation : and such diversity and specialisation can only exist after a certain size has been reached and passed : otherwise diversity is uneconomic. But diversity is the gateway to higher standards, itself an economy : and the setting of standards, as norms in national productivity, tends to be set in the big cities. It is the big cities that have been the pace-makers of modern societies.
- 1.9 The fourth economy is one that is often forgotten but is vital to an industrial economy : it is the economy of innovation. Not only change in itself, but the rate of change is becoming a vital index of health in any modern society; and the conditions that are conducive to and actively encourage innovation, experiment and change represent vital elements of economy in any social system. Innovation arises most readily in a society with a high degree of internal mobility, where diversity and specialisation have provided multiplicity of both employment and leisure, and productivity is at a constant high level. All these conditions are more probable in the big, rather than the small city.
- 2.0 THE PROBLEMS AND THE NEED FOR PLANNING
- 2.1 If therefore cities, and still more big cities, are endowed with these basic, built-in, economics, it follows they are vital elements in the national economy as a whole. In fact it is clear a very considerable, if not the major part of national investment, is made every year in the big cities and therefore the big cities have to be considered as a going concern that

- 2.1 have to be made to work if this investment is to produce its appropriate return. To do this, the infrastructure must be complete, up-to-date, and co-ordinated. The infrastructure consists basically of water and power supply, drainage and waste disposal, and all forms of transportation. In South Africa the first two are not problems : the third is.
- 2.2 ^{first and} The main problem of the big city in South Africa is the provision of adequate transportation. This is vital to our cities, for unless movement of goods and people is not optimised then the four economies spoken of above cannot be realised for in one form or another they all depend on efficient movement. Movement in a big city is a very complex thing : many forms have to be fitted together : private cars and industrial trucks : buses and taxis : subways and suburban electric trains : parking and safe pedestrian routes : even equestrian rides and hiking paths : all have to form a balanced system, firmly attached to land use policy. It follows that subways and busways, expressways and parking garages and pedestrian networks must all be considered as forming one total system. We will never solve the problem of the big cities unless we can see the problem as a whole : we will need all the tools we have if we are to do the job. And the job is getting bigger every day.
- 2.3 The second problem is to reduce the unevenness of development and the load of "lagging" or "underdeveloped" areas in our big cities, just as in the country as a whole. This is the problem of urban renewal. The causes of this are complex but demands are always changing and the various portions of a city can only respond to changing demand in very different ways. Accessibility is a major factor in determining this response to change and this emphasizes the need for a balanced and effective transportation system feeding all parts.
- 2.4 The third problem is the historical legacy of the past; in particular the legacy of a street system originally designed for very different purposes. South Africa is very lucky indeed in this respect compared with the old cities of Europe, loaded not only with old street systems but with a mass of historic public buildings and spaces that are inflexible units in the plan and yet must be accommodated. But we still have to accommodate the little trading village of Cape Town, the camping site of Port Elizabeth and the diggers camp of Johannesburg. It can be done of course but it needs effort, thought - and time.
- 2.5 The fourth problem is to up-date local governmental machinery. It must have wider scope, increased power and increased resources to deal with the ever bigger problems of the big city : and in particular the problems of the infrastructure of movement. Whether it is a two-tier system like Toronto or a monolithic structure like New York or a proliferation of ad hoc agencies like some Japanese cities, the problem must be faced at an early stage and a decision made; and the decision must include some built-in arrangement for growth and change. Finally it must be able to carry on a satisfactory liaison with regional and national bodies.
- 2.6 In face of these problems, the need for planning - that is, some intelligent pre-vision of objectives and how to reach them - is obvious. But physical planning can only proceed within the total social, economic and political framework of the country concerned and in free enterprise economies this means some agreed demarcation, as regards physical planning, of the respective responsibilities of the public and private sector. Broadly, in South Africa it is agreed the public sector has to provide the infrastructure or the working framework for the private sector and the latter must accept the discipline of the framework in order to make it work for the mutual benefit of both sectors. This means a dialogue : and the dialogue must be by its nature continual.

3.0 SOME CONTEMPORARY PLANNING POLICIES

- 3.1 Two American writers, a few years back, suggested there were four basic and fairly intractable elements in any physical planning area and these should become the primary concern of the planner. These four elements were :-

- 1) The topography of the area
- 2) The open space reserves of the area
- 3) The transportation system of the area
- 4) Major investment, or growth, points of the area.

3 If this is accepted it follows that planning policy should, once the topography is fully grasped and understood, concentrate on the road and rail network of an area and the open space system. The main growth points will be related to the transportation system since growth and investment is controlled by accessibility. Hence the emphasis given to expressways all over the world, where car population is high, is obviously correct; but it may not be enough, and there seems evidence that once fully industrialised cities grow well over a million - say from 1½ million or two million or over - other forms of both mass and rapid transit such as subways or tubes become essential.

3.3 Hence it is clearly correct for most of the larger South African cities to be now building their freeway systems : but it soon will not be enough and the co-ordination of public transit systems - fast bus services, electric suburban as well as downtown subways will all be needed and have to be planned ten or twenty years in advance. Planning in this way is always a continuous and never-ending changing process and must be accepted as such.

3.4 But before the infrastructure is in working order and the total transportation network operating as a fully co-ordinated system, the pattern of land use and particularly the major growth and investment points must be selected to integrate with the transportation network. It is here where the dialogue between the public and the private sector becomes most critical and at times acute and it is here where most thought is needed now for our cities can only be satisfactorily developed if public and private interests can combine and the techniques adopted elsewhere such as in the United States, Great Britain and France merit to my mind very careful comparative study.

4.0 SUMMARY

4.1 Behind the various technical and administrative problems of the big cities today stands one fact : they are the greatest investment in physical plant that any nation makes in the modern world and the whole community, in both its public and private aspect, has made this investment. We have as citizens therefore an obligation to see that the maximum return is obtained on this investment.

4.2 There seems definitely some evidence that the bigger the city, the better the return on the investment. Japanese delegates at the recent conference on Metropolitan Problems at Toronto actually went so far as to say that the various economies of production created by the very big city might be of such an order that they could become critical in a nation's fight for survival in international trade : that the big city, like Tokyo or Nagoya, might be vital tools in a country's fight for economic survival. This aspect would appear to merit serious thought.

4.3 It is clear that in the total economy of a country, however strong its muscles and sound its circulatory system, it is the big cities that constitute its brain. The directive power resides in the big cities and for this reason alone of course the big city is vital to a country's continuing existence.

4.4 Finally, it is surely clear, to quote the words of one of the Hannover delegates to the Toronto Conference :

"The crisis is not in the cities, but in man's capacity to deal with them."

The heat is on us : are we up to the job or not? We need a new approach, a more flexible attitude to change, and wider horizons to deal with ever increasing size. Can, or will, we respond or not? And in time? It is up to us.

CR Lewis
Herewith, kind regards.
R.E. Calburn

Room #29
Ext 230

TRANSLATION.

REPORT BY COUNCILLOR W.C. DEMPSEY ON THE IULA CONFERENCE
AT STOCKHOLM, 26TH - 29TH SEPTEMBER, 1967.

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GENERAL :

Roughly 500 delegates from more than 40 countries were present when the conference started on the 26th September. Among others Sir Francis Hill, President of IULA, and Mr. Tage Erlander, Prime Minister of Sweden, officiated at the ceremonial opening. The Prime Minister said that local government was one of the cornerstones of Swedish democracy and he pointed out further that close co-operation between local and central governments was necessary for the solution of many problems with which a country may be faced.

An interesting innovation, at least for us, was that this first formal session was interrupted half-way through for the presentation of a number of musical items and a ballet performance.

The conference did its work as follows: two plenary sessions were held on Tuesday and Friday, and for the rest delegates had the choice of joining two of four working groups which held their discussions on Wednesday and Thursday. Two of the groups always met at the same time. Mrs. Maytom joined two groups and Mr. Jowell and I the other two, and in this way we made certain that between us we covered all the proceedings.

At the plenary sessions there was little opportunity to take part in the discussions, but at the sessions of the working groups the delegates of the U.M.E. asked for and were given turns to speak, and we were welcomed very cordially by the different chairmen. At the end of our speeches the audience also showed its appreciation.

Personally I think back on the conference with the most pleasant memories. We went out of our way to meet as many of the delegates as possible and to have conversations with them, and the reception was always particularly agreeable and courteous. Thus, to mention only a few, there were the Mayor of Brasilia, the representative of Cyprus, and the one from Saudi Arabia who were particularly friendly to us. Never in or outside the conference hall was there a trace of enmity towards us or South Africa.

It was my privilege on two occasions to have long conversations with the President, Sir Francis Hill. He expressed his joy in the presence of the South African delegation and was genuinely upset to hear that there was a possibility that South Africa may withdraw from IULA.

Delegates were treated to several excursions in and around Stockholm and there was also a performance by the Swedish Royal Opera which was established as far back as 1773, and a dinner in the historic city hall of Stockholm where the annual banquet is held after the presentation of the Nobel prizes.

Especially interesting was the visit to the Swedish Kommunskolan at Sigtuna just outside Stockholm. It is a school which was established in 1956 for the further training of councillors as well as officials of local authorities and is the only institution of its kind in the world. A fine group of buildings which include lecture halls and hostels have been provided. During 1967 something like 100 specialised courses were offered there, of which the majority were of 5 days duration. Attendance varied but the average number who attended such a course was about 50. An important point is that no lecturers are attached to the school permanently. For the purposes of each of the courses a panel of speakers is appointed from the ranks of the universities, central and local governments, and from other bodies. At each course emphasis is placed on practical aspects.

The school /..... 2.

Siguna
Sigtuna

The school is at present also the centre where correspondence courses are organised for councillors and officials but this activity is subordinate to the oral courses already mentioned.

The erection of the buildings was made possible by an interest-free loan from the Swedish Government and also by contributions made by the Association of Swedish Municipalities.

THE BUSINESS OF THE CONFERENCE:

The conference was convened to discuss new ideas and new developments concerning the form and functions of local government. In many countries there is a tendency in recent years to create larger administrative units because it is felt that the small local authority which was designed for a previous century can no longer meet the demands made upon it in the second half of the 20th century. Rapid urbanisation, the greater mobility of modern man and the greater prosperity and higher living standard enjoyed by most peoples today, are factors which hastened this process. An argument which is also used in favour of larger and stronger units is that the provision of many services of a high standard which the public expect today, and the employment of superior technical and administrative staff, are beyond the reach of the small local authority with its limited sources of revenue.

How can these larger units come into being? The conference confined itself mainly to two possibilities, namely amalgamation or co-operation, and this was the central theme around which all the discussion took place. To me it was especially illuminating to learn how far several European countries had already progressed along this road. In Sweden post-war legislation enforced amalgamations so that the number of rural municipalities was reduced from 2400 to 800. In the urban areas too, larger units were created. In Finland a law was passed during 1966 which gave the State the power to prepare plans for the amalgamation of municipalities before the 1st July, 1968. In this regard it has to be taken into account that the population of a municipality should in future be at least 8000. The same movement is afoot in other countries. Dr. Leemans rightly declares - "the place of the small commune as part of a country's overall structure of local government is now very much in the limelight. In what has, for so many years, resembled a quiet and stagnant pool, turbulent currents are coming to the surface."

The concept of "co-operation" as it is used here does not mean a form of loose collaboration between a number of municipalities, but implies generally the creation of a new regional authority which takes over certain functions of the local authority in a specified region.

As mentioned earlier, four working groups were appointed by the conference to discuss and analyse separate aspects of the subject of amalgamation or co-operation. They were -

- (a) Area and population as criteria for the amalgamation of, or co-operation between local government units;
- (b) Forms of intermunicipal co-operation;
- (c) Form of government for metropolitan areas;
- (d) The region; its size, functions and relation to other organs of government.

I shall now summarise briefly the main thoughts that were expressed by each of the working groups.

(a) Area and population as criteria for amalgamation or co-operation :

Delegates in this group were generally agreed that a re-organisation of the system of local government had become necessary. Unless local authorities themselves recognised this need and took action, there was a danger of reorganisation being forced upon them. It is of course impossible to design a structure of local government that would fit all countries, but at the conference there was a strong feeling in favour of a system consisting of two tiers. To the higher tier, which would cover a wide area, a range of important services would be entrusted, for the execution of which strong financial resources and highly qualified administrative and technical staff were required. The other tier would be local in character, but would still consist of larger units than was the case at present. This group of authorities too would have to have at their disposal sufficient funds and staff to carry out the functions allocated to them.

What criteria could be fixed in respect of this larger unit which ought to come about and which should form the lower tier?

(i) The size and distribution of the population and the rateable value would have to be such that the functions given to the authority can be carried out economically and efficiently;

(ii) The area should not be so small that the authority would be unable to bear the cost of employing properly qualified staff;

(iii) Common interests should be one of the decisive factors when amalgamations are considered;

(iv) The area of the local authority should include diverse economic interests so that a temporary recession in one sector may be compensated by prosperity in another;

(v) The local authority must have sufficient financial resources at its disposal in order to be able to meet its financial commitments;

(vi) The wishes of the inhabitants should be taken into consideration.

Local authorities have no desire to become so big that all feeling of unity and solidarity disappears in the process, but also really not to be so small that they would have inadequate finances and for all practical purposes would be able to do little. We simply have to accept that local government is "big business" today, and like commerce and industry it has to make use of modern administrative aids such as computers, work study analyses, organisation and methods, etc, always with a view to serving its inhabitants and ratepayers all the better. Larger municipalities would of course have more problems - but possibly this may serve as a challenge to the best men and women to offer themselves for service on the councils concerned.

It would certainly not be easy to change our deep-rooted views and ideas but if we want to ensure the continued existence of local government - a system which was really designed for the period of the ox-wagon and the horse-cart - we shall just have to remember that the administrative function has been undergoing radical changes in recent years and that local government cannot escape the influence and effects of these changes.

(b) Forms of intermunicipal co-operation:

Without passing on to amalgamation, there are more than enough opportunities for local authorities to co-operate towards one or other common objective. In Europe there are many examples of this, and the stage at which such co-operation is entered into is usually reached when the single authority is no longer able to provide for all the needs of its inhabitants, or when two or more municipalities decide that they can undertake and execute a particular service jointly more efficiently or more economically.

Co-operation could be on a loose basis such as when merely a contract is entered into by the parties for a specific purpose. The more durable form is the federation for which provision is made in the legislation of several countries. Such a federation then has the status of a juristic person. At the conference preference was shown for the former because, among other things, local autonomy is preserved better in that way. It is interesting to note that non-municipal organs are often parties to these forms of co-operation.

Just how many local authorities, and therefore what area would be involved in such an intermunicipal co-operative undertaking, depend upon the size of the particular country and also upon the geographic and population structure. For special purposes such as for instance planning, the area could be large, but otherwise a warning must be sounded against the danger of the federation becoming too clumsy and unmanageable and that, in itself, could create new problems. The human aspect should also not be lost sight of. Personal contact between the municipal official and the inhabitants must be maintained.

Examples of intermunicipal co-operation:(i) Belgium:

In the Belgian legislation provision is made for two or more municipalities to form an association for a specific aim or aims, which association can take the legal form of a public company. Every such association has to be approved by a higher authority. The state, provincial authorities, private companies and even individuals can have a share in such an association. Originally they were formed for specific purposes only, such as for the supply of water, electricity, etc., but in recent times more emphasis is placed on services of a general character, especially the promotion of the national economy on a regional basis. Municipalities have become ever more conscious that they have a task to fulfil in this field, and that therefore they have to take the initiative to promote social and economic development.

There are at present 192 such associations or "intercommunales" in Belgium. A minimum of two municipalities are needed for each but some have up to 200 as members.

The "intercommunales" can be classified under the following headings -

Generation and supply of electricity and gas	64
Regional development and housing	22
Water supply	33
Refuse removal	20
Public works	14
Health and welfare services	33
Other	6

192

(ii) Holland:

In 1950 the "Wet op Gemeenschappelijke Regelingen" (Communal Arrangements Act) was passed by which the establishment of intermunicipal associations became possible.

As in the case of Belgium the state and the provinces may also become partners, and with the approval of a higher body, private bodies may join too. Unlike Belgium however, where the municipal association is created by resolution of the local authorities themselves, the state can compel its establishment in Holland if at least half the municipalities concerned are in favour of such an association. In 1960 there were 252 in Holland of which 10% were of the compulsory type.

(iii) France:

A law of 1890 already made the establishment of municipal syndicates possible here, more or less in the same way as the subsequent legislation in the other two countries. Only municipalities could however become members of such a syndicate, but a law of 1955 now also permits the mixed type. They are mainly intended for the development of industrial areas and tourist centres and for purposes of urban renewal.

In 1966 there were 581 intermunicipal undertakings in France and they chiefly looked after the following services : Water, sanitation, refuse removal, public works, industrial zoning, etc.

(c) Government of Metropolitan Areas:

Mainly three cities came under discussion in the debate on this subject, namely Toronto (Canada), Tokio and London because a metropolitan authority was instituted in each in recent years.

The factors which gave rise to this were more or less the same in all three. Around the centre of the urban area a tremendous population expansion occurred in the course of time over an ever expanding area which extended in all directions. In the process numbers of local authorities came into being, and this process continued. So for example we find in London the "City" which occupies only one square mile in the heart of the city, and around it greater London with an area of 620 square miles. Responsible leaders came to realise that the government of an area with a population of millions, which for all practical purposes can be regarded as an integrated social and economic unit, could not be left to the divided control of a large number of separate authorities. Numerous problems affecting the whole city and therefore all the authorities, arise in the course of time, and to solve them there must be a uniform policy and joint action. For a start ad hoc bodies were created to give attention to such problems as transportation, water supply and sanitation, but it was soon realised that a basic reorganisation of the local government system was necessary to assure a stable and satisfactory solution for such an extensive problem. Co-operative action of the kind to which I have already referred was successful up to a point but it had definite limits.

Study groups and investigating committees in each of the cities set to work in an endeavour to develop a new structure of local government which would rule out the disadvantages of divided control without diminishing the ratepayer's interest in participation in local administration. The result was a system of government consisting of two tiers and so we find it in London and Toronto today. With an eye on economy and greater efficiency certain functions were centralised and transferred to a new and strong central authority. All sections of the large metropolitan zone were represented on this body and so equal distribution of responsibility and uniform standards in respect of the various services were achieved throughout the metropolitan area.

In the case of London 90 local authorities were abolished and 32 new borough councils were established. In the process old boundary lines were wiped out and new ones drawn in their place. The new metropolitan authority is the Greater London Council (G.L.C.) with a membership of 115. This body's functions fall in two categories: (a) those for which it alone is responsible such as the London fire brigade, ambulance services and control over pollution of the river Thames; (b) services undertaken in co-operation with the London County Councils. These include planning, road and transportation problems, sanitation and refuse removal, housing, parks and open spaces.

A third group of services is the responsibility of only the borough councils in London. Here we refer to personal health services and libraries. These are the only councils which levy rates based on the rental value of fixed property and in the tariff an amount is included which must be paid over to the G.L.C. for its purposes. It may be stated here in passing that the amounts thus collected have long been insufficient to provide for the needs of local authorities with the result that the British government has to make grants to local authorities. These grants amount to more than 50% of their revenue.

The G.L.C. can hardly be looked upon still as a local authority and is rather a sort of regional authority. With a population of 8 million in the area it administers, it has an annual budget of £800 million and it employs more than 100,000 people.

(d) The region, its size, functions and relation to other organs of government:

The word "region" has until recently had little significance in local authority circles although in the post-war years special emphasis is placed on the region within the framework of national economic planning and development.

It is used here in the sense of a form of administrative organisation on the second and third tiers of local government. Just how big such a region ought to be and what criteria should be applied in defining its boundaries are problems to which answers cannot readily be given. Many factors of a geographical, political, economical, cultural and sociological nature are involved here and they vary not only from country to country but also from region to region so that the emphasis falls on flexibility when one tries to determine the size, etc. of such a region.

When we come to the functions of such a region there is once more a great deal of uncertainty. What is accepted however, is that there is a close relationship between this idea of regions and the future functions of a reformed local government system. The functions to be allocated to such a region would depend on the tasks entrusted to the local authorities. In the most restricted sense the regional body would be limited to physical and perhaps economic planning of the defined region. If on the other hand comprehensive powers were given to it, the regional authority could be held responsible for all the functions that local government is unable to manage, such as hospitals, transportation, infra-structure of the regional road system, physical and economic planning, water supply, nature conservation, etc. It is also a question still whether this authority should merely prepare the plans and determine priorities, and leave the execution thereof to local authorities.

A further question /..... 7.

A further question which arises is the precise nature of the Regional authority and how it is to be constituted. One possibility is that the organisation could be made up from representatives of decentralised government departments which would have all the necessary experts for the particular task or tasks at their disposal. There appears to be strong support however, for an autonomous body on a tier higher than the local authorities but which is nevertheless elected by the voters. The body would receive instructions from the government but would none the less take its own decisions and have its own sources of income. To prevent overlapping and inevitable conflict it would be necessary to make a careful division of powers and functions between the regions and the local authorities.

What has been said above about the region is naturally relatively vague because it is really a new concept to which a precise meaning has not been given yet. It is above all much too early to say what position the region will occupy among all the other forms of intermunicipal co-operation such as metropolitan authorities, municipal federations, urban and rural municipalities, etc. The fact remains however that in more or less all countries the emphasis falls on regionalism and many national problems are tackled on that basis. It is therefore conceivable that the concept may easily be applied and developed also in the field of local government.

CONCLUSION:

I want to conclude by quoting from the address of the General Rapporteur of the conference, Dr. A.F. Leemans, when on the last day he gave a résumé of the main thoughts that had been expressed.

- (a) The structure of the existing local government system is inadequate. Thorough and systematic attention should be given to the need and the possibilities for a reformation of local government;
- (b) Scientific studies of the various aspects of local government and of the proposed changes are necessary prerequisites for a general reformation. The central government, associations of local authorities and the universities should work together on this;
- (c) Proposals for sudden and drastic changes would evoke much opposition from local authorities. Gradual introduction of a series of changes is preferable;
- (d) Reformation should not be totally enforced by the state, but there should be enough room for voluntary action within the framework of a state scheme. Only when the local authorities are unwilling to solve their own problems force may be used;
- (e) Legislation on local authorities should be flexible so that there is room for adaptation to local circumstances;
- (f) Provision should be made for direct representation on all tiers of local government;
- (g) Methods to stimulate the interest of the electorate in local government should be devised and applied; opportunities should be created further for the electorate to participate individually or through their organisations in an advisory capacity, in the fixing of the policies of their local authority.

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