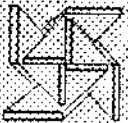


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CSF NOTEBOOK

• FROM THE EDITOR •

PERSONNEL NEWS

The Center is pleased to announce that Paul T. Neal has been added to the staff as Program Coordinator and Editor of the *Federalism Report*. Mr. Neal will replace Joseph R. Marbach who has been appointed Assistant Professor of Political Science at Seton Hall University. Dr. Marbach will continue to work on a number of the Center's on going projects.

★ ★ ★

The Center is happy to welcome Mr. Elias Bittar from Caracas, Venezuela as a visiting scholar. Mr. Bittar is pursuing his Ph.D. in Political Science. He will be spending the year at the Center studying comparative federalism. Correspondence should be sent to the Center.

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● INTERNATIONAL VISITORS ●

Recent visitors to the Center included:

■ **Mr. Noel Fanoelson Raminanaiwojaona**, Deputy Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, Madagascar; **Mr. Constance Razafimily**, Deputy and First Quarter of the National Assembly, Antananarivo, Madagascar; **Mr. Jean Gerard Rabevolitra**, Deputy, President of the Finance Committee of the national Assembly, Antananarivo, Madagascar; **Mr. Muzasse Esocelontandroso**, Deputy and President of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly, Antananarivo, Madagascar.

In June of 1993, Madagascar went to the polls to elect the first truly independent legislature and installed the National Assembly. Four newly elected deputies to the Assembly participated in this USIA project on the "organization of federal and state legislators."

■ **Syed Bayazid Subhani Hussain**, Special Correspondent, The Telegraph; **Manuka Khanna**, Lecturer, Department of Political Science, Lucknow University; **Raj Kumar Bhatia**, President, Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (political party); **Mohammed Afzal**, member, Rajya Sabha (Upper House of Indian Parliament); **Pankaj Vohra**, Chief Reporter, The Times of India.

These visitors were part of a USIA Single Country Project on "Ethnicity, Cultural Diversity, and the Making of Nations."

■ **Deputy Minister Karimjon Ubayrich Akhmedov**, Deputy Minister of Economy of Turkistan.

During his visit to the United States, Mr. Akhmedov gathered information related to his work at the ministry and the political party.

■ **Mr. Aleksander Kwosniewski**, Chairman, Social Democratic Alliance Party of Poland and Member of Parliament; **Mr. Jerzy Cierniewski**, Member of Parliament, Democratic Union Party; **Mr. Jerzy Madej**, Member of Senate,

Confederation for an Independent Poland Party; **Mr. Jerzy Jaskiernia**, Member of Parliament, Social Democratic Alliance Party of Poland; **Mr. Stefan Pastuszka**, Senator, Polish Peasants Party; **Mr. Krzysztof Kaminski**, Member of Parliament, Confederation of Independent Poland.

During their visit, participants met with members of executive, legislative and judicial branches for practice and theoretical perspectives on separation of powers in the U.S. constitutional system.

■ **Mr. Jorge Osvaldo Csanovas**, President, National Oral Trial Criminal Courts, Argentina; **Pablo Hernan Quiroga**, Chief Prosecutor, Federal Chamber of Appeals, San Martin, Buenos Aires Province, Argentina; **Franklin Antonio Garcia Ferrnini**, President, Dominican Lawyers Association, Dominican Republic; **Rosario Avila**, General Secretary and Professor, Quito Catholic University Law School, Ecuador; **Ricardo Marciel Zelaya Larreynaga**, Special Prosecutor, Human Rights Office, Office of Attorney General, El Salvador; **Blanca Esmeralda Valladares de Rivera**, Magistrate of the Supreme Court, Honduras; **Jose Alberto Rodriguez Calderon**, Director of Investigation, Office of the Attorney General, State of Hidalgo, Mexico; **Roger Espinoza Martinez**, General Administrative Secretary, Nation Supreme Court, Nicaragua; **Fernando Balon-Landa Cordova**, Provisional Supreme Court Justice, Peru; **Eduardo Esteben Lombardi**, Appellate Court Judge, Supreme Court Representative, Center for Judicial Studies Board.

Visitors studied the administration of justice and the rule of law in the United States. Participants were part of a regional project from Latin America.

■ **Mr. Carlos Cuestas**, Secretary General, Supreme Court, Panama. As the highest-ranking administrative official of the Supreme Court in Panama, Mr. Cuestas studied U.S. court administration and the criminal justice system.

■ **Mr. Nurbulot Masanov**, Professor of History, Kazakhstani State University. Mr. Masanov's interests were on federal solutions and democratic reform.

• RECENT PUBLICATIONS •

Keith G. Banting, Douglas M. Brown and Thomas J. Courchene, editors. The Future of Fiscal Federalism. (School of Policy Studies: Kingston, 1994).

The status quo in fiscal federalism and social policy is unsustainable. There is an active and direct role for the federal government in social policy. Individual provinces should be able to play a distinctive role. These are the major conclusions of a new study entitled The Future of Fiscal Federalism. Edited by Keith G. Banting, Douglas M. Brown and Thomas J. Courchene, the study is being released by the School of Policy Studies, in association with the Institute for Intergovernmental Relations and the John Deutsch Institute for the Study of Economic Policy at Queen's University. This project brings together leading experts from across Canada to examine the problems confronting federal-provincial fiscal agreements and social policy in this country, and to propose new policy directions.

The volume starts with an overview of fiscal federalism that lays bare the economic and political backdrop for reform. It also examines the major social programs - health care, education and training, and income security - and the complex system of federal-provincial financial agreements that sustain them. The study then concludes with an assessment of whether "social Canada" requires radical, comprehensive reform or simply a series of incremental adjustments.

Three major threads run through the contributions to the study. First, there is almost unanimous agreement that the status quo in our social programs and federal-provincial fiscal agreements is no longer viable. Second, there is considerable support for maintaining an active role for the federal government in responding to the social problems confronting Canadians. Third, there is significant acceptance of asymmetry in federal-provincial relations, which would allow different provinces to play distinctive roles in the delivery of social programs.

The conclusion that the status quo is unsustainable reflects several basic realities. The fiscal crisis facing Canadian governments, the globalization of

the economy and the rapid pace of technological change are generating pressure for a restructuring of our core social programs. In addition, existing federal-provincial fiscal arrangements are not stable. Cash payments under the Established Programs Financing are shrinking; the cap on federal payments under the Canada Assistance Plan to the three richest provinces has generated serious tensions, especially with the Ontario government; and the ceiling on equalization grants worries those committed to interregional sharing.

For some, such as Robin Broadway, Frank Flatters, Greg Stoddart and Susan Phillips, federal activism takes the traditional form of national standards in shared-cost programs. However, there is also strong support for federal delivery directly to individual citizens of benefits now provided through federal-provincial programs. Ken Norris suggests this approach for postsecondary education and income security. Tom Courchene adds child benefits to this list. Judith Maxwell and Stefan Dupre agree for both postsecondary education and training.

The final thread running through many of the contributions is the acceptance of asymmetry in federal-provincial relationships, allowing different provinces, including Quebec, to adopt special roles in the social policy sector. For Tom Courchene, asymmetry is the appropriate response to diversity in the economic and social programs that all of the regions of Canada confront; while for Francois Vaillancourt and Peter Lesko, asymmetry is primarily a response to the distinctiveness of Quebec. Advocates of direct federal delivery, such as Judith Maxwell and Stefan Dupre, accept some degree of asymmetry as a concomitant of federal activism. For these authors, the equality of the provinces does not necessarily mean identical relations with Ottawa.

The agenda for reform of fiscal federalism is a daunting one. Too much is at stake for Canadians to allow the debate to be confined to the backrooms of federal-provincial negotiations, as Katherine Swinton emphasizes in her contribution. This major new book is dedicated to the proposition that the current debate represents a significant opportunity for a new, more open style of politics to respond to the issues that touch the core of Social Canada.

• ANNUAL INVENTORY RESULTS •

As a service to the political science community, the Center for the Study of Federalism compiles an annual inventory of individuals' current research activities and publications. The following are additions to those results already reported in the last issue of *The Federalism Report*.

Professor Robert W. Gage
School of Public Affairs
University of Colorado at Denver
1445 Market Street, Suite 350
Denver, CO 80202

Current Research Activities:

Regional Information Design and operation of regional information system including surveying regional councils nationally, on a periodic basis; design and updating of the database and electronic bulletin boards; generation of periodic reports for the National Association of Regional Councils (NARC). This project began March 1, 1994 and is ongoing. Periodic reports may be obtained from the National Association of Regional Councils (NARC), 1700 B Street, NW, Suite 1300, Washington, DC 20005 (Attn: Dr. Patricia Atkins).

Recent Publications:

"Leadership and Regional Council Roles: A Mismatch Between Leadership Styles Today and Future Roles." *State and Local Government Review*, 25(1):9-12, 1993.

An analysis of leadership styles of regional council executive directors and their own assessments of the kinds of leadership that will be needed in the future. For a copy, contact the author at the University of Colorado.



Assistant Professor Charles W. Gousett
Director, Bureau of Public Affairs
Georgia Southern University
Political Science Department
Lanstrum bor 8101
Statesboro, GA 30460

Current Research Activities:

"Employment Discrimination in State and Local Government on the Basis of Sexual Orientation."

A study of both legal and legislative developments with respect to permitting or forbidding employment discrimination against state and local government employees on the basis of sexual orientation. This project runs from December 1993 to October 1994. The results of this study will be presented in a paper at the APSA Conference in New York.

Recent Publications:

"Domestic Partnership Benefits: Public Sector Patterns." *Review of Public Personnel Administration*, 14(1):64-84, 1994.

An analysis of how local governments have defined the term "domestic partners" and which employee benefits have been provided to such partners. For more information contact the author.

"Integrating Lesbian and Gay Issues into the Public Administration Curriculum." Proceedings of the 17th National Conference on Teaching Public Administration (Akron, OH, March 17-19, 1994).

Suggested ways of including examples from the lesbian and gay experience into lectures and discussions on various public administration topics, e.g. federalism, personnel, budgeting, etc.



Professor C. Lloyd Brown-John
Department of Political Science
University of Windsor
Ontario, Canada N9B3P4

Current Research Activities:

"Bureaucratic Federalism."

An ongoing examination of the operational linkages between levels of governments within federal systems. What makes a federal political system function on a day-to-day basis? The machinery of intergovernmental confrontation, negotiation and management.

"Europe and the Federal Idea: Inside and Outside an Emerging European Federal Structure."

Continuing from the initial work set forth in the book Europe and the Federal Idea, the project seeks to examine perceptions of the developing European Community as a federal concept from the perspective of one country (Denmark).

"South African (Federal?) Constitutional Development."

After World War II, when apartheid was fully launched, the South African regime was highly centralized. The idea of a federal relationship has emerged in the course of the current constitutional negotiations. The project seeks to assess the relative impact of federal concepts upon the new South African Constitution.

"Aboriginal Land Claims and Federal-State/Federal-Provincial Relations."

The comparison examines processes whereby Australians and Canadians have dealt with the same type of native land claim settlement issues through completely different processes.

"Fiscal Federalism: The Australian Commonwealth Grants Commission."

The literature generally suggests that the Australian Commonwealth Grants Commission functions in a reasonably satisfactory manner from the perspectives of the states and the Federal Government. In Canada the same result is achieved by negotiation—normally between federal and provincial ministers of Finance/Treasurers. An assessment of the Australian Commonwealth Grants Commission as a model for a Canadian federal-provincial fiscal agency seems appropriate.

"Mega-Constitutional Change and Referendums: Australia's Lessons for Canada."

Canada's strange experience with an attempt to obtain public approval through a national referendum for major constitutional change might have benefited had the referendum's enthusiasts examined the history of constitutional change referendums in Australia.

Professor Joseph F. Zimmerman
 Department of Political Science
 University at Albany
 135 Western Avenue
 Albany, NY 12222

Current Research & Publications Activities:

"Federal Preemption."

Several articles have resulted from this research including: "Preemption in the U.S. Federal System," Publius, fall 1993, pp. 1-13; "Congressional Regulation of Subnational Governments," E.S.A. Political Science and Politics, June 1993, pp. 177-181. Two books also resulted from this series of research: Federal Preemption: The Silent Revolution, (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991); Contemporary American Federalism: The Growth of National Power, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992 [Praeger Press in the USA]).

"Interstate Relations."

A comprehensive study of relations between states in the United States. Greenwood Press will publish a book manuscript on the subject. "Child Support: Interstate Dimensions" will appear in Publius, fall, 1994.

"State-Local Relations."

Some results of this study include: The Book of States, 1994-1995 will include results of a survey of state-local developments during 1992 and 1993; A second edition of State-Local Relations: A Partnership Approach is in preparation and will be published by Praeger Publishers; "State Mandated Expenditure Distortions" will be presented at the 1994 Annual Meeting of the APSA, New York City, September 1-4, 1994.

• Brief Contributions •

CIVIL PEACE IN RUSSIA WILL BE SECURED
BY THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY

by Marina Kalashnikova

*Institute for the Study of the USA and Canada,
Moscow, Russia (translated by Nahum Purer)*

A great deal still remains unclear about the October events. It is certainly difficult to trace a logical pattern in a game where moves are made at random by several players on several boards at the same time, while each participant persists in attempts to impose their own vision of the alignment of forces upon the others. By expert estimates in the period from September 21 both the President's entourage and the Supreme Soviet relied on largely similar information concerning the response of the regions to the actions by both branches of power (with the exception of certain subtle differences regarding Khakassia and Nizhny Novgorod oblast). Neither of the parties would abandon its plans of action, since, as one is led to assume, they both found confirmation of their respective positions in that information. Both groups were well aware of the dynamics of "pro and con" sentiments in the regions as well as of their sum total: by September 26 in virtually all regions, with a few exceptions, the representative government, viz., local Soviets voiced support of the Supreme Soviet, whereas the executive government's sided with the President. The few rallies, speeches and isolated opinion polls indicated that the political preferences of the population could not even be fashioned into a motley regional mosaic. The political life in Russia seemed to have come apart, splitting into atoms.

Yeltsin's opponents banked on the hierarchical rigidly centralized system of Soviets further reinforced by the seasoned cadre of local Communist party *nomenklatura* who switched to Soviets in the aftermath of August, 1991. As had been expected, the system followed the conventional pattern. Moscow was showered with upbeat dispatches on the support of the Supreme Soviet's line (much like the erstwhile reports of economic success and bumper crops). The solidarity resolutions, however, were not always passed by the full session; in most instances they were adopted by the little Soviets (the permanently sitting ones), sometimes in the absence of quorum. The protestations of loyalty to the Center on some occasions assumed tones both lacrymose and cynical that had been commonplace in the pre-

perestroika period. Thus, for example, the Khabarovsk territorial Soviet in the heat of the moment lost track of the identity of the President. In a September 22 session of little Soviet Deputy Chairman Galina Lysenko claimed that Yeltsin had already dismissed Nikola Golushko, Pavel Grachev, and a whole lot of other "top-ranking executives, which could not be tolerated." Later, the embarrassing mistake was attributed to the fact that the first information on the developments was circulated by Alexander Rutskoi and signed "President of the Russian Federation", while no clear instructions came from the Yeltsin administration on that day, which gave rise to the misconception.

Also in evidence were the old habits of the regional leaders, like the bids to swap the promptly declared solidarity with the Center for the latter's economic handouts. At the height of the political crisis Anvar Tulayev, chairman of the Kemerovo oblast Soviet, attended a session of the Supreme Soviet, attempting to secure the resolution of a number of economic issues to favor his oblast. Among other things, he had talks with Rutskoi and Khasbulatov on preferential taxation for producers and introduction of fixed food prices. In August 1991, A. Tulayev paid a visit to Gennady Yanayev, Vice-President of the USSR, in the course of which he also tried to lobby for the resolution of his constituents' social problems.

One suggestion for the "salvation of the legitimate government" represented by the supreme Soviet call for 'disassociation' of some territories from the Center and temporarily relocating the capital of Russia to Novosibirsk, it was propounded in all seriousness by a deputy of Novosibirsk Soviet.

If we disregard such quixotic and focus on the style and tactics of the local legislatures which served as a base for Khasbulatov and Rutskoi, it becomes obvious that they are afflicted with the ills of the former party and government machinery. The major handicap was the Communists' typical inability to adequately appraise the developments, the habit to mistake schemes based on dogmas for reality. The unanimous subservience of the local Soviets to the will of the Supreme Soviet and its leaders was not backed by an equally unanimous support on the part of the people and 'force' structures on the ground. In keeping with the routine of the past, when the people were silent, and the monopoly of power was unchallenged, the Soviets assumed to be speaking on

everybody's behalf. The chronicle of dispatches from the regions indeed confirms that the Supreme Soviet had a sizable potential following in various social and governmental structures in the regions. The sympathies, however, were volatile, readily shifting from one pole of the top position to the other. If, at the peak of the crisis Khaosbulatov and Rutskoi has succeeded in strengthening their position in the Center, the ranks of their allies might be expected to grow. However, a decisive blow to the Center proved sufficient for the entire system to be disintegrated. To a degree, the August 1991 scenario was reenacted, if we interpret it as a defeat of the rigidly centralized hierarchical party and government system. The unwillingness of the Soviet system to recognize such analogies, the determination and militancy it displayed in seeking a new all-out engagement suggest the conclusion that, armed with its old outfit, it will move in for the third face-off - the December elections.

This inevitably gives rise to concern and apprehension over the future of the Federal Assembly as well as the reforms of representative governments that will proceed in the regions in the specific contexts of mass sentiments and socio-political orientations. The local pattern of the October events has highlighted their vulnerable aspects. The people, on the one hand, still respond to old stereotypes, have not yet overcome the awe of leaders and slogans, and on the other, have already experienced the positive effects of democratic reforms. The outcome of the elections, the form and substance of the new representative power will largely depend on who and in what way can put an end to this political schizophrenia.

The lessons of the October crisis, including their regional variations, can provide guidance as to where democracy has a chance of gaining mass social support and what direction the leaders' initiative should take. In the critical situation the government of Russia sent ministerial and departmental functionaries to the regions as its authorized representatives. Over the years of perestroika and reforms new social groups have emerged, the economic and political mentality of the people has changed, the interests of the majority of the economically active part of the population forming the social base of reforms have taken shape. The president and the government were receiving information on the attitudes of these groups and

counted on their support.

To be sure, political preferences of the business community were not homogeneous. It would hardly be possible to expect loyalty from the conservative part of managers and personnel of major military industry enterprises to whom the reform period has brought both economic difficulties and disappointment over the erosion of their elite position. Their interests would be better served by a reversion to mandatory government planning, guaranteed resource supply, orders and sales - that is, the line pledged by the Supreme Soviet.

On the whole, however, it is obvious that the sympathies of the people of the "new formation" be with the presidential team, and further progress of political reforms depends on thoroughness and persistence in economic reforms. The half measures of the past, the reluctance to tackle economic problems in the regions have been the factor behind the eruption of the political crisis. If the new laws tend to promote the well-being of the citizens and modify the new types of relationships in the society, they will simultaneously serve as a forceful factor in the political struggle. The old structures will be left out of the mainstream.

As long as the cart remains in front of the horse, however, attempts to resolve political issues by political methods alone (confrontation, trade-off, bars, elections, etc.) will invariably pose the threat of, first by new collisions in the society, and secondly, escapism - yet another round of dodging the overriding issue - full-scale economic reforms. On the other hand, radical reforms can spell a shortcut to the same end result, self-dissolution of Soviets. Having lost real ground in the economy and the role of a source of benefits in the context of pervasive shortages, they hopefully will give up their staunch resistance, while the members will find new interests and applications for their talents.

By preliminary estimates people with "new economic thinking" stand to win about 20 percent of seats in the new bodies of representative power. Apparently, the checklist for election campaigns of all parties organizations and movements should feature a thorough elaboration of economic programs and active cooperation with the business community. The civil peace in Russia depends to a great extent on the position of the business interests.

• PUBLIUS: THE JOURNAL OF FEDERALISM •

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**The State of American Federalism, 1993-1994
An Annual Review of the American Federal System**

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by James M. Hooper



IACFS

NEWSLETTER
BULLETIN
d'INFORMATION
RUNDSCHREIBEN

● Meeting ●

The 1994 annual meeting of the director of the IACFS was held on Wednesday and Thursday evening April 13 and 14, 1994 in Fribourg, Switzerland

- Nicolas Schmitt,
Secretary/Treasurer,
Switzerland
- Ronald Watts, President,
Canada
- Cliff Walsh, Vice-President,
Australia

Members Present:

- Brian Galligan, Australia
- Christine Fletcher, Australia
- Cheryl Saunders, Australia
- Frank Delmartino, Belgium
- Douglas Brown, Canada
- Ferdinand Kinsky, France
- Jutta Kramer, Germany
- Hans-Peter Schneider,
Germany
- Murray Forsyth, Great
Britain
- Charlie Jefferey, Great
Britain
- Daniel Elazar, Israel-USA
- Ruth Lapidoth, Israel
- Bertus De Villiers, South
Africa
- Thomas Fleiner-Gerster,

Switzerland

Joseph Marbach, USA

New Members:

- Isawa Elaigwu, Nigeria
- Pauline Otti, Nigeria

Excused Members:

- John Kincaid, USA

Observers:

- Rasheeduddin Khan, India
- Rudolf Hrbek, Germany
- Slava Sheelo, Russia

WELCOME

The President welcomed the participants, among them Professors Hrbek, Khan and Sheelo, who have been invited as observers. He presented his congratulations to the Institute of Federalism in Fribourg for its 10th Birthday. The President explained that, due to the amount of topics to be dealt with, there would be two sessions, the first one dealing with agenda items 1-6 and the second one with agenda items 7-11.

MINUTES OF THE 1993 MEETING AT KWA MARITANE, SOUTH AFRICA

Two corrections should be made

for the minutes of the previous meeting, concerning the spelling of the names Kinsky (and not Kinski) and Kincaid (and not Kinkaid). The minutes were unanimously adopted.

REPORT ON IACFS PROJECTS

Federal Systems of the World

Longman Editions wanted to publish a revised edition without delay. all Institute are listed as references and should send updating material to Longman. Concerning distribution, each contributor will get a copy.

International Bibliography of Federalism

Douglas Brown explained that the idea originally came from various sources. Participation essentially means to provide bibliography entries for the period January 1988 to December 1992. It had been decided to have the entries in English and in French. The editors would be interested in receiving the entries by the end of August 1994. The objective is June 1995 for publication. Dan Elazar added that the

Jerusalem Center would also participate. This bibliography should be illustrative, "Classics" could be accepted as long as they are in print. Leicester will deal with European Federalism in English, and Nico offered to do the French entries. The bibliography should include everything concerning federalism, which means also (for instance) economic theory on federalism. Douglas Brown reminded members that the work was participative and that a relatively manageable collection was needed. He added that the idea was that of a bibliography of scholar researchers, which means that official material should not be taken into consideration. Concerning multi-ethnicity, he noted that federalism had to be conceived in a broad sense and not too technically. Douglas Brown concluded by saying that further technical details could be discussed with him.

Previous Conference Proceedings

1989 *Federal-Type Solutions and European Integration* (Bruges-Belgium): Daniel Elazar reported that these proceedings are about to be published.

1991 *Higher Education in Federal Systems* (Kingston-Canada): Douglas Brown asked whether all participants had received a copy of the book. Otherwise, ask him for a copy. Nevertheless, the book has been sold out.

1992 *Economic Integration in Federal-Type Systems* (Melbourne - Australia) Cheryl Saunders explained that the book would be printed within the next couple of months.

1993 *Federalism - A*

comparative Perspective (Kwa-Mantane - South Africa) Bertus De Villiers explained that the proceedings would be published by late May 1994.

1994 *Europe and Federal Experiences* (Fribourg - Switzerland) Nicolas Schmitt said that the Institute of Federalism would try to publish the proceedings as soon as possible (in Fall) or early Winter) and counted on the collaboration of the participants.

Ronald Watts reported that the "Dictionnaire" was published in Bruxelles (Belgium) at the same time as the IACFS meeting in Fribourg and that several members had contributed to its elaboration.

Report on Formation and Operation of European Consortium for regional and Federal Studies

Murray Forsyth reported on the status of the Consortium, which has been established to coincide with the coming into force of the Maastricht Treaty. It links together eight major research centers located in seven European countries, and its goal is to promote joint research across Europe with a closer union and a greater regional autonomy. Murray Forsyth noted that relations between the Consortium and the IACFS needed clarification. He also reported on activities, among them the establishment of an office in Brussels and a Conference in Hannover in October about regional integration. Dan Elazar hoped that all members of the Consortium would also be members of the IACFS. At present this is the case except

for the Innsbruck Centre.

FUTURE ANNUAL IACFS CONFERENCES

1995 To be organized by the Center for the Study of Federalism of Temple University (Philadelphia), in May or in November (the President prefers May). The topic would be *The Paradigm Shift from Statism to Federalism*. The President explained the topic and gave some examples, among them the fact that there were many problems related to definition; nevertheless, people were generally favorable.

1996 It was agreed to accept the invitation by Issawa Hlaigou that this be held in Abuja (Nigeria). The topic could be *Finance in a Federal System*, but we must wait for the 1995 meeting for further details.

1997 To be organized by the Deutsches Institut für Föderalismusforschung in Hannover (Germany), whose Director is Professor Hans-Peter Schneider. The theme of the Congress could be "Federalism and Parliamentarism" or "Federalism and Societies". For the same year, Ferdinand Kinsky offered to organize a meeting in Prague about "Follow federalist experiences".

1998 According to the President, the meeting should be held in Asia or in Australia to obtain a continental rotation.

2000 Brian Calligan suggested Australia, for the continuation of the Australian Constitution.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The secretary/treasurer of the IACFS, Nicolas Schmitt, gave to the participants a list of the Members having (or not having) paid their annual memberships.

Unfortunately, some of them didn't mention the name of the institute when paying, so that the list was incomplete and needed some clarification. For the future, the Treasurer suggested that information of the payment (or a notice that the fee has been paid) be sent to him. Nevertheless, a motion for approval carried. A full financial statement will be sent with the minutes.

MEMBERSHIP

The secretary gave the participants a list of all members with address, telephone and fax numbers etc. The secretary asked the members to indicate amendments. An updated address list will be sent with the minutes. Daniel Elazar asked the secretary to add the data of the Novosibirsk Center, which can be found in the *Federalism Report* of 1992. Thomas Fleiner urges members to use E-Mail in order to save time and paper. Members are asked to give the secretary their E-Mail code.

Applications for membership

South Australia Center for Economic Studies, Adelaide, Australia (Executive Director: Cliff Walsh). The motion concerning the application of the *South Australia Center for Economic Studies* was unanimously accepted, and it is now a member of the IACFS.

Europäisches Zentrum für Federalismusforschung, Tübingen, Germany (Director: Rudolf Hrbek). This Center already applied for membership during the Kwa-Mantare meeting (where it was represented by Ronald Stumm), but final consideration was then

deferred to the Fribourg meeting. Ronald Watts, who visited the Tübingen Centre for a meeting on federalism and personalism, saw the setting and could note that it was an active Centre. Answering questions, the President explained that the Director was Rudolf Hrbek, that Prof. Knipping and Puchner were deputy directors, and that the European Consortium included Hrbek's Center. The motion concerning the application of the *Europäisches Zentrum für Federalismusforschung* was then unanimously accepted, and it is now a member of the IACFS.

Indian Institute for Federal Studies, New Delhi, India (Director: Rasheeduddin Khan)

The motion concerning the application of the Indian Institute for Federal Studies was then unanimously accepted, and it is now a member of the IACFS.

Centre for Comparative Federal Studies, Moscow, Russia (Director: Slava Sheela)

In fact, it is a division of the Russian Institute for Canada and USA, Ronald Watts was in Moscow in September and visited the Centre. But they haven't sent him the requested material, and recommended that the IACFS should defer its decision. The discussion made it clear that even if it is important to have a Russian membership, one has to know who is doing what and that it could be unwise to accept a member who could be a "one man show". Because the application of the Centre for Comparative Federal Studies was incomplete, no motion was carried concerning its

application. Nevertheless, final consideration can be deferred to the 1995 meeting pending receipt of additional information on the scope of its activities, legal basis of establishment, and its funding.

DRAFT IACFS OBJECTIVES AND BY-LAWS:

The present members debated the By-laws which had been drafted by the President. Every section was discussed, and then a motion for adoption was brought forward and adopted.

* Section 1 - Objectives of the IACFS. Motion - no opposition - approved as revised.

* Section 2 - Obligation of member-Centers and Institutes. Discussion. Motion - no opposition - approved without revision.

* Section 3 - Annual conference and meeting of the Directors. Motion - no opposition - approved as revised.

* Section 4 - Newsletter of the IACFS. Amendment suggested by Cliff Walsh. Motion - no opposition - approved as amended.

* Section 5 - Officer of the Association. During the discussion, it appeared that the word "located", according to the law of certain countries, could create difficulties. As "located" did not mean the legal home, but the working home, the text has been amended. Motion - no opposition - approved as amended.

* Section 6 - Members fees. Motion - no opposition - approved without revision.

* Section 7 - Admission of new member Centers or Institutes. Answering questions/comments, the President noted that it was important for new members not

to be chosen for ideology purposes, and that federal was to be used in a broad sense. Motion - no opposition - approved as revised

* Section 8 - Continuation of membership. Discussion: there is an amendment proposed by Daniel Elazar and Bertus De Villiers. Motion - no opposition - approved as amended.

* Section 9 - Procedure at the annual Directors meeting. During the discussion, it was mentioned that the IACFS should find a way to facilitate the exchange of information. Motion - no opposition - approved as amended.

* Participants will receive a copy of the revised/amended By-laws as adopted.

LEAFLET

It had been decided at the Melbourne meeting to prepare a leaflet describing the association, including a short presentation and a little statement about every member Center or Institute. There was a draft outline attached to the Agenda. The secretary was asked to make a final draft taking into account those who have not answered yet plus the new members. The secretary will send a reminder to all members. The goal is to have the leaflet ready for the next meeting in Philadelphia.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS

The current 3-Year term of the President (Ronald Watts), Vice President (Cliff Walsh) and Secretary-Treasurer (Nicolas Schmitt) expires December 31, 1994. An intercontinental nominating committee consisting of Murray Forsyth (Europe, Chairman), Bertus De Villiers (Africa), Bryan Gulligan

(Australia) and Douglas Brown (North America) has been chosen by the President. It was unanimous to ask the officers to continue for a further 3-Year term. The motion concerning the re-election of the Board was then supported and unanimously accepted.

MISCELLANEOUS

Bertus De Villiers expressed his thanks for the IACFS members involvement in South Africa. Ferdinand Kinsky asked if something could be done for Alexandre Marc's 90th Birthday. The Secretary was charged to write a letter in French (the letter should be published in the Newsletter). This concluded the 1994 Directors meeting in Fribourg.

South Africa: The Election in Perspective

The most important consequence of the election is that the country now has its first real chance of getting violence under fatalities have declined, and one can, with reasonable confidence, predict that this trend will continue. The importance of the election is bestowing legitimacy on government and one the security forces cannot be underestimated.

Another consequence is hard to pin down in clinical analytical terms but it no less palpable or real for all that. This is the psychological burdens that the transition has lifted off people, both black and white. I have noticed this among my students, some 60 percent of whom are black. They now

"walk tall", as the saying has it. It is obvious that the election has had its enormous, cathartic effect as civic equality has been affirmed. Among whites the sense I get is a more elusive one of guilt having been assuaged, as if they were saying "at last that abhorrent system has gone and no longer will we be treated as lepers in the modern world".

The outcome of the election appears favorable for stability. The African National Congress (ANC) has got a convincing majority, but not so large that it can amount to hegemony; the National Party (NP) did not do quite as well as it expected to, but, ironically it ended up with proportionately a more multiracial support-base than did the ANC, for which some 85 percent control of the Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal, respectively, gives some degree of balance to the incipiently federal nature of our system. The Constitution, moreover, appears to make it impossible for the central government to "punish" provinces where opposition parties predominate - as happens, on occasions, in other federations (like India or Malaysia).

An interesting dynamic to watch for as the new system begins to operate is the degree to which provinces will assert their autonomy in relation to the centre. As I have said before, the interim Constitution vests significant powers in the provinces but also contains significant powers in the provinces but also contains significant powers of override.

There are, moreover, important concurrent powers, to be exercised jointly by the centre and the provinces. How this arrangement will ultimately pan out depends critically on the extent to which the provinces assert themselves. Federalism, wherever it exists, is not simply a constitutional distribution of powers: it is also a political relationship among its component parts. It is interesting to see the ANC put heavyweights in as premier candidates in a number of the provinces. The likes of Tokyo Sexwale, Patrick Lekota, Matthew Goniwe and Pops Molefe are unlikely to be politicians who will be back and allow themselves to be mere conveyor belts for the implementation of central government policies. They have built up power-bases which they will want to consolidate and augment. This is why so often, federalism federalizes political parties. It is too soon, however, to predict confidently that the political system will tilt decisively in a more federal direction; with Inkatha now sworn into the Government of National Unity and having a significant base in KwaZulu-Natal, federalist measures will be strong.

For another federalist party, the Democratic Party (DP), the election was an unmitigated disaster. This election, as analysis of the results will show, was fought on what was essentially a racial basis; it was also essentially a presidential contest between the two big parties. It was on the cards that in these circumstances the

DP would slip between the floorboards. Its rather cerebral brand of politics was not attuned to the huge emotions released by the elections; it could not break out of its urban, middle-class, English-colored veneer in the Western Cape, a comparable percentage of the Indian vote in KwaZulu-Natal, and no African support worth speaking of anywhere.

To make matters worse the DP now faces a leadership contest that would aggravate some of its internal strains: Ken Andrew is one of the best financial brains in South African politics, but he is no political streetfighter; Tony Leon is younger, vigorous, even brash, but he may not be the kind of leader the DP needs at this vulnerable stage.

For Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front (FF) the election results were ambiguous. Ironically, the FF did best of all in the PWV province from where no fewer than 40 percent of its votes came. A volkstaat somewhere in PWV? Forget it. The best that General Viljoen can hope for is some form of a cultural council (with a slight resemblance to Belgian institutions) vested with powers over cultural matters. It is a form of what is called *corporative federalism*.

Viljoen deserves the country's thanks for substantially neutralizing the threat that the continued thrust of right-wing forces could have posed. I predict that we have not heard the last of right-wing violence, which may occur when

flashpoints are created by the implementation of the new local government system. But I strongly doubt that it will be much more than sporadic bomb-blasts, horrible in themselves but not serious threats to the integrity of the state.

The Government of National Unity is large and, hence, unwieldy - 27 members and the President and his deputies. It is highly unlikely to function as a cohesive body like the cabinet in the British system. What is more likely is that the nuts-and-bolts of executive government will be the responsibility of cabinet committees, with the full cabinet concerning itself with the broad contours of policy.

President Mandela's indignant rebuttal of reports in the (London) Sunday Times that he would step down in two years' time was interesting. The possibility exists however that he will increasingly leave the day-to-day running of government to his deputies and ministers, and play the role for which he is pre-eminently suited, namely the reconciler of the nation. His presence is critically necessary to our chances of completing the transition: the hard part of creating democracy is over; but the task of sustaining it is only just beginning. Our chances of stability are good, and with favorable economic conditions underpinning the country, we can be cautiously optimistic.

*Professor David Welsh,
Department of Southern African
Studies, University of Cape
Town, South Africa*

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● SECTION NEWS ●

1994 ANNUAL MEETING - NEW YORK CITY'S INTERGOVERNMENTAL WORLD

Federalism Short Course: Wednesday, August 31, 1994, 12:00-5:00 p.m.

Last year's short course, our sections first was a smashing success. This year's short course, organized by Sarah F. Liebschutz, promises to be equally successful. The theme of the short course-- New York City's Intergovernmental World-- is certainly appropriate for the site of this years APSA meeting. Sarah has lined up distinguished scholars and public officials to meet with us; so please plan to attend.

The short course will be held at the Metropolitan Transportation Authority, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, NY. The short course registration deadline is August 1. Send application and \$45.00 fee (includes lunch) to Dr. Sarah F. Liebschutz, Department of Political Science, SUNY, Brockport, NY 14420. Sarah's telephone number is (716) 395-2584; fax (716) 395-2172. Make check payable to: APSA Section on Federalism. Registration is limited so don't delay.

Section Business Meeting: Friday, September 2, 1994, 5:30-6:30 p.m.

Our sections business meeting will be held on Friday. See the final APSA program for room location. This years Distinguished Scholar Award and Best Paper Award will be presented during the business meeting. Don't miss the surprises. Other important business will include the election of a new section chairperson and new council members, relocation of the section's checking account, and section projects.

Section Reception: Friday, September 2, 1994, 6:30-8:00 p.m.

The reception will follow immediately after the business meeting. Libations and other treats are complimentary.

Section Panels:

Thursday, 1:30 p.m.: 14-6 States and Localities in a changing Federal System.

Thursday, 3:30 p.m.: 14-3 Federalism in Post-Communist Societies

Friday, 1:30 p.m.: 14-4 Exploring Political Subcultures in the states

Friday, 3:30 p.m.: 14-9 Wildavsky and the Politics-Administration Dichotomy

Saturday, 8:45 a.m.: 14-8 The Issues of Divided Nations: International Status and Intergovernmental relations

Saturday, 1:30 p.m.: 14-7 State and Local Administration in a Federal System

Saturday, 3:30 P.M.: 14-2 National Standards vs. 'Competitive Decognition' in Federal Systems

Sunday, 8:45 a.m.: 14-5 A Europe of Regions?

Sunday, 10:45 a.m.: 14-1 The American County: Growth Determinant and Fiscal Challenges

Appreciation is due Michael A. Pagano for organizing this year's panels. The more panels that you attend, the more panels we will have in 1995.

Best Paper Award Nominations

Please feel free to nominate papers from the 1994 APSA meeting for our section's Best Paper Award.

Send nominations to Dr. Michael A. Pagano, Department of Political Science, 218 Harrison Hall, Miami University, Oxford, OH 45056. Telephone: (513) 529-2010; fax: (513) 529-6939.

Nominations for New Section Officers

Based on the nominations received from section members, the Nominations Committee, chaired by Richard L. Cole, recommends Sarah F. Liebschutz for section chairperson, and Robert Agranoff, Joseph Marbach, and G. Alan Yarr for section council seats. Membership voting on these nominations will take place at the section's business meeting on Friday, September 2.

1995 APSA Section Program Chairperson

Dr. Dale A. Krane will be responsible for organizing our section's 1995 APSA panels. If you wish to submit a paper or panel proposal or volunteer to serve as a panel chair or discussant, please contact Dale. His address is: Department of Public Administration, University of Nebraska, Omaha, NE 68182-0276. Telephone: (402) 554-2625; Fax: (402) 554-2682.

★ PLEASE NOTE ★

Our readers are encouraged to submit articles for publication in future issues of *The Federalism Report*. If you are interested in presenting an op-ed piece or have a research note that you would like to share with the scholarly community interested in federalism and intergovernmental issues, please contact the editor.

The deadline for the Fall issue is September 30, 1994.

If you are interested in advertising in *The Federalism Report*, we offer half-page ad space at a rate of \$50.00 per advertisement. The deadline for the Fall issue is September 30, 1994. Please pay when copy is submitted. If you have any questions regarding our advertisement policies, please contact The Center at (215) 294-1480.

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