

vernment finally in power in this  
 to pick up the pieces in Cape Town  
 frica where heretofore government  
 tly in order to segregate the races.  
 's accession represents a revolution?  
 al legacy of apartheid" will be swept  
 nents? Yet, a major consideration in  
 eable urban future is the degree to  
 gress' assumption of power is a revo-  
 matter for dispute among political  
 t does the ANC want to *do* with the  
 With roots in late nineteenth century  
 ianism, with its Freedom Charter for  
 o 1950s-style British welfare socialist  
 -reiterated article of faith of nonracial  
 ical revolutionary force. Indeed, over  
 rom Mandela's release (and indeed be-  
 lay 1994 of a government led by him,  
 s long-held projects—such as national-  
 mines—and then upon being elected  
 n no political party as Minister of Fi-  
 Pan-Africanist Congress come to power  
 Black appeal and its ideological dis-  
 Africans as mere "settlers"—and there-  
 ht have signaled possibilities of more  
 Pan-Africanist Congress, however, long  
 ation movement in South Africa, gained  
 a risible 1.2% of the vote in the 1994

on truly radical change—as the ANC is  
 f constrained by the limited resources at  
 African economy bear the cost of whole-  
 ge cities? The ANC-led government has  
 nlimited financial, natural, or human re-  
 this is a moderately sized postcolonial  
 gain on middle-income status in an oth-

ployment. Moreover, the phrase "taken as a whole" papers over the  
 deep divide within the country between Third World majority and  
 First World minority, a divide so sedulously fostered for so long along  
 "racial" fault-lines that by one measure (the Gini coefficient) South  
 Africa had the highest income inequality of any country in the world.  
 To actively dismantle the apartheid city which is so evidently and in-  
 tendedly reflective and indeed constitutive of this inequality would  
 cost a great deal. The money it would take to pursue social engineer-  
 ing significant enough to somehow rescramble the racial and/or ethnic  
 groups (as formerly defined) seems to make such a prospect utterly re-  
 mote. A frontal ideologically driven assault on the accreted fabric of  
 the present city—actually knocking large parts of the apartheid city  
 down, or pursuing extensive remodeling—would mean the destruc-  
 tion of shelter in a time of ever-continuing severe housing shortage.  
 And this in a country which is not rich.

No, a more realistic government policy would be to pour resources  
 into low-income, basic public housing. Thus the city would be  
 changed only in areas of new construction, mostly on its periphery.  
 This is indeed one of the main ways in which over four decades the  
 apartheid city was achieved, but it was an enormously demanding and  
 ongoing diversion of energies for the Afrikaner Nationalist govern-  
 ments. To them it was an ideological and strategic commitment of the  
 highest order, for in it they saw one of the hopes for their survival. As  
 a numerical minority, they felt they had to keep the cities mainly  
 White and to put the Black African majority at arm's length, safely  
 under surveillance in controllable, custom-built peripheral townships.  
 Yet even the Nationalists with all their planned Sowetos and  
 Mdantsanes could hardly keep up with the Black demographic reali-  
 ties of rural-urban migration and absolute population increase. At im-  
 mense cost, they as it were ran as fast as they could, only to stay in the  
 same place.

It seems unlikely that such expensive schemes for low-income pub-  
 lic housing will loom so high on the ANC-led government's agenda.  
 Whether it be the erosion of the council housing idea in Thatcherite  
 Britain in the 1980s or the collapse at the end of that decade of "actu-  
 ally existing socialism" in Eastern Europe and then in the Soviet  
 Union, state-provided completed housing seems at least for the mo-  
 ment to have globally gone into partial eclipse. Communist ANC  
 leader and 1994 Minister of Housing Joe Slovo's last efforts were to