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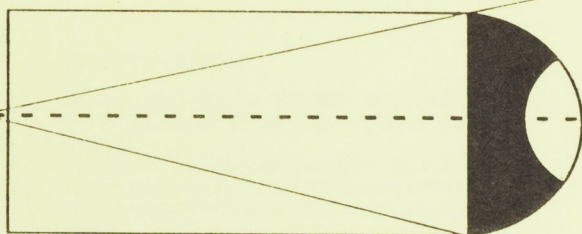
DISCUSSION DOCUMENT:

REPORT ON THE ANC NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

JOHANNESBURG
OCTOBER 1990

University of the Western Cape

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Contents

PREFACE

*F*or some years now, Local Government and Planning has been a prominent arena of struggle for the oppressed majority of this country. This has been so for no less reason than it is at the level of Local Government Policy implementation that communities have experienced most keenly and on a day to day basis - the oppressive hand of apartheid legislation.   State reformist responses to these struggles has had little or no effect as communities continued to seize the initiative for the fundamental transformation of apartheid local government structures.

At the same time, we have begun to learn from the experiences of other countries which have found themselves in a similar situation. Zimbabwe is a pertinent example. At independence Zimbabwe found itself in a situation where power had been transferred at the level of central government but where, at the level of local government (and hence where central government policy directives were expected to be implemented), power was still effectively vested in the hands of the white settler community. Drastic remedial action had to and indeed, was taken. In South Africa, where the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was scrapped just a few days ago, we are already witnessing the efforts of reactionary municipalities to block the use of amenities of black people! This discussion document therefore emerges from an awareness that the transfer of power was not simply a matter of a change in government at central level.

The process began with the establishment of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) Local Government and Planning study commission and the externally based SASPRO (South African Studies Project)/ ANC Local Government Planning Committee.

In July 1990 a consultative meeting was convened by the chairperson of the ANC Constitution Committee and head of the ANC Legal and Constitutional Department, Dr Zola Skweyiya. The meeting was attended by representatives from the CDS Local Government and Planning Commission, the ANC Local Government and Planning Committee as well as ANC representatives based in community structures dealing with issues of local government. A Programme of Action was agreed upon which would culminate in a National Consultative Conference, preceded by regional workshops in all the regions of the ANC.

The objectives of the consultative conference were defined as being to:

i) to formulate an integrated strategy and thus common approach to all policy aspects of Local Government and Planning,

ii) to assess the different needs based on an evaluation of local, regional and national differences.

Thozamile Botha, the National Convenor of the ANC's Local Government Committee arrived in August of this year. The period since his arrival and culminating in the National Conference held in October, witnessed the most dynamic and intensive programme of consultation to take place since the unbanning of the ANC. This consultative process was made possible with the cooperation and coordination of the CDS. Thozamile traversed the length and breadth of the country to ensure that the brief for the regional workshops and national consultative conference was fully understood and correctly implemented.

The result of these efforts was that regional workshops, some drawing up to 200 delegates were held in all the ANC regions of the country, including Transkei. In two instances, vast distances meant that workshops were combined to ensure maximum participation. Workshop reports were filtered back to the CDS national office where an editorial team processed the regional reports into a composite discussion document for the national conference.

In the meantime research papers on various aspects of local government and planning were commissioned to acknowledged experts within the democratic movement nationally. Papers on comparative experiences were also commissioned to experts in Zimbabwe, India, Nicaragua, Sweden and Britain. ANC specialists based in Britain particularly, were also invited to produce papers for the conference. A total of twenty (20) research papers were thus presented at the conference. A total of 135 people attended the conference, of whom 101 were mandated delegates. Representatives from various departments of the ANC and specially invited guests from civic associations and the trade union movement also attended.

This report thus represents four days of intensive debate, serious reflection and consultation, preceded by the regional workshops. It does, one might add, also represent the first steps in the "process of policy formation". More importantly however, it represents a "meeting of minds" in terms of the conference objectives of finding a common approach and an integrated strategy on various aspects of local government and planning.

As a discussion document it is thus not a prescriptive or policy document. What it attempts to do is to lay the foundation for the formulation of a clearly defined national policy on Local Government and Planning.

The Centre for Development Studies played a key role in facilitating this process. In doing so, it feels gratified that it has been able to carry out one of its founding briefs.

Randi Erentzen

CDS National Coordinator

Acknowledgements

*T*he process out of which this discussion document grew was guided by a Steering Committee consisting of Zola Skweyiya, Thozamile Botha, Jaya Appalraju, Ivy Matsepe, Barney Mackay and Randi Erentzen. Behind the scenes however, a national network of support groups sustained the committee through their untiring efforts.

In the first instance, the CDS National Office staff provided the strategic logistical support in ensuring that regional workshops and the national conference went off without any hitches. Secondly, the organisers of the regional workshops, confident cadres of the democratic movement, left no stone unturned in their efforts to ensure effective and maximum participation. Darkey Africa, Chippy Olver, Amanda Younge, Tobile Gidigidi, Sekhopi Malebo, Pakes, Lazarus Masoka, Mike Sutcliffe and Mathole Motshekga are just a few of the names which come to mind.

Almost all the regional workshop reports were received within the specified time limit, which enabled Kim Elias and Veliswa Mhlahuli to produce a composite conference discussion document.

In the final analysis, the success of this workshop rested squarely on the responsible shoulders of Thozamile Botha. It goes without saying that Thozamile fulfilled his task admirably.

To all these comrades, the CDS, in the first place, wishes to express its appreciation. They proved that it could be an effective instrument in the process of policy formation for South Africa beyond apartheid.

The African National Congress, finally, can rightfully be confident that this process, initiated by the Constitution Committee, has produced the desired results.

Introduction

*T*he ANC Local Government and Planning Committee, in conjunction with the ANC Constitutional Committee, convened a National Consultative Conference in Johannesburg from the 4-7th October, 1990. The Conference was organised under the auspices of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS).

In preparation for the Consultative Conference, ten (10) regional workshops were organised involving fourteen (14) regions. The participants in each of these workshops were drawn from the civics, UDF structures, trade unions, youth, women, ANC, service organisations and academics.

These workshops served two purposes: first, to ensure grassroots participation at all stages of policy formulation and secondly, to reflect on local, regional and national differences in order to inform national policy. The discussions in these workshops were guided by commissioned papers from service organisations and individuals who are doing research on local government related policy areas.

In addition, comparative papers were commissioned from India, Britain, Nicaragua, Sweden and Zimbabwe. These papers were intended to help delegates to the conference to draw lessons from these countries' experiences, without using them as models for a post-apartheid South Africa. These papers are to be published separately by the Centre for Development Studies. A list of papers delivered at the conference is to be found in Appendix A.

This report is a DISCUSSSION DOCUMENT, reflecting dissenting points of view so as to generate debate around local government related issues in ANC branches and civic associations. The ANC and the civic associations, in drawing their own local government policies, can be guided by this document.

The report covers the entire proceedings of the Consultative Conference from the opening speeches to the closing statement. In order to allow for easy reading, key issues from the Commissions and the plenary sessions have been identified, reflecting the debates which took place on each of the issues during the Conference. Conference resolutions relevant to the issue/s under discussion in a section are reflected at the end of that section.

HOW CAN YOU COMMENT?

This report is being circulated to all ANC branches and civics for comment. Please forward comments on the issues raised in the report or in this pamphlet through structures, or direct to:

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ANC Local government committee
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BELLVILLE
7535

Keynote Address

MOSES MAYEKISO

Comrade Moses Mayekiso, President of the Southern Transvaal Civic Association (CAST), in his opening address to the Conference, stated that civics have an important political role in the period of transformation. He noted that civics, like trade unions, should remain independent but be able to form alliances. He stressed the need for civics to be built on democratic principles based on grassroots structures.

He reminded delegates that civics were set up in the period of extreme repression. In spite of difficulties, civics were building regional and national structures aimed at facilitating co-ordination and evolving common strategies. Civics should address themselves to problems of housing, poor living conditions, need for transport etc.

Cde Mayekiso urged civics to continue negotiations for non-racial municipalties with viable tax bases. But he warned that civics should not be turned into local government bodies. They must be watchdogs over local government and remain outside state institutions to represent their own constituencies.

Cde Mayekiso called for the abolition of hostels and the conversion of existsing ones into family homes. He stressed the need for a single tax base in order to allow for a fair redistribution of wealth. This could be further facilitated by democratising the economy, thus enabling workers to have a say in the manner in which profits are redistributed.

Keynote Address

WALTER SISULU

Comrade Walter Sisulu, Chairperson of the Internal Leadership Core (ILC) and member of the NEC of the ANC in his opening address praised the Constitutional Committee and the Local Government and Planning Committee of the ANC for convening the Conference. The Local Government and Planning Conference took place at a time not only when significant changes were being discussed by the civic movement, but also while negotiations between the ANC and the Government have been initiated, he said.

He noted that issues of local government such as inadequate housing, services, sanitation, electricity, infra-structure, employment and so forth constitute fundamental issues which are closest to our hearts.

He reminded delegates from the civics, trade unions, UDF, service organisations and academics from all the fourteen regions of the ANC throughout the country that they were gathered in Johannesburg to deliberate with the ANC and to jointly come up with recommendations on the specific issues which Conference was set to discuss.

You have admirably carried the struggle on so many fronts with rent boycotts, school boycotts as well as succeeded in totally discrediting community councils", said Cde Sisulu. He went further to state that the Government, in initiating negotiations, has acknowledged that it does not have the initiative to govern the country in the old way and is seeking a new formula.

Cde Sisulu called on the civics to define and identify policy priorities. He urged civic leaders to draw from their respective constituencies a realistic agenda for at least the transitional period if not for post-apartheid. To do this civics would have to take into account the potential opportunities the communities have and the real constraints which would face a post-apartheid government. Cde Sisulu called on all South Africans to "join the discussions and development debates and humbly learn from the experience of the international community...."

He also warned that it was not enough for the people to just identify and define policy, there was a need to initiate action and implement programmes which would lead to the immediate improvement of the quality of life of the majority of the deprived urban and rural communities. All this would require massive resources, both human and material, to ensure creative and innovative delivery of goods and services.

He acknowledged the fact that the state is ultimately responsible for the provision of resources. However the scale and complexity of the tasks would require far more than the resources of the state. Hence as Cde Sisulu put it,

"We need to consider new forms of partnership between state, private sector and for lack of better word, community or non-government sector as well as international assistance, both in terms of skills and experience."

In concluding his specch Cde Sisulu argued that:

-the invaluable experience we have gained in the course of struggle must be complemented with appropriate training;

-democratic traditions of our structures must be harnessed to new forms of local government;

-resources of the private sector, pension funds, finance houses and mortgage companies be tapped;

-community initiatives such as co-operatives, housing associations, self-help schemes and non-governmental organisations should be encouraged;

-centres of higher learning should be urgently reorientated to the needs of our communities both in terms of research and training;

-policies and actions of the democratic movement must be integrated both horizontally and vertically: horizontally to ensure that consultation and consensus is achieved at local and regional levels; in turn the local and regional struggles need to be guided by national objectives hence vertical integration.

These issues provide the necessary framework for restructuring and democratising the apartheid city. The task of removing the apartheid imbalances cannot be left to individual groupings, nor even liberal institutions. The process of dismantling apartheid structures has to be a joint effort of all South Africans irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

CDS Speaker

DR NKOMO

*C*de Nkomo spelt out the distinctive features of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS). CDS, a research project which is aimed at undertaking research into post-apartheid policy, was established after a painful process of consultation and involvement of community organisations under repressive conditions. Thus the establishment of CDS was slow and irritating to academics who were eager to begin with research work.

This community-based or bottom-up approach imparted a number of distinctive features to CDS. First, it involved the community in the generation and dissemination of knowledge.

Secondly, it removed research activities from the ivory towers of the Universities and located them within the community. Thirdly, it made research accountable to the people it ought to serve.

This National Consultative Conference, which was preceded by a series of regional conferences involving civics and other community organisations, is a living testimony of the success of participatory research and debate.

The participatory nature of research makes CDS exceptionally suitable for policy studies in economy, education, local government, etc. Another distinctive feature of the CDS is that it is non-sectarian. Its doors are open to all South Africans irrespective of their race, colour, creed or political persuasion. This non-sectarian approach enables the CDS to offer a suitable debating forum for organisations across the political spectrum. Thus CDS can and does facilitate the development of national consensus on a wide range of issues. Given the non-sectarian character of civics, CDS becomes the best debating forum on local government issues.

DEBATE ON LOCAL LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS

This debate was introduced with a series of questions which was held in Plenary session needed to be debated by conference in order to come out with a uniform position on how local negotiations should be conducted. The questions were as follows: -

1. *Do we need to negotiate at local level?*

2. *What do we want to achieve out of the local negotiations?*

3. *Who should negotiate and with whom?*

4. *What should be the pre-conditions for local negotiations?*

5. *What processes should be involved in building towards the establishment of an interim structure?*

Some of these questions were answered during the course of the debate but others were left unanswered.

It was noted that in the last couple of years there were serious attempts by the state to privatise, many major national assets as possible to the private sector. This year the state has been trying to devolve as many functions as possible to local level. They are even suggesting education, health and so on be transferred to the local authorities. The implications of the state's rapid devolution strategy is to leave a future government with nothing to govern over. It is important that we discuss these issues in our own terms not in the terms set for us by the state.

Another disturbing feature is that the state is proposing new legislation during this transition period.

There were two views expressed with respect to legal negotiations: one view argued that the ongoing negotiations between civics and the local authorities are conducted on terms set out by the state. This view argued that certain issues should be fought for at the national level, for example, one person, one vote in local municipalities. The opposing view argued that these negotiations were an outcome of relentless struggles waged by the people in the townships. This school holds the view that all local struggles have direct or indirect impact on the constitutional issues and therefore it is wrong to suggest a mechanical separation of the local struggle from national struggles.

While the latter school of thought was dominant, it was cautioned that a distinction needed to be made between constitutional matters and issues related to the delivery of services when it comes to entering into formal agreements with the authorities. For example, it was felt that the following issues have constitutional implications hence there has to be a national position on them:

- non-racial cities or towns
- single tax base
- land allocations
- electoral systems
  redrawing of boundaries

One of the delegates from the Transvaal raised a concern that the positions put forward by the ANC nationally were not filtered down to branches hence the tension between ANC branches and civics in parts of the country. The delegate also questioned the rationale behind the ANC organising this conference which among other issues on its agenda was negotiation at local level and the role of civics. He felt that this conference should have been convened by the civics or at least the issue of negotiation and the role of civics should not be defined by the ANC. This debate also gave rise to the question of the role of the ANC in local negotiations. It was noted that in some areas there have been separate meetings between the ANC and local authorities and between civics and local authorities on basically the same issues. This was obviously causing confusion and tension between civics and ANC branches.

No doubt the ANC has been fighting all these years, fighting for a transfer of power to the people. It has been involved in a struggle to free the people of South Africa. The ANC has been fighting both at the national level and at grass root level. It has evolved a number of structures in that process of struggle including the civic associations. Many of these structures adopted the Freedom Charter, therefore civic associations whilst they are autonomous can form alliances with political organisations on specific issues. The issue here is that civic associations are fighting a struggle at two levels. At one level they are dealing with the day to day issues about rent increases, bus fares, sewerage and so forth. At another level civics are dealing with constitutional issues. Issues which have constitutional implications have often been discussed or referred to political organisations dealing with such issues. It is not only civic associations that are affected, these issues

affect the entire nation therefore they cannot be confined to the sole terrain of civics.

In our case we have been saying that the ANC is the vanguard of the struggle, therefore the ANC as that force ought to participate in the process of transformation and transfer of power. It is for that reason that the ANC is interested in the discussions and in the negotiations at a local level because it is part of that struggle. It would be senseless for the ANC to negotiate and confine itself only to negotiating at a national level, while allowing power on the ground to be shifted without its involvement. Therefore it is not contradictory to state, that civic associations should be independent of state organisations and autonomous of political organisations. A distinction should be drawn between independence and autonomy. Autonomy means that whilst the civics are free to make decisions within an acceptable framework at any specific time, they should be accountable for their actions to other political organisations involved in the struggle. The environment within which civics operate impacts on their policies.

Therefore it would not be quite correct for conference to say that the ANC has no right to discuss issues relating to civics at this particular moment. The issue of civics concerns ANC members in their individual capacity as well as in their organised formation. The Freedom Charter broadly articulates the position of the ANC and only at the level of the local struggles can those broad principles be translated into reality. Therefore the ANC has to interact with civics on issues affecting the way of life of the people. The confusion on the relationship between civics and political organisations is caused by the fact that whilst on the one hand, discussions are taking place about the relationship between civics and local government, on the other hand, the

relationship between civics and other political organisations has been ignored. *(For detailed discussion on the role of civics, see paper by Thozamile Botha).*

A delegate from the Border outlined six points which he said constituted the State's agenda for negotiations at local level:-

1. *The State seeks to defuse the political crisis at the local level which has been caused through the rejection of community councils and rural tribal local authorities.*

2. *The State attempts to defuse the financial crisis at the local level caused by the rent boycott which has denied local authorities the revenue to run their affairs.*

3. *The State is trying to pre-empt negotiations at the national level by pressurising civics to enter into agreements about structures at the local level before anything has been concluded at the national level.*

4. *Negotiations at local level would be to the State's advantage as our people were weak on technical issues.*

5. *The State appears to be prepared to make compromises at the local level as an incentive to make people to agree to structures which in the long run would be to the people's disadvantage.*

6. *The State favours federalism as opposed to the position put forward by the Mass Democratic Movement for a unitary South Africa.*

The answer to the regime's strategy it was felt should be a proper fully-constituted definitive local government structure based on a unitary, democratic, non-racial South Africa. And the powers

for that local government have got to be given to it by a proper democratic assembly, that is, a national constituent assembly. Before a constituent assembly was set up it was not possible to talk about definitive local government structures.

The Eastern Cape region put its position. They suggested that the people who are directly involved in civics, local government affairs, city councils, Cape Provincial Administration, the representatives of the business community and people from Town Planning to give technical expertise, should be involved in negotiations at local level. The notion of representation in the interim structure was challenged by some delegates because it undermines the demand for an elected local interim structure. Such local negotiations would have to be guided by an ANC national position. Before an interim structure is created, existing local government structures would have to be dissolved. It should be noted however that the administrative structures would have to remain in place to continue providing services until such time as the whole process of restructuring is completed.

Conference also noted that negotiations are taking place between town councils and civic associations in the rural areas and peri-urban areas. In order to protect weaker civics from entering into agreements which may have constitutional implications, it was felt that negotiations should take place either at the provincial level or at regional level.

At the end of the debate Thozamile Botha summarised some of the points of view expressed by the delegates and focused attention on the points which were generally accepted by conference.

On the question of who should participate at local negotiations he drew attention to two opposing views. Some

delegates felt that there may be need to negotiate at both City Council and Provincial level. Others felt that there was a need to directly negotiate with the Provinvial Administration and bypass the local Councils. Some people felt that Community Councils should be included while others thought that do so would be to legitimise structures that were already collapsing. In order to unite the two positions, he put forward the following proposal:

"Recognising the State's attempts to separate local negotiations from national negotiations with the aim of entrenching racial privilege at local level, the Conference resolves that:

1.an elected interim body at local level should restructure the apartheid city and make proposals to a constituent assembly in order to protect the interests of all communities and to ensure uniformity. The interim body should be elected in accordance with the rules of the electoral system adopted nationally by the negotiating parties. The pre-conditions for the setting up of an elected local interim body are as follows: -

1.1the scrapping of all discriminatory laws which include the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, Black Administration Act of 1930, Black Communities Development Act of 1984, etc.

1.2the dissolution of all existing local authorities, including the white municipalities.

1.3Government to stop any enactment of laws affecting local authorities during this transition period.

2.In the event of community councils collapsing before the establishment of the interim body, the civic associations to

fully examine the appropriate form of creative action to be taken under those circumstances. Should the civics deem it necessary to take over a community council structure they should make sure that:

2.1the decision to do so derives from the constituency they represent;

2.2the legal space should be used if it is to enhance the position of the civics and to advance the struggle for the transfer of power;

2.3it is to transform the institution politically,ideologically and culturally to serve the interests of the people and the struggle for total emancipation;

2.4it is aimed at weakening the state's institution while at the same time strengthening the forces of change;

2.5it is to expose the regime's strategy of co-option;

2.6it is aimed at the total seizure of power by the democratic majority.

3.Civics should engage in negotiations with local, regional and Provincial Administrations on issues which concern the delivery of services and while maintaining pressure for constitutional changes they should not enter into formal agreement on matters which have constitutional implications."

This position was adopted by the conference and it was agreed that it should go into the discussion document as formulated. It therefore forms part of the resolutions of conference on the issue of negotiations.

COMMISSION REPORT: DEMOCRATISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND THE SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATION

Three papers were delivered to this Commission: one entitled **Towards a Structured Relationship between civics and Local Government**, by Thozamile Botha, another entitled by Vanessa Watson, and a third entitled **Women and Local Government or Women in Local Government?**, *by Lulu Gwagwa.*

How can we build a local government system for a post-apartheid South Africa? How should post-apartheid local government be democratised?

The discussion in this Commission revolved around these two questions. There was general agreement that big cities should form a metropolitan tier of government, while smaller towns could form single municipalities. The question of what powers metropolitan government should have in relation to local authorities, however was not resolved. There was a strong feeling that the metropolitan councils should have sufficient powers to be able to redistribute resources equitably in order to guard against the reproduction of the current apartheid social relations.

However, there was one school of thought which argued that in redefining the boundaries within the city, low income groups should be grouped together in wards and high income groups should also be grouped together. The motivation for the latter argument was that experience in other countries has proved that the economically powerful groups tend to dominate in wards which contain a mixture of income groups. But this argument failed to explain how separation of the wards according to income groups would ensure protection of the interests of the poor at the level of the metropolitan council. Therefore, the argument was invalidated on that basis that it could result in the reproduction of the current separation of communities according to racial groups, especially since blacks are predominantly poor and are likely to would remain in the area which they are.

It was noted that there was a need for central direction in the whole process of restructuring in order to achieve uniformity. The Commission felt that while a strong central government was needed to ensure proper and effective co-ordination of policy, it cautioned that central government should not be strengthened at the expense of local government. In short, there was consensus that devolution of power from central to local government was necessary as a process of empowering the masses.

Regions still need to debate whether the metropolitan tier of government is a co-ordinating body or whether it will have legislative powers. It was argued that if there were direct election to the metropolitan level, it would have to have decision-making powers.

It was resolved that there was a need for a metropolitan level of government, where there are sub-regions or zones. Care would have to be taken to ensure that zoning or redefinition of wards should ensure that integration of racial groups was followed through in the municipalities.

There was a general feeling that proportional representation would be the best system, based on 'one person, one vote, one value'.

The discussion on the restructuring of local government was followed by a debate on whether women should have reserved seats in the Council or whether there should be a percentage allocated to women over a given period of time. The issue of women's seats was most contentious and there was no agreement on it. However, there was a strong feeling in favour of giving women a proportion of the seats to be worked for over time. It was felt that this would empower women much more than reserving a seat for them as the latter would negate the principle of democratic elections. It was however agreed that in electing people there is a need to be sensitive to gender issues.

There was general agreement that a Women's Committee should be formed as part of the many Council Committees. This committee among other things would ensure that women are not deliberately discriminated against. The role of women in the Council, it was agreed, should be protected by statute. The debate on the gender question was followed by the discussion of the paper on civics. Firstly, to bring out some of the points raised in this Commission in relation to civics and rural areas: it was noted that in the rural areas, residents associations exist, together with tribal authorities and the institution of chiefs. This three-tier structure could give rise to tensions. The Commission observed that there were areas where chiefs were still respected, while in other parts of the country they had been forced to resign their power. These regional differences had to be considered seriously so as to avoid giving prescriptive answers to complex social problems.

It was agreed that where chiefs still enjoyed the respect of the people they should still be allowed to operate. There was however no clear position as to whether chiefs should continue to allocate land or not. There was consensus that they should continue to play their ceremonial role, while administrative functions could be allocated to democratic institutions. It was nevertheless felt that the issue needed a lot of research and debate which should include CONTRALESA.

Civic Associations have historically been associated with forms of struggle in South Africa. They are, with the development of regional and national civic structures, increasingly non-racial and cut across class divides and geographical divisions.

The essential characteristics of structures of civil society are that:

- their membership is drawn from across the spectrum of society
- they are able to make decisions for themselves
- they are accountable downwards
- they are autonomous of state institutions
- they are independent.

Current civic relations with state political institutions take the form of:

- tactical alliances - these need to be formed on the basis that these alliances will:

  - improve quality of life of all communities
  - difference of opinion - assessed and discussed
  - guard against co-option of civics as well as protect the independence of the civic (may be divisive)
- joint working groups with committees of local government - these may lead to co-option

■ taking over local authority struc-
tures, which means ceasing to be
structures of civil society and becom-
ing accountable upwards to the State,
instead of downwards to the people.

It was felt that civics should remain
organs of civil society and should protect
their non-partisan role. They should pres-
surise local government and elected repre-
sentatives to address community needs.

The notion of a Local People's Assembly
was raised. These assemblies would be
convened by civic organisations and at-
tended by all the elected representatives of
state institutions, community organisa-
tions, sectoral bodies and service organisa-
tions.

They will debate both the policy
proposals from councillors and program-
mes to be implemented in the community.
In turn the community should present its
own policy proposals. It would also ques-
tion elected officials on their adherence to
manifestos that formed bases of their elec-
tion campaigns.

There was also a strong feeling that the
democratic movement should campaign to
scrap the proposed Thornhill Bill, and in-
stead should focus on drawing up a Na-
tional Charter for Local Government. This
would draw people in at a grassroots level
into the process of formulating policy for
post-apartheid local government struc-
tures.

COMMISSION REPORT: FINANCING OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Two papers were presented to the Commission, one by Philip van Ryneveld, entitled **Financing Local Government in a Post-Apartheid South Africa**, and one by Roland Hunter on behalf of **PLANACT**, entitled **Towards a Democratic Urban Political Economy - Deracialisation, Redistribution and the One Tax Base Demand.**

City or towns and rural settlements require adequate finance to function and provide the essential services required. This finance is usually raised through rents, rates, service charges, fines, fees, loans and grants from central government. In South Africa, the major source of local finance is that of rates. Rates are levied on property owners, both residential and business property. This source of revenue is known as the tax base.

In most countries in the world, cities and towns have a single tax base. In South Africa, however, apartheid has effectively separated communities politically, economically and spatially. This geographical separation of black areas from white and industrial areas has resulted in separate tax bases. The white areas are financed by both residential and commercial properties. The black areas are self-financing, i.e. they receive no income from the industries and major shopping centres which they service.

This system is clearly unworkable and unjust. The communities which face severe social and economic problems in our society are expected to finance themselves. Hence, people in black areas pay relatively high rates and service charges.

Any future local government structure must be adequately and effectively financed. This financing system must help overcome the divisions of apartheid and ensure that everyone obtains a reasonable standard of municipal services, regardless of their income.

The financial segregation of our cities, towns and rural settlements has allowed the white municipalities to monopolise the revenue obtained from commerce and industry. The Commission felt that black communities make a significant and important contribution to the revenue earned by businesses and industry. Hence, the taxes imposed on these businesses and industries must be distributed to all areas, according to their needs. All areas within a town or city should contribute to a single local authority. These contributors will make up the single tax base, irrespective of race. The boundaries of the single tax base should be determined using rational criteria and be consistent with the One City boundaries. Civics should play a leading role in determining such boundaries.

Municipal services are an important part of ensuring a decent quality of life. Acceptable standards of such services should be provided to all residents. The revenue raised for these services should be determined according to "the ability to pay" principle. This means that all residents, both rich and poor, must be able to afford these services. Residents that are unable to pay anything (eg. unemployed) must be guaranteed basic minimum services. Some ideas about how to determine an affordable

tax or service charge was discussed. Participants felt that this should be related to income and value of property.

Several ideas for raising income at the local level were discussed. Below is a list of possible ways of raising funds: -

1. Rates

these a tax levy on the value of land and buildings. This includes both commercial and residential property.

2. Local income tax

this is usually a fraction of the income tax collected by the central government. Central government transfers this amount to the local authority.

3. Local sales tax

this is similar to GST, collected either at a local or central level. In the latter case, the funds will be transferred to the local authority.

4. Business tax

this is a tax levied on the profits made by commerce and industry.

5. Poll tax

this tax is imposed on each person within a city, town or rural settlement.

6. Motoring taxes

this tax is added to the cost of petrol and transferred to the local authority.

7. Informal taxes

these are funds collected by the community on a voluntary basis for specific projects, eg. schools, creches, etc.

8. Grants

this is money which is given to a local authority by central government or the private sector.

9. Loans

loans taken from central government or the private sector for specific projects.

10. Trusts

these are specialised institutions set up for the purpose of financing particular infrastructural expenditure (eg. Steyn Fund).

11. Bonds

a local municipality will sell bonds similar to Defence Bonds to raise income.

The Commission felt that the rates system based on the value of property or a local income tax would be a practical way of raising finance. In addition, other practical methods should be applied.

It was noted that while businesses are a valuable source of revenue, there are limits to this source of revenue. Care must be taken not to over tax individuals or businesses. The system of taxing businesses must ensure that these businesses cannot easily transfer these costs to consumers. For particular development projects (eg. housing), the Commission suggested that the viability of establishing a democratically controlled development fund should be investigated. In all cases, the principle of "ability to pay" must be followed. The possibility of people contributing to local resources in the form of labour, or in other ways, should be investigated. This may be particularly useful in rural areas.

Local authorities, in order to function effectively, must raise sufficient funds to provide an adequate level of services. In cases where local authorities are unable to raise sufficient funds, grants should be provided by other bodies such as central government or other wealthy local

authorities. These grants should be **structured** with the aim of redistributing **funds** across the country. These grants must be given on a needs and incentive basis. While incentives may be incorporated into the grant structure to encourage careful use of resources, care should be taken not to diminish the autonomy of local governments in the process.

A crucial issue that existing municipalities raise when civics make demands is high costs. The apartheid system has increased its costs by creating several departments which perform the same function for different race groups. The abolition of these unnecessary duplicated structures will assist in reducing costs. Imagination and discipline should be exercised to reduce costs where possible.

Financial statements of local authorities have been largely inaccessible to the communities because of the complicated system of reporting income and expenditure. This practice has allowed municipal authorities to determine expenditure without being accountable to the communities. The Commission felt that local authorities should strive to make their financial statements simple (without removing detail) and more accessible to the community in order to enhance democratic accountability. The Commission noted that the budgets were drawn up without consulting the communities. Hence, these budgets are often not indicative of the community's needs. Therefore it was proposed that representatives of civics should be involved in determining municipal budgets.

Due to the severe shortage of housing in South Africa, many families are forced to rent accommodation from private property owners. This has allowed landlords to exploit tenants by charging high rents. The Commission proposed that appropriate measures, such as some form of rent control, need to be established to protect such tenants. Landlords must be asked to specify how much of the rent imposed covers services charges.

The shortage of land as a result of the Group Areas Act and the 1913 Land Act has made land in black areas very expensive. It was felt that this is mainly due to land speculation. Therefore local authorities should have the power to curb land speculation.

A number of municipalities are engaged in development projects which are not urgent. To address this issue, civic associations should embark on a programme to prioritise needs in their own areas. These needs should be used to engage local municipalities over their development priorities. The Commission felt that all upgrading and development projects should not be carried out without the consent and involvement of civic organisations. These projects should make maximum use of local resources. In addition, these projects should be democratically controlled. This schedule of needs can play an important role in local and national negotiations.

It was noted with concern that local authorities are selling off major assets to the private sector. Reference was made to the sale transport services and its assets. The commission agreed that this form of privatisation is unacceptable. However, we had to take into consideration that some communities are demanding the right to own their homes. It was not clear whether this was a form of privatisation or not. Hence the Commission proposed that privatisation of municipal activities and assets be done with the agreement of all civics and trade unions.

COMMISSION REPORT: IMPACT OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND ALTERNATIVE ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

This Commission focussed on the need for the abolition of all discriminatory national legislation, the integration of municipal areas and introduction of alternative electoral systems at both local and national levels. Papers were delivered by *Adv. Mathole Motshekga*, **The Impact of National Legislation and Constitutional Options on Local Government restructuring in South Africa** and *Prof. Kadar Asmal*, **Electoral Systems: A critical Survey.**

NATIONAL LEGISLATION

The discussion on national legislation focused on legislative obstacles to local government restructuring. In particular it emerged that the ultimate power of local government in South Africa vests in three organs of state:-

- the Provincial Administration headed by an executive who exercises absolute arbitrary powers through directives issued in terms of various ordinances and acts;

- the tricameral parliament has appropriated some of the duties of provincial authorities in the sphere of local government and has vested these duties in various ministers of Local Government and Housing in the three Houses of Parliament who administer the local government and planning legislation on a racial basis reflecting the composition of the Tricameral Parliament;

- as Africans have been excluded from the tricameral parliament a special dispensation was created for them. This dispensation distinguishes between urban and rural Africans. The authority over urban Africans is vested in the Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs while the authority over rural Africans is vested in the Minister of Development Aid.

It was observed with grave concern that the inhuman housing and land policies in urban areas have caused the displacement of thousands of people (the so-called squatters). The authority over these squatters (or homeless) people is vested in the administrator who has absolute arbitrary powers to declare 'transit' in areas where there is a concentration of Africans.

It was felt that the exclusive powers of the administrator over squatters will disadvantage the forces of change in the event of delimitation of boundaries of municipal areas as these squatters might be settled in such a way that they fall outside metropolitan areas to ensure the continued de facto existence of group areas. It was also observed that the Free Settlement Act and the Communities Development Act were designed to absorb the black middle class to prevent an influx into white areas after the abolition of the Group Areas Act. Thus these Acts are designed to freeze the separation of races and ensure a de facto continued existence of group areas. In the rural areas the government uses the Black Administration Act to freeze these group areas.

The Commission concluded that national legislation will continue to freeze group (or separate) areas even after the abolition of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 and the Group Areas Act. It was also contended that the mere abolition of these Acts without redistribution of land would not solve the problem of homelessness and landlessness. The fear was expressed that the privatisation policy of the government would even increase the land hunger.

Thus the Commission concluded that the government reform policies at local level did not seek to address the inequalities and deprivations caused by centuries-old legacy of apartheid and create a just society, but merely sought to introduce apartheid in new forms. Then the Commission focused on the Black local authorities and the Regional Services Councils.

It emerged from the discussions that the government strategy was to arrest and reverse the gains of the liberation movement towards the transformation of South Africa into a non-racial and democratic country. It seeks to achieve these by maintaining the discredited Black Local Authorities and Regional Services Councils and empowering them to manage negotiations at the local levels, thus forcing the democratic movement to recognise and legitisise these structures by implication. These observations forced the Commissions to review the approach to negotiations at the local level.

The Commission recalled that after the banning of 19 political organisations in 1977 Civic Associations were forced not only to engage in service-orientated struggles but also to fight for the abolition of all discriminatory laws enacted by the central government and local authorities and sought participation in decision-making on all matters affecting the people of South Africa, taking into account the perspective of a non-racial, democratic and unitary South Africa. It was observed that the Civic struggles dating back to the early eighties forced the government to introduce reforms at local government level. This opened the door to a proliferation of local level negotiations. While appreciating the importance of this negotiations the Commission was concerned about a number of matters:

1. *who are parties to the Local Government negotiations?*

2. *who manages the process of negotiations?*

3. *what are the objectives of such negotiations?*

4. *what is the demarcation between areas of negotiations falling within the national government negotiations?*

The Commission noted that the Provincial Administration has entered into negotiations with about forty civics. The agenda for such negotiations include: -

- the arrears question

- payment of an interim change

- interim local government arrangements

- long-term demands for structural change

INTERIM ARRANGEMENTS

It emerged from the discussion that these interim local government arrangements are not uniform. Three major models were identified:

- the metropolitan chamber (or Soweto model);

- the appointment of administrators;
-
- Joint Committees;

- take-overs.

The merits and demerits of each of these models were considered by the Commission. Here, it is proposed to highlight the main issues which were raised in regard to each of them.

THE METROPOLITAN CHAMBER

The Commission expressed concern about the composition of the proposed Chamber. It includes the Black Local Authorities, the business community, the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Soweto People's Delegation (on behalf of Soweto Civics). In other words, the 15 Soweto civics are represented en bloc while the three greater Soweto Black Local Authorities are represented separately. This composition reduces the civics to a minority and disadvantages residents in the event of any voting.

The Commission observed certain disturbing negative features in the Soweto model - namely: -

- it implicitly recognises the discredited illegitimate Black Local Authorities;

- it reduces the civics to minority parties in the negotiation forum;

- it affirms the present illegitimate government structures as appropriate not only to participate in the restructuring of but also to manage the process of transition;

- it empowers these structures to manage and dominate the transition process while claiming to safeguard the principle of no domination of one group by another;

- it entrenches the group rights approach, opening the door to Thornhill's super-local options.

- it has the potential to freeze mass struggles.

APPOINTMENT OF ADMINISTRATORS

This model is prevalent in many areas. The Commission feared that support for this model negates the rejection of the Black Local Authorities Act which provides for the appointment of administrators in the event of the collapse of town councils or the resignation of Councillors.

TAKE OVERS

The Commission noted that in some areas civics had taken over from the collapsed councils. It was felt that though the continued provision of services by an alternative structure is important, the take-over model has certain inherent problems, e.g. the civics would inherit the crisis of the Black Local Authorities such as lack of resources, mal-administration and be **de facto** co-opted into the Black Local Authorities system. However, the Commission did not propose an alternative to this model.

JOINT COMMITTEES

The Commission criticised this model as it : -

- makes civics co-administrators of apartheid structures;

- incorporates civics into the Black Local Authorities;

- extends the authority of the tricameral Parliament to the civics.

The Commission identified two strategies for the future:

- calls for the resignation of Councillors and

- non-participation in apartheid structures.

On the whole it was feared that such participation would lead to co-option.

The Commission noted with grave concern the introduction of new legislation on local government before national negotiations. It was felt :

- that the government had no authority to legislate separately for the local level before negotiations at national level are concluded;

- that the Thornhill proposals pre-empt negotiations;

- that no new Local Government Bill should be published, as this would breache the Pretoria Minute;

- that any legislative changes to the existing situation must flow from national negotiations;

- that civics should not take over the collapsing councils because these lack of resources and institutional power. It was noted, however, that some regions preferred a take-over.

Finally, the Commission recommended that civics should negotiate only on issues related to the delivery of services, and not on the creation of new structures or issues that may have constitutional implications at the national level.

LOCAL ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

The Commission addressed issues relating to single-member constituencies, delimitation and proportional representation.

1. Single-member constituencies

These constituencies provide for direct representation and thus favour a strong party and safeguard stability. They are also easy to operate in situations of high density of population.

There are, however, certain problems inherent in this system. The major problem is that it would, in the context of South Africa, encourage ethnic mobilisation, particularly where residential areas remain racially based, even after the abolition of the Group Areas Act. On the other hand, proportional representation would encourage parties to seek support throughout the city, not merely in parts of it.

Another major problem with single-member constituencies is that they create disproportionality. A party winning the majority of votes can fail to win the majority of seats, as was the case of the United Party in 1948.

In conflict situation such as South Africa, where resources parties have different resources at their disposal, the costliness of the constituency-based system would work to the disadvantage of parties of the oppressed.

2. Delimitation of Wards

The delimitation of wards would probably be open to abuse due to the lack of skills in the democratic movement required to ensure a delimitation which would be fair, i.e. which would not break up strong ANC constituencies.

The 'Alternative Vote' system was raised but not fully discussed. However, it was noted that it raises problems similar to those raised by single-member constituencies. The only problem that the system solves is that it provides a mechanism which ensures that the individual candidate obtaining at least 50% of the votes gains a seat. This system can lead to the formation of alliances against a strong party which is not necessarily the majority party.

3. Proportional representation

The Commission favoured the system of proportional representation which makes the number of seats dependent on the number of votes. This system solves the problems raised in the case of the single-member constituency. The Commission noted, however, that this system leads to the proliferation of small parties entitled to representation on councils.

The Commission felt that it was necessary to impose a limit on the admission of such parties to councils by prescribing a minimum percentage of votes, say 3%, for such parties to qualify for representation.

The other matter that was raised but not thoroughly discussed was the question of lists of candidates. It was felt lists should include candidates from local and wider areas. The Commission recommended that these questions need much more debate at a grassroots level.

COMMISSION REPORT: INTERMEDIATE LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT - REGIONAL, METROPOLITAN AND RURAL

This Commission focussed on the need for intermediate levels of government between local and central. Papers were delivered on **Rural Local Government in South Africa** by *Dr Crispian Olver*, **Existing Forms of Regional Government** by *Amanda Younge* and **Regional and Metropolitan Government - Options and Considerations for Policy** by **Halice!**

Although the central focus of the Conference was local government, this cannot be considered in isolation from other levels of government. The constitution of the central state will to a large extent determine the powers and duties of each subordinate level of government.

Second-tier or regional government in South Africa today takes two principal forms - provincial government and bantustan government. These coexisting forms are polar opposites in terms of powers. The provincial administrations have no elected body such as a Provincial Council, nor do they have legislative powers any more. They function very similarly to central government departments. The 'independent' bantustans, at the other extreme, are sovereign governments, with their own elected legislative assemblies and full autonomy. The coexistence of these opposite forms of regional government is the creation of 'grand' apartheid.

A third form is the recently created Regional Services Councils (RSC's), which represents an attempt by the government to overcome some of the financing problems of black areas, to offer a semblance of 'joint decision-making' at the local level and to provide major services at a regional level.

Currently, proposals to scrap the existing system of regional government are under consideration by the government.

'The government envisage(s) a system of strong, autonomous regional government in its place....Expanding powers of local and regional government would militate against any group monopolising power at central government level....Devolution of power would play an important part in protecting minorities. In negotiations it would have to be decided whether a unitary or federal system would best suit the development of strong regional government. Financial viability would be of critical importance in deciding on the delimitation of regions. Regions could not be drawn up to satisfy political ideologies and aspirations. The government strongly believe(s) there would be an important role for a system of autonomous regional government in a new South Africa. Strong regional government would bring decision making closer to voters and create greater opportunities for participation.' Cape Times, *Friday, October 5 1990.*

The above statement raises all the principal concerns which were debated in the Commission with regard to the creation of post-apartheid regional government:

- to what extent should regional government be autonomous of central government? how far should regional decisions be permitted to vary from national policy?

- what should the role, powers and duties of regional government be?

- should different forms of regional government coexist with different functions? how do we accommodate the differences between metropolitan regions, rural districts and bantustans?

- should there be three tiers of government or four?

- on what basis should regional boundaries be defined? what criteria should be established to guide this process?

- how should regional government be made accountable upwards and downwards?

- how should regional government be financed?

- what should be the process of creating new forms of regional government? to what extent should existing forms be dismantled?

- what are appropriate forms of government for rural areas -local or some form of regional?

The current state proposals on regional restructuring and devolution are underpinned by a concern for race, ethnicity and the protection of white minority privilege. In discussing issues regarding the establishment of an alternative system of regional government, we should instead be focussing on the need to create democratic, non-racial bodies.

In doing so, our goals would be to create the basis for reunification of South Africa, to promote national reconciliation, to establish the basis for a more just and equitable allocation of resources, to recify the apartheid legacy, to foster economic growth, to democratise government and empower communities, to develop efficient and effective structures for planning and catering for rapid urban growth, service delivery and support for smaller local authorities and rural areas.

At this stage, the debate on the future of regional government has just begun. There is a need for a much more extensive discussion of these issues. The technical questions of efficiency etc are less important than the political questions. We need to undertake the restructuring of regional government with a clear understanding of the social forces in existence, so that, amongst other things, we do not entrench reactionary forces in the future.

The need for flexibility in future policy was stressed. It was even suggested that there may be merit in setting up temporary regional structures for areas which are and will be undergoing major changes, to address the specific problems which arise in the transitional period. This could apply to the boundary districts of the bantustans after the Land Act and Group Areas Act are scrapped, or to rapidly urbanising metropolitan areas. Regional government should also facilitate and co-ordinate the process of restructuring local authorities.

A significant feature of the current system is the fact that it is to a large extent informal. In other words, decision-making at all levels takes place in forums and structures which are not directly accessible to even the white voters. For example, the system of Regional Development Advisory Committees, the Joint Management Centres etc. The need to democratise regional government is essential in a post-apartheid South Africa.

Regional government should be accessible to civil society. The optimal areas for service provision and planning may not be optimal for democratic participation. Democratic control should also be considered when we decide how representation works at regional level - should people be represented directly on regional government, or should they be represented through local authorities?

The process that needs to be set in motion to establish new forms of regional government cannot take place in the abstract. It is a political process, which must seek to empower people. A national commission could be established to consider this question, together with regional 'think-tanks'. Issues which will need to be considered in redefining regions are economic development, redistribution, functional criteria and political criteria, such as reunification and bridging group areas.

With regard to metropolitan government, the opinion was voiced that the demand for 'One City - One Municipality' may not in fact be workable at the metropolitan level. A very large single municipality may become too distant from the grassroots, and there are all sorts of existing local structures that would need to be totally dismantled. This may in fact be a very expensive exercise. Metropolitan government may be a better alternative. It would need to be strong to ensure that

effective redistribution and city-wide priorities are given the correct emphasis and to overcome the current fragmentation of local authorities in cities. In addition, there may be a need to redraw the boundaries of local authorities within the metropolitan area to overcome the effects of racial segregation.

In summary, the Commission saw a definite need for some form of intermediate government between national and local, but that such regional government should not detract from the creation of a unitary, democratic, nonracial South Africa. We reject federalism and decentralisation as a strategy to retain privilege. There is a need to create new forms of regional government which recognise and address the problems of apartheid settlement patterns and the current uneven development across the country.

A flexible system needs to be created for the short to medium term. The question of defining regions needs to begin to be defined within regions, through a political process which includes grassroots participation. We need to work from an analysis of the weaknesses of the present system, and to develop principles on which a new system should be based, such as the need to reunify our country, economic development and redistribution, functionality of regions, and how we could use these structures to help transform our country.

RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Commission debate included a discussion of rural local government, because this issue is linked to questions of regional government as much as to local government. The 'urban bias' in local government debates at present was criticised.

The Commission debated the relevance and meaningfulness of the 'One City - One Municipality' campaign to all areas of settlement, given the fragmented and

complex structure of settlement patterns in apartheid South Africa. It was felt that the slogan should really be 'One Town - One Municipality', where the segregated townships outside a white town should be included in the central municipality.

However, many towns and metropolitan areas are surrounded at some distance by black spots, bantustan dormitory suburbs and resettlement camps. These are functionally linked to the town or city and should be represented in some way on their local authority structure. But they would probably also need their own local authority structure as well. In some areas there are no towns at all for very great distances, and to conceive of a local government form which is 'town-centred' may not be adequate.

It was noted that there is a great variety in the existing forms of local government for rural areas, that a multiplicity of structures exists, and that the situation is racist and chaotic. Structures governing rural local government vary from the smallest village health committee in some areas, to direct administration by central government departments in others;

there is a wide variation in types of rural local government, from distorted 'tribal' authorities in some areas, to Regional Services Councils in others; representation on rural local government varies from none at all for black people in 'white' rural areas, to the very high levels of national political power wielded until recently by whites in the same 'white' rural areas.

When it comes to future forms of local government in rural areas, it was noted that in fact **rural local government** is not a discrete category, because of the complexity of the situation mentioned above. It was also noted that we cannot construct a new system of local government without an analysis and understanding of the existing social relations in an area. For instance, in some areas, the system of chiefs and headmen has been totally discredited, whereas in other areas it remains an important part of the fabric of society. We will need to consider very carefully what becomes of these structures in the future, and what forms and processes will promote empowerment of local communities and assist in framing and implementing effective development programmes in these areas.

Another critical aspect is the lack of resources, skills and an effective tax-base in many rural areas, together with severe impoverishment of rural communities. The role of government in these areas needs to include the redistribution of national resources and the provision of co-ordinated, efficient services where such capacity is lacking.

COMMISSION REPORT: ADMINISTRATION AND TRAINING FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND PLANNING

This Commission focussed on the need for administrative reforms and the training needs of the democratic movement in order to prepare to govern. A paper entitled **Towards a National Urban Policy and an Agenda for Action: Implications for Training** was delivered by Jaya Appalraju.

The Commission felt that the importance of a skilled and trained cadre of workers is crucial for the delivery of the results of our struggles and cannot be underestimated. If sufficient and urgent attention is not given to this issue immediately we run the risk of failing to respond to demands of our people and losing the initiative to the state and/or the private sector in concert with our detractors.

It was generally accepted that we need a new form of administration and management of our cities and local authorities which starts at the bottom and builds on the important experiences of civics. It was acknowledged that the existing local authoirities are over-centralised, bureacratic and authoritarian.

After much brainstorming around the priorities of civics viewed from the experiences of the various regions, it was agreed that training was needed at 3 levels:

- local area
- city/urban management and administration
- national policy

A variety of training needs were identified which would strengthen the civics over the transitional period. Members of these civics could in time, with appropriate training, fill positions both in administration and urban management as well as in technical fields.

It was felt that skills related to democratic control and accountability should precede technical skills training, that is training for empowerment.

It was further recognised that existing institutions such as Universities and Technikons etc do not offer or are not attuned to providing for such needs. If they do, it is only piecemeal and adhoc and lacks sufficient impact upon the scale of the problem.

It was therefore proposed that urgent provision be made for the establishment of an institute or unit for "Popular Administration and Planning" aimed at supporting and strengthening the civics on a national scale. Provision could be phased by first establishing, on a regional basis, agreements with existing institutions to train three or four people.

The aims of the unit would include:

- to provide support for civic organisations by specialised training in the transformation process towards development

- to organise training workshops in regionally specific programmes

- to organise overseas attachments to sympathetic local authorities in Zimbabwe, India, Holland, Canada, Sweden and United Kingdom. This

should take the form of link arrangements which could be drawn upon for expertise and person-power in a post-apartheid period

- to run project-based training in townships. The Nicaraguan experience needs to be drawn upon more heavily through research and exchange

- to provide training in negotiation skills

- to undertake and co-ordinate research in the service of civics on national policy formulation and exchange especially with the ANC Constitutional Committee, Land Commision and Department of Economic Policy.

It was noted that rural local authorities needs are closely related to those of urban areas. Therefore training should include a concern for rural areas.

Areas of training needs included the following:

- Local government, based on flexible development-oriented and popular administration and management systems, with broad participation at local area level

- Information, data analysis and **management**

- Housing management and finance

-

- Infrastructure planning

- Transport

- Income generation and employment

- Urban land uses

It was felt that the staff of existing local authorities should be retrained in appropriate development-oriented programmes as well as ways of working with community based organisations.

The resources and skills of municipal trade unions should be drawn upon by civics. It was also felt that discriminatory practices in local authorities were worst at middle and lower level management, and that democratising the controlling body of local government was not enough. There was a need to work constructively towards improving relationships at this level between workers and management.

Advice and assistance should be sought from overseas institutions experienced with developing countries and training.

COMMISSION REPORT: HOUSING, SERVICES AND LAND

Four papers were presented to the Commission, by *Norah Walker* on behalf of **BESG**, entitled **Goals of an Alternative Housing Policy**, by *Mark Swilling* on behalf of **PLANACT**, entitled **Issues for Discussion in Formulating a Democratic Housing Policy**, by *Marjorie Harris*, entitled **Community Participation and Self Help in the Mixed Economy of Welfare**, and by *Sipho Pityana*, entitled **Segregating Apartheid Neighbourhoods - Some Policy Options Considered.**

The Commission felt that the goals of a future housing, services and land policy should be to:

- meet basic needs, with land, water, sanitation and electricity as priorities

- local and national development

- urban deracialisation

- community improvement

- maximum choice.

RESOURCES AND OBSTACLES

It was noted that the South African economy can generate the R5 billion annually that is needed to build 200 000 houses per year over the next ten years to resolve the housing crisis. However, available resources cannot be matched with need because of :

- *racially structured multiple state bureaucracies;

- the stranglehold on resources enjoyed by the building materials cartel, construction industry and financial institutions;

- the weakness of small-scale community-based development structures;

LAND

While agreeing with the land redistribution proposals of the DEP discussion paper, it was proposed that a specific mechanism is required. It was proposed that "Regional Land Commissions" be established to identify land that could be acquired for residential purposes, who owns the land and whether and how they could be compensated, and propose possible land use strategies for each region.

In addition, the following issues were discussed:

- land should be made available for the homeless and that where land invasions have taken place, no evictions should occur without an alternative acceptable to the community;

- people must pay for land, but at affordable rates;

- land should be removed from the market so that people can get land according to their need and not according to their income;

- the poor must be moved back into the cities and ways must be found to ensure that land and housing prices do not prevent this;

- alternative local taxation systems may be required that are not based on a property tax that tends to entrench the property relation;

- where compensation for land acquisition is a necesity, this should be at below market rates;

- local government should be empowered by giving it the power to determine land use and economic use of land;

- the monopoly over land allocation enjoyed by traditional leaders is a problem;

- developers who speculate should not be compensated if their land is acquired. Special taxes and penalties must be used to prevent speculation.

HOUSING AND SERVICES

The basic goal of a housing policy should be houses for all within ten years and the immediate provision of serviced land.

However, it was accepted that resource constraints, institutional blockages and the structure of economic power were key obstacles that will prevent overnight changes.

The policy must carefully define the respective roles of the state, private sector and communities.

To formulate a national housing policy, a National Housing Policy Commission should be established with immediate effect, staffed by full-time people and given

a mandate to formulate a housing policy position paper within six months on the basis of all the information generated at countless local, regional and national workshops over the years.

This National Housing Policy Commission should give special attention to the following issues:

HOUSING ISSUES:

- how to establish one housing department;

- how to establish, on a large scale, strong community-based development organisations capable of delivering housing on a mass scale;

- how to establish a National Housing Fund;

- how to restructure the construction industry;

- how the financial institutions can be regulated more effectively to ensure that resources go into housing;

- how the building materials cartel can be dismantled;

- what ownership options are available that could help protect poor homeowners from the market;

- what kinds of grants, subsidies and incentives will be needed to stimulate construction;

- the retention of the rental sector;

- how the transfer of existing housing stock to tenants can be effected;

- how livable and affordable housing for farmworkers can be built;

■ how hostels can be upgraded into family accommodation.

SERVICE ISSUES:

■ how all residential land can be fully serviced;

■ how the cost of services for the end user can be reduced via subsidies of infrastructure installation costs;

■ how the entire bulk service delivery system can be overhauled with special reference to Eskom, the various regional water supply systems, the sanitation systems and refuse systems;

■ site-and-service schemes will be necessary in the short-term, but only if this is coupled to a commitment to decent and affordable housing.

RESOLUTIONS ON LOCAL LEVEL NEGOTIATIONS

This National Consultative Conference on Local Government, recognising:

1. *that the transformation of apartheid structures and local government and the democratisation of institutions and processes depends on a new constitution and legislation; and*

2. *that as long as apartheid remain on the statute book, negotiations at this level are made difficult;*

Resolves:

1. **that campaigns for the removal of all discriminatory legislation be continued;**

2. *that local elected interim bodies be set up to make proposals on the restructuring of local apartheid structures for presentation to the national constituent assembly; and*

3. *that local negotiations should focus on issues that seek to improve the quality of life of the community and not matters which might have serious constitutional implications at the national level.*

RESOLUTIONS ON DEMOCRATISATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This National Consultative Conference on Local Government, noting that the local government system in this country, like the national government is illegitimate, unrepresentative, undemocratic and racially based,

Resolves:

1. *that all racially based local structures must be abolished and mechanisms for the democratisation and transformation of the structures must be introduced and implemented;*

2. *that the delimitation of local authorities should be done, taking into account the principles of non-racialism and redistribution of land and resources;*

3. *that the system of universal suffrage based on the   principle of "one person, one vote" be adopted for all local government elections;*

4. *that unified municipalities for small towns and cities be created;*

5. *that Metropolitan Governments structures be created for big towns or cities;*

6. *that affirmative action programme be introduced and implemented to address the historical gender, income and racial imbalances;*

7. *that the future electoral system ensures an equitable representation of women;*

8. *that a balance be maintained between the powers of national and local governments;*

9. *that governmental powers relating to local issues be delegated to local authorities to ensure a democratic and efficient administration;*

10. that all traditional institutions be transformed according to "the wishes of the people", based on democratic principles;

11. to embark on a political process of restructuring local authorities that seeks to empower communities and strengthen organisations on the ground;

AND, WITH REGARD TO CIVIC ORGANISATIONS

1. that civics should be independent of local authorities and autonomous of political organisations, but can enter into alliances with political and sectoral organisations on issues that seek to improve the quality of life of the community;

2. that civics should act as watch dogs over local government structures on behalf of the communities; and

3. that Peoples' Assemblies should be established as open forums outside of local state institutions to facilitate public participation in the process of policy formulation and implementation.

RESOLUTIONS ON CITY FINANCE

That this National Consultative Conference on Local Government, recognising:

A. that the present system of financing local government whereby structurally underresourced areas are expected to maintain themselves, is clearly unjust and unworkable; and

B. that there is a need to develop an adequate financing structure to underpin a new system of local government which will overcome the imbalance resulting from the apartheid system,

Resolves:

1. to strive for a single tax base for an equitable distribution of resources in single non-racial municipalities;

2. to secure the provision of municipal services to all on an affordable basis;

3. to promote the exploration of additional sources of local revenue so as to render local authorities viable;

4. to call on the future central government to subsidize underresourced local authorities;

5. to call on local authorities to open their finance systems to public scrutiny and review, in order to enhance democracy and accountability; and

6. to call on future local authorities to direct their economic activities in the context of national objectives.

RESOLUTIONS ON METROPOLITAN AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

This National Consultative Conference on Local Government, noting:

1. *that apartheid has created fragmented and unequal development in South Africa;*

2. *that various forms of regional, metropolitan and local government currently exist with marked unevenness of power within and between these levels;*

and believing:

1. *that there is a need to restructure the aforesaid areas;*

2. *that in principle we see the need for forms of regional and metropolitan government;*

3. *that the creation of racist and ethnic autonomous regional governments is contrary to our goal of a unitary democratic South Africa;*

Resolves:

A. Metropolitan Structures:

☐ *where applicable, to work towards the creation of metropolitan authorities that will accommodate urban growth, reintegrate urban communities, facilitate a process of redistribution and local economic development, co-ordinate and be responsible for city-wide services and allow democratic control over broader development decisions;*

B. Regional Structures:

☐ *to facilitate a process of consultation and debate over the delimitation and functions of regional authorities that takes account of the limitations of current systems, and addresses the need for :*

- *reunification of the country;*

- *economic development in the regions and redistribution of resources*

- *the carrying out of functions such as planning and regional development, co-ordination and restructuring of local authorities, support to small local authorities in service delivery, agricultural restructuring and environmental control;*

- *national processes of transformation and reconciliation*

☐ *to co-ordinate and facilitate this process at a national level.*

RESOLUTIONS ON RURAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This National Consultative Conference on Local Government, noting:

1. *that certain specific features apply to rural communities such as their small and dispersed nature, landlessness and impoverishment, limited tax base and access to resources;*

2. *the absence of local government structures based on the wishes of the people;*

and believing:

1. *that the specific features applicable to rural areas need to be taken into account when democratic processes of restructuring local government are constituted;*

2. *and that such democratic process of restructuring needs to take place in line with national objectives·*

Resolves:

1. *that democratic local government structures incorporating dispersed rural communities including farmers and farmworkers be created*

2. *to promote a process of debate and discussion on the optimal structures to cater for the needs of rural communities;*

3. *to take forward a process of democratic transformation of rural local government structures that empowers rural communities and addresses the critical need for development programmes and land redistribution*

RESOLUTIONS ON ADMINISTRATION AND TRAINING

This National Consultative Conference on Local Government, recognising that historical discriminatory practices have led to lack of human resources necessary for efficient administration and management of goverment at local, regional and national levels,

Resolves:

1. *that new forms of administration and management of cities and rural areas should be explored; and*

2. *that human resources development programmes be established at local, regional and national level for training in negotiating, administration, management and technicial skills.*

RESOLUTIONS ON HOUSING, SERVICES AND LAND

That this National Consultative Conference, recognising the existing backlogs created by the unfair and inhuman housing and land policies as well as discriminatory practices,

and noting the state's shirking of its responsibilities with regard to housing,

and believing that affirmative action is needed to address this legacy,

Resolves

1. *that policies regarding land, housing and services be developed to:*

   ☐ *meet basic needs*
   ☐ *contribute to development*
   ☐ *deracialise cities*
   ☐ *empower communities and*
   ☐ *maximise choices.*

2. *that such policies should stipulate the role of the state and the private sector in the provision of housing;*

3. *that land be made available to the homeless and landless;*

4. *that the state takes responsibility for housing and providing services to the poor, disabled and aged;*

5. *that appropriate structures be set up to develop mechanisms to combat land speculation, and make affordable housing available to all; and*

6. *that housing and services for the poor be subsidised.*

Closing Address

The closing address was given by Cde Thozamile Botha, organiser of the conference. An extract from this address is given below.

"In organising this conference, we set ourselves two objectives. One of the objectives was to have an integrated approach on local government negotiations at a local level. The second approach was to look at regional differences so that we plan accordingly as we go ahead to a new South Africa. I am convinced that those two objectives we set ourselves have been achieved by this conference. We have deliberated on all the issues, even issues that we did not think about when we were preparing for the conference and which came up here and were raised sharply. One of the things that characterised this conference is that we did not fear to discuss contentious issues, because we believed that that's the only way our society can move forward. It has strengthened us, out of the different positions that have been expressed here, we have managed to come up with common positions, accommodating these variations and the disparities between our regions and the interests of the different several groupings that our communities and civic associations and the ANC serve.

We therefore came here not to prescribe to the civics, nor to the ANC. We are not here to formulate any prescriptions, but we were hoping - and I think we've achieved that - to come up with broad policy guidelines that will go back to the different regions all of the ANC and civics to be further debated and examine ways and means of implementing those resolutions. The positions we have taken here are national in character, they may not accommodate everything, the specifics of every region, but we hope that from this we will be able to develop a common strategy so that the weaker civic associations will not be steamrolled into accepting positions that will have implications for the national constitution. We do not want to pre-empt decisions taken at the national level during negotiations...........

Now, comrades, in conclusion this should not be taken as one of those conferences where we took resolutions and decisions and that's it. This had both a strategic purpose and also the purpose of mobilising our own people. Coming out of this conference, we should ask ourselves have we gained anything that we can put on the ground for our organisations so that we can begin to launch new campaigns. "

I believe out of the resolutions that we have adopted here, we will be able to go back to our organisations and put before them a programme of action. A challenge programme so that the struggle on the ground should not be depoliticised. At the moment there is a tendency to think that because negotiations are taking place, the struggle is over. Now we should rest in peace until freedom comes. I think that is wrong. The struggle should only begin, because power has not yet been transferred. We should become more angrier as we begin to see that the regime is introducing new Acts, even at this stage, Acts that are being enacted without our participating in their formulation. And those very Acts have got implications for a post-apartheid South Africa. And we are saying the regime should stop formulating any new laws that apply to our people, as we are moving towards a new South Africa. Let our people participate in the constitutional dispensation and formulate the kind of laws that will govern us. And we need to participate now and in the future in everything that is going to affect our lives in this country."

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF PAPERS DELIVERED AT THE CONFERENCE

Jaya Appalraju
Towards a National Urban Policy and an Agenda for Action: Implications for Training

Kadar Asmal
Electoral Systems: a Critical Survey

Dr Meera Bapat
India: Local Government and Planning

Built Environment Support Group
Goals of an Alternative Housing Policy

Thomazile Botha
Towards a Structured Relationship between Civics and Local Government

Auxelia Garcia
Local Government and Planning: Nicaragua

Lulu Gwagwa
Women and Local Government or Women in Local Government?

Marjorie Harris
Community Participation and Self Help in the Mixed economy of Welfare

Roland Hunter, PLANACT
Towards a Democratic Urban Political Economy - Deracialisation, Redistribution and the One Tax Base Demand

Mathole Motshekga
The Impact of National legislation and Constitutional Options on Local Government restructuring in South Africa

Robin Murray
Local Government in Britain: the experience of the G.L.C.

Sipho Pityana
Desegregating Apartheid Neighbourhoods - Some Policy Options Considered

Dr Crispian Olver
Rural Local Government in South Africa

Dr Ann Schlyter
Local Government and Planning of Urban Land Use - notes on Swedish Experiences

Mark Swilling, PLANACT
Issues for Discussion in Formulating a Democratic Housing Policy

Alison Todes
Regional and Metropolitan Government - Options and Considerations for Policy

Philip van Ryneveld
Financing Local Government in a Post-Apartheid South Africa

Vanessa Watson
A new System of Urban Local Government in South Africa

Dr Kadmil Wekwete
Local Government Reorganisation in Post Independent Zimbabwe: A Review

Amanda Younge
Existing Forms of Regional Government

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REPORT ON WORKSHOPS HELD IN PREPARATION FOR THE NATIONAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. PROCESS

In developing policies on a future Local Government, the democratic movement has ensured grassroots participation. To facilitate this, the country was divided into ten regions to allow representation to be as democratic as possible. Regional workshops were held at which all civic and ratepayer associations in the region were invited. In some regions, members of the white local authorities were included in the workshops. This section is a synthesis of the discussion and debates held in each of the regional workshops.

2. CONTEXT

The impact of De Klerk's February announcement has influenced the political events in the country significantly. This has ushered in the strategy of negotiations which has filtered down from a national to local level. Within three months, the state released the Thornhill Commission report on local government. These proposals (Kriel's Proposals) strongly support negotiations at a local level. The hidden strategy behind this proposal is an attempt to develop a federal option to apartheid as against the unitary state proposed by the ANC.

The concrete form that this strategy of the state can be identified by the increasing willingness of local authorities to negotiate with civics. In a number of areas, the local state has attempted to bind civics to permanent agreements. These agreements will act as local solutions and in this way removed from the agenda of national negotiations. The ultimate objective of this approach is to develop a series of different autonomous local government structures. The local negotiation process will be controlled by the local state and hence, very little power will be transferred to grassroots communities. The different options allows local authorities to choose a system which is in their interest. In some cases, municipalities have attempted to coopt weaker civics.

The crucial question faced by civics in this period is whether to enter into negotiations over future local government structures or to boycotts such negotiations. Some argue that this space should be exploited in the interests of communities. This could include the formation of joint structures which will attempt to resolve problems at local levels. Others argue that several dangers exist in participating in such negotiations. It may circumvent the national negotiation process and accept responsibilities without the power and resources to meet demands expressed by communities.

On the ground, however, a number of Black Local Authorities have collapsed. Numerous community councillors and management committee members have resigned. In this respect, civics have asked the ANC to provide guidelines for negotiations or an alternative strategy to deal with these problems. A crucial need which is being expressed is the need for training to deal with negotiations. However, these problems are difficult to overcome while the existing apartheid legislation still remains.

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE

In discussing local government structure for a future South Africa, the following issues were raised.

3.1. Accountability

All regions felt that future local government structures must be accountable to communities. Some regions proposed a minimum term of office for office bearers - of one year to avoid building a power base. The problem with this approach was that it does not provide sufficient time for these officials to acquire the necessary skills. Hence, these officials will not be effective. Other suggestions to ensure accountability include: -

☐ regular reportbacks to communities

☐ open meetings of local government structures

☐ make minutes accessible to all

☐ conduct referendums on contentious issues

☐ make delegates accountable to grassroots organisation

3.2. Power

Regions argued that the local government structures should be given more power. This power should include the supply of housing and land which are two main issues at the moment. It was pointed out that this was desirable, however, it is practically impossible due to the shortage of skilled personpower. Hence some form of centralised decision-making seemed advisable.

3.3. Three-Tier Model of Local Government

This system links the civic to local government and finally to central government. The rationale behind this proposal was to ensure that those who represented communities at local government level were accountable to the communities.Those at central level will have had sufficient training at local government level. The proposal stated that members of central

government should emerge from local authorities. The end result of this proposal ensures that accountability remains from local to national level through these linkages. Civic representation would be nominated through the community. Representatives of local government are elected

by civics. From these local government structures, representative for central government will be nominated or elected.

3.4. Two-Tier Model

Other regions proposed a two-tier system which comprised of a metropolitan and various local authorities. Delegates from the various local authorities will comprise the metropolitan tier. This tier would be responsible for the provision of 'hard' services such as water, electricity, sewer systems and road works. No clarity was given over which tier would be responsible for the supply of land and housing, libraries, health and education systems. A further problem was how the system could operate in sparsely populated areas. The homeland structures complicate this proposal even further, and raises the question of how homeland areas can be incorporated into these local government structures.

3.5 Rural Local Government

As rural local authorities fall within the ambit of Black Administration Act No.38/1927, it means that it is not administered or financed in the same way as urban local authorities. Under this act, Chiefs are unable to administer these areas democratically. One region proposed that chiefs be given a ceremonial function. In cases where a rural area contributes significantly to the tax base of a town, and where practical this rural area should be part of the town.

3.6 The Role of Civics/Ratepayers Associations

In the past civics played an important role in mobilising and politicising communities. Civics along with other organisations have been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid. It was noted that many comrades have lost their lives in civic struggles. We salute these comrades.

3.6.1 New Role of Civics

Regions were unanimous in voicing support for the continued role of civics. Common points which emerged were:

☐ to actively politicise the community

☐ to continue to take up grassroots struggles

☐ to act as the watchdog over local authorities

☐ to assist in the creation of interim local government structures and oversee the process of change.

☐ to prepare to govern the country

☐ civics must be democratic, accountable, independent, non-racial and politically neutral

4. RECONSTRUCTING LOCAL GOVERNMENT

There were a number of different views that was expressed over this issue.

Natal discussed the power, size, function, and role of local government. The problems of accountability and the establishment of an interim structure while the apartheid laws remained intact was referred to this conference.

Transkei highlighted the fact that there is no proper and adequate local government infrastructure in either rural and urban areas. There is a lack of adequate services in these areas.

The Border regional workshop highlighted the need for an interim local government constituent assembly. This structure will negotiate "One city - One municipality" issues , redistribution of funds and land, the scrapping of racial laws, rents, taxation and future electoral systems.

In the Orange Free State, black local authorities have collapsed. Hence, there is a need for an interim regional structure to be established to put into action a plan to strengthen civics.

The Transvaal, Pat Lephunya (Soweto Peoples' Delegation) presented a paper on the Metropolitan Chamber. The objective of this Chamber is the "removal of the Community Councils."

The Northern Cape called for a Constituent Assembly.

The Western Cape called for an end to apartheid planning.

5. FINANCE

The responsibility of financing local government in African areas was solely that of the community. The finance was totally inadequate and rural areas received little or no finance.

The regions proposed a single tax base. In addition, the need for raising funds creatively was stressed. The principle of payment for services according to one's ability to pay was proposed by most regions. Several regions felt that central government should play a key role in financing local government. An independent and democratically controlled development agency, funded through some local tax and businesses, should be established.

6. ADMINISTRATION AND TRAINING

This issue, while stressed by some regions as important, was not sufficiently addressed by other regions. The Border region proposed that a coordinated training programme be established. The universities and colleges are important institution to be utilise in this programme. The objective of this course is to increase skills of future local government personnel. Civic Association of Southern Transvaal (CAST) outlined a training programme for their office bearers.

7. RE-WARDING OF LOCAL BOUNDARIES

Apartheid has effectively divided both towns and cities, geographically, into black and white areas. A number of views were expressed on how to address this problem.

- [ ] bigger local authorities - will combine areas and effectively deliver services

- [ ] boundaries must be defined by the people and functional criteria

8. EFFECTS OF NATIONAL LEGISLATION ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

A number of laws were identified which have some impact on local government. These include: -

- [ ] The Tri-cameral Parliament

- [ ] Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act No. 52/1951

- [ ] Black Communities Development Act No. 4/1984

- [ ] Black Administration Act No. 38/1927

- [ ] Black Local Authorities Act No. 102/1982

The above laws seriously impede the transition of local government to a democratic, non-racial, non-sexist,.... local government structures.

9. COOPTION

A number of regional workshops expressed the danger of cooption. The strategy of local authorities is that of making joint agreements to prevent local government issues from being placed on the national negotiations agenda. Some recommendations to prevent cooption were offered: -

- [ ] to assist and support weaker civics

- [ ] to ensure that all agreements made during negotiations are interim until national negotiations take place

- [ ] civics must negotiate as a region and weaker civics are thereby supported.

10. SOCIAL PENSIONS

Rural areas experienced a number of problems with the administration of welfare and pensions. The pay-out points are far and few between. All regions who discussed this issue, argued that this must be the responsibility of local government. In considering this, there are numerous pros and cons which must be carefully thought through.

11. HOUSING

This was highlighted as the most crucial issue in each region. This was largely due to the state's policy on housing. Massive housing shortage, over-crowding, high costs of housing and quality of housing were highlighted as the major problems associated with this issue. Regions recommended that: -

- ☐ the government should provide standard housing for all

- ☐ self help housing schemes should be encouraged

- ☐ a non-profit housing cooperative be established

- ☐ no eviction of squatters until permanent, alternative housing is provided

- ☐ housing should be subsidised by employers.

12. LAND

Apartheid had dispossessed people of their land. The Group Areas Act and the 1913 Land Act has prevented black people from getting adequate access to land. Regions argued for: -

redistribution of land

an end to apartheid legislation which affects land

democratic planning of land use

end to land speculation.

13. CONCLUSION

On almost all of these issues, it was hoped that this conference will give guidelines for civics.