

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 raising and 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, democracy, development and accountability at all levels.

## **(VII) THE SHAPE OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA**

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We can now begin to discern the outlines of the new South Africa. The new South Africa will be as the old South Africa should have been.

It will recognise that leaving aside the disastrous dismemberments attempted by apartheid, South Africa has ever since 1910 been governed as a unitary state in which the provinces have had an important role. The territorial difference will be that the degree of de-centralisation will be greater than before, with ten regions instead of four provinces. The political change will be that it becomes a democratic country in which all enjoy equal rights.

National government will be answerable to the nation as a whole and will attend to national tasks. Its functions will not be limited but will be exercised in terms of the checks and balances created by the constitution. Its specific functions will include international relations, defence, basic responsibility for maintaining peace in the country, and national economic development and fiscal and monetary policy. They will also involve the broad framework for attending to problems of housing, nutrition, education, health, job creation, social security, access to land other issues that can only be solved with a national effort.

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights will be the supreme law for the whole country and will operate with equal force in all regions.

The defence force, police and prisons service will be organised as unified, non-racial, nation-wide entities, with built-in elements of regional and local community accountability.

There will be a single non-racial court system with regional divisions functioning on the lines of the present provincial and local divisions, and so on down to district, magistrates and, possible, community courts.

The civil service will be organised on a national and a regional basis. The national component will be based at the country's capital [or capitals] and will be responsible for the preparation of national legislation and its execution at national level. Public administration at the regional level will be subject to double subordination, that is, be answerable to the central government in terms of general policy and orientation, and to regional government in terms of practical implementation.

We envisage someone similar to the former Provincial Administrator serving as a link between central and regional governments. Otherwise, we do not contemplate the existence in the same area of parallel or duplicated national and regional civil services [such as one finds in the USA where state and federal agencies operate side by side in each state].

Regional governments, accountable to the electors of the region, liaising with the central government, operating through regional administrations and applying the law of the land as tailored to meet the region's needs, shall be responsible for the implementation of government policy at the regional level.

We envisage neither high-handed central government appointees running all affairs in the regions without reference to local opinion, nor high and mighty state governments spending vast funds on the trappings of office and keeping their regions out of the mainstream of national development.

Regional governments will function democratically in the areas under their jurisdiction, dealing with problems of regional development, attending to the building up of social and economic infrastructures, encouraging cultural development, and constructing the schools, hospitals, roads, and irrigation projects required to satisfy the needs of the people in the area. The powers granted to the old Provincial Councils could well serve as a starting-point.

The regional structures will also serve as links between local authorities and the centre.

### **(VIII) LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

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Special attention will have to be paid to the issue of the role and powers of local authorities. While the effects of apartheid can never be overcome purely at the local level, it is here that the hard questions of achieving real equality will have to be resolved. Just as correct articulation between the regions and the centre will be necessary for good government, so will the development of a proper relationship between local and regional authorities be vital. The Constitution will have to pay close regard to establishing the correct framework for democratic government at all three levels.

The main aim of creating regional and local government is to bring government closer to the people in order to enable them to participate in the decision-making and planning processes.

In the introduction to this document it has been stated that the ANC supports strong central, regional and local governments within a unified South Africa. Any powers vested in local authorities must be consistent with central government policy.

The following proposals for the creation of local authorities with specific functions and limited powers should be viewed in this context.

The functions of local authorities should be specified in legislation in terms of which central government will be responsible for anything which is not specified under the local authority legislation, and anything which is not mentioned under such legislation falls outside the jurisdiction of local authorities. This proposal gives certain powers to local authorities to formulate bye-laws and levy certain taxes within the framework of the law. In this way local authorities will enjoy certain powers which will have to be exercised within the framework of national policy.

The crucial thing will be to develop non-racial democracy throughout the land, tackle the huge problems of discrimination and disadvantages that exist and create a secure and dignified life for all South Africans. In line with this view central government might delegate some of its powers to a regional government. In this case local authorities may be answerable to central ministries through the regional government. This will help to facilitate greater participation by local structures in regional development and strategic planning. But sub-national structures will only be able to plan effectively if the activities of sectoral ministries are also co-ordinated at these levels. If central ministries are able to make their strategic plans and submit them directly to the ministries without them being first discussed at local and regional levels, then the local plans will become meaningless exercises.

The legislation which creates local and regional authorities must enable them to interact vertically and horizontally with all relevant structures such as planning authorities, ministerial representatives and organisations of civil society such as chiefs, civic associations, development agencies and so forth.

Furthermore there will have to be legislation which addresses itself specifically to rural local government functions and powers. Therefore local authority structures, powers and functions will have to take cognisance of the regional disparities and the dichotomy between rural and urban areas. To this end, the powers of rural local authorities (which should cover both commercial farms and communal areas with equal voting rights) have to be harmonised with national strategic planning.

In metropolitan areas there may be a need for a fourth tier of government, and its powers may be largely functional with limited powers to levy taxes and make bye-laws. In this case the elected metro-level of government vested with the fiscal and legislative powers becomes the site of power which can be delegated to local authority structures.

Further the power of metropolitan governments with fiscal powers could cause tension between the two levels of government, thereby rendering government in that particular region ineffective.

Autonomy per se is not bad, but given the historical apartheid imbalances any attempt to give unlimited or wide powers to local authorities could result in the reproduction of apartheid policies and racial inequalities: hence the need to balance the powers allocated to local authorities with the ability of central government to ensure that local policies do not contradict central government policies.

We need further research and discussion in this area, and special involvement of the civics, before we can advance definitive proposals. It may well be that firmer positions on local government will require us to look again at the powers of the region and the centre.

**NOTE:**

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Please note: It is extremely difficult to get reliable population figures for South Africa. Serious discrepancies exist between the figures provided by official government sources and those presented by the Development Bank of South Africa.

The figures below must be treated as rough estimates only, to give the reader some idea of population breakdown in the different regions. The figures come according to the four major racial categories developed by the government. We look forward to the day when we can give information without reference to race.

We must point out that the boundaries should not be taken as representing official or definitive views as to the precise outer limits of the regions. Our objective is merely to give readers a rough indication of what the regions would look like.

**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%)          | <del>1.0%</del> 0.6% | -28.7%           |
| Border Corridor           | TO                  | BE                   | ADDED            |
| Transkei                  | 3104 (8.4%)         | <del>0.9%</del> 1.3% | -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

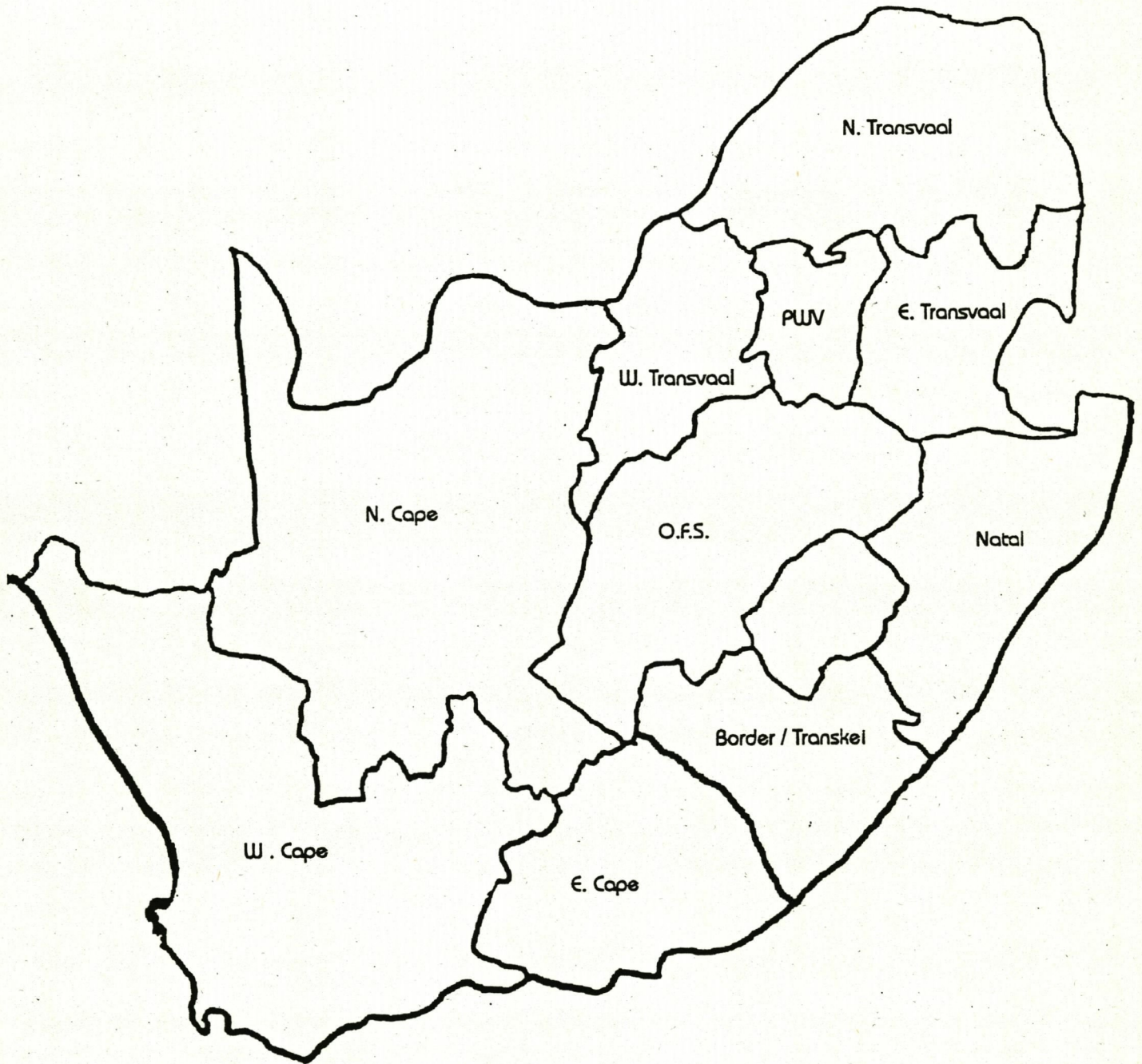
|   |            | White | Colour<br>-ed | Asian | Black People |       |      |       |                  |                  |                |                |        |        |       |       |
|---|------------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|------|-------|------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|--------|--------|-------|-------|
|   |            |       |               |       | Total        | Xhosa | Zulu | Swazi | South<br>Ndebele | North<br>Ndebele | North<br>Sotho | South<br>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 | W 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   |

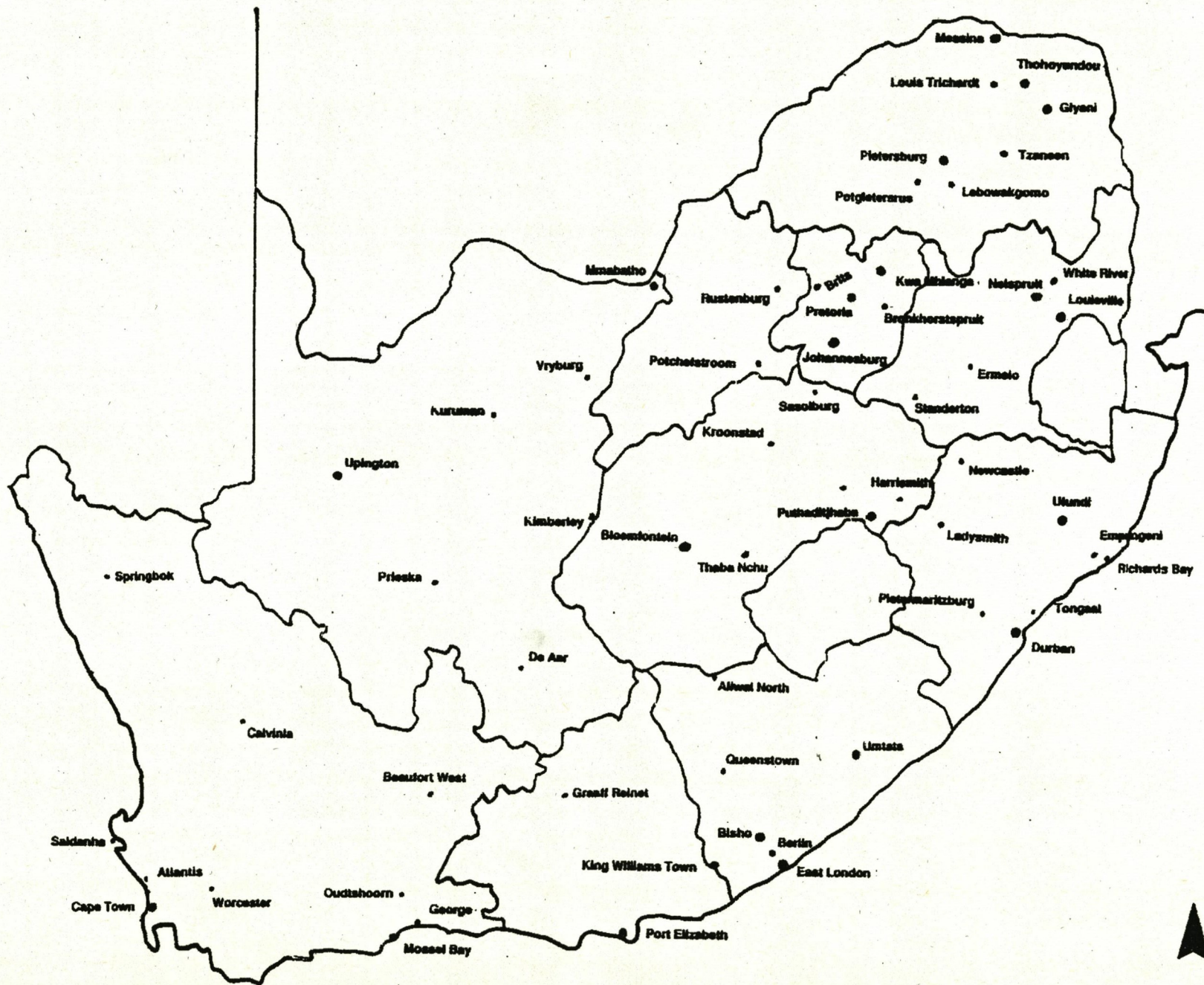
This Table has to be handled with great care. It is taken from the Law Commission Report on Constitutional Options. It does not appear to include the TBVC areas. The figures for Northern Cape and Western Transvaal thus appear to exclude many Tswana speakers and understate the total black population. Similarly there seems to be distortion in the Eastern Cape with regard to the percentage of Xhosa speakers and blacks as a whole, and in the Northern Transvaal with regard to Venda speakers and blacks as a whole.

Our proposal for the creation of a tenth region (Border/Kei) means that the figures for Eastern Cape and Natal will have to be altered. We also feel that in general all the figures given above are out of date, but nevertheless they are useful as a rough guide.



# Ten Proposed Regions for a Democratic S.A.

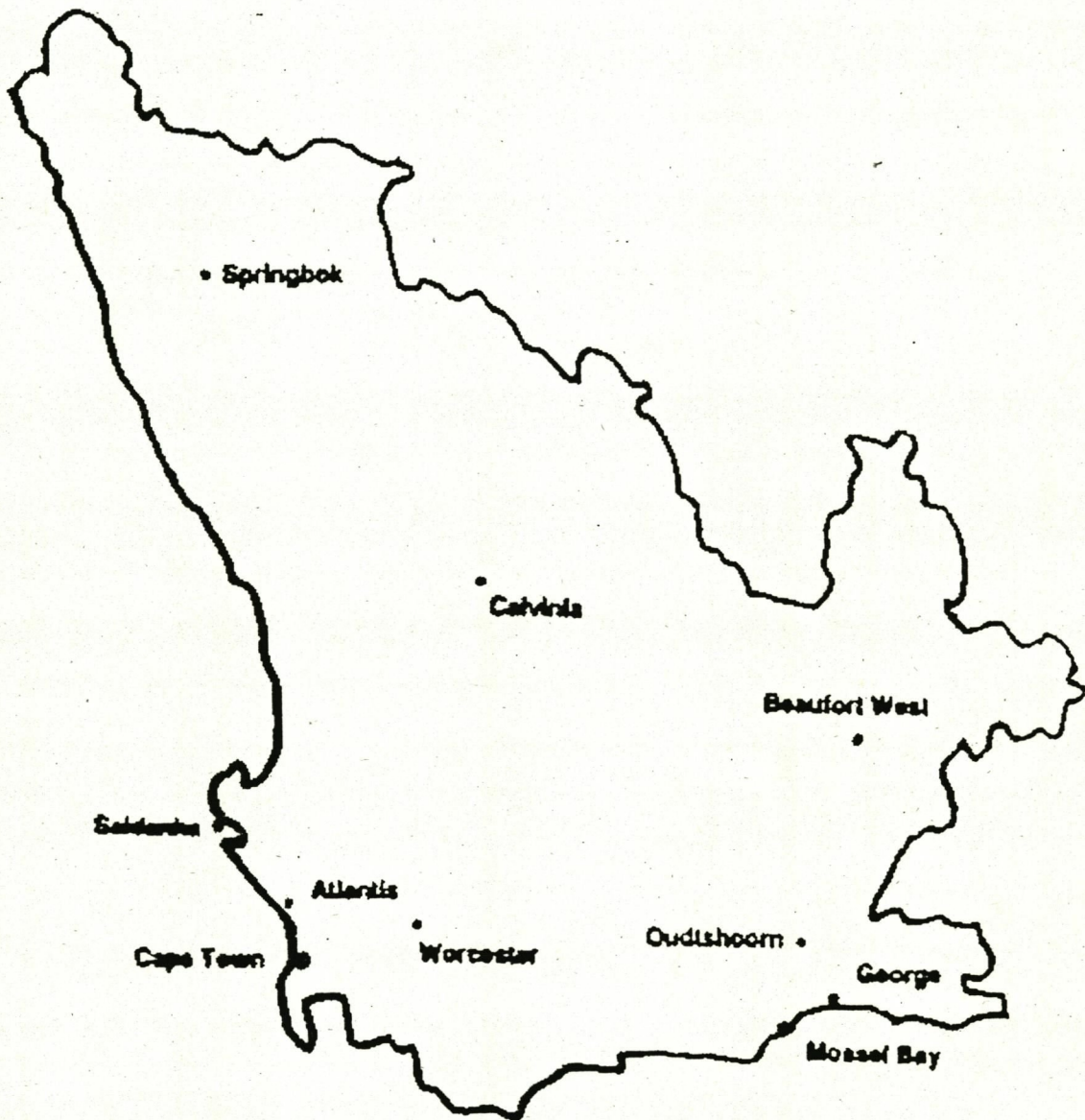




## A. WESTERN CAPE

The Western Cape has a total population of about 3,5 million. 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

This area includes the western districts of Bophuthatswana.

The Northern Cape has a total of 1,1 million people. According to the Law Commission figures it has a White population of approximately 18%, an African population of 40% and a Coloured population of 42%. The main languages are Afrikaans and Tswana. These figures appear to exclude persons in the Bop enclaves. When they are included the African total goes up by a third to about 60% while the white and coloured proportions go down to 12% and 28% respectively.

If, as we propose, the 1910 boundaries are followed, then Mafikeng/Mmabatho forms part of this region. The borders indicated here are not intended to be precise.



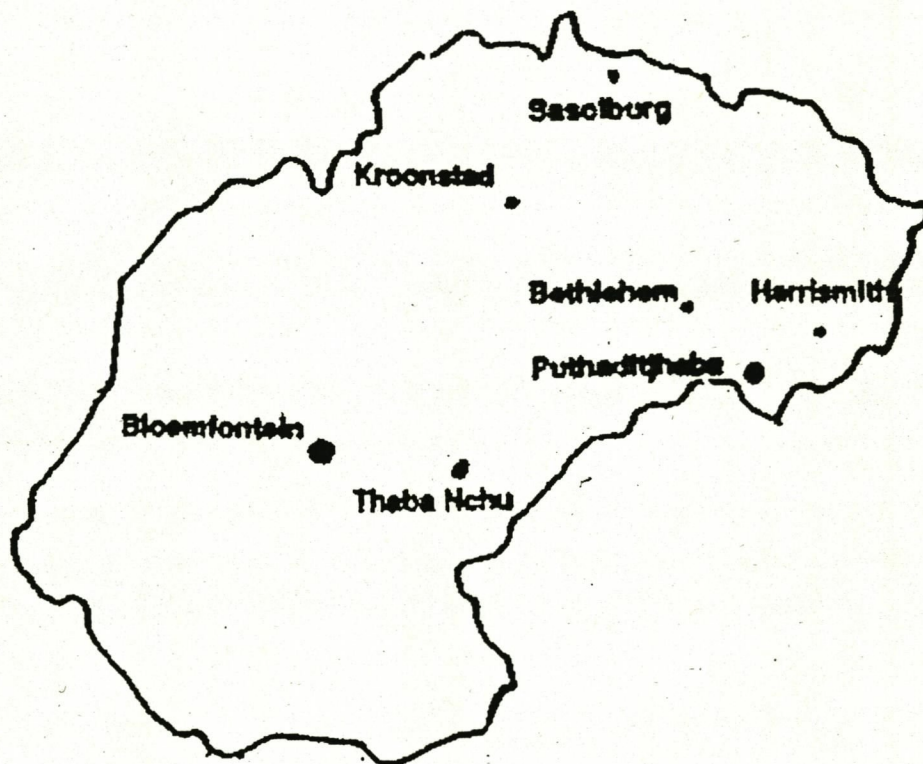
### C. ORANGE FREE STATE

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This region includes QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu districts of Bophuthatswana.

The OFS region covers Northern and Southern Orange Free State. It has a total population of 2,6 million. The White population is 16%, while 81% of the population is African. The main languages are Sotho and Afrikaans. Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana are also widely spoken.

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



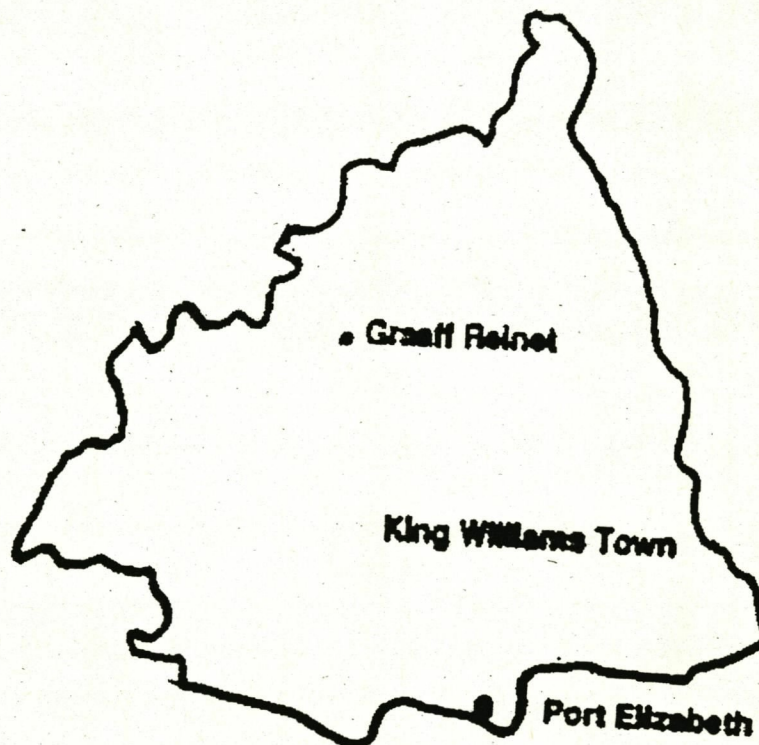
## D. EASTERN CAPE

The Eastern Cape economic region, as proposed by the government, 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). According to the Law Commission the White population constitutes nearly 24%, Coloured 22% and African 54%. These figures would appear to exclude persons living in the Ciskei and Transkei however. The main languages spoken are Xhosa, English and Afrikaans.

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

The map below represents the Eastern Cape region as we propose it to be, that is without the Border-Ciskei-Transkei.

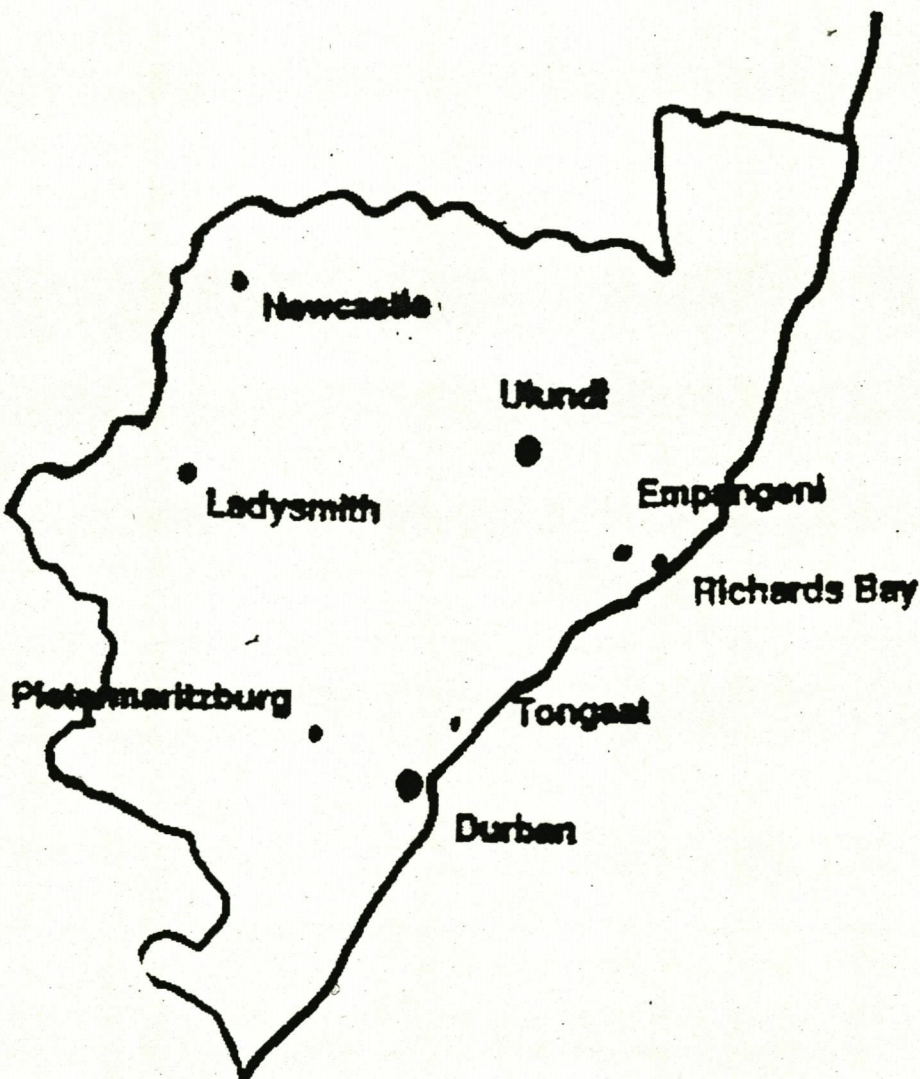
A provisional estimate of the population size for the revised Eastern Cape is approximately 1,6 million. According to one estimate, Whites constitute one-quarter, Coloured people one-quarter and Africans the remainder. The main languages spoken are Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.



## E. NATAL

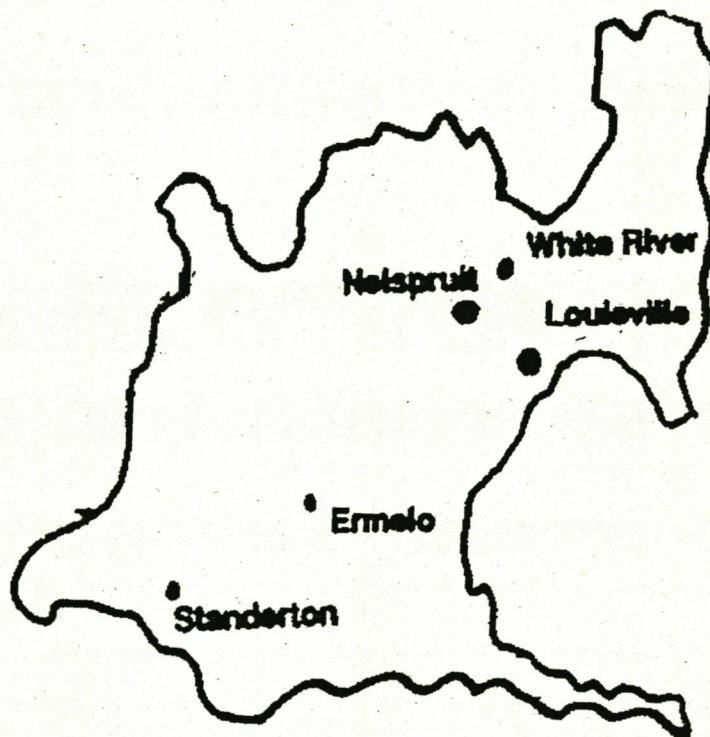
Natal has approximately 7,5 million people of whom 2,5 million are in what is presently defined as Natal and nearly 5 million in Kwazulu. Figures given by the Law Commission suggest that the Whites constitute 9% of the population, Africans 78%, South Africans of Indian origin about 11% and Coloured people 2%. The main languages are Zulu and English, and Afrikaans is also widely spoken in certain parts.

Please note that our proposed region differs from the government's economic region in that, unlike the latter, it does not include Northern Transkei. In our proposals, the Northern Transkei would form part of the Border-Kei region and the 1910 boundaries would apply.



## F. EASTERN TRANSVAAL

This region includes Kangwane. It has a total population of 2 million. The White population for this region is 16% and the African population is 82%. The most frequently used languages are Siswati and Afrikaans. Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga and Ndebele are also widely spoken. Please note that the boundaries are not meant to be precise.

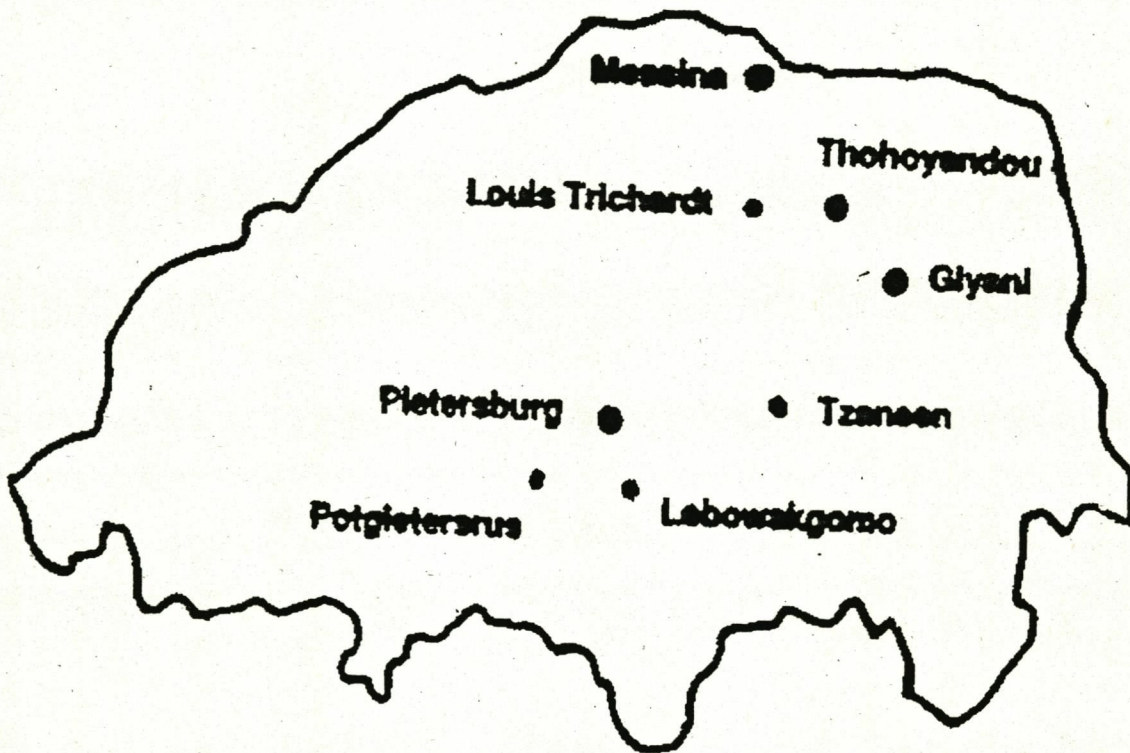




## G. NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

This region includes Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda. It has a population of 4,25 million. It has a total White population of 4% and an African population of 96%. The main languages are Pedi, Venda, Tsonga and Afrikaans.

This is a heavily populated area with hardly any industrial infrastructure and no major urban area.



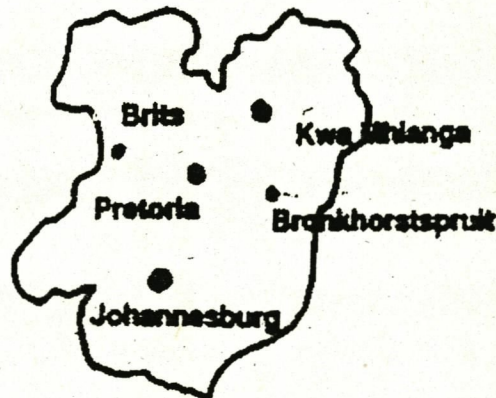
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## H. PWV

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This region includes Kwandebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele Districts of Bophuthatswana. It has a total population of 8,5 million. According to the Law Commission's figures which appear to exclude 700,000 people in Bop, 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.

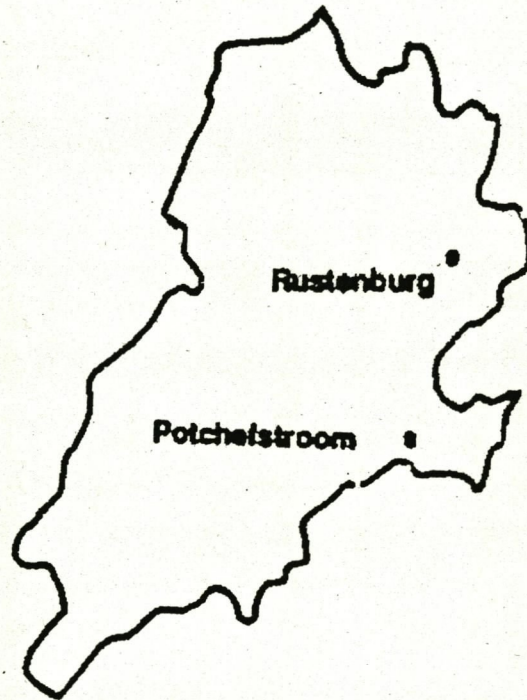


## J. WESTERN TRANSVAAL

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This includes the parts of Bophuthatswana not already mentioned. The total population of this region is 1,8 million. According to the Law Commission, it has a total White population of 25%, and African population of 71% and a Coloured/Asian population of 4%. These figures appear to exclude persons living in Bop. When they are counted, the White percentage is about 14. The main languages are Tswana and Afrikaans. Xhosa and Sotho are also widely spoken.

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



### K. PROPOSED BORDER / TRANSKEI REGION

It is proposed that Border-Kei region will consist of the Ciskei, Border, Transkei and East Griqualand. While the population remains to be calculated, earlier censuses suggest that it will be approximately 4,2 million people.

The overwhelming majority of inhabitants speak Xhosa, while English and Afrikaans are also widely spoken. The area around East London provides an industrial base. Boundaries will be based on 1910 provincial boundaries.

