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Extensive debate is necessary. Above all, people should be able to pronounce on the regions they want to live in. They have a right to know the options and implications. We present a few skeleton ideas to help promote discussion.

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For: Constitutional Committee

DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

INTRODUCTION

Our constitutional principles suggest that our future constitution should have three levels of government: national, regional and local. Each level of government will have certain, as yet undetermined, functions and powers. *We have to move from talking about regions to defining defining them.*

The territorial division of South Africa is potentially one of the most emotive issues in the constitutional debate. This is partly because apartheid created a mosaic of territorial units and through ~~that~~ gerrymandering carved up South Africa:

racial

- * into separate areas for blacks and whites,

- * into areas controlled by bantustan governments and those controlled by the ~~central~~ government,

central

- * into areas which sent out migrant labourers and ~~into~~ those areas which received them,

~~and so on.~~

While we believe South Africa is indivisible, recognition must be given to the oft-expressed views that South Africa will need to be divided into regions for the purposes of regional government and development.

Of course, the very suggestion that there should be three geographical levels of government begs certain questions: why do we need these territorial units?, what principles should be used in determining the territorial breakdowns? What might be the best regional breakdown? and the like.

This discussion paper makes suggestions, at a regional level, on how our country may be divided. The first section suggests some of the principles which should be used in defining regions,

WHY DO WE NEED REGIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

The history of apartheid provides us with many reasons why there is a need for a level of government and administration between the national and local levels. On the one hand, there are arguments revolving around the problems with a highly centralised system of government. These

of overcentralisation.

INSERT A

It is important, but not easy, to establish objective and acceptable criteria for determining regional boundaries. We know what we do not want: we do not want any form of Bantustans, in terms of which ethnicity is combined with poverty to keep the people divided and indigent. ~~We do not want~~ ^{Not do we} to lock up the country's resources in zones of racial privilege. We want something that will help overcome fragmentation and inequality, but in a way which is organic and developmental rather than top-down and forced.

Accordingly, to set the ball rolling, we suggest the following criteria:

Too much power can be concentrated into the hands of too few people; ~~and could facilitate too many abuses of power other than those created by~~

These include, that:

- * ~~the~~ over-concentration of authority, administration and government leads to a wide variety of inefficiencies and inequities.

- * there is a need to avoid bureaucratic remoteness. *must be avoided*

- * there is a need for integrated economic development at a scale higher than the locality, but lower than the nation. *is required*

- * there is a need to acknowledge the specificity of regions. This specificity is a complex of economic, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and many other historically produced factors. *must be acknowledged*

On the other hand, there are arguments revolving around the problems with a highly dispersed system of government (such as the system of local government home rule as found in the U.S.A.). *created by*

These include:

totally decentralised local

- * recognising the advantages to be attained through integrated regional development.

- * ensuring effective planning can occur to make appropriate allowances for the future.

- * ensuring equal opportunities are realised for all people within regions.

In addition, powerful arguments may be made for a regional level of government which actively aims at:

on a non-racial basis;

- * reuniting the country;

- * *encouraging* democratic participation in government *(ment)*
- * allowing for economic development and the redistribution of resources at a regional level; and

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

promoting local initiative;

PRINCIPLES TO BE USED IN DEFINING REGIONS

SEE PAGE to LEFT

Bearing in mind the points raised above, in considering the definition of regions the following should be taken into account: *INSERT A*

- * The regions should be economically and socially functional. In terms of the former, the regions should be large enough to incorporate those areas which are

INSERT B

We must be aware that the regions could be important in the structuring of central government. If proportional representation on regional ~~lists~~ as well as national lists is used, then the regional factor will play a role in the composition of parliament. Similarly, many people have suggested a degree of regional representation in the Upper House or Senate.

functionally interdependent with each other, but small enough to ensure coherent planning and administration can occur. Communication links are important here. In terms of the latter, care should be exercised to ~~try and~~ ensure the regions are inclusive of linguistic, ethnic, and other community-related groups so as to give effect to more appropriate planning for the needs of such groups.

That

* *urban - rural* The regions should allow for balanced development. ~~This point relates to the fact that the regions should be large enough to include the widely divergent, but contiguous, areas presently existing in South Africa.~~

* *rural* The regions should be compact. The gerrymandering in South Africa has reinforced a tendency for regions to be disjointed, elongated, etc. Instead, regions should be as compact as is practicable.

* The regional boundaries should take into account population size. While this principle is less significant, a strong case may be made for trying to ensure regions are approximately equal in size and geographic product. However, this is very difficult to achieve in practice, particularly as one moves towards more regions.

* *all things being equal, should* The regional boundaries should, ~~where possible,~~ take into account existing boundaries. While this is the least important principle, there are ~~many~~ reasons why we should be cognizant of existing boundaries.

using old provincial boundaries, for example

These principles should be applied in such a way that we are able to actively move away from apartheid, overcoming: (i) the enormous fragmentation and inequalities, (ii) the harmful ethnic divisions, and (iii) the regional imbalances.

INSERT B

Overall, we need to allow for a multiplicity of regions, without this leading to greater bureaucracy. Areas need to be grouped on an integrative, nonracial basis in a way that encourages accountability, local initiative, efficiency in the provision of services and facilities, and a more equitable distribution of the social surplus.

Caps.

POSSIBLE REGIONAL OPTIONS

Before we make a proposal it is worth reviewing some of the historical experience which might inform us in the definition of regions in a nonracial, united, nonsexist and democratic South Africa. These are as follows:

1. PROVINCES

One option might be to revert back to a Provincial system. Here, there would be four Provinces (Natal, Cape, OFS and Transvaal) and it is important to note that such an arrangement would probably be the easiest for South Africans to relate to. However, there are a variety of problems associated with such a model: (i) the Cape is too vast for effective administration and regional government; (ii) there is an emerging regionalism which suggests smaller regional units; (iii) the economic (over 40% of the GDP) and demographic power (over 40% of the population) of the

Defining Regions

consciousness is reflected, e.g. in shopping habits and our own structures.

Transvaal would be considered overwhelming.

2. EXISTING ANC REGIONS

During the 1980's, the UDF and COSATU constituted themselves nationally, but with distinctive regional executives and organisation. In the case of COSATU, they divided the country into nine regions:

- Highveld
- Northern Transvaal
- Witwatersrand
- OFS/Northern Cape
- Western Cape
- Eastern Cape
- Southern Natal
- Northern Natal

For the UDF, South Africa was divided into eight regions:

- Northern Transvaal
- Southern Transvaal
- OFS
- Western Cape
- Eastern Cape
- Border
- Natal
- Northern Cape

While both organisations recognised the importance of regional structures, in the case of COSATU their focus was primarily on the urbanised (and therefore industrialised) regions in South Africa, and for the UDF a variety of problems began to emerge in the late 1980's (such as in Natal where the organisation was essentially Durban-based). *For practical reasons the TRVC were not included.*

When the NEC made suggestions on legally re-forming the ANC, it was suggested that 14 regions would be created. These were to be based around particular centres, and no regional boundaries were set. The enclosed map makes some suggestions which are based to a certain extent on some of the criteria set above.

It should be noted that the experience of having fourteen regions has *brought out* ~~emphasised~~:

- (i) the ~~major~~ differences which exist between the regions in terms of population, communications, ethnicity, economic potential, etc.;
- (ii) the lack of clarity in terms of the actual demarcation of regions (for example, between Border and the Eastern Cape; between the three regions of Natal where it becomes rather arbitrary to put areas into different regions);

Insert C

In our view, these economic regions appear to be based on relatively objective, ^{non-racial} criteria. They appear to make sense from the point of view of economic development and communications, and their composition will be such as to encourage a sense of shared belonging without extinguishing regional characteristics.

(iii) the problems with creating ethnic regions (Transkei is a creation of apartheid and the question has been raised: are we not simply accepting the ethnic divisions?); and (iv) a related point is that some areas do not fit comfortably into the regional breakdowns (such as Umzimkulu ~~and~~ in Transkei which it might be argued should fall into Southern Natal).

3. THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT

In 1981 the government divided the country into 9 development regions. They used a system of organising the country in terms of development needs: the need for employment creation, the need for a higher standard of living, and the potential a region had to satisfy its own employment needs through economic growth. This produced a ranking of regions based on the development needs from the areas with most need (highest score) to the areas of lowest need (lowest score):

Eastern Cape	9
Natal	8
Northern Transvaal	8
Western Cape	6
Western Transvaal	6
OFS	6
Eastern Transvaal	6
PWV	4

as a separate area

The division of the country into these nine regions was the first formal recognition by government that the bantustans were not and couldn't be economically (and therefore politically) independent. The regions (see Map) cut across bantustan borders and in some cases parts of single bantustans are incorporated into different regions. It should be noted the regions are very similar to those proposed by the ANC, except for: (i) Transkei doesn't exist as it is split between Eastern Cape and Natal; (ii) eastern Cape and Border and Southern Transkei are combined into one region; and (iii) Natal is a single region. *(ii) OFS is a single region.*

INSERT

If these regions are left undifferentiated, they don't allow for the relatively substantial intra-regional variation. For example, in Region E (natal and Northern Transkei) clear sub-regional differences exist between the Durban Functional Region, Midlands, North Coast, Northern Natal, Lower South Coast). This is very different to say the situation in Northern Cape where fewer sub-regions exist.

Accordingly, we propose the creation of sub-regions of counties for purposes of administrative de-centralisation within the regions

PROPOSAL FOR A REGIONAL BREAKDOWN

It is suggested that the country have three levels of government with the following distinctions made at each level of government:

1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT
2. REGIONS *Corresponding to* BASED ON THE NINE DEVELOPMENT REGIONS
 Each region could in turn be broken down into counties

as follows, which would be development management units):

- Western Cape (4)
- Northern Cape (3)
- Orange Free State (2)
- Eastern Cape (4)
- Natal (5)
- Eastern Transvaal (2)
- Northern Transvaal (2)
- PWV (4)
- Western Transvaal (2)

3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT

At least three forms of Local Government would be found: Metropolitan Government, Local Authorities, Rural Authorities

Urban

COMMENTARY

These are rule of thumb proposals, designed to get discussion going. The most controversial aspects are likely to relate to the eastern seaboard zone, and in particular to the future of the Transkei. While the people in Pondoland might look northwards to Natal for economic links, this does not mean that they would not prefer to look south for administrative links. On the other hand, the idea of the Transkei

Defining Regions as the only uni-ethnic region is not attractive, though Transkei-Border would be more acceptable. 6

REGIONAL SUMMARIES (SEE TABLES 1 AND 2)

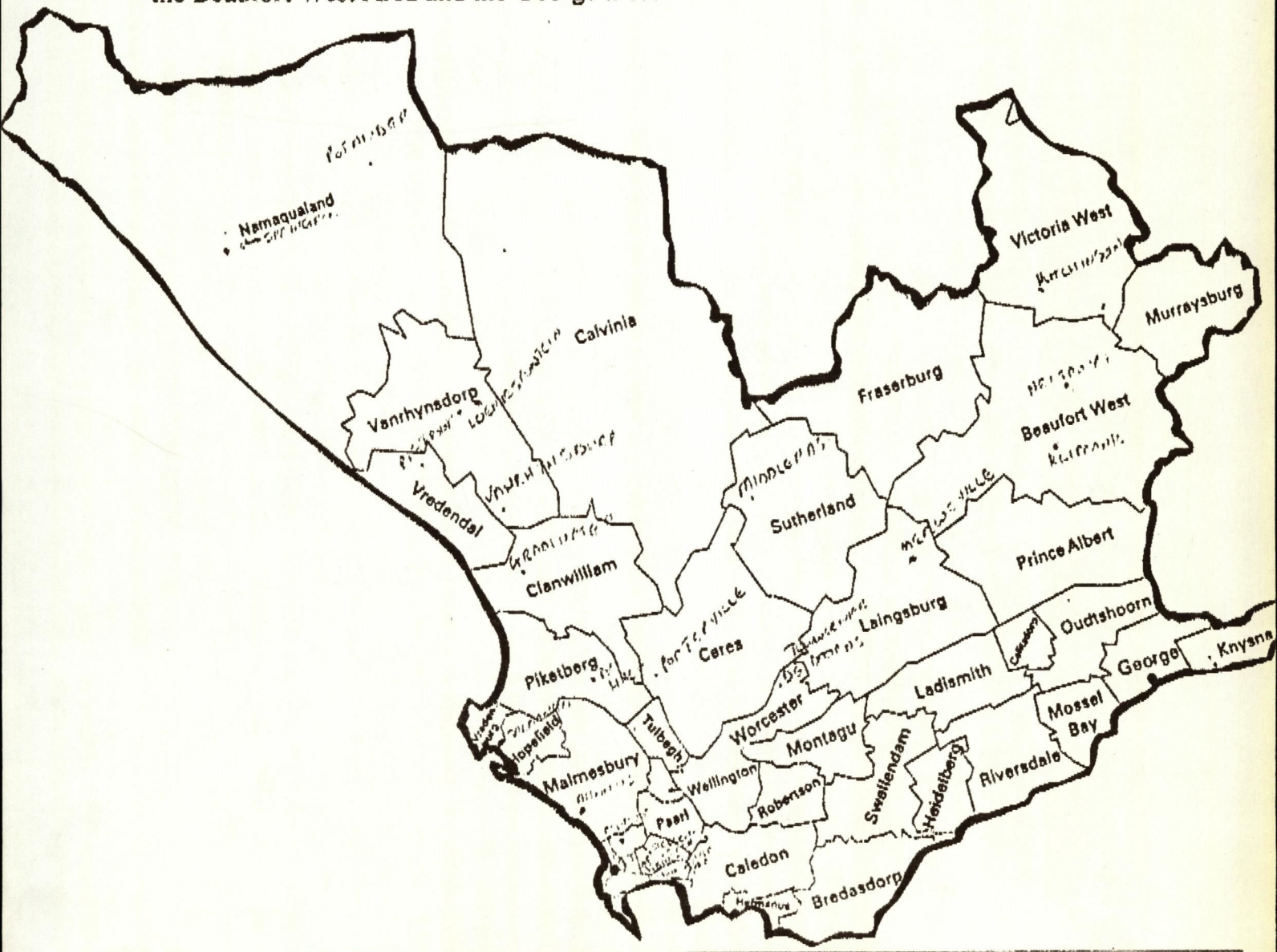
(These will ultimately have suggestions in respect of approximate counties)

1. Western Cape *CAPS*

The Western Cape has a total population of about 3,475 million. About 10 percent of the total population are less than five years of age and 10 percent of the total population are greater than fifty five years. About a quarter of the population is White and little less than a quarter of the population is African. Women make up 41 percent of the total African population.

The dominant language is Afrikaans although within the Cape Town Metropolitan area a high proportion of English speakers may be found.

Counties might be centered around the Cape Town Functional Region, the Namaqualand area, the Beaufort West Area and the George area.

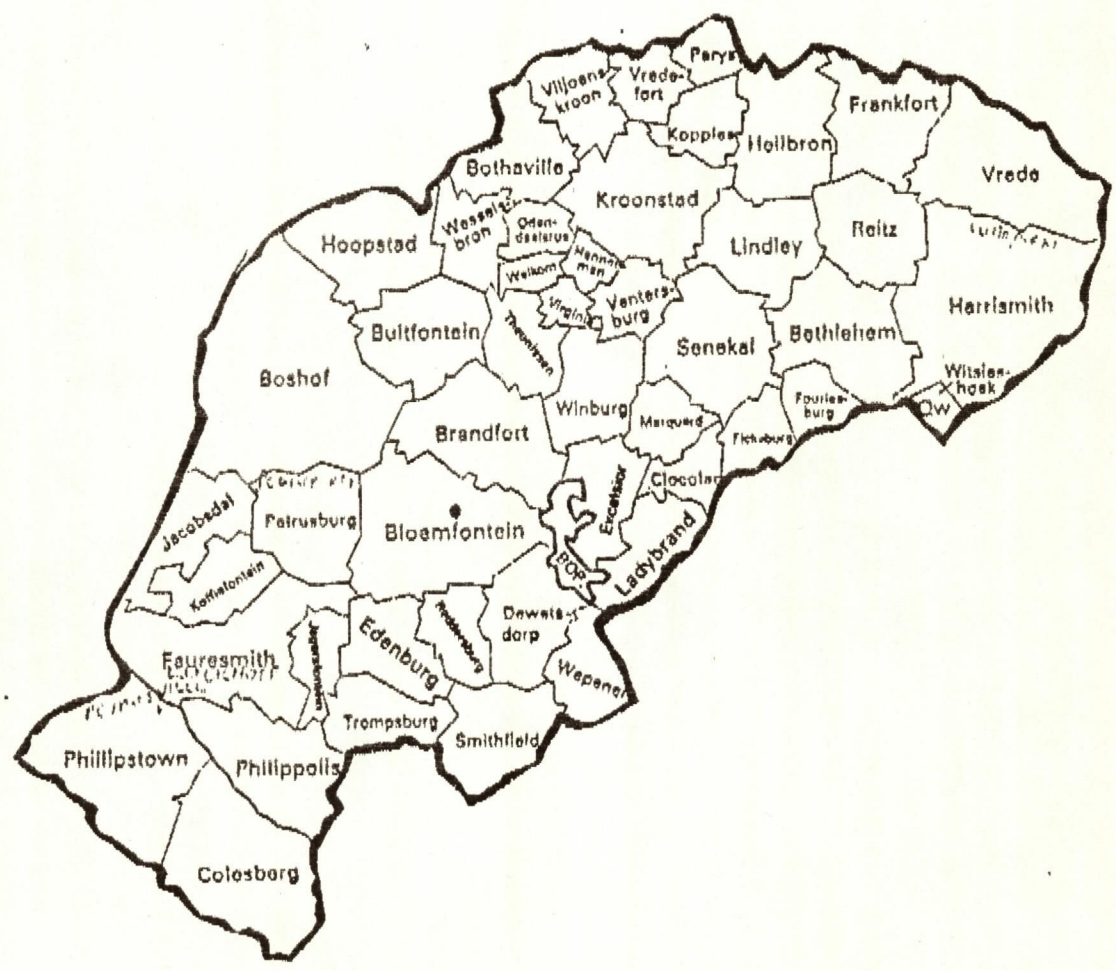


Defining Regions

3. Orange Free State:

The O.F.S. is divided into two, Northern and Southern Orange Free State. It has a total population of 2,216 million or 0,682 million for S. O.F.S. and 1,534 million for N. O.F.S. ~~Approximately 11 percent of the total population is below five years of age and 9 percent is above fifty-five years of age. The total White population for O.F.S. is 14 percent, and 83 percent of the population are African. African women represent a little less than half of the total African population.~~ (15) *The main languages are Sotho and Afrikaans.*

~~Counties might be centered around Bloemfontein-Botshabelo in the South and Welkom in the North.~~



4. Eastern Cape:

Cape

is represented in Economic Region

(with)

The Eastern Cape is divided into three regions: E. Cape, Border and S. Transkei, each region has a total population of 1,276 million, 1,370 million, and 1,800 million respectively. Approximately 22 percent of the total population are under five years of age 5 percent are above fifty-five years. The total White population is 14 percent and the African population is 71 percent. African women represent half the total African population.

The main languages spoken are Xhosa and English

Counties might assume the rough outline of ANC regions in the area and be centered around: Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage, East London, Umtata and Aliwal North.

Consideration should be given to creating a separate region for Border-Transkei, and possibly enlarging Eastern Cape westwards.

(and Afrikaans)



5. Natal:

as an Economic Region

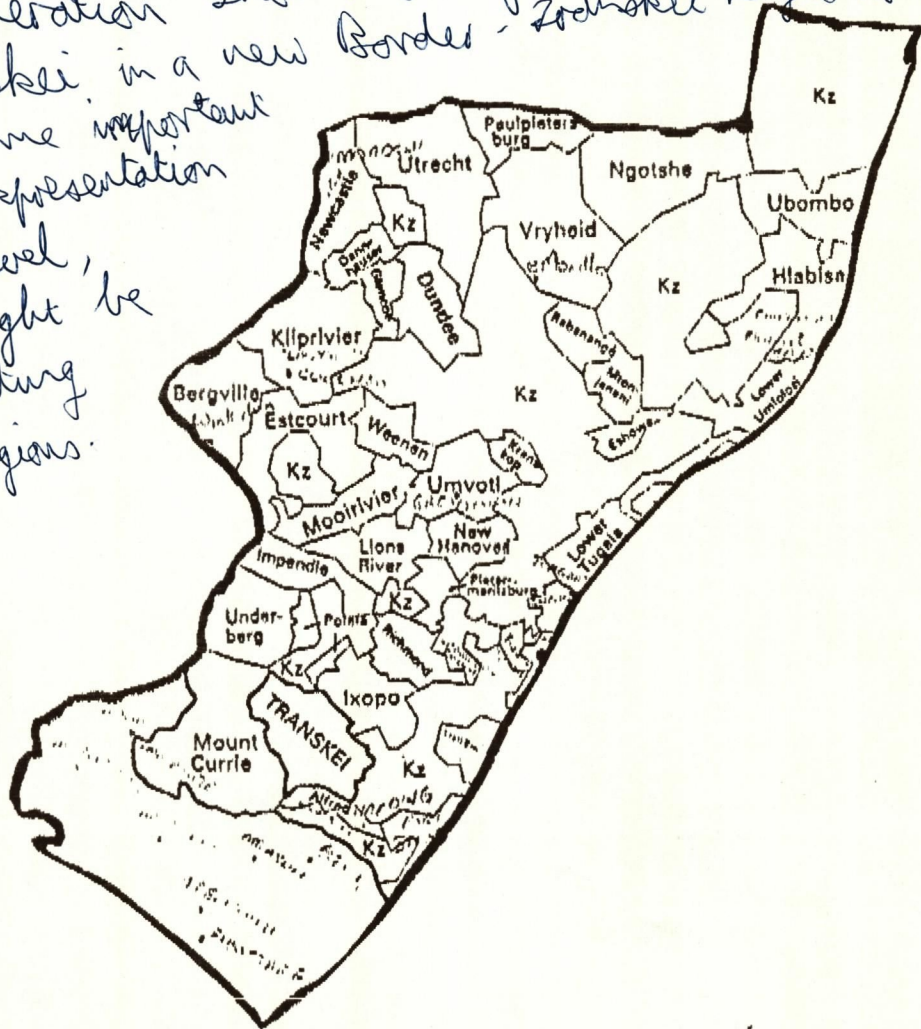
Natal is divided into four regions: Natal South, Midlands, Northern Natal and North Transkei. *with*
Each region has a population of 2,849, 0,962, 3,257, and 1,800 million respectively. ~~About 20 percent of the total population are below five years of age and 7 percent are above fifty-five years of age.~~ The total White population is 6 percent and the African population 82 percent. ~~Women represent more than half the African population.~~

Counties might be centered around: the Durban Functional region, Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Empangeni, Port Shepstone, Matatiele.

The main languages are Zulu, English and Afrikaans

Consideration should be given to placing Transkei Region.

Northern Transkei in a new Border of regions become important for purposes of representation at a national level, consideration might be given to counting Natal as two Regions.



6. Eastern Transvaal:

This region has a total population of 1,903,000. ~~Approximately 5 percent of the population are below five years of age and 5 percent are above fifty five years of age. The total White population for this region is 18 percent and an African population of 81 percent. African women comprise a little less than half of the total African population.~~

000's
The main language are Swati, Zulu and Afrikaans.

~~Counties might be centered around: Nelspruit and Ermelo.~~

Consideration should be given to placing part of the East Rand in this Region.



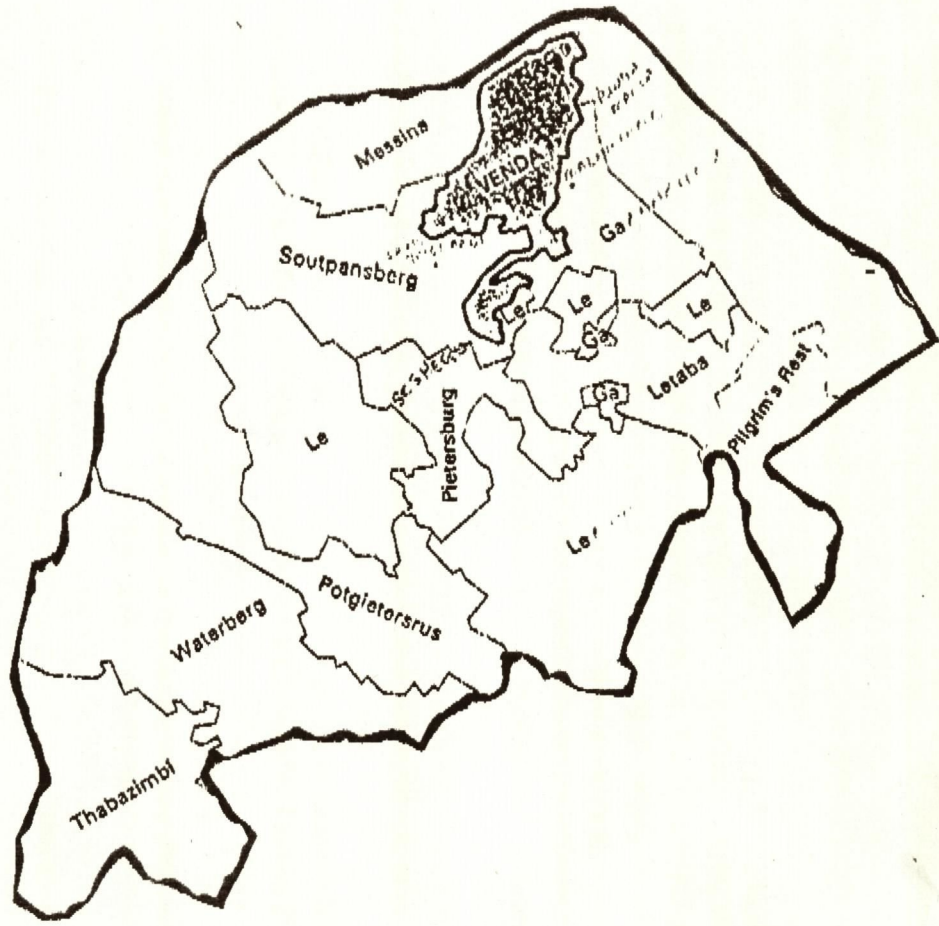
Caps

7. Northern Transvaal:

This regions has a population of 4,127 million of which ~~16 percent are under five years of age and 9 percent are above fifty five years of age.~~ It has a total White population of 4 percent and an African population of 96 percent. ~~African women represent more than half of the total African population.~~

The main languages are Pedi, Venda and Afrikaans.

~~Counties might be centered around Pietersburg and Messina.~~



8. PWV:

This region has a total population 6,928 million. ~~Approximately 8 percent of the population is below five years of age and 7 percent are above fifty-five years of age.~~ This region has a total White population of 28 percent and an African population of 68 percent. ~~African women constitute just under half of the total African population.~~

all the languages of South Africa are spoken here

Counties might be centred around: Central Rand, West Rand, East Rand, North Rand.

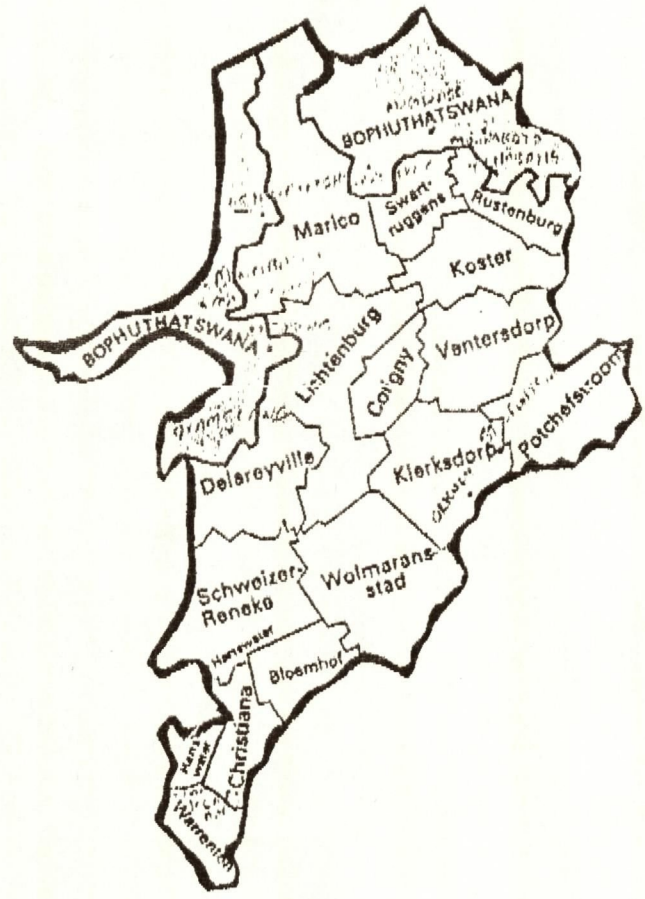


Baps

9. Western Transvaal

The total population of this region is 1,450 million of which ~~14 percent are under five years and 9 percent are over fifty-five years.~~ It has a total White population of 16 percent and an African population of 82 percent. ~~African women comprise 44 percent of the total African population.~~

The main languages are Tswana and Afrikaans.
~~Counties might be centred around Klerksdorp and Mmabatho~~



**TABLE 1:
APPROXIMATE DEMOGRAPHIC BREAKDOWN FOR
ANC REGIONS AND DEVELOPMENT REGIONS**

	POPULATION(3)	ANC REGION	DEVELOPMENT REGION
A. Western Cape	3 475	10%	10%
B. Northern Cape	1 441	4%	4%
C. O.F.S.			6%
- South	682	2%	
- North	1 534	4%	
D. Eastern Cape			13%
- E.Cape	1 276	4%	
- Border	1 370	4%	
- South Transkei(2)	1 800	5%	
E. Natal			25%
- South	2 849	8%	
- Midlands	962	3%	
- Northern	3 257	9%	
- North Transkei(2)	1 800	5%	
F. Eastern Transvaal	1 903	5%	5%
G. Northern Transvaal	4 127	12%	12%
H. PWV(1)	6 928	20%	20%
J. Western Transvaal	1 450	4%	4%
	34 854		

NOTE:

1. For computational purposes in comparing the development regions, Bophuthatswana has been equally divided between Northern Cape, Western Transvaal, and the PWV.
2. For computational purposes in comparing the development regions, Transkei has been equally divided between Natal and the Eastern Cape.
3. These figures are approximations based on census and other figures for 1985. Assuming a growth rate of 4% the tabled figures were determined. The population estimates provided here might underestimate the situation by at most 10%. This is because there was a need to match different censuses. However, care was taken to ensure the proportions should remain roughly the same.

TABLE 2:
APPROXIMATE BREAKDOWNS OF RACE, GENDER AND AGE
FOR DEVELOPMENT REGIONS

	WHITES	AFRICANS	AFRICAN WOMEN	< 5 YEARS	> 55 YEARS
A. Western Cape	24%	20%	41%	10%	10%
B. Northern Cape	12%	61%	51%	12%	8%
C. O.F.S.	14%	83%	46%	11%	9%
D. Eastern Cape	14%	71%	51%	22%	5%
E. Natal	6%	82%	55%	20%	7%
F. Eastern Transvaal	18%	81%	45%	13%	8%
G. Northern Transvaal	4%	96%	56%	16%	9%
H. P.W.V.	28%	68%	45%	8%	7%
J. Western Transvaal	16%	82%	44%	14%	9%
TOTAL	15%	74%	51%		