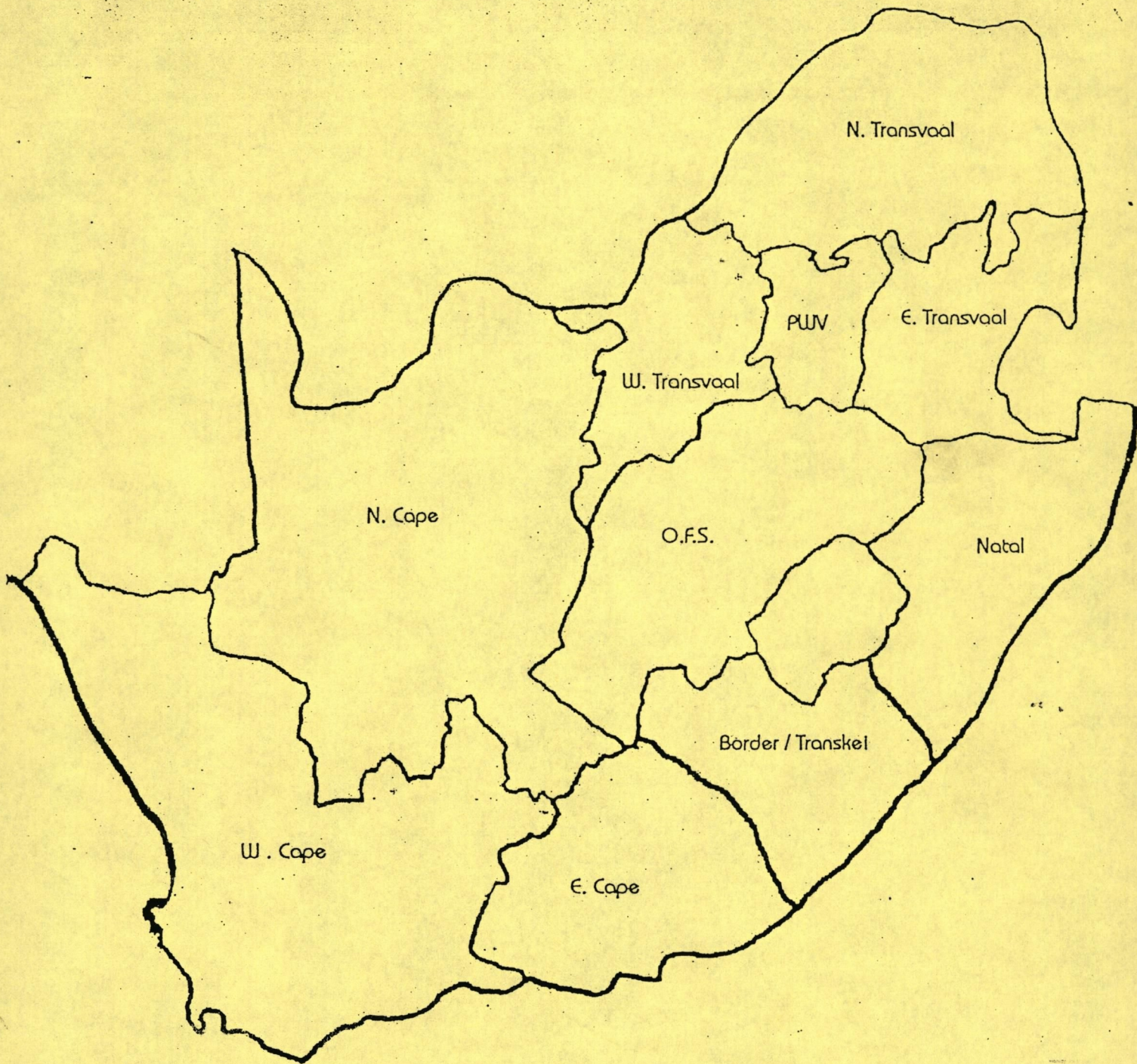


# TEN PROPOSED REGIONS IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

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*Discussion Document prepared by the  
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**This Document was prepared for Discussion  
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The Centre for Development Studies, UWC  
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## PROPOSED REGIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

We propose the following:

(i) South Africa shall be divided into ten regions -

Western Cape  
Northern Cape  
OFS  
Eastern Cape  
Border/Transkei  
Natal  
Eastern Transvaal  
Northern Transvaal  
PWV  
Western Transvaal

(ii) The boundaries as established in 1910 shall be maintained within the above structures.



## WHY WE WANT A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

One of the deepest longings of the great majority of South Africans is to overcome the divisions and hatreds of the past. We want to create a country which belongs equally to all and in which all feel equally free and equally respected. We want to make South Africa whole.

We share a profound repudiation of

the fragmentation of our society, of the way we were forced to live apart by Land, Urban and Group Areas Acts;

the division of our country into so-called white areas and Bantustans and homelands;

the separation of governmental functions into own affairs and general affairs;

the unequal apportionment of our life chances and opportunities;

the polarisation of the people of this country, so that we could not share the same symbols, owe allegiance to the same institutions or shout for the same teams.

For these reasons we long for a united South Africa, a single country with a single nationality, a single citizenship, a single loyalty and a single sense of belonging. Our destinies as South Africans are inextricably intertwined. Until now, the victory of the one group has always meant the humiliation of another. What we want above all is a country at peace with itself, in which we all share equally both in joy and in suffering.

We want equal rights and freedoms for all throughout the length and breadth of the country, an equal sense that we are protected by the law wherever we might be.

Guns, assegais and bombs abound in our country, belonging to a multiplicity of formations owing allegiance to a variety of bodies. We need a single, integrated defence force that is looked up to by the whole country, a single police force subject to a single set of principles and a single discipline that is respected by all. We cannot afford a fractured public power accountable to a multitude of local political warlords or ethnic demagogues.



We have more heads of state, more chief ministers, more cabinets, more chief justices, more bureaucracies than any country in the world of comparable population, and more departments of education than any country at all.

We want to rid ourselves of the shame of living in a country where children go without shoes or food or school places because of racial divisions, where homes are without water or dark at night for the same reason. Our right to go to school or be seen by a doctor or to give birth in safe conditions should not depend on which part of the country or what suburb of the city we live in.

Forty per cent of our people live in overcrowded and underdeveloped rural slums partially or wholly detached by law from the rest of the country. Another thirty per cent live in urban squalor in zones marginalised from ordinary city government.

The problems of deprivation do not start or stop at any artificially created boundary. We need schools, homes, food, clinics and jobs everywhere in South Africa. The problems are nation-wide, and require nation-wide efforts and nation-wide resources. Only in that way can we find nation-wide solutions.

#### WHY WE NEED VIGOROUS REGIONS IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

The creation of strong and vigorous regions is vital to the development of a united South Africa. All the abovementioned problems of disunity are to be found in every region. Within a framework of a national vision and policies, it is at the regional and local levels that practical, day-to-day solutions will have to be found. Each city and each region will have to be healed if the nation as a whole is to be healed. If we want non-racial democracy in South Africa as a whole, then we must achieve non-racial democracy in the regions.

Every country in the world accepts that decentralisation is necessary. At the very least, for the purposes of efficient administration, a certain degree of delegation of authority to persons on the spot is required. Economic development also necessitates integrated information-collecting on a region by region basis. Regionalisation is necessary for effective organisation of everything from policing to the



layout of electricity grids to the arrangement of sporting fixtures.

The case for vigorous regions is not, however, simply or even mainly a technical one. Democracy requires the active involvement of the citizenry at every level possible. Accountability depends in large part on visibility. We want government to be close to the people, and the people close to government.

Over-concentration of power in the hands of too few people is dangerous in any society. It permits abuse of authority, encourages remoteness of decision-making, and facilitates the growth of bureaucracy. We all know what it means to be governed by a distant Pretoria regime - we do not want to be governed by a remote Johannesburg regime, even if democratically elected.

Community organisations, trade unions, religious bodies and other organs of civil society are more effective in guaranteeing the rights of their members if they too are not over-centralised and unduly bureaucratic in their functioning.

We know from our own experience in the ANC that far from weakening the centre, strong regions make for a strong centre. The problem is not to oppose regions to the centre, but to achieve a correct and active interaction between the two.

In South Africa, the regions have a particularly important role to play.

A united South Africa is not achieved by riding a steamroller over the whole country, flattening out all local characteristics, and forcing a single model of behaviour into which all have to be assimilated. Nor is national unity built simply by shouting slogans and adopting symbols, important though national symbols might be.

The people come into the nation as they are, bringing in with them their languages, cultures and beliefs. Different parts of the country have different characteristics, particular kinds of social and cultural ambiances. Provided that these differences are not used for purposes of oppression or for keeping people poor and divided, and given that they will no longer be the bases for promoting hatred and violence against others, we can only welcome them. This is how our country is. We would like all South Africans to take pride in all of South Africa.



An appropriate regional policy will go a long way towards developing a sensitive and functional language policy. If Afrikaans is widely spoken in the Northern Cape, Zulu in Natal and Tswana in the Western Transvaal, there is no reason why this factor should not be taken into account in relation to the functioning of government in those areas.

Furthermore, giving attention to the regions will assist in the smooth re-integration of the TBVC states and the homelands into a united South Africa. The administrative experience gained will be subsumed both into the regional and the national structures. Without any area being hived off from the rest of the country, the cultural particularities of different areas will continue to express themselves.

Self-determination for the people living in these areas means claiming their full birthright as ordinary South Africans, entitled to share in the benefits of the whole country, and not continuing to exist as marginalised groups forced to stand in line as dependents waiting for hand-outs from Pretoria.

Democracy holds no threat for leaders who are in touch with the people. On the contrary, the fact that these areas are overpopulated will for once stand in their favour. As a result of a united struggle, the people will have gained the right to vote, and this will serve as a guarantee that their regions at last will receive proper attention and adequate resources.

#### THE CRITERIA FOR REGIONS

The criteria for the demarcation of regions should be those that would be adopted for purposes of good, democratic and efficient government anywhere in the world. Regions should not be created either to lock poverty through pseudo-ethnicity into certain areas, nor to segregate wealth through pseudo-race into others. They should be designed to help overcome fragmentation and division in our land, to promote democracy and facilitate the development of the whole country.

We envisage an organic, developmental approach towards the creation of national unity, not something forced from the top down. The idea is not to produce good-looking maps, but to establish regions that will function well, be acceptable



to the people in them and help solve the problems of our country.

We accordingly consider that the following are the criteria that should be followed:

The regions should be economically and socially functional. This means that regions should be large enough to incorporate those areas which are functionally interdependent, with appropriate communication links, and small enough to ensure coherent and meaningful planning and administration;

They should allow for balanced urban and rural development;

They should be compact, that is, without the fragmentation, peninsulas and enclaves which racial gerrymandering has brought to our country;

Size, population and geographic product should be given some weight, bearing in mind that for reasons of climate as well as because of the grossly uneven development of the country, equality of income has to be seen as a goal rather than a starting point;

The existence of old Provincial, district and magisterial boundaries, to which people have become accustomed and which are not associated with the policies of apartheid;

Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness. Although this might appear a rather subjective criterion, already quite a high degree of national consensus has been reached. In 1981 the Government published proposals for the creation of nine economic regions for the country. To a large extent, the criteria used were similar to those listed above. The Law Commission has recently recommended that regions for South Africa be demarcated according to the boundaries of the economic regions. Our proposals follow similar lines, with two qualifications, which will be mentioned below. Preliminary soundings indicate widespread support for the basic approach.

The two qualifications we make are as follows:

firstly, the proposal in the economic region approach to divide the Transkei into two, with the northern Transkei forming part of Natal, might make sense from a purely economic point of view, but is quite unviable from any other viewpoint. No-one regards northern Transkei as a natural or organic part of Natal. We propose instead that a tenth



region be created so as to include the present Ciskei, Border and Transkei areas, the northern boundary to coincide with the 1910 frontier of the Cape Province.

The second is that the 1910 boundaries be followed wherever relevant. This would be important for determining the demarcation line between Natal and Border/Kei as mentioned above, but also for rectifying certain anomalies that would arise from total adherence to the economic region boundaries. Two examples of this are that despite being physically in the Northern Cape, Mmbatho was placed in the Western Transvaal region, while Sasolberg was attached to the PWV rather than located in the OFS. In our view, Mmbatho is part of the Northern Cape and should not be excised from it, while Sasolberg has in the general mind always been considered part of the OFS, where it is situated.

It should be added that relatively minor adjustments could always be made according to acceptable procedures. Thus, for example, some have argued that the town of de Aar belongs naturally to the Western rather than the Northern Cape. Decisions on matters such as this should not hold up the basic demarcation of regions for the country.

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF REGIONS

We have long supported the idea of government being conducted at three levels, namely, national, regional and local. We envisage that the principles of non-racial democracy will be promoted at all three levels. This means that regional government will be accountable to the people of the region according to regular, free and fair elections.

The regions could also play an important role in determining the composition of the organs of power at the national level. If the Constituent Assembly adopts the ANC proposals with regard to elections for the National Assembly, then the members of Parliament will be chosen according to proportional representation, in terms of which half the M.P.s will be selected from national lists and half from regional lists. This will mean that persons in the regions will have a strong voice in the selection of candidates for Parliament, many of whom will be directly accountable to the regions in which they will have been chosen.

Similarly, while we do not as yet have definite proposals in relation to an Upper House, we have indicated preliminary support for the idea of having a Second Chamber which is



elected on the basis of regions and which has special responsibility for ensuring development in the regions.

Thirdly, as has been mentioned above, we envisage the development of a language policy which acknowledges that certain languages could be recognised on a regional basis for designated purposes, such as serving as languages of official record in those regions.

#### POWERS FOR THE REGIONS

What is needed at this stage is a clear concept of the role of the regions and the basic framework within which they will operate, rather than a detailed definition of their powers. In general terms, we feel that the Constitution should lay down what the powers of the regions are, and that it should not be left to the National Assembly to define them from time to time. We contemplate regional government functioning in a lively and democratic way in exercising the functions attributed to them. We do not see the regions as totally autonomous areas, however, capable of doing a kind of UDI against the rest of the nation.

To start with, the Bill of Rights laying down fundamental rights and freedoms, will apply equally throughout the land. We cannot have the sort of situation such as applied for many years in the USA where the doctrine of State Rights was used to ban the teaching of evolution in the State of Tennessee, or to maintain race segregation in Alabama. We want basic rights and freedoms to be inviolable throughout the country.

Secondly, we cannot imagine peace coming to this country if we have a multiplicity of regional armies and police forces. We are not saying that every traffic cop should belong to the same force. We are affirming as strongly as we can that the major law enforcement agencies and defenders of the peace should be subject to national standards, control and discipline. We favour the idea of these being impartial, non-racial agencies accountable to the public as a whole.

Thirdly, we see national and regional tasks as being complementary rather than competing. The function of the national government is to develop the basic lines of advance for the country. This means adopting legislation setting out the principles for development and the framework for their realisation and also attributing the necessary revenue.



Development itself takes place largely at the level of the region. It is here that decisions are taken as how best to implement the general laws of the land, taking into account local conditions.

None of this is new for South Africa. Until the Tricameral institutions were introduced, this was how Provincial and Central Government operated. The Provinces had defined areas of competence, including such important fields as education, health and roads. These were not areas exclusively reserved to the Provinces, but, rather, areas where they exercised concurrent authority with the Central Government. Ordinances from the Province and Acts of Parliament were interpreted wherever possible as being mutually supportive; in the case of a clear conflict, however, the Act of Parliament overrode the Ordinance.

Theoretically, even the powers of the Provinces could be taken away by an Act of Parliament. With a new entrenched Constitution, attention will have to be given to the question of whether the powers of the regions should be entrenched, subject to the right of the national legislature to adopt legislation binding on the whole country, including the regions.

If one takes health as an example. It is difficult to imagine the huge health problems of the country being solved in a piecemeal way. We will need national policies in relation to training, the creation of health delivery services, immunisation, health education, notification of diseases and so on. At the same time, it will be impossible for the centre to decide on every question of where hospitals or clinics should be built. There has to be regional decision-making and implementation within the context of regional development policies and in touch with regional needs and sensibilities.

Finally, more important often than powers is the question of revenue. The development of South Africa is going to be dependent on sensible and functional systems of raising and spending funds. Many countries have found that regional equalisation funds have played a vital role in overcoming regional disparities. Great attention will have to be paid to the whole question of taxing powers and the criteria to be used for the expenditure of state funds.

In summary, we envisage building on the old system of Provincial and Central Government, with ten regions instead of four provinces and a strong emphasis on non-racialism and accountability at all levels.



## PROPOSED REGIONAL BREAKDOWN (APPROXIMATE 1989 FIGURES)

The following table indicates some basic statistics on each of the ten proposed regions. Please note the following:

1. **POPULATION:** This was the approximate 1989 population (the undercount rates are usually substantially higher for blacks than whites).
2. **GROSS GEOGRAPHIC PRODUCT:** This is a simple index of wealth generated within a region.
3. **MALE ABSENTEEISM:** This is an index of migrancy. Negative figures reflect relative absenteeism of male workers, and positive figures reflect the presence of migrant workers from elsewhere.

	POPULATION	GGP	MALE ABSENTEEISM
1. WESTERN CAPE	3512 (9.5%)	12.9%	8.8%
2. NORTHERN CAPE	1101 (3.0%)	1.9%	-4.0%
Cape Province	750 (2.0%)	1.8%	13.2%
Bophuthatswana	351 (1.0%)	0.1%	-39.4%
3. ORANGE FREE STATE	2631 (7.1%)	6.3%	26.2%
Orange Free State	2286 (6.1%)	6.0%	35.9%
QwaQwa	277 (0.8%)	0.2%	-34.2%
Bophuthatswana	68 (0.2%)	0.1%	-18.2%
4. EASTERN CAPE	1934 (5.2%)	5.4%	4.1%
Cape Province	1934 (5.2%)	5.4%	4.1%
Border Corridor	TO	BE	SUBTRACTED
5. BORDER	3908(10.6%)	1.9%	
Ciskei	804 (2.2%)	1.0%	-28.7%
Border Corridor	TO	BE	ADDED
Transkei	3104 (8.4%)	0.9%	-50.0%
6. NATAL	7440(20.1%)	14.5%	-14.0%
Natal	2585 (7.0%)	12.8%	8.9%
Kwazulu	4855(13.1%)	1.7%	-27.7%
7. EASTERN TRANSVAAL	1969 (5.3%)	9.4%	26.2%
Transvaal	1406 (3.8%)	9.2%	50.7%
KaNgwane	563 (1.5%)	0.2%	-27.0%
8. NORTHERN TRANSVAAL	4276(11.5%)	3.0%	-36.8%
Transvaal	498 (1.3%)	1.7%	26.7%
Lebowa	2560 (6.9%)	0.7%	-42.8%
Gazankulu	693 (1.9%)	0.3%	-48.7%
Venda	525 (1.4%)	0.3%	-47.8%
9. PWV	8520(23.0%)	38.8%	35.8%
Transvaal	7363(19.8%)	38.1%	44.4%
KwaNdebele	392 (1.1%)	0.1%	-30.4%
Bophuthatswana	765 (2.1%)	0.5%	-13.5%
10. WESTERN TRANSVAAL	1789 (4.8%)	5.9%	22.1%
Transvaal	1052 (2.8%)	4.4%	53.5%
Bophuthatswana	737 (2.0%)	1.5%	-15.5%
<b>TOTAL SOUTH AFRICA</b>	<b>37080(100.%)</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>0.9%</b>



## LAW COMMISSION FIGURES FOR ETHNICITY IN NINE ECONOMIC REGIONS

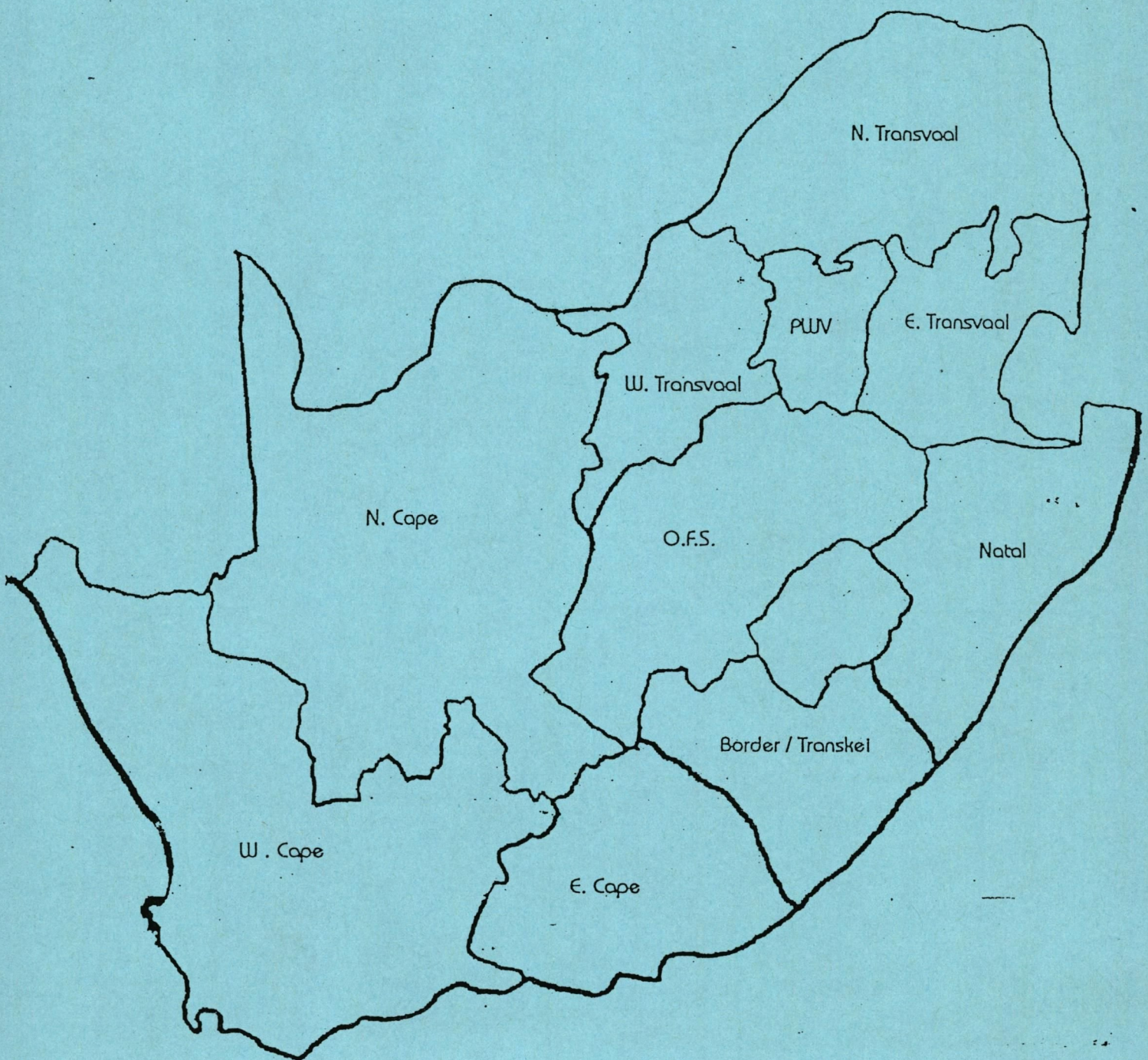
	WHITES	COLOUR-EDS	ASIANS	BLACK PEOPLE											
				TOTAL	XHOSA	ZOELDE	SWAZI	SOUTHERN NDEBELE	NORTHERN NDEBELE	NORTHERN SOTHO	SOUTHERN SOTHO	TSWANA	TSONGA	VENDA	OTHER
A WEST CAPE	25,9	61,2	0,6	12,3	11,4	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1
B NORTH CAPE	17,9	42,4	0,3	39,4	8,9	0,6	0,1	<0,1	<0,1	0,5	2,0	26,8	0,1	<0,1	<0,1
C OFS	16,1	3,3	<0,1	80,6	12,2	9,9	0,6	1,5	0,5	0,7	46,7	7,3	0,6	<0,1	0,5
D EAST CAPE	23,6	22,1	0,7	53,6	51,2	0,2	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1	1,9	0,1	<0,1	<0,1	<0,1
E NATAL	9,5	1,7	11,3	77,5	2,5	73,2	0,6	0,2	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,1
F EAST TVL	16,1	1,0	0,5	82,4	2,7	12,9	34,0	5,2	3,0	10,2	4,0	1,5	9,1	0,2	0,6
G NORTH TVL	4,2	0,2	0,1	95,5	0,4	0,6	1,2	0,9	4,4	61,4	0,1	2,0	22,8	1,6	0,1
H PWV	35,5	4,1	2,0	58,4	6,9	11,3	4,1	4,3	1,6	7,8	8,5	7,9	4,1	1,4	0,5
J WEST TVL	25,0	3,4	0,7	70,9	12,7	2,1	0,6	0,2	0,2	1,6	9,0	42,2	1,5	0,2	0,6

TABLE TAKEN FROM THE LAW COMMISSION REPORT ON CONSTITUTIONAL OPTIONS

NOTE: THE CREATION OF A TENTH REGION (BORDER/TRANSKEI) MEANS THAT THE FIGURES FOR EASTERN CAPE AND NATAL WILL HAVE TO BE ALTERED. WE ALSO FEEL THAT THE FIGURES GIVEN ABOVE ARE OUT OF DATE BUT NEVERTHELESS THEY SERVE AS A ROUGH GUIDE



# TEN PROPOSED REGIONS IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA





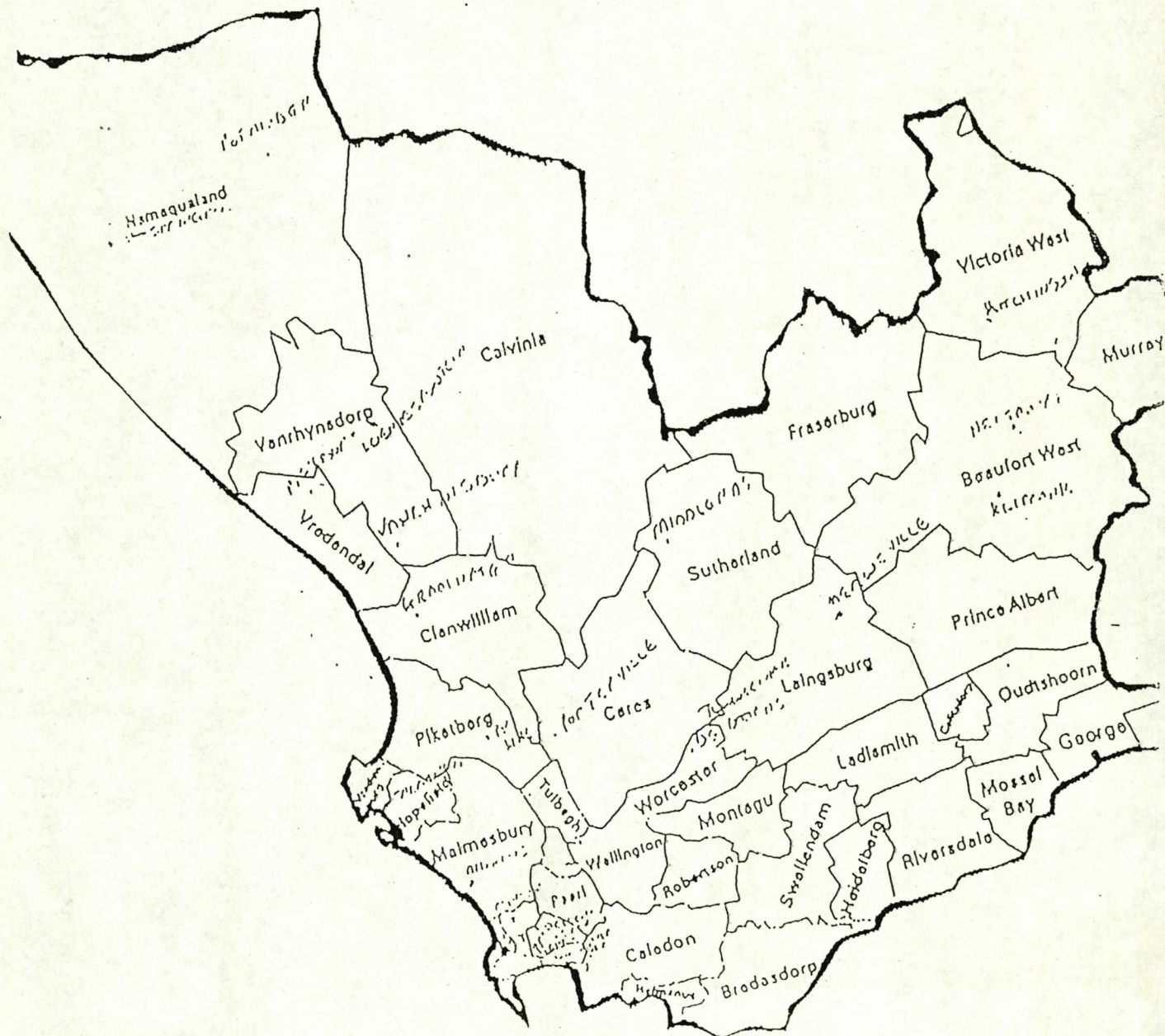
# ECONOMIC REGIONS

Existing magisterial districts are shown.

## A. WESTERN CAPE:

The Western Cape has a total population of about 3,5 million. Just over half the population have been classified under apartheid laws as Coloured, about a quarter as White and the rest are African.

The dominant language is Afrikaans although within the Cape Town Metropolitan area a high proportion of English-speakers may be found. Xhosa is also increasingly being spoken.

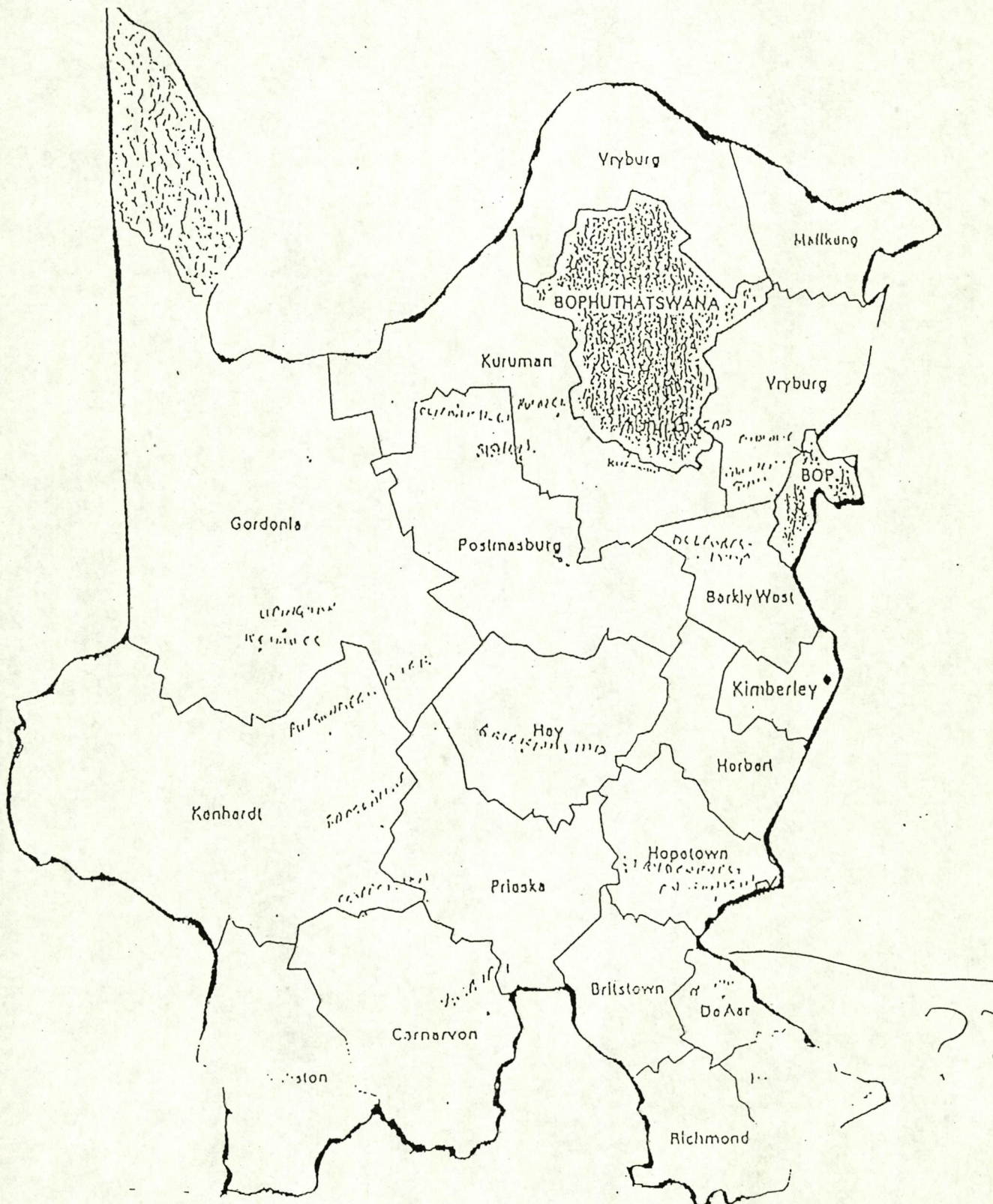




## B. NORTHERN CAPE:

The Northern Cape has a total population of 1,1 million. It has a total White population of approximately 18%, an African population of 40% and a Coloured population of 42%. The main languages are Afrikaans and Tswana.

If, as we propose, the 1910 boundaries are followed, then Mmabatho forms part of this region.





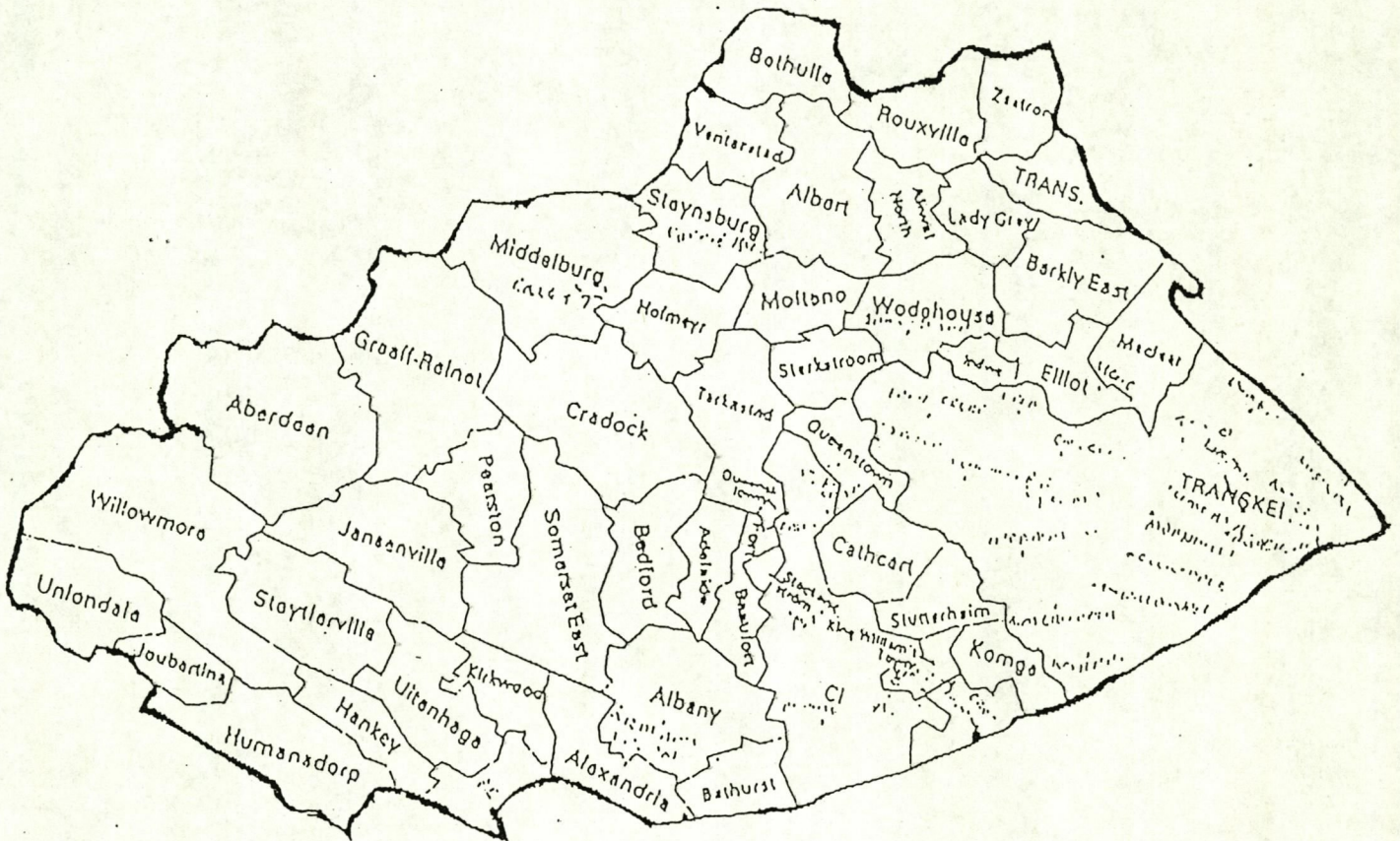




#### D. EASTERN CAPE:

The Eastern Cape, as an economic region is divided into three areas. Eastern Cape, Border and Southern Transkei with a total population of 4,446 million (1,276 million, 1,370 million and 1,800 million respectively.) The total White population constitutes nearly 24%, Coloured 22% and African 54%. The main languages spoken are Xhosa, English and Afrikaans.

We propose the creation of a separate region for Border-Transkei, including the Northern Transkei, the boundaries to be fixed according to the 1910 frontier between the Cape Province and Natal.



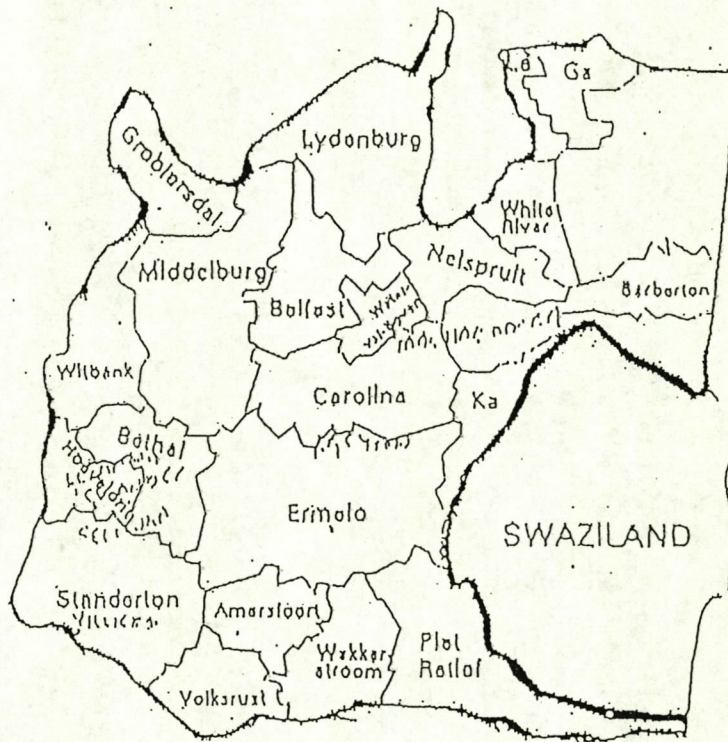






F. EASTERN TRANSVAAL:

This region has a total population of 2 million. The total White population for this region is 16% and the African population is 82%. The main languages are Swati and Afrikaans. Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga and Ndebele are also spoken.





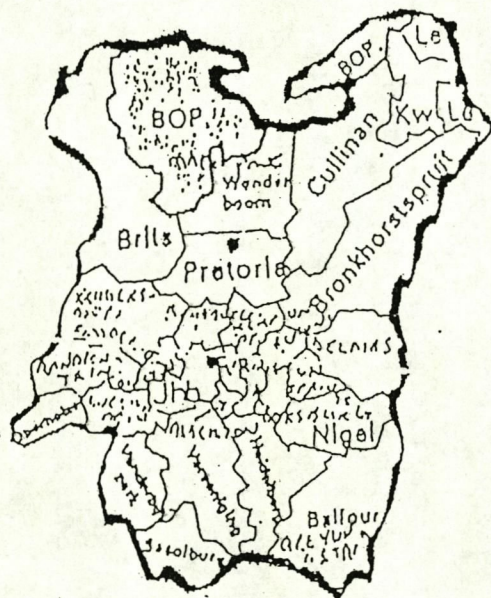




H. PWV:

This region has a total population of 8,5 million. This region has a total White population of 36%, an African population of 58% and Coloured/Asian population of 6%. All the languages of South Africa are spoken here.

If, as we propose, the 1910 boundaries are followed then Sasolburg will not be in this region but in the OFS.

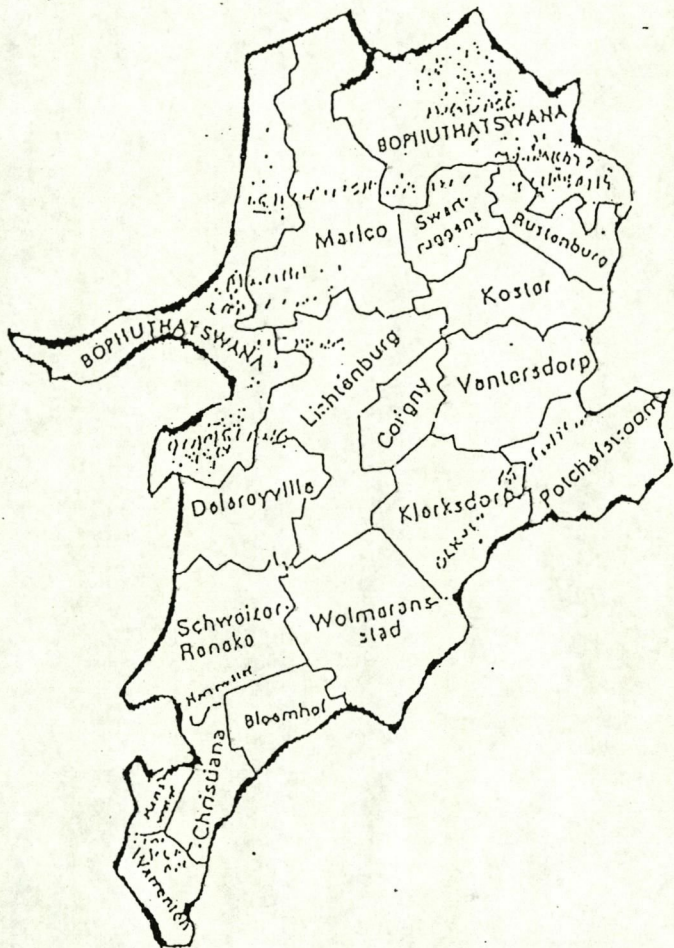




## J. WESTERN TRANSVAAL:

The total population of this region is 1,8 million. It has a total White population of 25%, an African population of 71% and a Coloured/Asian population of 4%. The main languages are Tswana and Afrikaans. Xhosa and Sotho are also spoken.

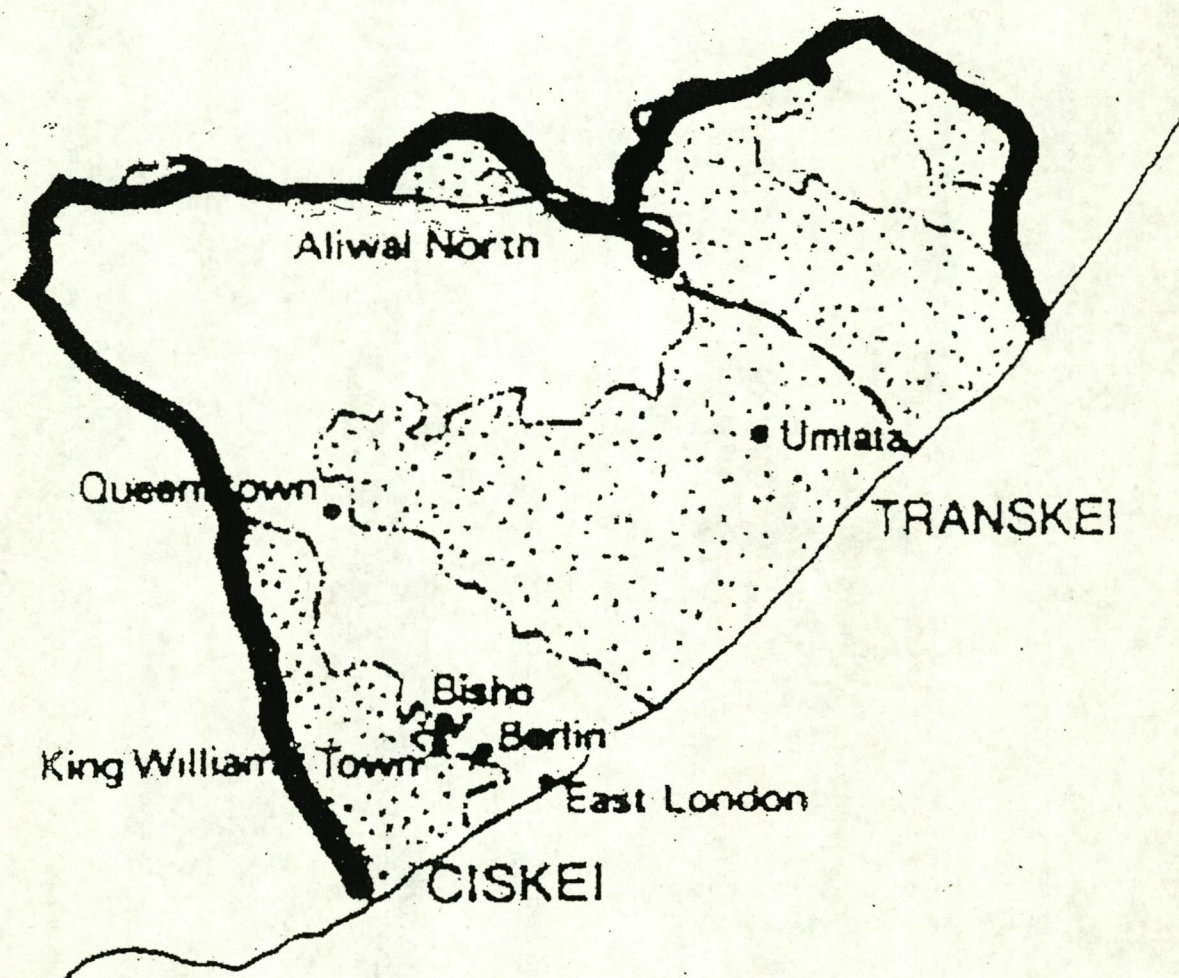
If, as we propose, the 1910 boundaries are followed then Mmabatho will not form part of this region but will be in the Northern Cape.





## PROPOSED BORDER / TRANSKEI REGION

Population figures for this region have to be calculated.  
The overwhelming majority of inhabitants speak Xhosa, while English and Afrikaans are also spoken. The area around East London provides an industrial base.  
Boundaries based on 1910 provincial boundaries.



Please note that this is a very rough map drawn to give an idea of the territory to be included in the region. A more refined map including magisterial districts and outlining precisely the 1910 frontiers will have to be produced.