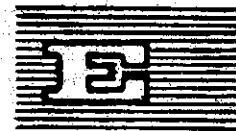


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29 June - 10 July 1964
Zaria, Northern Nigeria

(In conjunction with the Division for Public Administration, Department
of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations, and the Institute
of Administration, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, Northern Nigeria)

SEMINAR REPORT

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INTRODUCTION

This is the Report of the Seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities which was organized by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa with the collaboration of the Division for Public Administration of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs and the Institute of Administration, Zaria, Northern Nigeria.

The project originated from the Report of the Seminar on Urgent Administrative Problems of African Governments (E/CN.14/180 dated 18 December 1962), in particular Chapter VI on pages 50-52. Recommendations contained in the report were adopted by the Commission at its Fifth Session and were incorporated in the (corrected) Programme of Work and Priorities (E/CN.14/230/Corr.3) under project number PA-215.

The Government of Northern Nigeria, through the agency of the Institute of Administration of Ahmadu Bello University, acted as host to the Seminar, which was held at Zaria from 29 June to 10 July 1964, and provided secretarial facilities. This was the second of the regional seminars on Central Services to Local Authorities. The first was held in New Delhi in October-November 1963 under the co-sponsorship of the United Nations (ECAFE) and the EROPA Training Centre (the Indian Institute of Public Administration).

The purpose of the Seminar was to enable senior African officers concerned with the design, administration or improvement of local government to exchange experiences and to gain knowledge of relevant experience outside the African region; and drawing upon this fund of experience and knowledge to prepare a document for regional use on ways by which African Governments might increase the contributions and effectiveness of their local authorities towards social and economic development. The agenda was designed to focus attention and provide guidance on, in particular, the following: existing systems and concepts of Central-local government relations in Africa, central agencies and institutions at the national level (or in a federal system at the state or provincial level) dealing with local authorities, and the rôle of local government in community and economic development, with emphasis on planning, finance, personnel and training.

Each Member Government of ECA was invited to nominate two participants, the United Nations undertaking to pay the travel expenses and subsistence allowances during the Seminar of one nominee per country, providing he was suitably qualified. All the 17 countries which participated were represented at Zaria by senior officials from their Ministries of Local Government or of the Interior. Kenya, the Niger Republic, Northern Rhodesia, the UAR and the United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar each had two participants, the expenses of the second being borne by themselves. Nigeria, as host country, was strongly represented by seven officials from the four different regions and from Lagos. Representatives of the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Division for Public Administration at Headquarters, the International Union of Local Authorities (a non-governmental organization having consultative status with the United Nations) and the Ford Foundation also participated. There were observers from Britain, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. The total number of participants (excluding supporting staff) was 40. The names of all participants and co-ordinating, professional and administrative staff are given in Annex II.

The Seminar was formally opened by Alhaji Sule Gaya, Minister for Local Government of Northern Nigeria, with the Acting Vice-Chancellor of Ahmadu Bello University in the chair. At the opening session Alhaji Ado Bayero, M.H.C., Emir of Kano, was unanimously elected chairman of the plenary meetings with M. Abdou N'déné N'diaye, a Provincial Governor from Senegal, as vice-chairman. Two Seminar rapporteurs were elected, Mr. El Tayeb El Tahir, a Provincial Secretary from the Sudan, and M. Benoît Kidza, a senior officer of the Ministère d'Etat de l'Intérieur in Madagascar. Each of the two working committees had two rapporteurs also who were English and French-speaking likewise. This system worked very well and not only helped to eliminate misunderstandings, but also enabled differing concepts to be properly recorded in each language.

M. Goukoye Karimou, Commissaire Général à la Promotion Humaine, attached to the Presidency of the Niger Republic, was elected as chairman

of Committee A and Chief J.M. Beckley, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government of Western Nigeria and M. Alfred Bossou, Prefect of the Département du Sud-Est in Dahomey, were elected as joint rapporteurs. Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Osman, Director General of the Planning and Executive Programmes Department in the UAR Ministry of Local Administration, was elected chairman of Committee B with M. Pierre Henri Ngonde Fanguinoveny, Directeur des Services du Ministère de l'Intérieur of Gabon, and Mr. J.A. Dinwiddie, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Local Government of Northern Rhodesia, as rapporteurs of Committee B.

Mr. C.A.G. Wallis, O.B.E., Local Government Adviser to the Department of Technical Co-operation in London, served as Technical Secretary. Agenda items and relevant chapters of the draft discussion papers prepared by the Technical Secretary and others were assigned to each Committee. After detailed study and discussion revised drafts of these papers were prepared and reviewed in plenary sessions. To achieve the purposes of the Seminar also various other special papers and documents were presented both to provide background information and to serve as guidelines in the discussions.

The following documents were distributed in advance to participants:

"Central Services to Local Authorities", a Study prepared by the International Union of Local Authorities

Decentralization for National and Local Development (UN document ST/TAO/M/19)

Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes (UN document ST/TAO/M/14).

The Arabic, English and French - speaking countries of Africa were so well represented that the aim of making available different types of experience gained in a wide variety of conditions could hardly have been achieved more satisfactorily or in a more balanced way. In addition, all Governments which received invitations were asked to prepare a paper giving basic information about the local administration systems of their country, irrespective of whether or not they intended to be represented at the

Seminar. The outcome of this request was that 24 African countries (including the four separate regions of Nigeria) submitted papers containing a wealth of up-to-date material not previously available and much mutual benefit and interest were undoubtedly derived from the exchange of these papers at Zaria among the participants.

The Seminar ended on 10 July and before departing from Nigeria many of the participants were formally received by the Emir of Kano in his Palace, entertained to lunch and taken on a conducted tour of the city of Kano.

Finally, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa wishes to record its gratitude to the Government of Northern Nigeria both for its generous hospitality and for the excellent facilities at Zaria which were placed at the disposal of the Seminar participants.

I. SUMMARY OF THE DISCUSSIONS

1. Essentially there are only two logical forms of government, absolute dictatorship and direct democracy. Every other form which has been tried is more or less illogical, notwithstanding any ideological label which may be attached to it. Accepting this fact, the Seminar wasted no time in advocating or condemning particular forms of government, but concentrated on the broad purposes which all governments in Africa, of whatever type, have chiefly in mind today and on discussing the kind of administration which is most likely to bring these purposes to realization.
2. After two weeks of intensive discussion the members of the Seminar found themselves in complete agreement with the words which Mr. Robert K.A. Gardiner, Executive Secretary of E.C.A., used in his opening message, "better than anything else an intelligent policy of decentralization will serve the purposes which Africa's political leaders generally regard as most essential, namely political unity and economic development"
3. The official languages at the Seminar were French and English. For most participants these are second languages. It is not to be supposed therefore that unanimity was reached without some extremely difficult exercises in translation, for it was more than a case of finding verbal equivalents; institutional equivalents had also to be found and, where there were no equivalents, the differences had to be noted. Some account of these differences should be given in order to illuminate the summary of the main conclusions of the Seminar which is given later.
4. There is no French translation for the expression "local government"; it has to be re-phrased as "decentralized local administration." Conversely, the French word deconcentration as applied to local administration conveys no clear meaning when literally translated into English.
5. In terms of general administration there is in Britain a clear distinction between central government operating in and from the ministries and local government operating outside them. There is a line

between them drawn horizontally. By contrast, France stations general administrators (Prefects) outside the capital and establishes through them the direct authority of the central government throughout the country. The line between this form of local administration (déconcentration) and local government (décentralisation) is drawn not horizontally but vertically. Both exist in the same area.

6. The Prefect has a dual rôle. He is at once the agent of the State and the executive officer of a decentralized elected council covering the Département (province) to which he is posted. At a lower level the maire or chairman of the elected local council also has a dual function since, once he has been elected, he also becomes for certain purposes (for example, maintenance of public order) a state official subject to the instructions of the Prefect, not of his council. The relative importance of the two rôles in each case is reversed, the Prefect being primarily the representative of the State and the maire being primarily the representative of the local authority.

7. There is an important difference, too, in the location of executive power in local government. In the British system the council itself has the executive power. That is to say, it is responsible for seeing that its own decisions are carried out. The council's officers are therefore subordinate to it. It is an old saying, however, that though deliberation is the task of many, executive action is the task of one and the British position has led to the evolution of a relationship between the council and its officers which, though quite satisfactory, is complicated and hard to describe. In the French system the executive power of a local council is vested in its maire. It is he who directs the officers. This obviates the need for any special relationship between councillors and staff because the councillors' contact is only with the maire to whom they must address all questions relating to the use of his executive power. On the other hand, of course, it is much easier for the State to affect a course of action when the Prefect can deal informally with the maire instead of formally with the whole council.

8. These European concepts have been carried into African countries and have produced a partisan attachment to one form or the other which militates against a true assessment of their worth in African conditions. For example, the office of Prefect is accepted without question in most French-speaking countries, because it exists in France. The comparable office of Provincial Commissioner in English-speaking countries is suspect because it does not exist in Britain. Likewise, executive power is vested in the maire or chairman in the former countries, but in the council itself in the latter countries, with the result that these, the English-speaking countries, have found themselves faced with the formidable problem of having to establish quickly a working relationship between inexperienced councillors and staff who are as yet insufficiently trained.

9. Apart from the two large groups of countries which retain many of the French and British institutions which they inherited during colonial days, there are other countries in which different influences have been at work. Northern Nigeria, for example, has built on the ancient foundations of its own native authorities. The United Arab Republic has within the last few years worked out a system which contains elements drawn from no less than eight other countries. Ethiopia and Libya are only on the threshold of decentralization and are as yet uncommitted to any particular methods.

10. Bearing all these differences in mind, one can now attempt to summarize the main conclusions of the Seminar.

11. First of all, there was a feeling that local government in Africa ought now to assert its independence and cut loose from its countries of origin. If inherited French or British institutions and methods are suitable for the country in question, well and good, but if not, they should not be retained simply because they are French or British. Conversely, of course, they should not be rejected just for that reason. There is a great variety of local government systems in America and many

have origins in some European country, but they are no longer referred to as British, French, Dutch, German systems. They are all American systems.

12. Secondly, though still on the same subject, the Seminar thought that African Governments should look beyond their existing institutions and methods to discover what for them is the real reason for having local government. It was said that the real basis of local government in France was the Napoleonic passion for organization. In America, at least in some of the largest cities, it is based on business efficiency in the provision of services. In Britain, the present system is a modernized and rationalized version of an earlier system which was based on the idea of local autonomy or local self-government, as it was called. In none of these countries was it specially connected with development. Each African Government should therefore set out clearly in contemporary terms its own basis of local government. This is the point of the opening part of the chapter of recommendations.

13. Thirdly, the Seminar considered that if local authorities are to become useful agencies for development they must immediately be brought into development work at all possible points. Naturally, a sense of proportion must be retained. Local authorities will not be expected to execute large works themselves, but on the other hand even the largest national project will affect some local authorities at the fringes and they should not be excluded. It follows that central governments must develop a wide range of services to give local authorities the financial, technical, professional, legal, organizational and other forms of assistance they need. It also follows that local authorities for their part must not lay too much stress on "local autonomy", but should learn to appreciate the benefits they may derive from working in close collaboration with the central government.

14. Fourthly, the Seminar recognized that the development of towns and the development of rural areas were badly out of step, but they had no

clear ideas what should be done about the problem and had to content themselves with recommending further study of all the administrative aspects of urbanization.

15. Fifthly, there was a question which affected countries of the British tradition more than it affected those of the French tradition. Members from the former group of countries protested that the classical doctrine that officials should be politically impartial was in some cases losing its significance and in other cases was being wrongly interpreted, so that not impartiality but complete political silence was being demanded of them. This was often destructive of good relations between elected councillors and staff and consequently hampered the work of local authorities. Examination of this question showed that it might be connected with the location of executive power in local government. Much greater freedom to express their political feelings is allowed to officials in countries where there is a separation of executive from deliberative, that is, policy-making powers, than in countries where deliberative and executive powers are both vested in the same elected council. The Seminar thought that one approach to a solution of this very real political problem might be to look for its origin rather than at its symptoms.

16. Sixthly, the Seminar demanded training for local government on an ever-increasing scale. It should embrace not only the professionalization of the staff, but the instruction of elected councillors in the way a council works and equally the enlightenment of the public.

17. Seventhly and lastly, the Seminar gave much thought to the problem of civil status. This appears in the recommendations as the problem of registering births, marriages and deaths and it is discussed in the body of the report under references to statistics. It is, however, much more than a statistical problem because with increasing mobility it is vitally important for good administration that every person should be able to prove his or her civil status by an internationally accepted document.

18. The report which follows is an attempt to set out some of the consequences of these opinions for the use of those whose business it is to make African local government work effectively in a modern context.

The report is divided into three main parts. The first part deals with the general principles which should guide the development of local government in Africa. The second part deals with the specific problems of local government in Africa. The third part deals with the recommendations for the improvement of local government in Africa.

The first part deals with the general principles which should guide the development of local government in Africa. It is based on the following principles:

- (a) Local government should be based on the principle of self-help.
- (b) Local government should be based on the principle of participation.
- (c) Local government should be based on the principle of decentralization.
- (d) Local government should be based on the principle of efficiency.
- (e) Local government should be based on the principle of equity.

The second part deals with the specific problems of local government in Africa. It is based on the following problems:

- (a) Lack of resources.
- (b) Lack of personnel.
- (c) Lack of training.
- (d) Lack of experience.
- (e) Lack of motivation.

The third part deals with the recommendations for the improvement of local government in Africa. It is based on the following recommendations:

- (a) Increase resources.
- (b) Increase personnel.
- (c) Increase training.
- (d) Increase experience.
- (e) Increase motivation.

II. EXISTING SYSTEMS OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CONCEPTS OF CENTRAL/LOCAL RELATIONS

Introductory

19. The internal organization of states increases in complexity with the extent of their territories and the size of their populations, and with the development of their various economic and social activities. This complexity results in the establishment of organic structures on the one hand as a medium for exercising supreme direction and control and, on the other hand, as a medium for administrative action. The first of these structures, springing usually from a political origin, constitutes the policy-making powers and is normally divided into legislative and executive organs. The second is subordinate to the first and is charged with the tasks of the preparation and application of policy: it constitutes the "administration". Only rarely can such structures be established in one central place corresponding to the national community. For this reason other patterns of organization are sought after, among which we may note a wide range of differences from the division of the territory into administrative districts, which correspond to the zones of action of representatives of the central power, to the creation of local government units endowed with characteristic agencies upon which are devolved powers which are distinct from those exercised by the State.

20. The internal organization of states increases in complexity with their territories and the size of their populations, and with the development of their various economic and social activities.

20. Local government can convey different ideas to different people: that is why this report at the outset seeks to give some precision to the idea, in order to make as concrete as possible the following discussions on the various aspects of the main theme, central services to local authorities. In English, local government is an abstract expression used to describe a system. The individual units of local government are referred to as local authorities.

it constitutes the "administration". Only rarely can such structures be established in one central place corresponding to the national community. For this reason other patterns of organization are sought after, among which we may note a wide range of differences from the

A local authority means a unit of government possessing the following attributes:

- (a) jurisdiction over a defined and inhabited area;
- (b) a separate statutory existence with a separate budget and at least some degree of financial independence;
- (c) power to perform tasks relating to local affairs; and
- (d) a local organ of administration which is separate from the central government and enjoys a measure of independence from the centre, especially where it is composed of elected members.

Such local authorities can be set up at one or more levels, such as village, town or provincial levels.

21. In no country represented at this seminar is administration conducted wholly from the capital city by civil servants stationed in that city. There is no need to elaborate the reasons; they are summed up in an old proverb: a ruler may govern from afar but he can only administer from close at hand. All governments therefore divide the country into areas for local administration and post their officials to field stations where they can provide public services in the manner best adapted to local conditions. This is still, however, centralized local administration because the officials are the direct agents of the central government and serve the purposes of the central government. Any powers they may have to make decisions of policy are delegated to them by their official superiors.

22. Local administration is said to be decentralized when powers are not delegated but devolved. The difference between delegation and devolution is that in the former case the government does not deprive itself of any of its powers but merely grants a measure of discretion to its local officials; whereas in the second case the government actually transfers some of its powers by legal process to a person or body of persons. To put it another way, in delegating power the government retains the initiative: in devolving power the government parts with the initiative to another body, but retains the right to control that body.

23. Usually the reason for devolving power is to enable local communities to manage their own affairs through organs vested with appropriate powers and whose members are not in principle civil servants. Such a body has to be given a legal personality in order to receive and exercise the devolved powers: it must therefore be established either by the constitution or by legislation. Where it is desired to cover the whole country with a network of local authorities, and some areas are not sufficiently developed to permit the establishment of a suitable council, the device is sometimes used of appointing an administrator, who is not necessarily a civil servant, to be the local authority under the law. An advisory council may then be placed alongside the administrator and his powers may be progressively delegated to it, until the council gains enough experience to be given the statutory powers direct. The administrator may then be withdrawn. This can be a useful educative method.

Problems arising from the existence of traditional institutions

24. In the cases of both delegation and devolution it is implicit that the totality of State powers lies at the centre, for it seems self-evident that nothing can be decentralized which has not first been centralized. Nevertheless, this is not always completely true in practice. Prior to the creation of central governments there were in several African countries local communities, usually of a tribal or ethnic nature, which had been accustomed to manage their own affairs without regard to any higher authority. Governments, wishing on the one hand to assert their sovereign authority and on the other hand to derive administrative advantage from the existence of these communities, have often allowed them to retain such customary powers as are compatible with modern administrative practice.

25. Discussion of this point would be incomplete without at least some reference to the systems of native administration as practised by administering powers (colonial governments) or inspired by them. Both

the French and the British, in attempting to develop the services of a modern administration, found that the tribal leaders were the only means of communication between the government and the people. They therefore imposed upon these leaders, sometimes individually, sometimes in council, in addition to the powers which were or were believed to be theirs by virtue of custom, a number of new powers which were entirely modern and not customary at all. This pragmatic approach was later rationalized, particularly in British colonies, into a system (almost indeed a philosophy) known as "indirect rule". In the context of this report the issue is whether the native authorities were truly local authorities or whether they were projections of central administration, that is, whether they were decentralized or centralized organs of local administration. A little of both perhaps but the argument has become academic since in the meantime the native authority statutes have almost everywhere been repealed and the native authority councils have either been transformed into or have been replaced by local authorities of a modern kind.

26. Even so, a legal fiction has in some cases been used to maintain the notion of centralization prior to decentralization. In Northern Nigeria, to take one example, the law in addition to devolving specific powers allows the native authorities to continue to exercise the unspecified powers which are inherent in them by virtue of native law and custom.

27. By such means even the immemorial powers which existed long before the establishment of central governments have been brought under the control of a statute and the exercise of these powers has been subjected to statutory procedure. In this sense even these powers may be said to have been first centralized and then decentralized.

Statutory basis of local government

28. The present situation is perhaps best summed up in the saying, "local authorities are entirely creatures of statute". It is their separate

legal personality which distinguishes them from officials exercising a delegated power, since the latter have no legal personality and exercise whatever powers they may have by virtue of the administrative instructions of their official superiors.

Common Features

29. The elements of local government which are common to a large part of Africa are now described in general terms. An area is chosen as suitable for local government after consideration of criteria which include population, geographic factors, community of interest, resources and the characteristics of the services to be provided. All the inhabitants of this area are considered simply as residents and not as members of any racial, religious or tribal community. If the population is too large for the operation of direct democracy, a council representative of the residents is chosen, not necessarily, be it noted, elected. The chairman of the council is elected or appointed. The duty of promoting the well-being of the residents is imposed by law on the council. To this end the council is given powers to levy a local tax, to pass bye-laws with penalties attached and to raise loans for development.

Variations

30. In the British type system the local authority is required to regulate its procedure in an orderly manner, to prepare an annual budget, to keep accounts and to submit to external audit. It may only do what the law specifically authorizes it to do: the doctrine of ultra vires is applied. New powers can only be acquired by application to the central government. The council of the local authority is itself executive as well as deliberative: that is to say, it is responsible for carrying out its own decisions and may employ administrative and technical staff for this purpose. There is normally no regional official of the state with the powers of general tutelage over local authorities, although certain of their activities are subject to inspection by officers of the relevant

ministries. Also, when there are proved malpractices, an officer of the central government may be appointed to take over complete control.

31. In the French type system the local government law allows the local authority to do anything which is not prohibited by that or any other law. There is a separation of executive from deliberative power and the former power is exercised not by the council but by one elected person (maire) or by a state official. Supervision is exercised either by the central government or by its field representative.

32. Some Arabic speaking and other countries, to suit their own conditions and possibilities, have adopted systems of local government which contain elements drawn from a number of different countries.

Central relations with field administration

33. The question of central/local relations in respect of field administration can be disposed of quickly. The members of the field administration, medical officers, agricultural officers, and the like, exercise, as has been said, powers which are delegated to them by their respective ministers. Each officer, in respect of policy matters, is really the minister acting locally. Relations therefore are the ordinary ones of senior with subordinate officers in the hierarchy of the administrative structure.

Central relations with local authorities

34. It is when powers are devolved upon truly decentralized local authorities that relations become complicated and often obscure. Powers which have been devolved, that is legally transferred, are exercised thereafter as of right by the authority on which they have been devolved. When local government is both efficient and firmly based on society this doctrine is not questioned by the central government. African governments in general, however cannot yet adopt this unquestioning attitude: they must still carefully consider the value of local government as an

agency for development and as an aid to the creation of a consciousness of national unity. Local authorities themselves are beset by difficulties caused by shortage of qualified staff, illiteracy, ill-health, poor communications, climatic conditions and problems arising from changes in the traditional society. There are also the dangers of corruption while central governments, for their part, can be intolerant of local non-conformists. In addition, there are two practical complications which more particularly affect the British type local authority. The first occurs when, owing to the inability of a local authority to obtain its own qualified staff, certain field officers of the education, agriculture or other ministry act also for the local authority. In this situation there can be considerable areas of overlapping authority. The second occurs when the central government wants to employ a local authority as its agent for certain purposes, for example, to construct a section of a new road. Here, because of imperfect understanding of the difference between delegated agency powers and truly devolved powers, central/local relations are much less straightforward than in the situation described in the preceding paragraph.

35. All these factors can diminish the efficiency of local authorities and prevent them from exercising their rights to the full. Their combined effect has often provoked governments into taking measures of excessive centralization, thus further undermining the basis of local government. Although central services to local authorities must necessarily include supervision of their activities, the correct balance is difficult to find. Stable local government is essential for rapid development but itself depends upon freedom from ill-considered and capricious decisions of the central government.

36. There can therefore be no doubt that central/local relations should be based on some consistent theory, but this theory must be constructed by each country for itself, drawing upon the theories of other countries as much as is necessary, but never merely copying them. It is very useful for the purpose of general understanding if the resultant theory

can be presented in the shape of a concise formula or concept. The problem is to decide what this concept should be. The concepts of the master and servant or the employer and employee relationship are not relevant. The concept of the principal and agent relationship has only a secondary relevance as mentioned previously in paragraph 34. The concept most commonly used at present is the relationship between senior and junior partner, but even this is scarcely correct because it conveys the idea of two people sitting in a single office and dealing with the same subject matter. What is wanted is a new concept which will convey more clearly the idea of two authorities which operate from different headquarters and deal autonomously with similar, not the same subjects, where one is nevertheless subject, in one way or another, to the ultimate authority of the other.

III. CENTRAL AGENCIES DEALING WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Central agencies:

37. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that central services to local authorities must include not only help given to them but also the supervision of their activities. The term central agency should be broadly interpreted to embrace governmental and non-governmental agencies at the national and, in the federal systems, state level. It therefore includes not only central government agencies but also such agencies as voluntary associations of local authorities, institutions for local government training and provincial or regional councils that provide services to local authorities.

38. If this inclusive definition is accepted, the following is a list of agencies which exist in Africa:

- (a) a ministry or at least a central department wholly dedicated to the operation of local government;
- (b) other ministries, for example, health, education, works;
- (c) field agents of ministries;
- (d) general area administrators, for example, prefects, governors, commissioners;
- (e) provincial or regional councils;
- (f) local loans boards;
- (g) local service commissions;
- (h) associations of local authorities;
- (i) associations of local authority staff;
- (j) schools and institutes of administration;
- (k) political parties;
- (l) other central boards or institutions.

39. The organizational arrangements for services rendered by these agencies must, of course, be adapted to the circumstances of each country, since administration has to be carried out in real, not imaginary,

situations. Nevertheless, the nature and work of the agencies will be better understood if some description is first given of the general conditions in which they have to operate.

40. Although the systems of local government differ between African countries there are marked similarities even among those deriving from the British and French systems. African countries are also borrowing increasingly from one another and from the world at large. Moreover, the central services that local authorities require are very similar despite differences in systems of local government. Yet with few exceptions (e.g. Northern Nigeria), the systems of local government which are being practised at present in Africa are not indigenous growths but have been designed from the centre. Local government was imported into Africa from Europe in quite recent times by the policy-makers of the central governments. In principle, it was seen to be one of the essential institutions of government in all developed countries: in practice, it was seen to be a better foundation for the close and intensive administration, which would be necessary in Africa in a era of rapid development, than either an extended tribal organization or a vastly expanded central bureaucracy which were the only other choices available. It was also viewed emotionally from the nationalist standpoint as making a break with the former colonial type of administration.

41. There is, however, a limit to what one country can borrow from another. To illustrate, the laws, regulations and outward organization may easily be understood and reproduced. By contrast it is much less easy to understand the unwritten conventions which supplement the written law and still harder to reproduce them in a different environment. For, in general, they are the outcome of attitudes of mind and habits of behaviour formed over tens and hundreds of years in a particular society. Local government must be firmly based on the social life of the people, otherwise it will be unstable, as indeed it is in much of Africa for lack of just this essential base. It is not yet a movement of the people.

42. To make a system of local government work, while at the same time striving to make it a popular movement, is primarily the task of the central agencies, a sufficiently practical task from one point of view, but from another point of view a task that demands the qualities of vision and patience in those who establish these agencies and those who operate them. They must have a clear idea of their goal, for in the short run not only is local government under constant attack by impatient politicians or officials, who may see it as an obstacle drawn horizontally across the country to bar them from direct access to the people, but also the early local authorities themselves may fail in their tasks.

43. Their goal is to make local authorities effective instruments for enlisting the full participation of the people in national and local development. The process is unending and cannot be hurried. There can be no finality, only constant effort and constant vigilance.

44. It is against this background of the ideal and the practical that the work of each of the central agencies is now briefly examined.

The Ministry of Local Government

45. In the circumstances which have been described the establishment and nurture of local government calls for positive, concentrated attention at the highest level of government. This concentration is not possible without a separate ministry of local government. If there is only a department of local government joined with other departments in a comprehensive ministry, the minister has to divide his attention between local government and a number of other activities. Some combinations appear to make little sense in terms of practical administration, for example, a ministry of local government, lands and mines. A more sensible arrangement is for a department of local government to be combined with a department which deals with one of the main activities of local authorities, say health, housing, or education: but this can lead to the particular dominating the general. Better still, therefore,

is to combine local government with another general subject such as home affairs or community development. These are in some cases included with local government in the Ministry of the Interior. Best of all is, as has been said, to have a separate Ministry at least during the formative period of local government.

46. Where urban and rural local government have been combined in the same ministry, some countries have found that the problems of rural authorities tend to receive less attention than their due, because of the urgency of urban problems. However, where they have been placed in separate ministries, the reason was usually historical. In colonial territories a European form of local government was introduced at an early date and without question into certain of the larger towns which were themselves mainly of a European rather than of an African character. When local government was introduced into the rural areas, much later and as a conscious act of policy, it was mainly thought of as a development of "native" administration, and was therefore placed in charge of the department or ministry of native or African affairs. There was in consequence little cross-breeding between town and country. Local government is, however, essentially the same in towns and in rural areas: the difference is one of degree rather than of kind. It is a matter of observation that ideas about local government spread from the towns to the rural areas and not from the rural areas to the towns. Some members felt that the interdependence of the town and its rural environs could with benefit lead to the formation of one authority for the two areas, while others considered that the problem of acceptable representation for both areas in one council was almost insuperable. It was generally agreed that there was a need for a comparative study of the relationship between urban and rural local government.

47. The following list indicates the range of duties which the ministry responsible for local government may have to undertake in developing countries in co-operation and consultation with other ministries concerned:

- (a) The formulation of general policy to create and foster an atmosphere favourable to the healthy growth of local government. This can be achieved by advising and guiding local authorities in the solution of their problems, as well as by representing their interests and aspirations at central government level.
- (b) The co-ordination of services to local authorities rendered by technical departments and other ministries, especially where there are proposals which depart from established policy.
- (c) The preparation of legislation both principal and subsidiary.
- (d) The exercise of administrative control in such matters as defining and demarcating areas, jurisdictions and boundaries of local authorities, or delimiting election districts.
- (e) The formulation of administrative procedures, e.g. for conducting elections, employment of staff, the making of contracts and purchase of stores.
- (f) The exercise of statutory control of local authorities by approval of estimates, audit of accounts, conducting enquiries.
- (g) The formulation of financial procedures, e.g. for the preparation of estimates, accounting practice and for retirement benefit schemes.
- (h) The provision of legal, financial and technical advice to local authorities on such subjects as housing and town planning.
- (i) The assurance, in so far as practicable, of adequate finances for local authorities by suggesting and advising on methods of improving and administering the sources of local revenue, and through grants, subsidies and loans.
- (j) The making of arrangements for training of local government staff and councillors.
- (k) The conduct or sponsorship or research.
- (l) The preparation of reports on the progress of local government, evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and advising local authorities on methods of improving them.

This list is not exhaustive but will serve to illustrate the sort of work that is being done today by various ministries responsible for local government.

Other ministries

48. Very close co-operation is needed between the Ministry of Local Government and other ministries. The latter often develop plans without adequate, consultation with the former and, as a result, expect more of local authorities than they can handle. There is no question regarding the vital services that other ministries can render to local authorities but it is debatable to what extent other ministries should deal direct with them. In some cases they do, but in other cases communication is conducted both ways through the ministry of local government and its local agents. In the latter event, as services become more numerous and more technically complicated, the ministry of local government might be compelled to add to its own staff specialist officers for education, health, works and so on and there might be a tendency for it to grow into a government within a government. On the other hand, if, say, the education ministry deals direct with local authorities, two difficulties may arise. The officials of the local authority may not at present be sufficiently well qualified to hold their own in professional argument with the officials of the education ministry; and, secondly, the ministry may actually obstruct the devolution of its own powers, whatever the law may say. The reverse arrangement, of the secondment of officers from technical ministries to provide specialist advice in the Ministry of Local Government, has objections because of the possible conflict of ministerial policies. There can be no hard and fast rule about this but arrangements will vary according to the maturity of local government as a whole and of the capacities of individual local authorities. The general pattern should be that all policy and financial matters are conducted through the Ministry of Local Government. As a matter of practice in some countries, including most of the English-

speaking countries, communications on technical or detailed matters within established policy are conducted direct between other ministries and local authorities.

Field agents of ministries

49. There is always the possibility of jurisdictional conflict between the local officers of a ministry and the local authority of the area to which they are posted. It arises where the responsibility of field agents of technical ministries intersects the more general responsibility of the local authority. Where different ministries use different operational areas, the conflict will be greatest. This is simply a statement of a problem which can only be solved by co-ordination, a word which can never be kept out of any discussion about public administration.

General area administrators:

50. One way of achieving co-ordination is to place the local officers of the ministries under the local command of a general administrator who is also the officer responsible for dealing on behalf of the central government as a whole with the local authorities in the area. In logic there is little to criticize in this method, yet it has not been practised everywhere, perhaps because of a feeling that it is too rigid and formal, without leaving discretion to the good sense of the people concerned, who, it is said, if left alone will achieve co-ordination by informal means. The formal and informal methods derive from French and British theory respectively. Thus the district commissioner in the former British colonies was never accorded the legal status and powers of a French Prefect. Even so, his office has been abolished in most of the newly independent countries, mainly because of emotional antipathies to a particular office peculiar to the colonial system of government. The disappearance of the office, however, did not mean that the need for the functions of the office likewise disappeared, so it is being recreated in several countries usually with a much greater political content than before.

Other local authorities:

51. Sometimes local government services are divided between a major local authority operating over a certain area and one or more minor local authorities each operating over only a part of that area. If the minor authorities are placed in administrative subordination to the major authority, it will mean that they can only communicate with the central government through the major authority. Again local authorities may join together to establish a joint committee to administer a particular service over the combined area. Some countries too have established regional or provincial councils mid-way between local government as a whole and the central government. In such cases the regional or provincial council is an agency external to and acting upon all local authorities in the area, including major ones.

Local loans boards:

52. Very soon after a local authority has been established it finds that it cannot accumulate sufficient capital out of budget surpluses to undertake the capital works necessary for the development of the services for which it has been made responsible. It will then need to borrow money but has no access or is not allowed any access to the capital market. In these circumstances central governments are the only source of supply and many governments have already established a procedure for issuing loans: some have set up a semi-autonomous board to administer it. The Government usually primes the loan fund with a substantial amount of money and this fund can be increased by aggregating part of the various reserve funds of individual local authorities which are not under immediate call. The fund is intended to be self-supporting and the loans are of course serviced by amounts appropriated in the annual budgets of the borrowing authorities. The establishment of a local authority loans board is very necessary but care should be taken in its organization and operation to avoid the intervention of politics in the management of the board.

Local service commissions:

53. In a number of countries where the staff of local authorities are organized on a separate basis from the staff of central government, independent commissions have been established to watch over the recruitment and conditions of employment of the local government service. This subject is considered again in Chapter VII.

Associations of local authorities:

54. Associations of local authorities can be of great value to local authorities by representing their interests and by providing common services. They are sometimes said to represent employers in local government in contrast with the staff associations which represent the employees. This is not the correct antithesis, however, because what they really represent is the policy-making side of local government. As such, their merit is that they can present to the central government a broad view of local government seen from the inside. Moreover, the government can consult them about the effect of any proposed measures upon local authorities. This makes it easier for both sides to avoid special pleading. If separate associations are formed for different classes of local authority, for example, urban, rural, major or minor, care must be taken lest they become unduly competitive among themselves. It will be better to postpone the establishment of such associations until a real need is felt for them. However, where there is need the central government should assist materially until they can support themselves. The associations should not, of course, duplicate services provided by the central government.

Associations of local authority staff:

55. These are to be distinguished from societies to promote the interests of members of a particular profession, for example, engineering, medicine or the law. Local authorities employ representatives of several professions and a much larger number of non-professional staff all of whom,

however, have a common interest in the fact of their being employed by local authorities. The main activity in the early years of a staff association will be of a trade union nature, that is, to increase the status of its members and to improve their conditions of service. When these matters are taken care of by a local service commission the staff association will be able to devote its attention to establishing welfare and educational services for its members.

Schools and institutes of administration:

56. Almost every country has one or more schools of administration and usually an institute as well. These are discussed again in Chapter VII. They are an outcome of the belief that much of the technique of administration can be taught not only to staff but also to councillors.

Political parties:

57. Local authorities are political bodies. To the extent that they are elected it is idle to suppose that they can be insulated from politics and illogical to suppose that they should be. In the pre-independence phase in some African countries it was natural for political parties born of nationalism to oppose the local government institutions of the government of that period. After the advent of independence they were often slow to re-orient themselves to the changed circumstances which required the support of the parties to build up efficient local government. Their inexperience of local government procedures sometimes results in unfortunate interference with the technical staff of local authorities. On the other hand, their assistance can be very effective in ensuring the direct participation of the people in local administration and in mobilizing political support of development activities initiated by the local authority. Although political partisanship can play a beneficial role in local government by activating and educating otherwise apathetic and backward communities, sometimes in Africa, unfortunately, political partisanship has been destructive of sound

administration. Political differences which ought more properly to have been expressed at the national level have been brought down to local level and have interfered with decisions about such practical matters as for example, the siting of a school. Political partisanship may even make a local authority unworkable. In the single party State, the object of the party is to ensure that the local authority does not deviate from the party policy and to encourage the development of different forms of participation of the population in local affairs. In such a state a local authority may be free from the undignified squabbles of rival parties. On the other hand, and especially when the party is indistinguishable from the State, there is the obvious danger that the local authority from a political point of view may become no more than a party cell and from an administrative point of view may become no more than an agent of the central government. In one form or another politics has sometimes penetrated local government in Africa for purposes other than those which may be beneficial. Where the situation deteriorates beyond recovery a remedy may only be found in the dissolution of the council and its temporary replacement in whole or in part by some appropriate method.

IV. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Its origin

58. An undeveloped country is one in which people are to a great extent at the mercy of their environment. They make a poor attempt to control it and adapt themselves as best they may. This often includes deifying the rain and the wind and other natural forces as a justification of men's submission to them. A developing country is one in which a start has been made by some to master the environment. A developed country, however, is not one where nothing remains to be done, but one where most of the people can recognize a new problem and, moreover, know what steps should be taken and by whom, if it is to be solved. The characteristic of an undeveloped country is a subsistence economy: few people are affected by development and a money economy is not firmly established. The characteristic of a developed country is an exchange economy which affects everyone: money is all important for development but cannot be extended beyond its face value. The characteristic of a developing country is that large numbers of people are still free to give personal service, if they are willing, and thus to make a substantial addition to the face value of money available for development.

59. The majority of the people in many African countries have scarcely yet moved out of a subsistence economy. To judge the level of development by measuring the national income per person has little meaning outside statistical tables, for it takes no account of distribution; vast numbers of people have no cash income at all. The problems of development are, therefore, social and political as well as economic. Quality is necessary as well as quantity. Quality is reflected in such things as the possibility of general education and professional training, security of employment, medical care, pensions and, more generally, human rights^{1/}.

^{1/} See Bulletin of Inter-African Labour Institute. CCTA, November 1963. Article by Professor Neuman, President of the Belgian National Investment Society.

It can be said that money is no less necessary for qualitative development than it is for quantitative development and that the social reformers must wait for their money until large scale physical developments are producing a sufficient accumulation of resources. This seemed to be an inexorable law but, as often, necessity proved to be the mother of invention and the doctrine of community development was born.

Its nature

60. Community development is both a new agency and a new technique of development. Yet "probably the most common error, and perhaps the most unfortunate, repeated in country after country, has been the false assumption that the end purpose of community development is material improvements. Physical improvements are an inevitable and essential part of community development. However, these improvements are not to be regarded as ends in themselves, but simply as instruments of stimulation that are used as part of a broad process of helping people to establish for themselves a participating, problem solving society in which the chief concern is the dignity and well-being of individuals"^{1/}.

61. Community development in Africa still suffers from those who look upon it, as the saying goes, as no more than a poor man's public works department. On the other hand, it also suffers from those who, disregarding realities, have the vision of "a great leap forward" of whole populations. This has not happened and, if it did, it could not be sustained. The rational aim of community development is, as Poston more moderately expresses it, "a participating, problem-solving society". Participating means co-operating with central and local government in both the planning and execution of all improvements, and it implies that the people have confidence in their government at all levels. Problem-solving means taking the initiative to identify whatever is wrong or lacking and then doing something about it.

^{1/} R.W. Poston. Democracy speaks many tongues, 1962, page 185.

Contact with Government

62. To do something one must know not only what to do but how to do it. It has always been the custom in Africa for people to help one another in their private activities like clearing the land or building a house; but it is only recently that this community self-help has been extended to public projects such as the creation of new services and amenities. This is the point where government must step in because of its ultimate responsibility for all public affairs. It must provide equipment and technical skill for community projects which otherwise could not be brought to completion. It must arrange to maintain whatever has been created. It must do both these things in such a way as to encourage initiative without committing itself to greater maintenance costs than it can afford. This is another way of saying that the administrative aspects of community development must never be left out of account.

63. The first point of contact between community development and government should be at the lowest level where a government institution exists. This may be either a local authority or an administrative division of the central government. If both exist in the same area, it is probably better for the contact to be made with the local authority. But here there can be an administrative problem. Local government and community development are both dealing with the same subjects in the same area. Yet they are both in the early stages of expansion and the question is how their further expansion should be regulated. Are they to grow in parallel, never meeting? Will they meet and merge? Will the one prevail and the other die out?

64. Local government and community development have complementary functions, but in many respects they have different characteristics. A local authority is a statutory body with power to tax and power to make decisions which have the force of law. Community development is a voluntary movement and any sanctions, other than the pressure of community opinion, would destroy it. Again, local government operates over a fixed area and over all the residents in that area; community development

may operate over any part of that area and any of the residents even in that part may opt out. It might seem, therefore, that the two are of a different nature and in a sense this is true.

65. Nevertheless, they depend on each other. Although material improvements may be not the most important aim of properly conducted community development, it would be too theoretical to argue that they can afterwards be neglected. In the aggregate they amount to a considerable capital investment which it would be folly not to maintain. They must usually, therefore, be taken over for maintenance by the local authority. It is also to the local authority that community development will normally look for the help with materials and technical advice which must be available when it is required. Thus community development needs local government.

66. Local government also needs community development. Nothing is more depressing to an actor than to perform in an empty theatre. Local government likewise needs the support of a participating and co-operative public which it is not always able, as yet, to create for itself, partly because it has been imposed from above, partly because the boundaries of many local authorities extend beyond the limits of naturally cohesive communities and sometimes, it must be admitted, because through corruption and other abuses many have forfeited their chances of ever winning public confidence.

The way ahead

67. At the present stage then local government and community development are not the same thing but their interdependence is highly advantageous for general development on the broadest possible front. People who live in communities have an obligation to serve their communities and it is the task of community development not only to arouse a sense of this obligation but also to make it effective. However, as public works and services become more elaborate and more technically complicated, it ceases to be possible for them to be run on the basis of personal service. The citizen must then commute his service by a cash payment to a public

organization, usually in the form of a tax paid to the local authority. At the same time the citizen himself will have become a specialized worker and will not be able to take time off from his trade or profession to give personal service. There is no fixed point of time at which this happens. It is just a normal tendency but little by little the local authority must take over public works from community development. This in the long run will limit community development to cultural and social activities.

68. If this forecast is true, and although it may seem that at present both can be backed to the limit, it is important that policy-makers should prepare for the time when community development will vacate the field of public works in favour of local government. Community development, therefore, should not be allowed to compete with local government in the field of public works. It is the best possible means of filling gaps at present, but as soon as competition sets in the balance must be tilted in favour of local government. It has been said in paragraphe 60 that community development is both a technique and an agency. As a technique it has permanent value, but care must be taken that as an agency it does not compete with normal government institutions. In particular, the proper development of local government could be delayed if there were a too powerful separate agency of community development existing side by side with it.

69. Meanwhile, administrative action should be in line with this probable development. The central government must of course frame general policy; it must employ officers qualified in the special techniques of community development and it must be responsible for training. But as far as possible it should deal with community development groups through the local authority, especially channelling grants this way and freeing the local authority to the greatest possible extent in its own relations with the groups, for example, by allowing it to operate a special fund outside the controls which are applied to the ordinary budgetary process.

70. The local authority for its part must, as has already been said, have a direct interest in what projects are started, if it is to ensure that the equipment, the technical staff and the necessary funds for their completion and future maintenance are available. This results in the peculiar exercise of trying to plan for the unpredictable. It can indeed only be done if, as has been suggested, the local authority is itself allowed a wider discretion than is normal. All the same it calls for great administrative ingenuity, for community projects can be killed just as dead by too much help as by too little. The government can render a most useful service by sending officials of the central government to give advice. The grouping together within a single institution of the government's different responsibilities towards local authorities and towards community development is well worth considering.

71. This chapter assumes that the broad purpose of central government, of local government and of community development is the same, namely, to develop the country socially and culturally (i.e. qualitatively) as well as economically (i.e. quantitatively).

V. PLANNING

Introductory

72. Planning is essential for national and local development. Almost all African governments have national plans and national planning agencies. The central government must take the lead in planning but must develop methods for involving local communities in the planning process. Moreover, local planning for economic and social development, especially in rapidly growing urban areas, should be hastened as rapidly as possible.

National plans are, of course, more than the sum total of local community plans, for they must also include overall development measures. There may be some conflict between national and local priorities in planning and these must be resolved. In some countries, these difficulties are resolved at regional level.

The annual revenue budget of local authorities

73. Every local authority is a planning authority in the sense that it is tied either by law or by practice to an annual revenue budget. The planning period, however, is longer than one year for it includes the period during the previous year when the policy decisions are taken and estimates prepared and the period during the succeeding year when there is stocktaking, evaluation and audit of accounts. One planning period may overlap the next, but whatever the time span, the revenue budget is effective over one year only and the figures must be precise because the budget is the means for fixing the amount of the local tax.

74. In some African countries capital expenditure is included in the revenue budget. The effect of this is that new works which may have a life of several years are nevertheless paid for by the taxpayers of one year. Cases have been observed where more than half the revenue has been allocated to new capital works with the result that there is not enough left to maintain existing services properly and the further result that no provision is made to cover the future costs of maintaining the new works. This practice is not only unfair; it is also inefficient in

the long run. Various rules have been introduced as a corrective, e.g. a ceiling may be set to the proportion of the revenue budget which may be devoted to capital expenditure; or the rule may be that no single item of capital expenditure may cost more than a fixed sum.

The annual capital budget

75. By now, however, most local authorities are financing capital expenditure by borrowing and are preparing an annual capital budget separate from the revenue budget. It is only the reflection of the capital budget which appears in the revenue budget in the form of service charges for the loans. Although the figures must again be precise because it is an annual budget, the capital budget does not carry the same general authority as the revenue budget to incur expenditure: each item must usually be the subject of a separate ad hoc vote.

The development budget

76. As development gathers momentum and speed, the need is felt for a scheme of capital expenditure planned over a period of several years instead of just one year. It is the role of local authorities in this long-term planning that is the subject of this chapter.

77. Although a long-term plan can be no more than a statement of intentions and the estimates cannot be as precise as they must be in the annual budget, it must be as realistic as possible or it is no plan. It cannot be prepared as a theoretical exercise because this would be to leave out of account two concrete and very human factors. The first is that development must eventually be paid for by increased taxes drawn somehow from the people and free people will only continue to pay increased taxes for something they believe in or at least accept. The second is that the general direction of development is determined by political thinking and this can fluctuate from time to time. Considerable importance is attached to the continuity of the national plan. Wide consultation and recognition of the need for projects is therefore necessary so that at least the main elements of the plan will weather changes of government.

78. Various views were expressed on the question whether planning should start "from below" or "from the top down". Ideally, initiative in planning should be taken simultaneously at national and local levels. The plans of central government should provide useful guides in local planning. Similarly, national and regional plans should take account of local interests and needs. It was generally agreed that in countries in the early stages of development planning must inevitably start at the top because, owing to lack of qualified staff, there may be difficulty in getting much planning from below. Local authorities should, in any case, be informed about national plans and consulted on those aspects affecting them. The government should train local leaders and staff in planning techniques and encourage the development of community plans.

79. There was no agreement on the optimum period for planning, terms of three to eight years were mentioned. The shorter term of three years was suggested as suitable for planning at the provincial or regional level where it was necessary to show the people precisely the local projects contemplated for their areas in the longer term plan so that their maximum co-operation could be enlisted. Some Governments have considered it desirable to introduce short as well as long-term plans to enable immediate results to be obtained and seen by the people. Where national plans have not been finalised, it is still necessary to have local plans to cope with pressing problems. For example, in urban areas, planning is required to resolve the problems arising from population growth and to provide the necessary facilities for new industry. In rural areas, there is need for the local authorities, either on their own initiative or as agents of the central government, to make available to farmers the services without which agricultural development will be handicapped.

Method of preparation

80. It must be emphasized that local authorities are decentralised organs of government: it follows that their role as long-term planning authorities is limited to the extent of their powers to choose between alternatives and to make their choice effective. Within this limit the start of a plan ought to be a survey of what exists, but unfortunately most local authorities have no means of finding out. The first central or external service they require is persons skilled in social research methods and competent to produce the required statistics. It will, however, be a long time before the statistical base can be completed. Meanwhile there is nothing available except intelligent guess-work for which the local knowledge of the authority will be helpful, provided that allowance is made for a fairly wide margin of error. The best survey possible in the circumstances having been made, the next stage is to set down what the local authority would like to see done by the end of the period of the plan. The plan must then be adjusted to what the available resources, existing or improved, can be expected to produce. Lastly, the plan is phased for execution of part of it in each year of the plan. As each succeeding year approaches, greater precision is given to the estimates for that year until they become precise enough to be included in the annual capital and revenue budgets.

81. The available resources are professional staff of varying categories of skill, unskilled workers, equipment of varying degrees of sophistication and money in the form of grants, loans and taxes. To make the plan feasible these resources must be improved both by action taken internally by the local authority and by recourse to aid from outside sources, usually the central government. These methods are considered in turn.

82. The measures which a local authority may take to acquire a staff of skilled officers are discussed in Chapter VII. Unskilled labour is available in two ways in addition to the normal one of engaging individuals for a wage. In most countries rural local authorities may in certain circumstances, and subject to proper safeguards, call on communal labour for specific

communal projects. This addition to the normal supply of voluntary workers is, however, less and less called for except in dire emergencies, partly because the method of community development is so much more attractive from every angle and so much more effective because it is drawn out of the people spontaneously instead of imposed upon them. However, having regard to its educational importance, the use of youth organisations for voluntary work in projects of local or of a wider character should be studied. Nevertheless, as was pointed out in Chapter IV, the inclusion in a long-term plan of community development or other voluntary projects whose essence is non-planning is no easy task.

The improvement of the methods of local taxation is also something that can be done by internal action of the local authority. This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter VI.

Reconciliation with central plan

83. Quite apart from any improvements which it can make internally, a local authority is compelled to look outside itself, to the central government, for help with technical advice and capital funds. The question is one not simply of development but of extra rapid development and no amount of capital can be generated internally sufficient to bring this about. For this reason, if for no other, all local authorities ultimately depend on the central government but there is another reason which is specially important in the context of planning, namely that the government now usually has a plan of its own. The confrontation of central and local government in the field of planning is a comparatively recent phenomenon, either because the earlier local authorities were not concerned with rapid development or because the central government itself had not framed any national plan for development into which local plans had to be fitted. "Administration of old local self-governing institutions was not beset with the complications of development work and a confrontation with political representatives enjoying superior powers"^{1/}. Moreover,

^{1/} K. Sheshadri: Administration of Panchayat Raj Planning in India. Journal of Local Administration Overseas. January, 1964.

there is a special difficulty where the government is not framing its own plan within the same structure as the one in which the local authorities have prepared their plans, but may be using the plan as a means to alter the structure of society and of government administration.

84. Such a possibility as the one last mentioned may indeed cause planning difficulties of a sort which are outside the scope of this chapter. Here the point to be made, but not laboured, is that the government plan will be all the better for incorporating the wishes of its different communities. These wishes are set out in the plans put up by the various local authorities, which themselves have incorporated as far as possible the wishes of different groups given expression by the community development movement. At the same time the government's plans for subjects which lie outside the scope of local government, such as harbours and hydroelectric schemes, will be all the better if the local authorities, who will later have to provide the supporting services, are brought early into consultation. The best national plan is likely to emerge from such mutual consultation followed by adjustments of both central and local proposals. From the central point of view, the willing co-operation of the people will be assured; from the local point of view there will have emerged at least an outline of the financial aid which will be forthcoming from the government. Much disappointment can be avoided if the government at an early stage can give local authorities a list of priorities which they must observe when preparing their own plans.

Practical difficulties

85. Stated thus it all seems too obvious and easy. In practice there are difficulties. First, local authorities compete with one another for the largest share of an all too small amount of money. This does not usually cause a crisis in a country which is homogeneous enough to be conscious that it is also a nation, for local authorities will in the end generally acquiesce in the government's decision between conflicting claims. In countries, however, where some local authorities may represent

unassimilated minorities the position is much more difficult: political hostility between the central government and such local authorities may destroy any possibility of fruitful consultation about the plan.

86. The second difficulty is more concrete: it is caused by the inadequacy of the administrative machinery. "Democracy at the top cannot be supported by undirected chaos at the bottom in the name of decentralization"^{1/}. A local authority cannot be a planning authority unless it can administer what already exists with order and efficiency. Services provided by the central government such as the secondment of central government staff to advise on planning and the training of local authority staff for planning work can help to improve the administrative machinery but cannot by themselves make it efficient.

Resumé of the role of local authorities in planning

87. It is possible now to sum up the part that local authorities can play in formulating the national plan. They must first of all concentrate on improving their own administrative organization, particularly by attention to proper staffing and to an equitable method of local taxation. At the same time the councils of the local authorities must apply the doctrine of community development to themselves and must strive to become ever more representative until they can be truly described as community councils. Each local authority must be capable of preparing a long-term capital budget and reasonable enough to discuss it with other neighbouring local authorities and to adjust it, if necessary, in order to achieve some regional co-ordination. Only from this starting point will representatives be able to go forward to consultation with the representatives of the central government sufficiently confident and well briefed to support their proposals without seeming parochial. Only from this starting point again will local authorities be capable of appreciating what new local supporting services the government's own proposals will require.

^{1/} K. Sheshadri - op. cit.

88. If the national plan has been built up in this way the execution of it is likely to present less administrative difficulty than if it has merely been imposed by the government. The local authority will be responsible for what is included in its own capital budget and additionally it can execute other works as agent of the government. The more it actually does either in its own right or as agent of the Government, the more the people as a whole will be drawn into the process of development.

89. Successful participation by the people in simple development projects will encourage them to participate in more complicated projects later. The only other means of rapid development is coercion. Local government is strategically well placed to promote the one and prevent the other, but it is not yet a so obviously successful means of local administration that it will necessarily be preserved everywhere for its inherent merit. It could easily be dislodged in favour of coercion if it were seen to make no effective contribution either to the formulation or execution of the development plan.

90. Local government in Africa is likely to acquire real significance for the people only when it is the means whereby they are allowed to exercise sufficient responsibility in the social and economic fields. This implies that they must also have the will. The necessary human ingredients of development are vision at the higher levels of government and hope among the people. Vision is expressed not in vague exhortations to people to better themselves but in a concrete plan. Hope is created only when the various communities recognize that the plan contains at least some of their own projects; it is expressed in the will to achieve them; it is sustained by continuity and a sense of direction, and this can only be supplied by a permanent institution, in short, some sort of local authority. For all its merits community development is not by itself sufficient, for by definition its task is not to look too far ahead but to strike when the iron is hot.

VI. FINANCE

Financial decentralization

91. The decentralization of administration generally, but not necessarily, implies the decentralization of finance. It is possible for administrative devolution to be accompanied by only delegation of finance, as where a local authority has the full power to establish, say, a secondary road system but has no money to spend on it other than an arbitrary allocation from the central government. The process may be taken a stage further as where a local authority also collects (and retains) a centrally imposed tax. This is, however, still delegation and complete financial devolution is not achieved until the local authority is given the power to levy its own tax, an essential prerequisite to the full participation by the people in their own development. It is when the local authority has the power to make an operative choice between greater revenue and smaller expenditure that it is a completely decentralized organ of administration. Nevertheless this ideal financial position may not be reached for some time and the full engagement of local authorities in development activities should not be made to wait upon it. In the meantime any temporary financial arrangements may be made which will ensure that local authorities are given as much responsibility for the execution of development works as they are otherwise competent to assume.

Equalization

92. Not very long ago the modern services such as health, education, roads, for which it is now sought to make local authorities responsible, were the responsibility of central governments but they were not evenly distributed. To pay for them a government drew on all the more obvious sources of tax throughout the country but could only spend its revenue in areas where services were needed and could be used. For example, a remote pastoral people paying animal tax might produce a substantial amount of money in excess of the cost of the few services needed or which could be used locally. Few areas were in balance. Later the demand for modern services became widespread and on its way up to the government met

the doctrine of the welfare state which was being handed down. The institutional system of local government and the movement of community development were twin children born to this conjunction. Community development was discussed in chapter IV and here the paper is concerned with local government on its financial side.

93. The people everywhere now demand services and the government would like to satisfy the demand. But it cannot unscramble its earlier commitments so as, for example, to take away services from an area which has long enjoyed them in order to set them up again in a different place. Nor can it say that henceforth each area can enjoy the exclusive use of its own revenue because since some areas are richer in natural resources than others through no merit or fault of the inhabitants, the resultant spread of services would be no more even than it is now. Adjustment is therefore being sought through the principle of equalization, by which the government puts each local authority on a financial base no lower than the average base for the whole country. This is logically the first central service to local authorities, although it is not necessarily the first in time because of other overriding considerations. It may for example, be impossible to find an acceptable formula. Various formulae for equalization being tried are crude ones in the absence of statistical data required for more equitable and effective ones. Matching grants, for instance, often produce the opposite results to those desired because only the richer communities can take full advantage of them. Or, equalization may be deliberately postponed because, in the interests of national development, it may be more advisable to allocate some grants on the basis of the economic potentiality of areas. Ideally there should be an equalizing capital grant as well so that the starting point for further development may be the same in all areas.

The local tax

94. The next service is to provide the local authority with its own sources of revenue which it can tap to a greater or less extent according to its own decisions. Governments are reluctant, however, to hand over their own sources of revenue, partly perhaps because they do not yet quite trust local authorities, but also because, as has already been explained, the yield from them is already earmarked. Yet new sources for a local tax are not easy to find. Those currently in use may be classified under three heads, property taxes, personal taxes and taxes on economic activity.

95. The essence of a local tax can be found by working backwards from the budget meeting of the local authority. After all items of revenue, other than tax, have been taken into account, there is still a gap if all the proposed expenditure is to be met. Ideally the local tax should be of a sort that, upon a resolution of the authority, it will spring into operation and thereafter will produce at the right time the amount needed to close the gap, neither much more nor much less. The help of the central government is needed to discover the forms of local tax (or taxes, for it is advantageous to have more than one) which in the circumstances approximate most closely to this ideal. Nor is this a matter for financial experts only but for administrators also, since fair assesment and humane collection are as much parts of the tax as its amount. The base of a local tax should be specified in the law, so that everyone may know. A local authority should not be free to introduce new forms of taxation without approval of the legislature: its freedom lies in being able to vary the amount leviable on a known base. In addition to taxes locally imposed and collected the French-speaking countries have found it useful to allow local authorities to impose a surcharge, within certain prescribed limits, on national taxes, such as those on income and property, the proceeds of which the central government collects and pays to the local authorities.

Other revenue

96. Other sources of local revenue are licences, fees, e.g. school fees, and charges for services which can be measured, e.g., electricity, water. The role of the government in respect of these is to decide how much they can be used to relieve the local tax. Local authorities in many countries would like to derive most of their revenue from sources such as these because it relieves them from the odium of having to increase the local tax. To achieve this, they often impose a fee or charge in excess of the cost of the particular service provided. The surplus is added to general revenue to defray other expenses of a general nature. This has the effect of forcing certain persons, e.g., the users of water, to subsidize the cost of general services enjoyed by the whole community and, unless watched, it is a practice which may very soon get out of hand.

97. Much the same applies to trading activities. Different views were expressed on the extent to which local authorities should engage in productive or commercial-type activities. Some felt that they should be free to undertake enterprises that will produce revenue or promote the development of their areas. This is the practice in the French-speaking countries. Others considered that local authorities should confine their activities to public utility services. Opinion was also divided whether profits and losses should be absorbed in the revenue account or dealt with on a commercial basis: there are attractive arguments on both sides. All, however, agreed that local authorities should not compete with private enterprise in commercial-type activities.

Central grants - revenue.

98. Over and above any equalizing grant and the revenue drawn from their own sources and interest on their investments, local authorities with rare exceptions need further substantial grants from the government. Nor are governments in general averse from the principle of paying grants, however much they may haggle over the amounts. The grants reflect the national interest in what local authorities are doing, especially in the fields of

education, health and communications. Moreover, because they are drawn from the pockets of the general taxpayers of the whole country, they give governments, acting on behalf of the public, a powerful means of exercising control over the way in which they are spent.

99. Grants are a most substantial service to local authorities, but it is important that they should not be regarded as charity. They should be given and received as of right; they should be calculated by reference to an objective formula which should remain unchanged over a period of at least three years, for, if a local authority when preparing its annual estimates cannot calculate the amount of the grant, it cannot know how much it will have to raise from its local tax.

Central grants and loans - capital

100. Outside the revenue budget there is, as has been explained, the capital budget which is the reflection of the development plan. Some local authorities used to devote a large part of their revenue budgets to capital works. Others, though framing a separate capital budget, tried to feed it from surpluses deliberately achieved in the revenue budget. Neither of these arrangements is sufficient and in most countries now local authorities receive both grants and loans to finance development. It is not normally possible to work out a formula for capital grants such as is necessary for determining revenue grants, but forecasting the amounts is more feasible if local programmes have previously been fitted into the national development plan. If there is an agreed plan, it does not matter in theory whether local authorities receive their capital funds from the Ministry of Local Government or from the Ministry responsible for the work in question, but many governments, in the interests of co-ordination, have gone a stage further and set up semi-independent credit banks or loans boards. Such institutions have several advantages over any organization which may be set up within the ministries. They can add to any funds received direct from the government by themselves borrowing in the market and by acting as repositories for the reserve funds of local authorities. Moreover, by concentrating on this one aspect

of local finance, they can develop consultancy and evaluation services for particular local projects and from experience of many aspects of loan finance arrive at the most satisfactory rules of procedure. A similar service might be provided by an Association of Local Authorities but there would have to be a sufficient degree of voluntary co-operation and the assurance of continuity to balance the statutory powers available to government-sponsored credit banks.

Supervision

101. The central government, apart from its responsibility to provide local authorities with the means of obtaining recurrent revenue and capital funds commensurate with their functions, is also ultimately accountable for everything that happens to public money. It has to resist the temptation to impose rules that are so rigid and detailed that they stifle local initiative, yet it cannot afford not to guard against inefficiency and corruption. The balance between stimulation and control is delicately poised and a useful general principle is that it should be capable of being shifted to match the performance of individual local authorities; strict control over an inefficient authority being gradually relaxed as it becomes more competent. The most important points of contact between central and local government are discussed in the following paragraphs.

Form of estimates and accounts

102. The beginning of the cycle of operations is the preparation of the estimates and the end of the cycle is the external audit. It is clear and therefore that the estimates should be prepared and the accounts kept in a form which will most facilitate the audit. There is absolutely no virtue in allowing diversity in such straightforward routine matters: a local authority does not prove its independence to anyone by adopting a peculiar form of estimating or accounting. A most useful service therefore is for the Ministry of Local Government in conjunction with the Ministry of Finance to prescribe uniform procedures for the estimates and

the accounts. These procedures should not be merely copies of the government's own procedures, because the needs of local authorities are somewhat different. What they require for the estimates is a proforma which will set out the expenditure and revenue attributable to each department of the local authority. This will show the true costs of each service. The prescribed form of accounts should be related to the form of the estimates. This will not only facilitate audit, about which more will be said later, but will also make it possible for the local authority at the end of the year to evaluate the performance of each service. "Performance" budgeting is a test of the efficiency of a service and a valuable guide to the development of it.

Audit

103. Audit is of two kinds, internal and external. Normally the finance officers of a local authority should be responsible for a continuous internal check, but where there are not enough officers qualified to do this, the service may be undertaken by central officials. The external audit is something different: it is an independent examination of the authority's accounts carried out on behalf of the public. Sometimes it is done by the government auditor, sometimes by private auditors employed for the purpose by the government, sometimes by finance inspectors on the staff of the Ministry of Local Government. Whatever the practice, it is necessary that the auditor should be independent: it is his business to disclose the facts. In the French-speaking countries the finances of local authorities are subject to the general regulations governing public accounting. The supervisory authority ensures that these regulations are complied with. Provisions regarding the distinctive functions of finance officers and accountants, regarding financial supervision are the work of finance inspectors, and the simultaneous preparation of an administrative account and a management account for each budget and applied and the examination of the accounts is undertaken by a special court. If this independent court finds unlawful transactions relating to revenue or expenditure it can impose

sancions such as the surcharge of the Treasury officers responsible. In the English-speaking countries the following system applies to an extent dependent on local conditions. Where the auditor and the chief financial officer of the local authority are both professionally qualified, the auditor may, in some countries, be given the duty automatically to disallow any unlawful or unreasonable expenditure and to impose a surcharge on those responsible, whether councillors or staff. This may include the duty to surcharge anyone responsible for not bringing revenue to account. When, however, the officers concerned are not professionally qualified and in consequence an automatic surcharge might operate harshly or even wrongly, the auditor's duty can be limited to making a recommendation for surcharge leaving to the government the decision whether to impose or waive it. Supervision and auditing of accounts must be carried out but the auditor or inspector in the course of his investigations must not forget that he has also to play the role of educator and trainer.

Purchasing and other contracts

104. Other services of a more specific nature may now be mentioned briefly. A frequent cause of the downfall of local authorities in Africa is corruption in connection with contracts. Many governments in consequence have prescribed rules for calling for tenders and the awarding of contracts. Some have even established tender boards with a legal status separate from that of the local authority. A related service is the central purchase of stores needed by local authorities. In theory, this should lead to economies but in practice it must be flexibly administered or it can lead to absurdities. A central purchasing unit is probably of greatest practical value in respect of stores which have to be imported, but it can also provide valuable ancillary services such as preparing specifications for items in common use and testing the goods supplied. Again it can prepare model tender and contract forms and on occasion actually make contracts as agent for a local authority. So that local authorities may make use of central

purchasing services provided by the central government (or association of local authorities), there must be integration of purchasing within the local authorities themselves. The central purchasing service should assist local authorities in integrating their purchasing arrangements, in establishing a uniform system of stores control and in standardising items to facilitate bulk purchase. Local authorities should be allowed to purchase under central government contracts, if they wish, provided of course that they do not abuse this privilege. Except perhaps with respect to purchases involving foreign exchange, local authorities should be given as much freedom as practicable to take advantage of the most favourable terms that may be offered to them from any source. Where the suppliers are local, these purchases can contribute to the economic development of the locality.

Valuation

105. Another type of service relates to the local tax. Any local tax rests upon an assessment which may be as simple as the counting of heads or as complicated as the valuation of a person's wealth. If the local authority makes the valuation it can raise the same amount of revenue by a low levy on a high assessment as by a high levy on a low assessment. There would be no harm in this if each local authority were a self-contained unit. So far from being self-contained they are all related both regionally to other local authorities and nationally to the government, while they are all working within the framework of the national development plan. In such circumstances it has become imperative for methods of valuation to be uniform throughout the country. Some governments in consequence are now making assessment or valuation a central service with the result that local authorities no longer have two variables to manipulate but only one, the scale of the tax. Only with such an objective system can valid comparisons be made between richer and poorer areas for the purposes of equalization, and between responsible and negligent local authorities for the purpose of deciding whether central controls may be relaxed or must be strengthened.

Other services

106. The gathering of this information for the purposes of valuation can and should lead to the development of a central statistical service for the local authorities. Related to this is the service which can be provided for local authorities by a central mechanical data processing unit either in performing data processing work for local authorities or in advising them on the acquisition and use of such equipment. The UN is preparing a guide on this subject for governments, including a section on mechanical data processing services for local authorities. However, in developing countries the use of such equipment should be approached with caution because of the problems of maintenance. Assistance in organization and methods and in the training of local staff for this type of work is another important central service for local authorities.

107. Lastly, there is a service of special value where local authorities find themselves responsible for budgets running into hundreds of thousands of pounds but have no qualified financial officers of their own. The Ministry can supply this want by itself employing qualified officers and lending them to serve a local authority or group of local authorities. While on loan they serve the local authority from inside and abandon their role of external inspectors from the Ministry.

VII. PERSONNEL AND TRAINING

The councillor staff relationship: classical and modern ideas compared

108. Few people would deny that "impartiality is an essential characteristic of a good public official". Commonly impartiality has been taken to imply the dissociation of an official from active party politics in a multi-party state in order that, whatever his own political preference, he can loyally serve the government of the day. It does not refer to impartiality in his relations with members of the public nor to his incorruptibility: both these are taken for granted. However, the maintenance of political impartiality depends not so much on rules as upon a number of other intangible factors all conducive to this end. The party which is in opposition hopes in its turn to enjoy the services of the same officials as are presently serving the party in power, so it will not put any pressure on them and will never attack them in public. Further, since no party in a multi-party state can lay claim to being the permanent government, all parties are bound to act upon the convention that there exists outside or above politics a "government of the country" which is to be carried on in all circumstances short of revolution. All the political parties can hope to do is to determine the general direction of government administration at any time. The idea of service to the "government of the country", although it may only be a concept, helps to make impartiality something of an ideal for officials, even if it is only a working convention for political parties. It is no doubt this element of idealism which accounts for the ready public condemnation of anyone who attempts to erode the principle of impartiality by, for instance, attacking an official by name.

109. The knowledge that impartiality was both expected of officials and accepted by all political parties was a powerful influence in establishing the traditions of most public services and in setting a pattern of the working relationship between officials and their political masters. Working backward it ultimately determined the way in which officials were trained. This traditional system was nominally reproduced in colonial

territories and accepted there without question for half a century and more. It was not questioned since colonial governments were irremovable and the occasion never arose. It has, however, become a very live question now because successor governments expect not only loyal service from their officials but also often their political identification with the government party. If it is protested that the latter is contrary to the tradition of impartiality, it is replied that, notwithstanding tradition, the observed practice of colonial officials was to identify themselves completely with their government.

110. The truth is that the classical doctrine of political impartiality begins to lose much of its meaning as opposition parties fade away or are dissolved, until in the extreme situation when there is a single party and the party is the government, it is no longer an adequate regulator of the relationship.

111. Another breach in the tradition has been made by the entry of political figures into the executive arena. In several countries political personalities have been appointed by the government from among elected persons to exercise executive powers as regional or area commissioners in posts formerly reserved for officials. At local government level also individual councillors have been granted or have assumed executive power themselves. This practice has disrupted the traditional relationship between elected councillors and paid officials on which much of the philosophy of local government used to be based. It will therefore be unrealistic for those whose business it is to establish public services, whether central or local, and to train persons for them, to build upon an obsolescent convention and it is not too early to consider what might be the pattern of a satisfactory relationship in the light of present realities.

112. On the positive side politicians can provide energy and drive and, by reason of their own direct access to their leaders at headquarters, produce results more quickly than paid officials who have to work upwards through the slower official hierarchy. But this is more than balanced

on the negative side by two possibilities, even probabilities, first that the rule of law will be evaded whenever the ends seem to justify the means and second that the self-respect of the officials will slowly be eroded if executive and administrative decisions are made over their heads by or through the influence of persons who are not their official superiors.

113. In these circumstances it is suggested that professionalism may be a more suitable idea than impartiality around which to build up public services in Africa. Professionalism implies specialized knowledge and competence which in time, when sufficiently widespread and sufficiently varied, should help to achieve a better balance between the official and the political elements in any system of government which is not tyrannical or dogmatic. But professionalism alone will not meet the problem in several of the English-speaking countries where the councillor side of the relationship often makes excessive demands and any official expressing a contrary political feeling runs the danger of being suspected of disloyalty or sabotage. Young persons aspiring to become public officials are likely to be increasingly repelled by this danger. Some way must be found of combining the tradition of a non-political public service with freedom for officials to express their political feelings in a more open way than is possible at present when they are limited to a secret vote at election time. Obviously a clear agreement must be reached as to the limit of the expression of political feeling by public officials. Equally there must be agreement as to the extent of political demand which councillors can make and the channel through which it should reach the official.

This difficulty does not arise in French-speaking countries, since in them the public official does have freedom of political expression although naturally he has to be loyal to the government of the day in the exercise of his official duties. In countries with a one-party system there may sometimes be limits to the extent to which the expression of political feelings is really free.

Conditions of service in local government

114. In the countries of the French legal tradition and in the UAR the public service is of the integrated type. That is to say, civil servants working for the State are not separated from those working for the local authorities. All established civil servants have the same conditions of service and they are posted to central or field services of the State or to local authorities. They are all controlled by a single directing agency of the central government. In addition to these permanent officials, temporary staff of all grades are recruited by the State, either on contract or under the terms of the Labour Code, according to requirements.

In other countries, especially those of the British legal tradition, the central and local public services are not integrated. The central service is unified, however, but not the local service. In local government it is, or was, frequently the practice for each local authority to be an independent employer of staff. The actual employer in law might be the collective council, or its chairman, or its administrative manager. This separate employment is the mark of a degree of local autonomy greater than exists or would be allowed in present conditions anywhere except possibly in the largest towns. It is also the reflection of a free market where supply and demand are roughly equal and where there are no artificial restrictions upon merit such as that the local origin of a candidate is more important than his qualifications. When, as in Africa, these conditions do not apply, separate recruitment and separate conditions of service have in fact been of the greatest disservice to local government as a whole for they frightened away good candidates and reduced those who were employed to the status of hirelings. The proper relationship between councillors and staff became in many places completely misconceived.

115. One of the corrective measures now being taken in these countries to increase the number of professional officers for local government is the unification of conditions of service. This measure was started to

protect the staff from capricious decisions of local councillors and although it may appear as a strong measure of control, it can perhaps more correctly be thought of as an essential form of aid to local authorities.

The steps are:

- (i) To fix the categories of staff needed generally by local authorities and, having regard to local conditions, to fix an ascending scale of qualifications within each category;
- (ii) to settle the salary ranges, including superannuation, for each kind of officer;
- (iii) to establish a uniform procedure of employment covering appointment, discipline, dismissal, leave, allowances and all other conditions of service;
- (iv) to fix in consultation with each local authority an establishment of posts in each scale of each category and to prohibit the authority from filling any post with anyone who does not possess the prescribed qualifications.

Having fixed the conditions of service, the government may move a stage further by,

- (v) actually recruiting staff for local authorities. For this purpose it has to set up a special department within the ministry or it may establish a separate autonomous Local Service Commission.

116. Some countries have felt that it is necessary also to unify the local government service, or at least the chief posts in it. A candidate would then be recruited to the service and posted to a local authority or transferred from it at the bidding of the head of the service.

Comparison with the central civil service would not, however, be exact since the practical effect of posting staff to serve with a political council may be very different from the effect of posting staff to serve

in a ministry of officials. The main headings of unified staff regulations in one country are given in Appendix A.

117. If the qualifications of each kind of officer in each local authority are to be settled by a reference to some external standard, the standard must be professionalism. (The actual numbers in any authority will depend on objective criteria such as population or the size of its budget). Professional standards in present conditions can include not only acknowledged degrees but school certificates below degree level and also, most important, practical experience. Thus it will not be enough to say that a certain local authority in view of the size of its budget and population must employ one chief financial officer, one deputy and two assistants: it will also be necessary to prescribe the minimum qualifications for each grade.

Local service commissions

118. In many countries independent Local Service Commissions have been established to administer the local government service in order that all decisions affecting it may be seen to be free from political bias.

Importance of professional codes of behaviour

119. Increasing professionalism in the broad sense will provide an interest in the job transcending politics and help to protect an official both from external political pressure and even from the day to day personal irritations that are common in large institutions.

Membership of professional societies offers the comfort and support of powerful colleagues and increases self-confidence: at a different level membership of staff associations brings the different professions together in support of the generalized profession of local governments administration.

These propositions are not advanced with any suggestion that the official element as a whole should be opposed to the political element in a local authority. Each side has its part to play but there is

considerable disarray when the roles become confused, as frequently happens when over-zealous elected councillors are coupled with unskilled staff. Inevitably the politician will behave like an executive if he feels that the staff have neither better specialized knowledge which might command his respect nor collective moral backing which might exercise reverse pressure.

120. What therefore has to be established is mutual respect between councillors and staff and in present conditions the surest foundation for this is the competence of the staff and their sense of security in their posts.

The help which can be derived from professionalism has been described, but this may be supplemented by the support of a code of ethics. A code of ethics is a published guide to the correct behaviour of those to whom it applies. Doctors, lawyers and members of other professions are customarily bound by ethical codes applicable to their own professions. Similar codes have been drawn up for public servants. They are statements of the general principles by which an official should be guided in both his public and his private behaviour and they are not to be confused with disciplinary regulations which deal with actual offences. If a code of ethics can be drawn up for local government, acceptable alike to councillors and staff, it can be a potent regulator of relations between them, should either side be tempted to interfere with the functions of the other.

The code of ethics for local government officers in Britain is given in Appendix B.

121. If professionalism in all its aspects is to be the keynote of working situations in local government, the training of staff for local government must pay due regard to its dangers as well as to its advantages. Doctors, lawyers, engineers, accountants may all be trained to the highest level as professional officers, but if they are all to sit in the same building and serve a political council, they should also learn how to avoid the danger of excessive departmentalism. They must accept the fact

that, however important their own proposals may seem, their colleagues may have equally important proposals and all must bend, if they do not bow, before the council which will be taking its decisions from a general administrative point of view rather than from the point of view of a single department.

The profession of administration

122. If training in the requirements of general administration is necessary for professional officers, it is of paramount importance that there should also be recognition of and training for a profession of administration itself. Unless such training is provided the administrator will not be valued as a professional. It will be said that anyone can be an administrator since no special qualifications are needed and there will seem no good reason why political nominees should not fill administrative posts instead of career officials.

It is the recognition of the dividing line between politics and administration which is important in Africa. The dividing line matters less when political parties are more or less in balance because then it is to all their interests to avoid interfering with career administrators. When however this political balance is lacking and there is one all-powerful party, administrators lose all protection and are much more adversely affected than members of other professions. The need is to create for public administration a professional status that is as widely accepted by the public as is the status of, say, a surgeon, so that in comparable circumstances the local council would no more interfere with the work of its administrative officers than it would with the removal of the chairman's appendix by a surgeon. Nothing more is demanded, but nothing less will serve and it is to this end that administrative training should be directed. This does not imply that the administrator should be a mere technician. It is an essential part of his professionalism that he should know how to get on with politicians.

Schools and institutes of administration

123. In the French system pre-entry training of central and local administrative staff is not differentiated. It is carried out in the same schools of public administration. Post-entry training courses are held in training centres, while research is carried out by officials working in the ministries.

In other countries independent or semi-independent institutes can perform a useful service in keeping the theoretical basis of local government constantly under examination. They can provide training courses for staff and councillors alike. They can run libraries and spread knowledge of the ways of local government among the people. They can conduct research and put themselves in a position to give an independent consultancy service both to the government and to local authorities. To do this it is desirable that there should be a close relationship between them and the universities where research into problems related to public administration is being carried on.

In some countries, arrangements are made for the training of staff outside institutes of administration. Where the institutes of administration are not fulfilling the needs for local government training, such other arrangements should be continued or established, if necessary. These take the form of in-service training conducted by the Ministry of Local Government, other government agencies, or the local authority itself. It is desirable that there should be a measure of collaboration between the agencies running the courses and the teaching staff of the institute. In the wider context it is desirable that there should be coordination of local government training on a territorial basis.

Courses for councillors and electors

124. It may be impossible to train anyone to be a politician for in any country the political process evolves at its own pace. But it is possible to teach a newly elected councillor the procedure of his council and to explain to him its methods of reaching decisions. In this sense training

of councillors is as necessary as training for staff if they are to work together. Elected representatives have usually a very hazy idea of what local government is about when they first find themselves on a council. Some are honestly bewildered, but others may be there simply as outriders of a, or the, political party.

Nor should the public be forgotten, for the point about modern local government is that it is modern and everyone still looks for explanation and advice about it. It has a propensity for running off the rails but somehow it always seems to get back on them again. If it really is thought to be an institution of permanent value, then more and more thought should be given to studying it with a view to suggestions for further adaptation to suit conditions in its own country and correspondingly less to copying European practices. Results may be much the same in the end, just as the results of the French and British systems are much the same, though each country reached the present stage by quite different routes. It is necessary to travel if one wishes to arrive.

APPENDIX A

WESTERN NIGERIA

The Unified Local Government Service (Staff) Regulations, 1962 made by the Governor in Council under section 96 of the Local Government Law.

The main headings are:

1. Introductory
2. Appointments
3. Salaries
4. Promotion and transfers
5. Discipline
6. Termination of appointment
7. Duties and responsibilities of members of the service
8. Leave
9. Allowances
10. Motor vehicle and bicycle advances
11. Service cards
12. General conditions of service
13. Miscellaneous
14. Temporary staff

First Schedule

List of posts in the service

Second Schedule

Schemes of service

Third Schedule

Appointment and service records

Fourth Schedule

Vacation leave rates

Fifth Schedule

Rates of allowances

APPENDIX B

ETHICS FOR THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICER

The code adopted by the National and Local Government Officers' Association
in Britain

Ethics for the local government officer

The first duty of an officer is to give his undivided allegiance to the authority employing him. With his private activities the authority, in general, is not concerned, so long as his conduct therein is not such as to bring discredit upon the service in which he is an officer. For that conduct the public service is entitled to demand the highest standard.

The maxim laid down for a court of law, that it is of fundamental importance not only that justice should be done in it, but that it should manifestly and undoubtedly be seen to be done, applies with equal force to the officer. Public confidence in his integrity would be shaken were the least suspicion, however ill-founded, to arise that he could be in any way influenced by improper motives.

From this it follows that the officer, as a public servant, must not only be honest in fact, but must be beyond the reach of the suspicion of dishonesty.

He is not to subordinate his duty to his private interests; or to put himself in a position where his duty and his private interests conflict. He should not make use of his official position to further those interests; but neither is he so to order his private affairs as to allow the suspicion to arise that a trust has been abused or a confidence betrayed.

He should be courteous to all with whom his duties bring him in contact.

The public expects from the officer a standard of integrity and conduct not only inflexible but fastidious. It is the duty of the service to see that that expectation is fulfilled.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS

125. The participants at the ECA Seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities, after discussing papers prepared at the request of the Economic Commission for Africa and worldwide studies prepared under the auspices of the United Nations, agreed that:

- (a) Local authorities are important instruments for fostering national unity and economic and social development. If they are to make their full contribution, the system of local government in each country must be specifically designed to that end, according to the circumstances of the country, rather than based on a system inherited during the colonial period and which evolved in the administering country in entirely different circumstances and also for different purposes.
- (b) Moreover, national governments must ensure that local authorities are closely associated in the task of development. To that end they should see that local authorities have sufficient financial resources, including adequate taxing powers supplemented by grants and loans. Government should also ensure that the necessary central services are available to local authorities to enable them to develop their communities and thus to contribute to national development. The ministry responsible for local government must, therefore, be staffed to assist as well as supervise local authorities and to stimulate and co-ordinate the activities of other ministries in support of local government functions. Other central agencies, governmental and non-governmental, may also be needed, such as a special agency to provide loans for local authorities, a public service commission for local authority staff, where such staff are not integrated with the national service, and a union of local authorities. Special arrangements should be made for training local government staff and councillors.
- (c) Technical assistance, through the United Nations, including the Economic Commission for Africa and its specialized agencies,

the bilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations such as the International Union of Local Authorities and private foundations can assist governments in establishing and strengthening central agencies for the improvement of local government, provided the assistance is properly given.

- (d) As evident in this Seminar, African governments have much to learn from one another as well as from the experience gained in other regions of the world.

126. The participants, therefore, recommend for the consideration of the Economic Commission for Africa and other United Nations bodies concerned:

- (a) That guides on comparative studies, followed by meetings of officers with responsibilities in the fields concerned, be prepared on the following subjects of immediate interest to many African countries:

- (i) Training of local authority staff and councillors in their new responsibilities related to development. The Seminar is pleased that ECA has scheduled a meeting in 1965 of officers responsible for local government training and hopes that information on relevant experiences elsewhere in the world as well as in the region will be assembled for use at the meeting.

- (ii) Local government finance, particularly to identify the most effective ways of raising and collecting local revenues and to provide guides on the establishment and operation of loans agencies for local authorities.

- (iii) The role of local government in promoting agricultural, industrial and other productive activities.

- (iv) Administrative problems associated with rapid urban growth, including those involved in the widening gap between urban and rural areas. Related to this is the need for a

comparative study to help governments decide whether the local authority boundaries of urban areas should include their rural environs and, if so, how the council may best be constituted so as to give effective representation to all sections of the enlarged community and for the community as a whole.

- (v) Various arrangements for carrying out the deliberative and executive functions of local authorities. The object of the study would be to provide insights into methods of organizing local authorities to promote development.
- (vi) Special administrative problems involved at central and local level in extending services to nomads and enabling them to participate in development activities.
- (vii) Relationships between community development and local government, with a view to providing guides on organizing their activities in such a way that they will support each other in promoting development.
- (viii) Problems of registering births, marriages and deaths; especially the division of functions between central government and local authorities; action to fill gaps in the register and to replace missing registration certificates; international co-operation in this field.

- (b) That study tours be organised to enable senior officers of ministries responsible for local government matters and those of related agencies to visit other countries which have had significant experience in improving local government for development purposes. The success of the ECA Local Government Study Tour of Yugoslavia and India in 1963, for English-speaking officers, leads the Seminar to urge that similar study tours be arranged in the future.

- (c) That provision be made for the continuing exchange of information between governments on measures for the improvement of local government.
- (d) That special attention be given in technical assistance activities to the improvement and expansion of local government training programmes within African countries; to the development of co-operative arrangements on a sub-regional basis such as for training senior officers, including urban administrative and finance officers; and to the more effective use of fellowships for local government training in other African countries and in other regions.
- (e) That, in view of the special need for adapting local government systems to the circumstances and development requirements of African countries, technical assistance experts should have wider comparative knowledge and experience and should avoid excessive reliance on the forms and conceptions of any particular foreign system. Moreover, consideration should be given to the formulation of guides for donor countries on what are appropriate and inappropriate conditions to attach to the assistance which they offer.
- (f) That the Report of the Seminar, which reflects the view of participants, be transmitted to African governments and its contents widely disseminated by ECA and other United Nations bodies. Although a meeting such as this has great intrinsic value and is highly beneficial to participants, the test of its real value lies in the extent to which it is followed up and contributes towards the acceleration of national and local development.

ANNEX I

PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES

The object of the Seminar is: (a) to study the central agencies and institutions needed at the national level (or in a federal system at the state or provincial level) for the improvement of local government and (b) to provide the senior officers for whom the Seminar is designed with guidance which will assist local authorities in contributing more effectively to local and national development.

Monday, 29 June

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 9.00 to 9.45 a.m. | Registration of participants |
| 10.00 a.m. | Formal opening |
| 10.30 a.m. | Recess |
| 10.45 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. | 1. Election of conference officers |
| | 2.(a) Organization of the Seminar and Committee including Steering Committee and Drafting Committee |
| | (b) Adoption of the provisional agenda E/CN.14/UAP/34/Rev.1 |
| | (c) Constitution of working Committees |
| 15.00 to 18.00 p.m. | 3. Presentation of papers E/CN.14/UAP/30 and E/CN.14/UAP/32: |
| | (a) "Central Services to Local Authorities" (by Mr. C.A.G. Wallis) |
| | (b) "Central Services to Local Authorities in some French-speaking Countries" (by Mr. E. Hentgen) |
| | General discussion |

Tuesday, 30 June

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| 9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m.
(Plenary) | 4. Continuation of general discussion of papers E/CN.14/UAP/30 and E/CN.14/UAP/32 |
| 15.00 to 17.00 p.m.
(Plenary) | 5. Presentation of country papers: identification of points of special interest. |
| 19.00 p.m. | RECEPTION |

Wednesday, 1 July

- 9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. (Plenary) 6. "Democratic Decentralization in Yugoslavia and India" (E/CN.14/UAP/17) - report of the 1963 Study Tour (by the Local Government Section, United Nations Economic Commission for Africa)
General Discussion
- 15.00 to 17.00 p.m. 7. COMMITTEES:
A - Agenda item 2
B - Agenda item 3
- 17.30 to 19.00 p.m. (Plenary) 8. "Unified Personnel Systems for Local Authorities": brief account of the systems in Western and Eastern Nigeria (by representatives of the regions concerned who will act as discussion leaders)

Thursday, 2 July

- 9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. 9. COMMITTEES:
A - Agenda item 4
B - Agenda item 5
- 15.00 to 17.00 p.m. COMMITTEES:
A - Agenda item 4
B - Agenda item 5
- 17.30 to 18.30 p.m. (Plenary) 10. "Credit Agencies for Local Authorities": brief account of the Local Loans Board of Kenya (by a representative of the Ministry of Local Government, Kenya, who will act as discussion leader)

Friday, 3 July

- 9.00 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. 11. COMMITTEES:
A - Agenda item 7
B - Agenda item 6

16.00 to 18.30 p.m.

COMMITTEES:

A - Agenda item 7

B - Agenda item 6

Saturday, 4 July

9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. 12.

Final meeting of Committees A and B
(concurrently) for drafting of reports

17.30 p.m.

Reception - by the Government of
Northern Nigeria at KadunaMonday, 6 July

9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. 13.

Final meeting of Committees A & B
(concurrently) to consider draft
reports.

15.00 to 17.00 p.m. 14.

(Plenary)

Agenda items 8 and 9

- (a) "The Contribution in Personnel and Training which the Local Authorities of Developed Countries can make to Local Government in Africa" (E/CN.14/UAP/36) (by Mr. A.F. Leemans of the International Union of Local authorities)
- (b) "United Nations Technical Assistance in Local Government and Administration" (E/CN.14/UAP/33) (by the Division of Public Administration, United Nations Headquarters, New York)

General Discussion

Tuesday, 7 July9.00 to 11.30 a.m.
(Plenary)

14. A. Agenda items 8 and 9 (continued)

General discussion on technical assistance in local government and administration in Africa. It is intended that the discussion will focus attention on future needs in this field, with representatives of USA, the United Kingdom, Yugoslavia, Ford, IULA, the UN Specialized agencies, etc., participating.

15.00 to 19.00 p.m. 15.

Consideration of report of Committee A

Wednesday, 8 July

9.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. 16.
(Plenary)

Consideration of report of Committee B

Afternoon

Free for Drafting Committee

Thursday, 9 July

9.00 to 11.00 a.m. 17. (a)
(Plenary)

"The Approach to Local Administration Training in the French-speaking Countries of Africa" (by Mr. Guy Devernois, United Nations expert)

11.00 a.m. to 13.00 p.m. 17. (b)

"Local Government Training in Northern Nigeria" (by Mr. S.S. Richardson, Director of the Institute of Administration, Zaria)

15.00 to 17.00 p.m. 18.
(Plenary)

Consideration and adoption of final report

19.00 to 19.00 p.m. 19.

Election of Resolutions Committee

Friday, 10 July

RECEPTION

9.00 to 11.00 a.m. 20. (a)
(Plenary)

Resolutions

11.00 to 11.00 p.m. 21.

Closing session

ANNEX II

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

MEMBERS

Dahomey

M. Alfred Bossou, Préfet, Département du Sud-Est, PORTO NOVO.

Ethiopia

Mr. Kifle Hagos, Secretary-General, Ministry of the Interior, ADDIS ABABA.

Gabon

M. Pierre Henri Ngonde Fanguinoveny, Directeur des Services du Ministère de l'Intérieur, LIBREVILLE.

Gambia

Mr. H.A. Oliver, M.B.E., Administrative Officer (Staff Grade), Ministry for Local Government, Labour and Lands, BATHURST.

Ghana

Mr. T.K.A. Duodu, Acting Senior Assistant Secretary (Local Government), Ministry of Justice, ACCRA.

Kenya

Mr. J.M. Ojal, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, NAIROBI.

Mr. O.T.F. Fonseca, Financial Officer, Ministry of Local Government, NAIROBI.

Libya

Mr. Ahmed Drawy, Director of Public Relations, Ministry of the Interior, BEIDA.

Madagascar

M. Benoît Kidza, Directeur de l'Intérieur, Ministère d'Etat de l'Intérieur, TANANARIVE.

Mauritius

Mr. C.K. Banymandhub, Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Co-operative Development, PORT LOUIS.

Niger

M. Goukoye Karimou, Commissaire Général à la Promotion Humaine, Présidence de la République, NIAMEY.

M. Bourem Kossomi, Directeur administratif, Conseiller technique chargé de la tutelle des collectivités locales, Ministère de l'Intérieur, NIAMEY.

Nigeria

Chief J.M. Beckley, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, IBADAN, Western Nigeria.

Mr. S.E. Igwe, Higher Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, ENUGU, Eastern Nigeria.

Mr. Lawani, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Chieftaincy Affairs, BENIN, Mid-western Nigeria.

Alhaji Ado Bayero, M.H.C., Emir of Kano, KANO, Northern Nigeria.

Alhaji Ibrahim Dasuki, Permanent Secretary, Ministry for Local Government, KADUNA, Northern Nigeria.

Mr. S.B. Awoniyi, Provincial Secretary, MINNA, Northern Nigeria.

Mr. J.O.G. Sodipe, Assistant City Treasurer, Lagos City Council, LAGOS.

Northern Rhodesia

Mr. J.A. Dinwiddie, Under-Secretary, Ministry of Local Government, LUSAKA.

Mr. D.M. Lishomwa, District Commissioner, LUSAKA.

Rwanda

M. Donat Murego, Directeur, Division des affaires politiques et administratives, Ministère de l'Intérieur et du Travail, KIGALI.

Senegal

M. Abdou N'déne N'diaye, Gouverneur de la Région du Sine-Saloum, KAOLACK.

Sudan

Mr. El Tayeb El Tahir, Provincial Secretary, Northern Province, ELDAMER.

United Arab Republic

Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Osman, Director-General, Planning and Executive Programmes Department, Ministry of Local Administration, CAIRO.

Mr. Saleh Ismail Saleh, Director of Supervision Division, Ministry of Local Administration, CAIRO.

United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar

Mr. A.G. Mwanza, Principal Assistant Secretary, Ministry of Local Government and Housing, DAR ES SALAAM.

Mr. H.A. Nyirenda, Principal, Local Government Training Centre, Mzumbe, MOROCORO.

SPECIALIZED AGENCIES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Food and Agriculture
Organization (FAO)

Mr. V.D.H. Drennan, Regional Officer,
Agricultural Organization and Admini-
stration, Rural Institutions and Services
Division, FAO, ROME, Italy.

World Health Organization
(WHO)

Dr. L.F. Thomen, Representative WHO, Federal
Ministry of Health, LAGOS, Nigeria.

INSTITUTE OF ADMINISTRATION ZARIA

Mr. S.S. Richardson, Director, Institute of Administration, ZARIA,
Northern Nigeria.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

International Union of
Local Authorities (IULA)

Mr. A.F. Leemans,
THE HAGUE, Netherlands

Ford Foundation

Dr. Robert Mitchell, Director of Training
Programmes, Ford Foundation, LAGOS, Nigeria.

OBSERVERS

Dr. Antun Vratuva, State Under-Secretary and Chef de Cabinet to the President of the Federal Assembly, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia.

Dr. Alvin Roseman, Associate Dean, Graduate School of Public and International Affairs, University of Pittsburgh, PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania, USA.

Mr. Ronald E. Wraith, Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham, BIRMINGHAM, England.

CO-ORDINATING, PROFESSIONAL AND ADMINISTRATION STAFF

Mr. Emil J. Sady

Chief, Local Government Section,
Division for Public Administration,
United Nations, NEW YORK, USA.

Mr. R.W. Neath

United Nations Regional Adviser in
Local Government, Economic Commission
for Africa, ADDIS ABABA, Ethiopia.

M. Guy Dévernois

United Nations Expert in Public Administration,
COTONOU, Dahomey.

Technical Secretary

Mr. C.A.G. Wallis, OBE,
Local Government Adviser,
Department of Technical Co-operation,
LONDON, S.W.1, England

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ANNEX III

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES

ALHAJI SULE GAYA

MINISTER FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT, NORTHERN NIGERIA

Gentlemen,

It was with great pleasure that my Government accepted the request of the Government of the Federal Republic of Nigeria to hold this conference in Northern Nigeria and, I am honored, on behalf of the Government of Northern Nigeria, to welcome you to Nigeria and to the North for this United Nations Seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities.

I would like to extend a special welcome to our friends from the French-speaking countries of Africa, many of whom may be visiting Nigeria for the first time.

As you may know, African countries have on a number of occasions sent their representatives to this Institute to discuss and solve their common problems in different fields pertaining to administrative, economic, social and political matters. All these conferences held in the past, we believe, have proved to be of practical value to African governments. Similarly, since an effective public administration is one of the keys to development in our continent, we believe this seminar on Central Services to Local Authorities will result in some useful conclusions and follow-up work.

One of the principal objects of this seminar, to which we attach great importance, is to give guidance to governments on the sort of services and assistance which will enable local authorities to contribute effectively to local and national development. We hope that it will lead to the establishment of a clear-cut ultimate objective and ideology for self-governing institutions in Africa and will provide guides for action in improving and bringing up to date arrangements for making them more effective and for training local government staff and councillors to make the best use of them.

We in Northern Nigeria are aware of the importance of a sound local government system and are making great efforts to strengthen and modernize our long-established system in this field - a system which I may say, has developed through the centuries much influenced by contact with North Africa, the Sudan, Egypt and the Western Sudan states now Senegal, Mali and Niger Republic. If the Emir of Kano, who is present with you today as a participant in the Seminar, were to tell you the titles of his councillors and his senior officials you would find that they included titles from Arabia, from the original Hausa states, from the early days of the Kingdom of Bornu and from the Fulani Empire whose titles originated in Senegal.

From this you can see that the interchange of ideas and views is nothing new. It has continued through the centuries and is part of our heritage in Northern Nigeria and this Seminar opening here in Zaria today will, I hope, add its part to that heritage.

I have given you here, in a general way only, a little of our history and our relation to the history of Africa. You will find many of our modern plans and problems dealt with in the country paper, relevant to our Region, which my Ministry has prepared. I have no doubt, in one way or another, that we share similar problems and that we are all striving to give our people better opportunities and responsibilities for managing their own affairs in the widest possible field and for raising their living standards. In this seminar we hope, by exchanging experiences, to improve our knowledge and also to obtain some practical ideas which we can apply in areas to local administration not already dealt with.

My Government, therefore, hopes that the wealth of experience related to local government and administration which is represented at this seminar will lead to some tangible solutions being found for our common administrative problems.

In declaring this seminar open my Government wishes you a successful meeting and a pleasant stay in Zaria.

MESSAGE FROM MR. ROBERT R.A. GARDINER,
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

(Read by Mr. R.W. Neath, Regional
Adviser in Local Government, UNECA)

It gives me great pleasure to send a message of greeting to the participants in this Seminar assembled at Zaria. I am sure from my own experience that it would be difficult to find anywhere in Africa a better equipped centre or a more stimulating atmosphere in which to pursue your deliberations. In this sense the Economic Commission for Africa is deeply grateful both to the Northern Nigerian Government and to the authorities of the Ahmadu Bello University for putting the fine facilities of the Institute at the Commission's disposal for this meeting.

I am convinced that, if properly used, local government not only serves the general good of a country but that, better than anything else, an intelligent policy of decentralization will serve the purposes which Africa's political leaders generally regard as most essential, namely political unity and economic development. With these as our objectives local government bodies must be so conceived and guided that they work as effective organs of social and economic advancement. In this way they will gradually acquire real significance for the people because the whole process will begin to offer them more attractive prospects whether as producers or wage-earners.

But local government cannot function alone, it is not intended to be a political counterweight to the central government rejoicing in some out-moded concept of local 'autonomy' or in a mistaken idea of 'freedom from central government interference'. Indeed, the more central functions are transferred to local authorities the more necessary it becomes to develop a network of central institutions to assist these authorities. If their work and purposes are to prove successful the centre must give them

substantial and continuous aid, not only financial aid but technical, professional, legal, organizational and other forms of assistance. It is the creation, nature and purpose of these central services to local authorities, their organization, functioning and financing, which you have come to Zaria to examine.

Whatever the internal system in your own country may be - by that I mean whether it is a highly centralized one or whether an effective local government system is developing or already in operation - I think that you cannot but fail to take home with you some useful and practical ideas which should be of very great help, if you will strive to put them over to your Government and political leaders, in furthering the twin objectives which I have already mentioned - political unity and economic development.

I extend you my best wishes for a very successful meeting.

ANNEX IV

UNITED NATIONS TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT
AND ADMINISTRATION

1. This paper has two purposes; firstly, to inform Seminar participants how the United Nations helps Governments to improve their systems of local government and local administration; and secondly, to stimulate discussion of the types of technical co-operation and related activities that would be most helpful to participants and their Governments in the future.
2. Technical assistance in local government and administration forms part of a larger programme of United Nations technical co-operation in public administration. Good local administration is usually dependent on sound organization and operation of government at the national level; and improvements at the local level are likely to be more successful if they are part of a general programme of improvement in public administration. The United Nations assists Governments in formulating such a general programme and in establishing the agencies and institutions needed to make continuing improvements in the organization and operations of government, in personnel administration and training, and in financial policies and administration. Moreover, the various technical offices and the specialized agencies of the United Nations assist Governments in improving administration in their respective fields: planning, housing, health, educational organization and other activities of special interest to local government.
3. Within the Department of Economic and Social Affairs at United Nations Headquarters the Division for Public Administration has substantive responsibility for global programmes of technical assistance in the field of public administration; within the Economic Commission for Africa, a division,

This paper was contributed by Mr. Emil J. Sady, Chief, Local Government Section, Division for Public Administration, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, New York.

similarly entitled, is specifically concerned with these activities in Africa. The two divisions, that at Headquarters and that in The Commission, work in close harmony with each other and both collaborate with other technical offices of the Department and with the specialized agencies in joint efforts with the Governments themselves to improve public administration at all levels and in all major fields contributing to economic and social development.

4. There are also other sources of technical assistance in public administration (in Africa, these are mainly bilateral in character or come from private foundations) which are available to Governments. Non-governmental international organizations such as the International Institute of Administrative Sciences and the International Union of Local Authorities also have an important role to play in the professionalization of the public service and stimulate improvements in governmental administration. The United Nations seeks to collaborate with all such other sources of assistance and professional support for improvements in public administration.

5. With particular reference to local government, the United Nations offers various types of assistance to Governments. It assists in the conduct of surveys to define local government areas, to improve relationships between central government and local authorities, and to establish the organization, powers, functions, and method of financing such authorities.

6. The United Nations may also assist in the implementation of local government surveys, including the establishment and strengthening of ministries or departments of local government and other central agencies for improvement of local government. Special emphasis is placed on these central agencies because, through them, the Governments themselves can render assistance to local authorities. The United Nations has provided advisory assistance to capital cities and other municipalities at government request; as noted later, it is also collaborating in a programme of inter-municipal technical assistance. But the resources of the United Nations are not

adequate to provide significant direct help to cities. It is better in any case to help Governments to organize and staff their own central agencies for the purpose. These central agencies may include a ministry or department of local government, a local government public service commission, arrangements for on-the-job training and institutional training, and a loan agency for local authorities, all of which the United Nations could help to establish if requested by the Governments concerned.

7. In addition to these agencies, a union of local authorities and one or more professional or staff associations of local government personnel can contribute in a special way toward improving local administration. In some parts of the world, the unions of local authorities are important sources of assistance to local units. International non-governmental organizations, such as the International Union of Local Authorities, can advise on the organization of these bodies.

Forms of United Nations assistance

8. United Nations assistance in this field is available in the following forms:

- (a) Experts are provided to serve in an advisory capacity. They are normally attached to the ministry or department of government having primary responsibility for the task for which advisory assistance is requested (e.g. a ministry of local government). Experts may also be provided to serve as directors or instructors in training institutions such as an institute of public administration or a school of local government. United Nations experts in local government or in regional and local administration are working in Morocco, Niger, and Uganda and there is a request from Tunisia for a team to assist in preparing a reorganization plan for the capital city. Requesting Governments are expected to provide national counterpart personnel to each advisory expert appointed, so that the expert may impart training and experience

to such counterparts. Advisory experts in public administration can either be provided within the framework of the United Nations Expanded Programme of Technical Assistance (EPTA) or from the supplementary funds available under the United Nations regular budget (General Assembly Resolution 723 (VIII)). Under the former (EPTA), requests form part of a country's over-all technical assistance programme, and must conform to rules regarding project planning and biennial programming. Thus initial appointments can be made for two years and may be subsequently renewed. Under the later Resolution (723 (VIII)) funds are specifically allotted to technical assistance in public administration. Since the budget is renewed annually, initial appointments are usually made for one year, with a view to early transfer to the general programme under EPTA if it is apparent the project will be long-term. Resolution 723 (VIII) funds can thus be used in a flexible way for the support of new public administration projects that could not find an initial place under the Expanded Programme (EPTA). The procedures followed and criteria used for dealing with requests under either source of funds are the same, and all such technical assistance is subject to the Revised Standard Agreement for Technical Assistance.

- (b) The United Nations Programme for the Provision of Operational, Executive and Administrative Personnel (OPEX) enables Governments, with United Nations assistance, to secure the services of well-qualified personnel to perform operational and executive tasks, as the servants of Governments. The OPEX officer receives the local salary and emoluments of his post from the Government, supplemented by payments from the United Nations of a stipend and allowances which bring his total remuneration up to a level approximately equal to that of an advisory expert. Under an Agreement which each Government receiving this form of assistance

concludes with the United Nations, OPEX personnel are recognized as having a "special international status" and cannot be required to undertake any activity contrary to the purposes of the United Nations. They also enjoy certain privileges and immunities in the performance of their duties. Nevertheless, while the experts referred to in sub-paragraph 7(a) above, are international civil servants and as such have advisory functions only, OPEX officers, as servants of Governments, perform operational, executive and administrative functions appropriate to the posts they hold and are responsible to the Government alone for the performance of their duties. Such duties may include responsibility for the direction of personnel, the management of material and property and the control and disbursement of funds. Finally, OPEX personnel are intended to be temporary and a prime function of each is to train a national of the country to take over his duties and responsibilities as rapidly as possible. The OPEX programme was initiated in 1959, as an additional regular programme of the United Nations and placed on a continuing basis under the regular budget from 1961. In 1963, however, the General Assembly sanctioned the use of EPTA funds for this type of assistance, experimentally for the years 1964-1966. Thus operational (OPEX) assistance can now be financed from EPTA funds as well as from the regular budget under General Assembly Resolution 1256 (XIII).

- (c) Another important type of assistance is the provision of fellowships under either the EPTA or Regular Programme of the United Nations to enable officers of central government or local authorities to undertake advanced studies to observe local government systems in other countries, and to have internships or other forms of training in other countries. Priority is given under the Regular Programmes to fellowships for the understudies of technical assistance and OPEX experts. Study tours, such as that last year by senior African officers to study local government in Yugoslavia and India, is another method for broadening the experience of Africans in this field.

(d) The United Nations Intermunicipal Technical Assistance Programme, which was established recently in collaboration with the International Union of Local Authorities, provides a means whereby cities in developing countries can, with the approval of their national Governments, obtain the services of senior officers and use of training facilities of cities in other countries. The donor cities continue to pay the salaries of officers whose services they make available without reimbursement for periods up to six months and the United Nations pays the travel and per diem costs involved. A municipality seeking assistance under this Programme should apply to the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) in the Hague. IULA finds a city in another country that can provide the assistance requested and submits proposals to the United Nations for financing after technical review by the office concerned and approval by the member Government of the city requesting assistance. Three experts have been appointed under this programme, two to advise the municipality of Bangkok on finance and planning and the third to assist the Iran Municipal Association in advising municipalities on budgeting techniques.

(e) World-wide and regional research, workshops, and seminars are indirect but nevertheless useful forms of assistance. They facilitate the synthesis and exchange of information among countries on common problems and also contacts among officers of different countries who have similar responsibilities. World-wide studies provide documentation for regional meetings and are designed to help Governments to improve their systems of local government and administration. For example, world-wide studies on Public Administration Aspects of Community Development Programmes (UN Sales No. 59.II.H.2) and Decentralization for National and Local Development (UN Sales No. 62.II.H.2) pointed

out the importance of central services to local authorities wherever Governments wish to increase the contribution of local government to development. A comparative study on the subject of central services was carried out by the International Union of Local Authorities for the United Nations and is being used at regional seminars such as this as a basis for developing guides applicable to countries in the respective regions. Simultaneously, separate world-wide studies of the following important central services are being undertaken or planned: on unified personnel systems, loans agencies and training institutions for local authorities in order to provide more specific guides to Governments in establishing such agencies or institutions.

- (f) Financial assistance for certain types of projects related to urban development may be obtained through the United Nations Special Fund, which was established for the purpose of financing pre-investment surveys, training and other projects that are expected to lead directly to increased productivity. For example, the Institute of Public Administration in Ghana is financed in part through the Special Fund. The establishment of national (or regional) training institutions and other agencies for the improvement of local government and the financing of projects in the field of urban development that are essential for economic development could conceivably qualify for consideration. Special Fund projects are financed and administered pursuant to an agreement between the government concerned and the United Nations.
- (g) The World Food Programme, which is jointly administered by the United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, makes available food for use in projects related to economic development. The programme is still experimental but, through it, food is being used in a number of countries in Africa and elsewhere to reduce the costs involved in resettlement schemes, construction of community facilities and other projects in which local government units are involved.

9. In addition to the above, assistance is also available in the local government field through international loan programmes, bilateral and other multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations including philanthropic foundations.

10. All request for assistance from the United Nations must be initiated or approved by the Government concerned. In most countries a special national office has been designated to co-ordinate all forms of technical assistance and to serve as a channel for external assistance. In most African countries there are resident representatives of the Technical Assistance Board (UNTAB) who are accredited either to single countries or to two or more countries or territories. They assist Governments in programming and co-ordinating the technical assistance of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. The office of the UNTAB resident representative can provide additional information on technical and financial assistance available through the United Nations and the specialized agencies. If technical advice is needed in order to formulate a request for assistance, arrangements can usually be made for the regional adviser in local government or one of the other advisers in public administration at the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa to visit the country.

11. It is suggested that the Seminar discuss the types of technical assistance in local government - world-wide research, regional studies and meetings, and country projects - that would be most useful to their Governments.

ANNEX V

LIST OF DOCUMENTS ISSUED

Information for Participants

The following documents/papers were issued in connexion with the Seminar:

I. INTERNATIONAL UNION OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND THE UNITED NATIONS

- IULA STUDY Central Services to Local Authorities
Parts I, II & III (English only)
- ST/TAO/M/19 Decentralization for National and Local
Development (UN)
- ST/TAO/M/14 Public Administration Aspects of Community
Development Programmes (UN)

II. WORKING PAPERS

- E/CN.14/UAP/30 Consultant's Paper
- E/CN.14/UAP/30/
Add.1 Consultant's Paper
- E/CN.14/UAP/32 Consultant's Paper

III. SPECIAL PAPERS

- E/CN.14/UAP/17 Report on Local Government Study Tour of
Yugoslavia and India
- E/CN.14/UAP/31 Central and Local Government (by Sir John Wrigley)
- E/CN.14/UAP/33 United Nations Technical Assistance in Local
Government and Administration
- E/CN.14/UAP/36 The Contribution in Personnel and Training which
the Local Authorities of Developed Countries can
make to Local Government in Africa (IULA)

IV. AGENDA, PROGRAMME OF ACTIVITIES, ETC.

- E/CN.14/UAP/34 Provisional Agenda
E/CN.14/UAP/34/
Rev.1 Revised Provisional Agenda
E/CN.14/UAP/35 Programme of Activities
E/CN.14/UAP/35/
Rev.1 Revised Programme of Activities (French)
E/CN.14/UAP/35/
Add.1 Revised Programme of Activities for 6 - 7 July
E/CN.14/UAP/37 List of Documents issued

V. REPORT OF THE SEMINAR

- E/CN.14/UAP/37 Final Report of the Seminar

VI. NOTICES/ANNOUNCEMENTS

- E/CN.14/UAP/INF.5 Notes for the Information of Participants
E/CN.14/UAP/INF.7 Rules for the Conduct of Business
E/CN.14/UAP/INF.7/
Rev.1 Revised Rules for the Conduct of Business
E/CN.14/UAP/INF.8 Payments and Submissions of Claims
E/CN.14/UAP/INF.9 List of Participants