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From monumentality to diversity – Lourenço Marques between the urban plans of Aguiar and Azevedo (1950-1970)

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ABSTRACT

The General Urban Development Plan for Lourenço Marques (today Maputo) was approved on 25th April 1955. Coordinated by architect João Aguiar, director of the Colonial Planning Office. it was developed based on the first urban plan for the city, which had been drawn up by Joaquim José Machado and António José de Araújo in 1887. A further new Master Plan for Lourenço Marques was drawn up between 1967 and 1969. This new one was the last before Mozambique gained independence in 1975 and it was drafted by a specialist team coordinated by the engineer and urbanist Mário de Azevedo. The orientations applied in Aguiar's Urban Plan were quite distinct from those of Azevedo's Master Plan. The innovative element was that it opposed the 'conception of a city closed in on itself, limited in size and structure'.[1] Azevedo's plan furthered a regional interpretation of the territory and placed the emphasis on the provision of an entire transport infrastructure network by land, sea, and air. This paper seeks to throw light on the evolution of Portuguese urbanism in the Portuguese African colonies in the last years of colonization with a view to highlighting the different approaches.

Introduction

Subjects and goals

This article presents a comparative study of two urban plans for Lourenço Marques (Maputo), capital city of the former Portuguese overseas colony of Mozambique, that were produced in the last two decades of the colonial regime – the Urban Development Plan of 1955, coordinated by João Aguiar, and the Master Plan of 1967-69, coordinated by Mário de Azevedo.

Lourenço Marques has been the subject of several studies in the field of urban geography and history. The studies by Clara Mendes, Fábio Vanin and Nunes Silva can be considered major references.[2]

The article compares and emphasizes specifically these two plans as symbolic moments of change and delves into aspects of their political-economic and technical planning frameworks, based on Nunes Silva (2015) and Vanin (2013). The unique characteristics of Portuguese colonial

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[1]Azevedo, *Enquadramento Regional da Cidade*.
[2]Mendes, *Urbanismo Colonial: Os Planos de Urbanização nas antigas Províncias Ultramarinas, 1934-1974*; Vanin, *Maputo, Open City. Investigations on an African Capital*; Nunes Silva, *Urban Planning in Lusophone African Countries*.

planning are also addressed in the text, such as native assimilation rhetoric or late efforts to implement international urban models in order to protect the colonization project. This article, which draws on primary sources from the Azevedo archive, offers a deeper cross-referencing analysis of the urban planning of Lourenço Marques in the last two decades before independence.

Lourenço Marques (Maputo) between the urban plans of Aguiar and Azevedo (1950-1970)

It was on 25th April 1955 during the last year of Admiral Sarmento Rodrigues' term of office as Minister for Overseas that the General Urban Development Plan for Lourenço Marques (Maputo) was approved. Drawn up between 1947 and 1955[3] under the coordination of the architect João Antonio Aguiar (1906-1974), Director of the Colonial Planning Office (*Gabinete Colonial de Urbanização*), its revision was determined by a ministerial order of the Undersecretary of State for Overseas Development of February 23, 1960.[4] The plan was mainly an extension of the first urban plan for the city, which had been drawn up by the military engineers Joaquim José Machado and António José de Araújo in December 1887 and approved in December 1892.[5]

A new Master Plan for Lourenço Marques was developed between 1967 and 1969[6] and approved in November 1972.[7] This new instrument was the last before Mozambique independence in 1975 and it was drafted by team coordinated by the engineer and urbanist Mário de Azevedo (1929-2007).

Although there were certain interconnections between the plans in terms of the strategic interpretation of the city of Lourenço Marques, it was the understanding of the territory that distinguished the urban planning of Azevedo and Aguiar. Both plans highlight the city's privileged location overlooking the ocean and, despite its off-centre location in relation to the rest of Mozambique, it was, at the time, the gateway to a considerable number of hinterland countries: South Africa, Swaziland, Botswana, Rhodesia, Zambia and Congo. The location of the city, with its proximity to the coastline on the Indian Ocean, also increased the potential for investments in tourism. Both plans noted this as being essential to the urban development of the Mozambican capital.

Aguiar placed the emphasis on urban monumentality as key to the development of new areas of construction, proposing building expansion to the northeast towards the *Costa do Sol* (Sun Coast) district. His ideas took the form of a plan comprised of quarters, boulevards, roundabouts, and prominent buildings. Public buildings were made more imposing through a contrast between multi-story buildings in urban areas, associated with a new city civic centre, and detached houses in residential areas that spread towards the outer limits of the plan. A new relationship between the city and the native communities was also a feature.

The orientations for Azevedo's Master Plan were quite different. The innovative element was that it opposed the 'conception of a city closed in on itself, limited in size and structure'.[8] Azevedo's plan furthered a regional interpretation of the territory and placed the emphasis on the provision of an entire transport infrastructure network by land, sea and air. The flows made possible by that

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[3]Bruschi and Laje, *O desenho das cidades: Moçambique até o Século XXI*.
[4]Notícias, August 23, 1963.
[5]Lima, *História dos caminhos de ferro de Moçambique*.
[6]Ferreira, *Obras Públicas em Moçambique: inventário da produção arquitectónica executada entre 1933 e 1961*.
[7]Bruschi and Laje, *O desenho das cidades: Moçambique até o Século XXI*.
[8]Azevedo, *Enquadramento Regional da Cidade*.

system allowed for sectoral studies to be identified which analyse and define not only the suitability of the territory but also its landscape and environmental dimension.

The oversea policy at the time of Aguiar and Azevedo

The work of Aguiar in the field of urban planning between the 1940s and 1960s is of considerable importance. he was Assistant Director at the Colonial Planning Office[9] and became one of the key figures in the urban planning that marked the colonial policy of the *Estado Novo* (1933-1974), the dictatorial regime led by António Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970).

His understanding of urban planning was not only influenced by the Garden City concept, which was championed by Etienne de Gröer when he was a planning consultant at Lisbon City Council (1938-1948)[10], but also by a belief in monumentalism that framed his ideological position, which he expressed through a morphological approach to urban design.

The Colonial Planning Office was set up by Decree No. 34 173 in 1944 and it laid the foundations for operational practice in the Portuguese overseas colonies. For geopolitical reasons deriving from the cutting up of Africa amongst the colonial powers following the Conference of Versailles in 1919[11], setting up a Colonial Planning Office was a decisive step towards consolidating what Salazar understood as 'the will of the Nation (…) and the Portuguese way of being in the world'.[12] The Ministry for Colonial Affairs, headed at the time by Marcello Caetano (1906-1980), envisaged a strategy that not only monitored the creation and development of settlements, applying knowledge of urban planning, but also avoided some irreparable errors of random growth.[13] The approach set out to control the problem of unplanned urban settlements that reached 'incredible proportions, with the constant influx of settlers and the exploitation of new resources and wealth'.[14] In addition, it aimed at improving 'living conditions by making the benefits of modern urbanism available – such as housing that was more suited to the various regions, hospitals, sanitary posts and the supply of drinking water'.[15] Office specialists – engineers and architects – had to address issues such as 'carrying out topographical surveys of the settlements, studying the problems of colonial urban development and promoting the drawing up of improvement and expansion plans for the cities and towns of the African provinces, as well as preparing instructions for authorities and administrative bodies on land use planning and population growth'.[16]

Not just the name of the Colonial Planning Office changed during its thirty-year existence[17]; its goals and strategies also fostered greater decentralization and openness.[18] This can be seen in the assumptions that governed the plans for Lourenço Marques analysed herein. Their form and content reflected the ideological changes in Portugal between the 1933 Constitution and the 1976 Constitution that established the democratic regime.

Despite Portugal's neutrality in the Second World War, the subsequent new world order required the Portuguese Government to undertake more reforms, and these generated tensions

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[9]Morais. *Maputo Património e Forma Urbana Topologia do Lugar.*
[10]Lôbo, *Os Planos de Urbanização à Época de Duarte Pacheco.*
[11]Moreira, *A Espuma do Tempo – Memorias do Tempo de Vésperas,* 187.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Diário do Governo, issue no. 1164 of 1944.
[14]Activity Report of the Overseas Planning Office between 1944 and 1952, Archive of the Portuguese Institute for Development Assistance [ref. 13038].
[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.
[17]To the Overseas Planning Office in 1951.
[18]Milheiro, *Nos Trópicos sem Le Corbusier – Arquitectura Luso-Africana no Estado Novo.*

in government circles, especially in the field of overseas policies. The physical and ideological reconstruction of Europe would influence a new generation of Portuguese political actors and overseas Ministers such as Raul Ventura (1919-1999), Adriano Moreira (b. 1922) and Sarmento Rodrigues (1899-1979) pushed for reform and decentralization.

This was also the context in which new figures emerged in the field of architectural design and urban planning, many of whom had benefited from international training.[19] After studying civil engineering at Porto University (1959-1961), Azevedo received a grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation to train as an *Ingenieur Urbaniste* at the *Institut d'Urbanisme* of the *Université Libre de* Bruxelles. It was during this period that he became aware of francophone post-war urbanism, including its regional strategies known as 'schéma directeurs'. These urban planning methodologies were also being adopted on the Portuguese mainland at the time, by Robert Auzelle (1913-1983) and Georges Meyer-Heines (1905-1984), respectively in the Plans Directors for Porto and Lisbon.[20]

Azevedo became an urbanist at the Directorate General of Urban Services at the Ministry of Public Works (DGSU), working from 1962 to 1965 at the Office for the Lisbon Region Master Plan. The Master Plan for the Mozambican capital was commissioned by the city and executed privately, with full technical autonomy and support from the newly set up of Urban Development Office of Lourenço Marques (1964).[21]

The most noteworthy reforms in the *Estado Novo's* public policies came about when the names of the Ministry of Colonial Affairs, the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Colonial Empire Council were all changed in 1951 – to the Ministry of Overseas Territories, Secretary of State for Overseas Territories and Overseas Territories Council respectively.[22] The 1951 reforms affected the various fields of policies undertaken in the Portuguese territories in Africa and Asia, and they are reflected in land use planning, and social and economic organization.[23] A new policy was established when Sarmento Rodrigues was the Minister between 1950 and 1955. It became known as the 'Overseas' and not the 'Imperial' policy and, more importantly, 'Provincial' as opposed to 'Colonial'.

During Raul Ventura's term as Minister (1955-1958), the new Organic Law of the Ministry of Overseas Territories[24] was also passed in June 1957. It introduced more entrepreneurial dynamics and opened a new cycle of policies for the Overseas Provinces. Under the new Law, the renamed Overseas Planning Office became the Directorate of Urbanism and Housing Services, which reported to the Directorate of Public Works and Communications. This process led to more decentralized services and gave more power to local delegations, known as Provincial Department, as well as greater autonomy to the Municipal Councils.

The decentralization of the administrative services of the *Estado Novo* was in line with regional development dynamics and paralleled the reconstruction of Europe. At this time, regional awareness focused largely on the imbalances caused by the effects of expanding international trade and the resulting decline of the rural world. These effects highlighted the need for infrastructure that

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[19]Lôbo, *Os Planos de Urbanização à Época de Duarte Pacheco*, and Oppen, *Portugaĺs urban design under Estado Novo: foreign influences before and after the Second World War*.

[20]Plan Director for Porto (1962) and Plan Director for Aveiro (1964) by Robert Auzelle; Plan Director for Lisbon (1967), George Meyer-Heine.

[21]Soeiro, *Urbanismo e Vereação*.

[22]Decree-Law No. 38300 of June 15, 1951.

[23]The Colonial Planning Office was renamed Overseas Planning Office in 1951.

[24]Decree-Law No. 41169 of 29 June 1957.

would meet the needs of populations concentrated in industrial settlements and service clusters usually located near areas with port facilities.

This new regional awareness can be seen in the National Development Plans, which were published every six years from 1953 to 1974. The territories and their strategic potential were highlighted in the context of the national policies for overseas urban development. This territorial and regionalist influence was evident above all in Azevedo's Master Plan.

The most significant measures from a social standpoint were introduced when Adriano Moreira was the Minister of Overseas Territories between April 1961 and December 1962. In September 1961, shortly after he took office, the Indigenous Status was revoked[25] and, as a result 'all Portuguese citizens became equal under the law'.[26]

The term 'indigenous city' was replaced by that of 'economically disadvantaged' classes, reflecting growing concern with the living conditions of these populations.[27] The Indigenous Status had been structured in accordance with the Colonial Act of 1930, defining 'a system of private and public law for natives and linked to the public and private law of the settlers through so-called assimilation'.[28] Assimilation (achieving Portuguese nationality through speaking Portuguese and acquiring Portuguese customs) was always statistically insignificant, as it did not benefit from the 'partial assimilation' concept introduced in 1945 by the Minister Marcello Caetano. The regulatory basis that had consecrated the legal definition of 'indigenous' since 1926 now proved completely inappropriate in the post-war context, when one had to consider the country's international image. It identified indigenous people as 'persons of the negro race' and showed a disregard for treating ethnic groups with equal dignity. After the repeal of the Status, the publication of the Rural Labour Code on April 27, 1962, was also significant, as it required workers of all ethnic origins to be treated equally. Nevertheless, the legislative changes were to have a limited impact in the field and the differences between Europeans and Africans remained visible in the use of the urban space.[29] The issue of African neighbourhoods was dealt with in both plans using different terminology for the local communities, and different localization principles.

The 1955 General Urban Development Plan

This first plan was drawn up for a delimited area close to the city's generative centre and served as a strategic starting point that defined not only the opening up of new areas of construction but also specific actions redefining the urban design of some sectors of the city and hence, urban modelling and architectural expression.

From a methodological perspective, territorial and social surveys were carried out with the aim of formulating a measurable standard of the 771,125 sq. km that make up the Mozambican territory. This included hydrography and orography, and maritime, fluvial, terrestrial, railway and aerial communications. From a social perspective, a survey of the various ethnic and indigenous tribes was carried out, based on the 1945 census. The data obtained revealed that 'non-indigenous'

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[25]The 1926 *Political, Civil and Criminal Status of the Indigenous in Angola and Mozambique* (Decree No. 12,533 of October 23), with adjustments made by Decree No. 16,473 of February 6, 1929, which approved the *Political, Civil and Criminal Status of the Indigenous in the Portuguese colonies in Africa*.

[26]Moreira, *A Espuma do Tempo – Memorias do Tempo de Vésperas*, 246.

[27]The disappearance of the term was not only a question of semantics. The conferences at the Miguel Bombarda Hospital (Lourenço Marques) in 1963 were also to deal with the issue of the *Caniços* (informal housing neighbourhoods). Likewise, the famous Pancho Guedes text from 1965 (Guedes attended the conferences).

[28]Moreira, *A Espuma do Tempo – Memorias do Tempo de Vésperas*, 245.

[29]Domingos and Peralta, *Cidade e Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais e Reconfigurações Pós-coloniais*.

Figure 1. Polana Hotel photo included in the 'General Urbanization Plan for Lourenço Marques', coordinated by João Aguiar, 1955.

people in Mozambican territory were a minority (less than 2%). On the other hand, around 35% of all inhabitants were 'non-indigenous' in Lourenço Marques. The plan was mainly designed for this population and for the small percentage of 'assimilated' people.

The over-riding justification for drawing up the plan was the exponential increase in revenue from the city's Port between 1937 and 1948, attributed to its privileged geographic localization, serving an important trading station for South Africa and Swaziland. This economic and strategic boom justified a highly expansionist plan of action in which the *Costa do Sol* neighbourhood, to the northeast of the city, was the main area of development.

Another argument was the marked increase in tourism which was expected to be grow even more 'abundant due to the white population, the excellent hotel facilities (figure 1), the state's heavy investment in prominent buildings, the urban setting – where squares [alternated with] residential quarters intersected with wide boulevards'.[30]

The development of *Costa do Sol* was to take place in two stages. Firstly, the plan provided for occupation of the most elevated area in the west, leaving the coastal strip for a second phase. It seemed that Aguiar's team was keen on preserving the seafront as they realized the potential of turning the long, broad strip of sands into 'Lourenço Marques Beach' (figure 2).

There were also plans to rebuild the existing city's Civic Centre in the form of a monumental new square, the *Campo da Pátria*, surrounded by administrative buildings (figure 3). Lisbon's *Praça do Comércio* was the model for this new 'imperial' site. It would be open to the sea with majestic buildings lining its three other sides, this urban design was to frame symmetrically arranged gardens and an obelisk topped by an armillary sphere (representing the Portuguese discoveries of the 15th and 16th centuries).

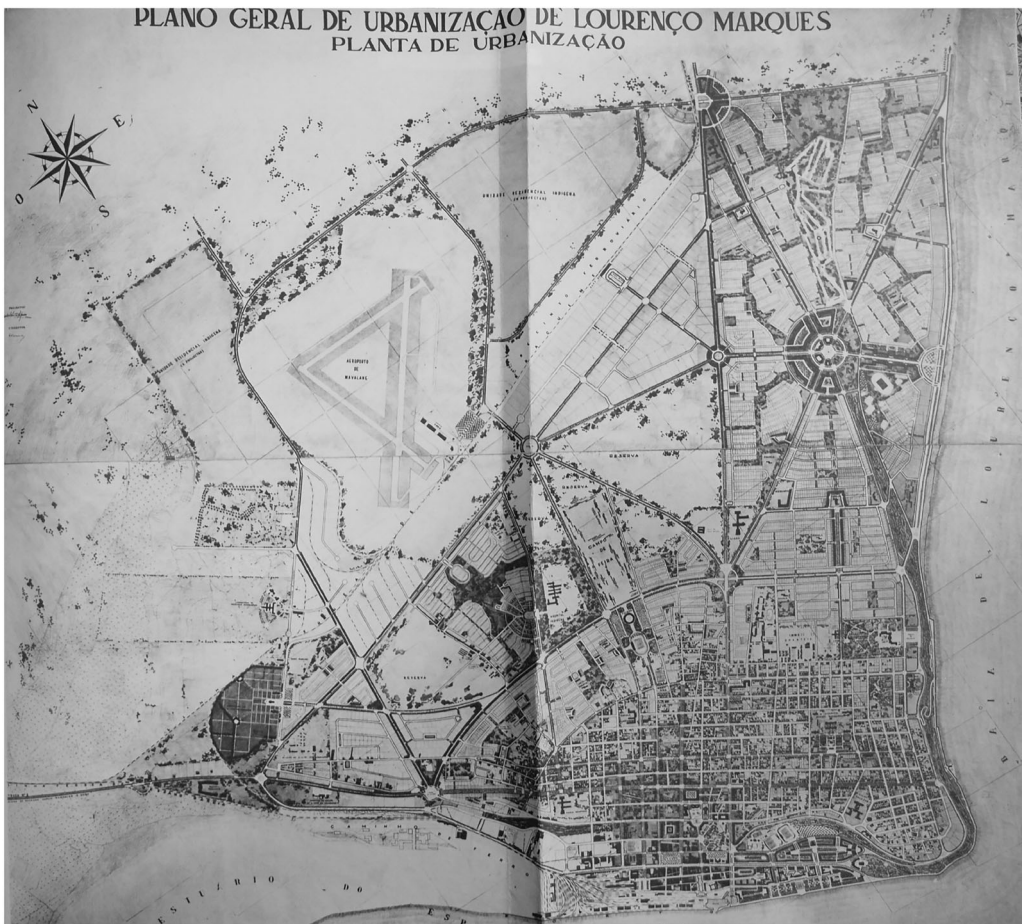[30]Aguiar, *Plano Geral de Urbanização de Lourenço Marques*.

Figure 2. General plan included in the 'General Urbanization Plan for Lourenço Marques', coordinated by João Aguiar, 1955.

Regarding the African communities, the plan distinguished between 'indigenous' and 'assimilated'. The latter status was given to those who worked in the service of the settlers, and it was for this community that the plan presented solutions. The plan defined the principles to be followed: location, size and typological organization. Overall, an approach was made regarding the relationship with the non-indigenous populations, given that, in the interest of cordial relations, 'the latter were not afraid to accept indigenous people into their homes for the various kinds of domestic service'.[31]

The neighbourhoods where the 'normal' people lived were located mainly in the suburbs, although it was usual for some 'domestic staff [to occupy] premises (bedroom with shower and toilet) at the back of the buildings, usually separated from the main house. Alternatively, inside the main residence in the basement or on the top floor when there was not enough land. Commuting was common between the centre and the outskirts of the city, mainly 'women [that worked] in the city [as maids] returning home every night' (bid), as live-in domestic service was almost exclusively a male occupation.

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[31]Azevedo, *Enquadramento Regional da Cidade.*

Figure 3. Downtown preview included in the 'General Urbanization Plan for Lourenço Marques', coordinated by João Aguiar, 1955. The image was also used as frontispiece in the compilation of the Plan.

An anthropological and social understanding of the living habits of the native population was limited. Their dwellings were generally defined as rectangular or circular huts built using 'a large variety of materials, many of which had come from demolitions in the city, such as stones, bricks, woods, thatch and zinc sheeting, while only a few had a tiled roof or reinforced concrete'. As can be gleaned from other Aguiar articles from the 1950s – mostly on residential units – he was not particularly interested in the African traditions or ways of life.[32]

Aguiar was critical of the residential neighbourhoods already built for the native population in advance of his plan, given that the solutions were too close to the city centre, the roads were too wide in relation to the residential blocks, the dwellings had a surface area and constructive systems that were not very economical, the size of the rooms was exaggerated and the use of concrete slabs and unnecessary door and window spans. Accordingly, locations close to the downtown area should be for those who had already assimilated more westernized customs, so that commuting efforts did not influence productivity. In line with this, a more central location in the new neighbourhoods would further foster improvement 'in the social status of the indigenous population'. For the 'uncivilized' indigenous population, the plan advocated the creation of residential units that were more isolated and, on the outskirts, with easy and direct access to the city. This vision reflected ideas of segregation, still present in the 1950s Aguiar urbanism approach.[33]

The Master Plan for Lourenço Marques of 1969

The methodology adopted by Azevedo reflects the changes that had since taken place. A new approach was taken, introducing a development strategy as an innovation criterion based on a large-scale interpretation of the territory and its physical and economic potential. Open segregation

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[32]Aguiar, *L'Habitation dans les pays tropicaux.*
[33]Gonçalves, *Políticas de gestão (sub)urbana de Lourenço Marques (1875-1975).*

was then forbidden by law. Integration of the local communities was seen as desirable, even if the colonial government was conscious of the impossibility of providing shelter for all the population.

Unlike Aguiar, who simultaneously prepared plans for several overseas cities, Azevedo's work directly involved the site. A multi-disciplinary team was assembled..[34] whose scope was reflected in the dialogue among the various city agents, benefiting from the interlocution of the newly created Urbanization Office of the Lourenço Marques City Council (1964).

Azevedo's social discourse was deeply influenced by population growth, resulting in the interdependence of communities in the territory. The emphasis given to the city's strategic location was very significant (figure 4). Prior studies also provided an essential support base for the new urban planning instrument.[35] The essence was to provide roads and sanitation infrastructure, structuring interventions based on the availability of the land. From the beginning, any idea of 'zoning' or 'specialization' was set aside, and preference was given to defining the most favourable areas for urban development, generally following the main communication lines that served as long-term zones of population growth.[36]

In 1967, the liberation war of Mozambique had already been ongoing in that country's northern region for three years. Despite the uncertainty of the conflict and the approach of the decolonization process, the pace of the population growth was expected to be maintained, with the number of urban dwellers expected to reach 700,000 in 1980. The precise location of the transport networks would play a decisive role in defining the plan, highlighting the future role of Maputo as an intersecting city in Southern Africa.[37]

From the access and flow management standpoint, consideration was also given to constructing a new airport and maintaining the existing railway lines, with emphasis on sections that could affect the structure of settlements in Lourenço Marques (figure 5). The structuring of urban flows provided the framework for larger leisure areas along the coast, with indications of appropriate treatment and necessary preservation of natural resources, including the Inhaca Island.[38]

Unlike Aguiar's 'image-plan'[39], which was never be implemented due to technical, financial, and social inadequacies[40], Azevedo's plan conducted to a comprehensive exploration of the territory and its multidimensional characteristics, the extent and originality of which is still unmatched.[41] To Azevedo, the plan should deal with the city metabolism as a way to manage the morphology of the urban shape, that was featured by differences of scale and uses (figure 6).

The plan considered seriously the precarious or clandestine settlements and traditional housing. The urban centre had already been invaded by dense areas of informal housing extending over 1000 ha, known as the 'Caniço'; this had already become a topic of much debate among the Mozambican circle of architects.[42] These so-called under-integrated areas varied in size and sprung up rapidly, creating settlements that required appropriate attention. Aguiar visited those areas (figure 7), considering that the self-sufficiency promoted by local inhabitants, through a subsistence agriculture,

[34]Azevedo, *Enquadramento Regional da Cidade.*
[35]Ibid. Namely, the Urban Development Study (1965) and PROSALM (Land Occupation Plan for the Lourenço Marques Area) of 1966.
[36]Azevedo, *Etude et Pratique de L'urbanisme un Temoigene.*
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid. Also see Diário de Notícias, 11 November 1989, *Maputo Cidade Aberta nas Margens do Índico,* which refers Inhaca also as a safe haven for war refugees.
[39]Lobo, *Os Planos de Urbanização à Época de Duarte Pacheco.*
[40]Morais, *Maputo Património e Forma Urbana Topologia do Lugar*; Pacheco Melo, *Urbanismo Português na Cidade de Maputo: passado, presente e futuro.*
[41]Vanin, Maputo, Open City. Investigations on an African Capital.
[42]Reference to Pancho Guedes and his famous article *A Cidade Doente – o caso de Lourenço Marques*. The 'Caniço' was the opposite of the 'Cimento' area, or the formal city centre area.
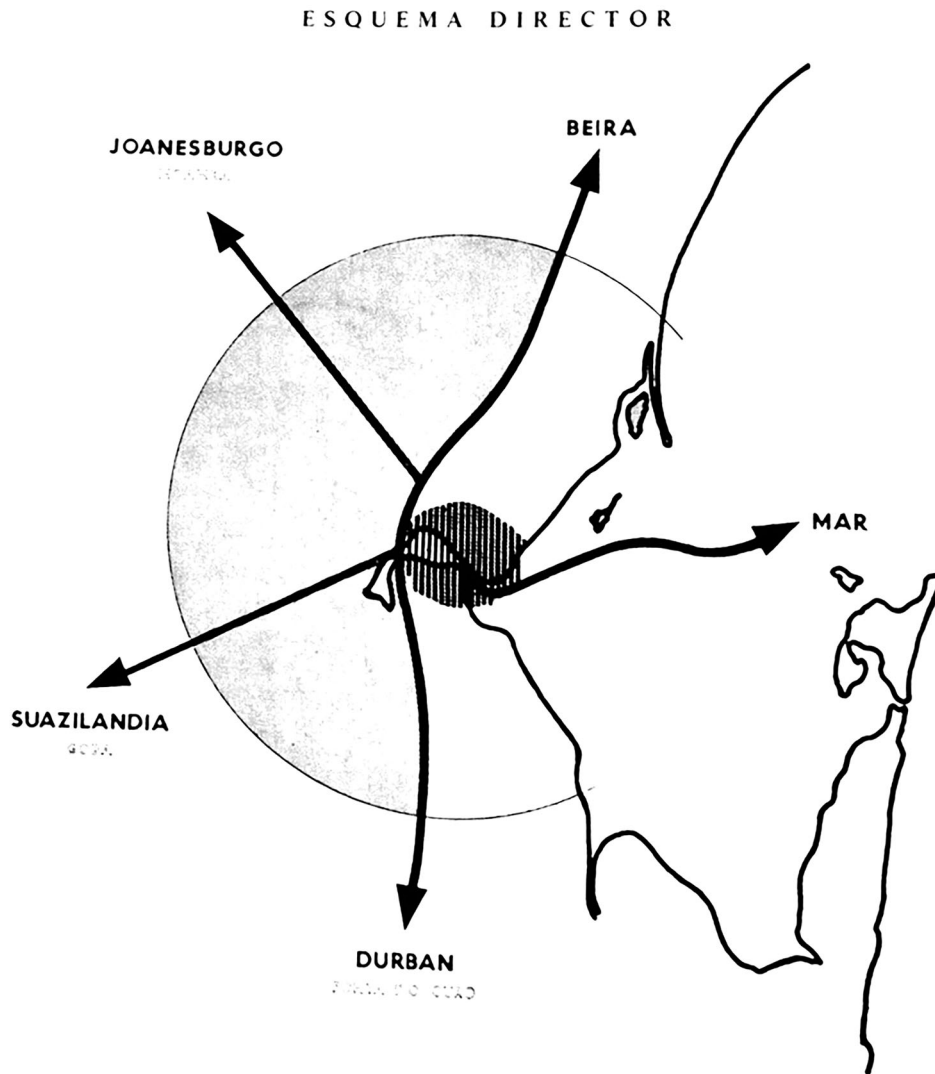
ESQUEMA DIRECTOR

Figure 4. 'Esquema Director', included in Municipal Master Plan for Lourenço Marques, coordinated by Mário de Azevedo, 1969.

should be supported with small interventions to improve water supply and plots security. The local administration therefore committed to providing facilities and infrastructure to these communities. This strategy was in accordance with the United Nations guidelines, which considered the fact that people living in less developed economies would put any small savings into housing if investments were made to improve community facilities.[43]

The 1969 plan broke with the colonial Portuguese planning tradition and ushered in methodologies that would be carried out in the following decades. Formal design was transferred to future instruments and actors, including those from the private sector, on the other

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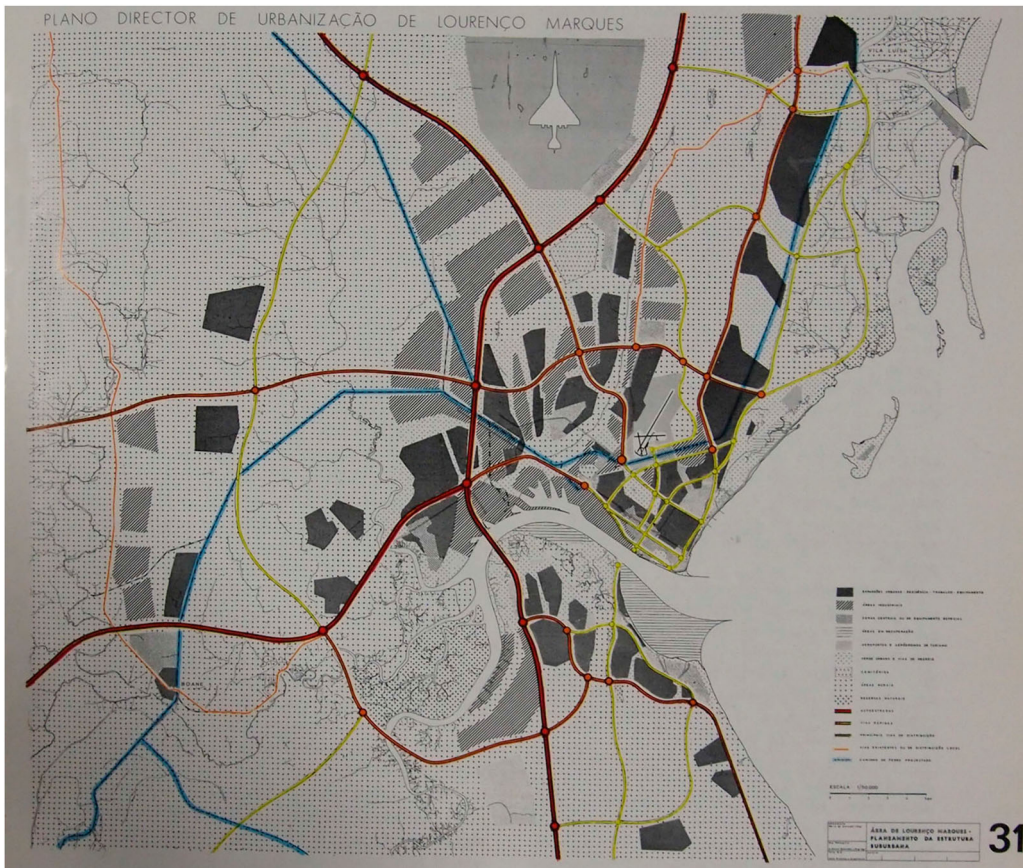[43]Azevedo, *Etude et Pratique de L'urbanisme un Temoigene.*

Figure 5. 'Plano Director de Urbanização de Lourenço Marques', coordinated by Mário de Azevedo, 1969, in Municipal Master Plan for Lourenço Marques, Municipal Bulletin – Organization of Cultural and Propaganda Sections, Lourenço Marques Town Hall Edition, December 1970.

hand, overall urban areas were proposed as a kind of African 'open-city', a 'multifaceted place'.[44]

'nous, nous sommes mis du côté des usagers'[45]

Azevedo used to compare the urban phenomenon to a living organism that included a systemic process of regeneration. A broad interpretation of the territory, including a sensibility of the biophysical configuration and man's presence, were the main orientations for implementing changes over time. Of course, international criticism also played a decisive role in changing the approaches to urban development.

An important group of Portuguese politicians – including Marcelo Caetano – believed that a solution for Mozambique would include progressive autonomy and even independence controlled by the 'white population'.[46] The Azevedo Master Plan can be seen today as anticipating this process.

[44]Vanin, *Maputo, Open City. Investigations on an African Capital.*
[45]Azevedo, *Enquadramento Regional da Cidade.*
[46]Pimenta, *Portugal e o Século XX. Estado-Imperio e Descolonizacão (1890-1975).*

Figure 6. Lourenço Marques downtown view by Mário de Azevedo, 1968, Mario de Azevedo's family archive.

Figure 7. Lourenço Marques under-integrated area view by Mário de Azevod, 1968, Mario de Azevedo family archive.

The 25th Abril 1974 revolution, however, resulted in total independence for the Mozambican people, and changed Portuguese political strategy. Nevertheless, greater awareness for racial integration and a new planning attitude that confronted the social and economic imbalances of the city,, transformed the Master Plan into an instrument with a considerable degree of actuality and intervention capacity.

The importance of comparing the two main approaches to urban Maputo during the final decades of the colonial period is that the two plans allow us to identify distinct moments «. The monumental centralism advocated by Aguiar evolved into the breadth and diversity of Azevedo's proposal, thus reflecting a radical moment of change in Portuguese urban planning.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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