

**SOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE CURRENT AGENDA FOR
TRANSITION FOR FUTURE REGIONAL/METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT**

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1. There is a fragile, yet clearly discernable agenda for transition energizing between the NP Government and the ANC. Part of this agenda is a declared need for some consensus on the boundaries, structures and functions of regional government. It is important for whatever final form of regional government is going to emerge to understand:
 - a. The motivation of both the NP Government (e.g. power sharing arrangements) and the ANC (e.g. consolidating support in current regions, i.e. homeland government) for entering into this debate. These motivations may or may not be antithetical to good regional government in the future and needs to be pointed out now to political negotiators.
 - b. How strongly either the NP Government or ANC feel about finalizing constitutional principles before they enter into elections for a 'Government of National Unity' and Constituent Assembly. This will determine the time constraint they impose on themselves and may enhance or diminish the role of 'expert's (like ourselves) in helping to create 'good' regional government.
2. The emerging consensus between the 'big-ones' (i.e. NP Government and ANC) may post a threat to the 'regional' interests of other potential negotiating partners, e.g. IFP, TBVC countries etc., who may :
 - a. Completely, or in part, reject the emerging agenda between the NP Government and ANC, and
 - b. Feel very strongly about 'regional' issues which may or may not be antithetical to the emerging consensus between the NP Government and ANC on what regional government should look like in the future.
3. It is very important for an 'expert' group like this one to determine the relative status/influence of parties bargaining on regional government. For example, if Ghosa, Holomisa, Quaqua, Hendrickse have a premium inter pares status with De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi, the regional debate is going to be trapped in the Separate Development/Apartheid legacy and revolve around current vested interests rather than the structure of good regional government in the future. An 'expert' group like this one can do much to minimize this dilemma by focusing the attention on good/sound principles of regional government and how these are being undermined by current disputes.

4. The more serious the NP government and ANC take their mutually agreed upon time table for transition (e.g. elections by April 1994), the more vulnerable they become to parties who can withhold consensus and delay progress. Eventually the agenda runs out of its own time: that is when critical new decisions can be taken, e.g. 'drop the smaller parties and proceed regardless' or 'go for a popular mandate by means of a referendum'. These new decisions can have a profound impact on future regional government. For example, they could lead to a centralization of power, i.e. NP-ANC-pact to manage transition with imposed unelected authorities in the regions. An 'expert' group like this one should as best as possible anticipate such developments and highlight their implications for 'good' regional government in the future.
5. A clear distinction must be drawn between people with regional interests being elected into a Government of National Unity and/or a Constituent Assembly and finalizing regional constitutional principles before an election and then electing people from 'new' regions. In the latter case, many 'mistakes' on future regional government could be made under the self-imposed time pressure of the agenda for transition. In the former case, final regional issues could be settled in a more representative Constituent Assembly. This is perhaps the most hotly disputed issue between NP, ANC, IFP and even TBVC states. An 'expert' group like this one, must identify the problems under each option and spell out the implications for regional government.
6. It is very important for an 'expert' group like this one to identify and evaluate the actual personalities who will have a decisive impact on the unfolding of the regional debate. Spokesmen on regional/local government at a national level may have little or no knowledge on regional government and their ignorance may have a decisive impact on the structure of future regional government. In this respect it is important to keep in mind that none of the major parties have an unambiguous view on regional government. There is no reliable ANC, NP or IFP 'view' on regional government and 'the issue' of regional government may enjoy differential priority in the different agendas of the different parties. In other words, there may be a differing propensity to 'trade-off' on regional issues between different parties. Very often such negotiating 'auctions' can have a profound and long term effect on the issue being traded off (e.g. the issue of Federation at the 1910 Convention).
7. Please do not underestimate the importance of local/metropolitan negotiations for future regional government. Very often, people at this level have a greater concern for good regional government than the 'national' negotiators. Somehow, they have to be pulled into the debate on regional government. It would be disastrous if they are going to be ignored in some new form of local government. (God help regional government in South Africa if it depended only on Moses Mayekiso and Tertius Delpert).

8. Develop a flexible attitude to the capacity of old (Apartheid) structures to be constructive in transition toward new constitutional outcomes. RSC's, Provincial Administrations, even and particularly, expert civil servants can play an important role. Often a 'new charismatic' loaded with 'legitimacy' bombs out when he has to change a light bulb.