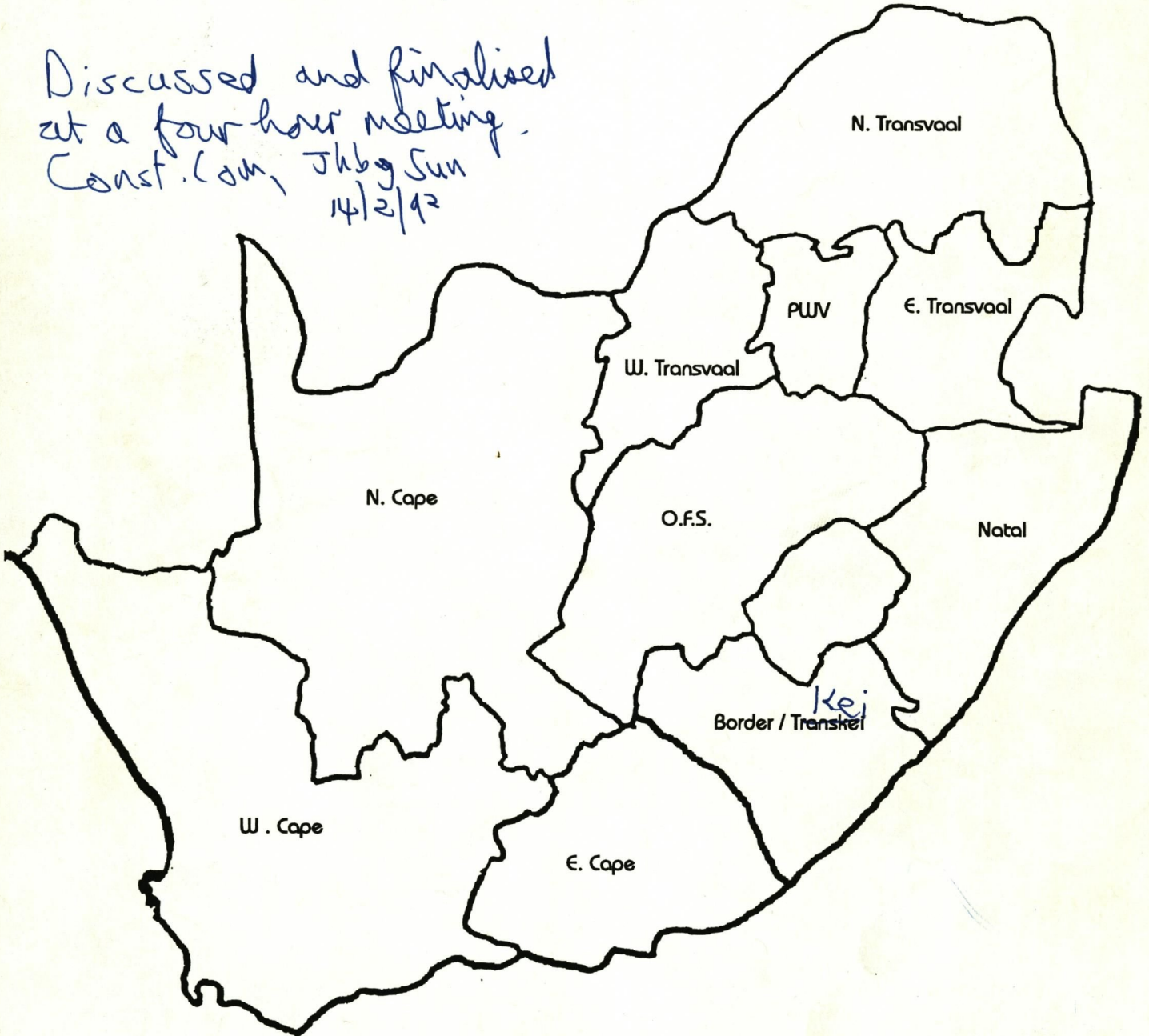


# Ten Proposed Regions for a Democratic S.A.

United

Discussed and finalised  
at a four hour meeting.  
Const. Com, Jhb'g Sun  
14/2/92



Discussion Document prepared by the  
ANC Constitutional Committee, February 1992

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## INTRODUCTION

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It has long been the policy of the ANC to recognise the importance of regions within the context of a united South Africa. In April last year, the Constitutional Committee of the ANC declared: "We believe that there is a need for a strong and effective central government to handle national tasks, strong and effective regional government to deal with the tasks of the region, and strong and effective local government to ensure active local involvement in handling local issues....."

"A unified South Africa shall not be an over-centralised, impersonal and over-bureaucratised country."  
[Constitutional Principles p8]

Later, in a statement presented to the ANC Congress last year and publicly distributed thereafter, we stated that it was obvious that an over-centralised government in which all decisions were taken at the top and the people were left out of the process was not good government. "What we are against is schemes to lock the riches of the country, the beautiful suburbs and industrial areas, into autonomous territorial units while the majority of the people are forced to live in squalor in the country's backyards."

The time has now come for us to spell out with more precision exactly where we propose the regions should be.

We propose the establishment of ten regions, using the 1910 boundaries wherever relevant, and allowing for the creation of a commission for minor adjustments if necessary. The regions are: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border/Kei, Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, PWV, Eastern Transvaal, OFS and Natal.

We have tried to use objective criteria. The re-shaping of our country is too serious a matter to be made subject to petty power-plays and the immediate electoral ambitions of this or that political group. What we are saying is that there is a place for everyone in the new united and democratic South Africa. We want government to be close to the people, and the people close to the government.

We also feel that the moment is ripe for a fuller debate on what the functions of regional government should be and how regional government should relate to national government. We call for ~~vibrant~~ elected regional government ensuring local involvement and initiative, within the overall framework of national policies and national legislation. The powers of the old Provincial Councils and their relationship with the Central Government would serve as a good starting point.

active  
step

What we present are proposals, not a blueprint. We look forward to comment from our whole membership, and in particular seek full observations from the ANC regions. [Our focus is on regions for a new South Africa, and not ANC regions] We would also welcome responses from the whole democratic movement, and, indeed, from anyone anxious to contribute towards democracy in our country.

Geography and demography have been two of the many victims of apartheid. In order to help the reader understand the implications of our proposals, we have annexed two tables and several maps which we have ~~cobbled~~ <sup>put</sup> together as best we could from available material. The territorial and statistical fragmentation of our country, however, has made it difficult to achieve the accuracy and neatness we would have desired. We must stress in advance that the tables and the maps are intended to be rough guides only. The figures may turn out to be distorted, and the maps loose. Nevertheless, we feel that provided this factor is taken into account, even in their rough form, they will give concreteness to the discussion.

The question of the demarcation and powers of the regions is ultimately one that belongs to the Constituent Assembly. It is not our intention to place it on to the negotiating agenda now. We do feel, however, that by the time the elected delegates to the Constituent Assembly meet, they will want to know what the ANC positions on these important questions are. This means that we must involve the whole ANC membership now in debating the issues, so that we will have well-developed policies ready in advance, policies for which we can campaign now.

**ZOLA SKWEIYA,  
ANC CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE  
FEBRUARY 1992**



**(I) PROPOSED REGIONS FOR A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA**

We propose the following:

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

Western Cape

Northern Cape

OFS

Eastern Cape

Border/Transkei Kei

Natal

Eastern Transvaal

Northern Transvaal

PWV

Western Transvaal

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

**(iii) Machinery will be created to consider minor border adjustments within the above framework.**



## **(II) WHY WE WANT A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA**

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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 of security that we will be 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. <sup>In a democratic South Africa</sup> 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 and armed public power accountable to a multitude of local political warlords and a plethora of ethnic demagogues, where tanks have swastikas on them in some regions, and are called cultural weapons in other.

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

We want to rid ourselves of the shame of living in a land 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 we live in or what suburb of the city.

Forty per cent of our people reside 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.

Deprivation does 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 can only be dealt with by means of nation-wide efforts and nation-wide resources. In that way alone can we find nation-wide solutions.



### **(III) WHY WE NEED VIGOROUS REGIONS IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA**

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The creation of ~~strong and~~ vigorous regions is vital to the development of a united South Africa. All the abovementioned problems of disunity and deprivation 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 country, then we must achieve non-racial democracy in all 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 what people might come to consider a remote Johannesburg regime, even if democratically elected.

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

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.

In the new South Africa which we envisage, the regions will 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 TBVG states and the homelands into a united South Africa. The administrative experience ~~gained~~ <sup>and the facilities created</sup> 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.

The people living in these areas claim their full birthright as ordinary South Africans, entitled to share in the benefits of the whole country. They break free from their status as marginalised groups forced to stand in line as dependents waiting for hand-outs from Pretoria. They will, along with all their compatriots, be important voices in the land. Their demand for roads, electricity, water, rural extension services, schooling, clinics, cinemas, swimming pools and running tracks will be strong.

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



#### **(IV) 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 secrete wealth through pseudo-race in others.

[Not create regnal. conflicts]. [No re. to secrete]

They should be designed to help overcome fragmentation and division in our land, to promote democracy and to facilitate economic, social and cultural development in 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, terrestrial peninsulas and isolated 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 old Provincial, district and magisterial boundaries, to which people have become accustomed and which do not carry ideological or racist connotations, should be used wherever convenient to establish precise boundaries;

- \* Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account. Although this might appear a rather subjective criterion, quite a high degree of national consensus has already been reached. In 1981 the <sup>Development Bank of SA</sup> 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 would follow similar lines, with three qualifications, which will be mentioned below. Preliminary soundings indicate widespread support for the basic approach.

**The qualifications we make are as follows:**

First, the government proposal for nine economic regions required that the Transkei be divided into two, with the northern part becoming portion of the Natal region and the southern part being in the Eastern Cape. This might or might not have made sense from a purely economic point of view but from any other perspective would be manifestly unviable. 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. One suggested name for this region is the Kei. For the purposes of this paper, however, it will be referred to as Border/Kei.

The second qualification 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, Mafikeng/Mmabatho was placed in the Western Transvaal region, while Sasolberg was attached to the PWV rather than located in the OFS. In our view, Mafikeng/Mmabatho is in an area that has long been 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, and should continue to be there.

The third is that machinery be created for relatively minor adjustments to be made after consultation with people living in the vicinity of the borders. Thus, for example, some have argued that the town of de Aar belongs naturally to the Western rather than the Northern Cape. There might be cases where, unless certain small adjustments were made, compact local communities used to living together would find themselves divided between different administrative units.



In our view, prolonged uncertainty would be undesirable. Whatever happens we must avoid attempts to draw boundaries in such a way as to secure voting advantages for one group or the other, just as we must not permit borders to be artificially arranged so as to shore up racial privilege or bolster personal power. Decisions on minor adjustments could be left to special boundary commissions, and need not hold up the basic demarcation of regions for the country.

Though the status of Walvis Bay is not the subject of this document, we can only look forward to the day when, in terms of a general normalisation of relations between Namibia and a democratic South Africa, it is unequivocally re-incorporated into Namibia.

## **V. THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE OF REGIONS**

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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.

Lively regional government is indeed one of the pre-conditions for vibrant democracy in the country as a whole.

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 Parliament 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 in part 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. Depending on what the Constituent Assembly decides, then, the regions could in this way make a further direct contribution to the composition of the national Parliament.

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. We would urge this approach on the Constituent Assembly.

*Sum up above + P.R.*



## POWERS FOR THE REGIONS

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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 governments functioning in a lively and democratic way in exercising the functions attributed to them. We do not, however, see the regions as totally autonomous areas, capable of doing "a kind of UDI" <sup>secession</sup> 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 respected and 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, competent, non-racial agencies accountable to the public as a whole.

Thirdly, we see national and regional tasks as being complementary rather than competitive. The function of the national government is to develop the basic lines of advance for the country. This means adopting legislation setting out 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, covering 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~~ <sup>prevailed over</sup> the Ordinance.

supremacy of law  
not easily removed

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 written in to the Constitution, either in general terms, subject to periodic review, or specifically, without diminishing the right of the national legislature to adopt legislation binding on the whole country, which would include all the regions.

In other words, the Constitution would spell out with some precision what the tasks of national, regional and local government would be.

The regional bodies would have a guaranteed right to function. They could not be dismissed and replaced by persons appointed by the centre. Their powers could not be taken away from them without a constitutional amendment. The same guarantees of periodicity, openness and fairness would apply to regional as to national elections. ~~As with the Provinces,~~ the regions would not have exclusive powers, but would rather exercise concurrent powers with the centre; in the case of a conflict, national legislation would be binding.

of the day.

Like the Provincial Councils of old, the regional bodies would have important functions and considerable degree of manoeuvre, and like the Provincial Councils, they would have to function within the framework of national policy;

<sup>but unlike the old P.C.'s, the central Govt. will not be able to abolish them.</sup>  
The key problem is not how to separate but how to harmonise functioning at the national and the regional levels. We envisage the regions as bases of active development, contributing towards the enrichment of national life, rather than as bunkers into which people retreat in order to get away from the nation. Regions will not be able to contradict national policy as expressed in national laws, but they will help to shape such policy and have considerable scope in relation to how best to implement it. 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 raising and expenditure of state funds.

*(continued)*

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

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.

*In consist terms. the functions p.c's not vulnerable to dismissal, pt. to function*

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 <sup>and</sup> 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, possibly, 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.



*mostly F.C.*

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** G.O.U.T.

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, <sup>and regional</sup> 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 <sup>local</sup> 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 coordinated 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.

For large urban areas such as  
pretoria, Durban or C.T., provision  
for est. of Metropol. authorities.

**NOTE:**

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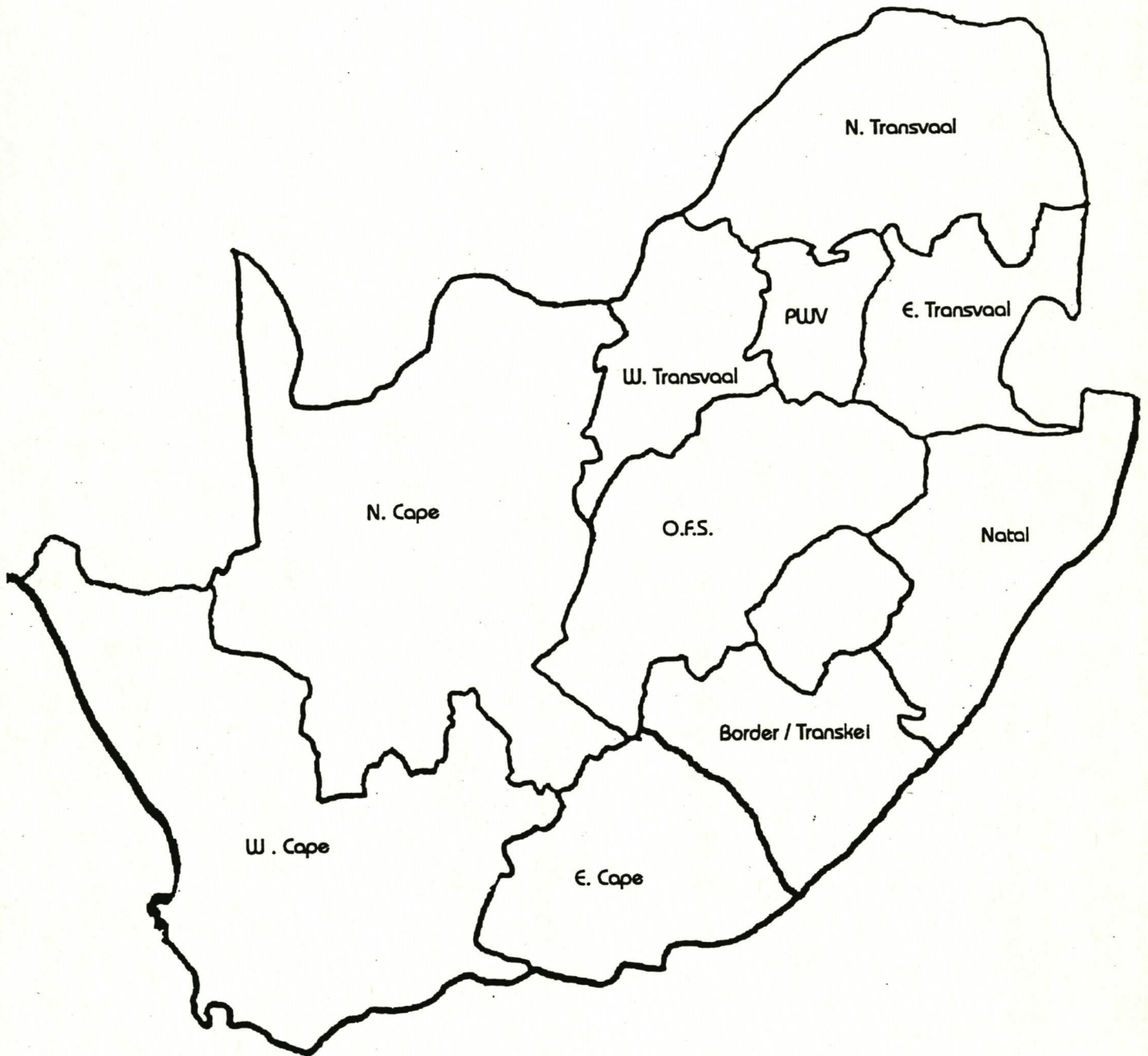
Please note: It is extremely difficult to get reliable population figures for South Africa. Serious discrepancies exist between the figures provided by official government sources and those presented by the Development Bank of South Africa.

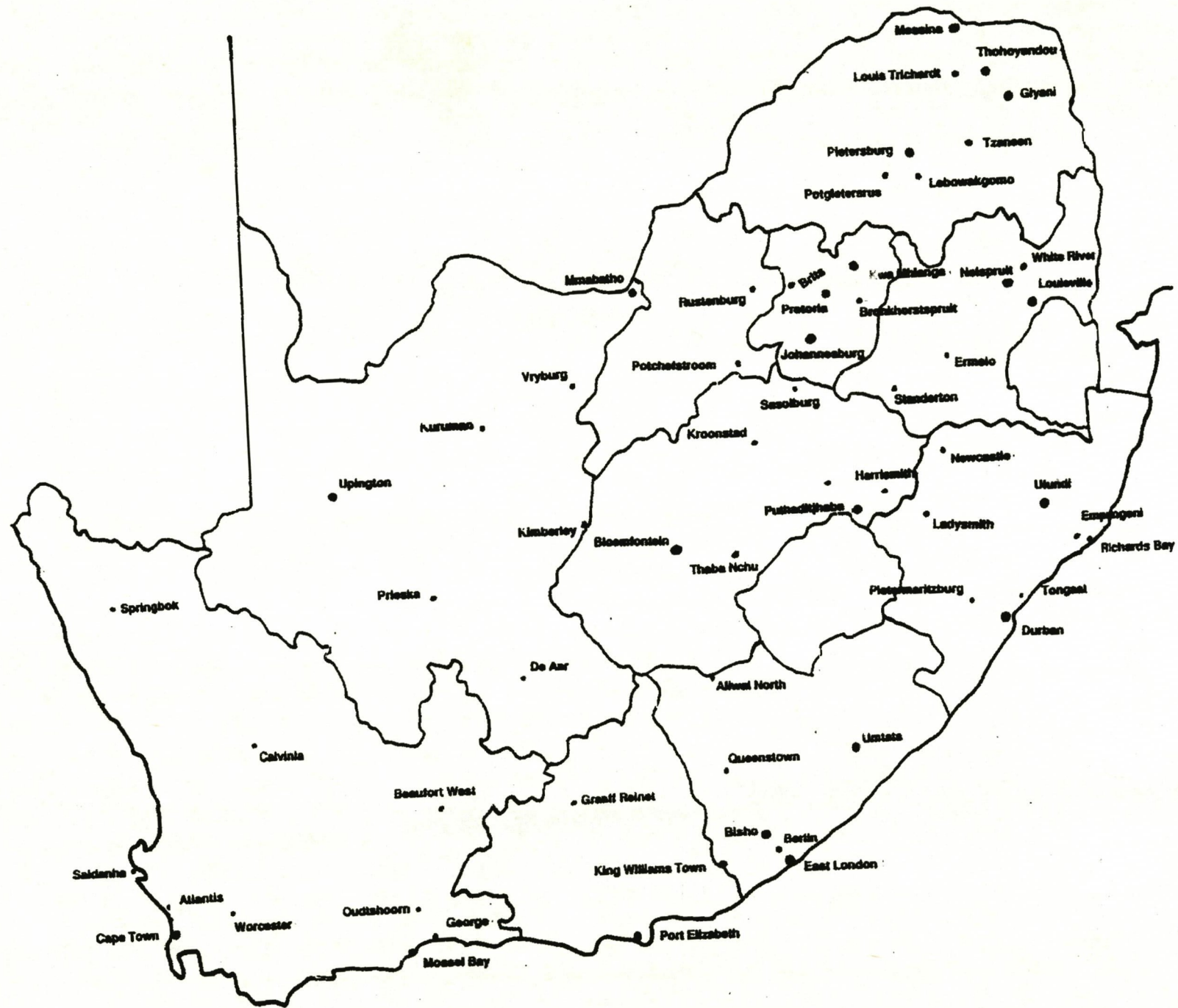
The figures below must be treated as rough estimates only, to give the reader some idea of population breakdown in the different regions. The figures come according to the four major racial categories developed by the government. We look forward to the day when we can give information without reference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



# Ten Proposed Regions for a Democratic S.A.







## Law Commission figures for ethnicity in Nine Economic Regions

		White	Colour -ed	Asian	Black People											
					Total	Xhosa	Zulu	Swazi	South Ndebele	North Ndebele	North Sotho	South 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.

## 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.

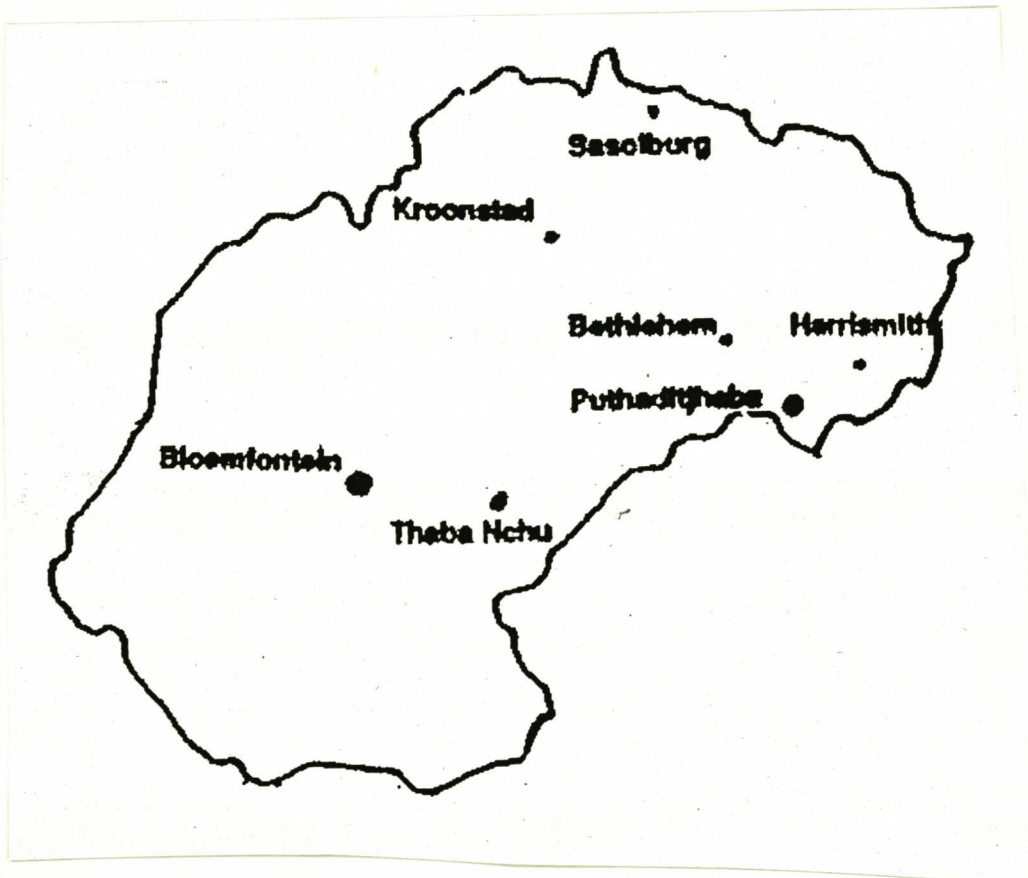


### C. ORANGE FREE STATE

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**

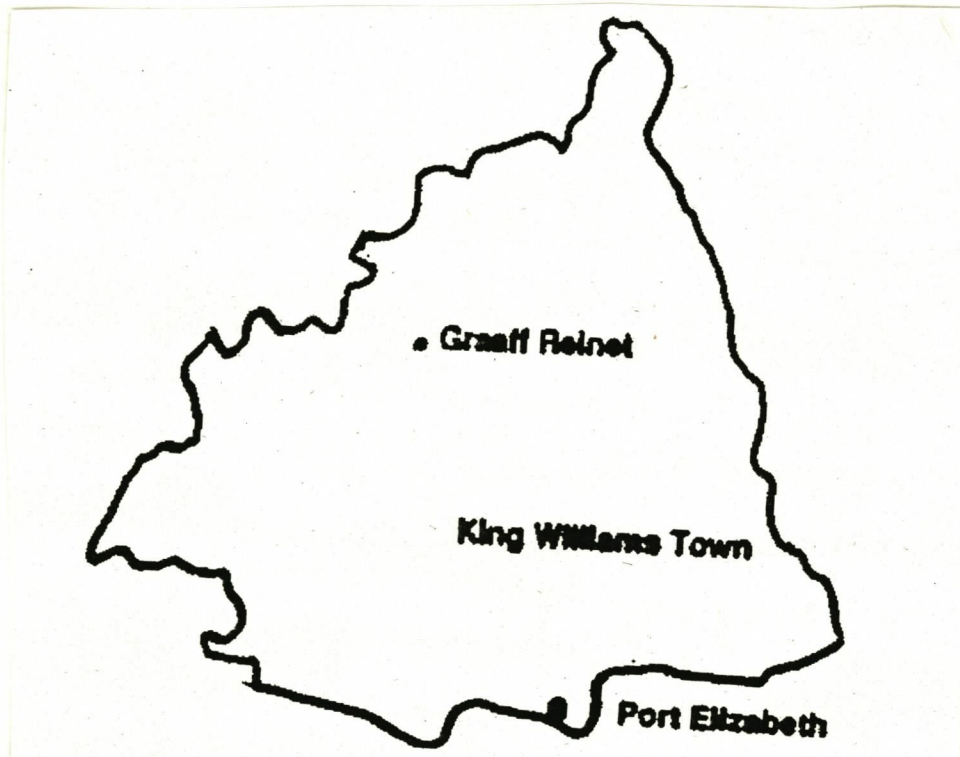
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The Eastern Cape economic region, as proposed by the government, is divided into three areas, Eastern Cape, Border and Southern Transkei with a total population of 4,446 million (1,276 million, 1,370 million and 1,800 million respectively). According 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.

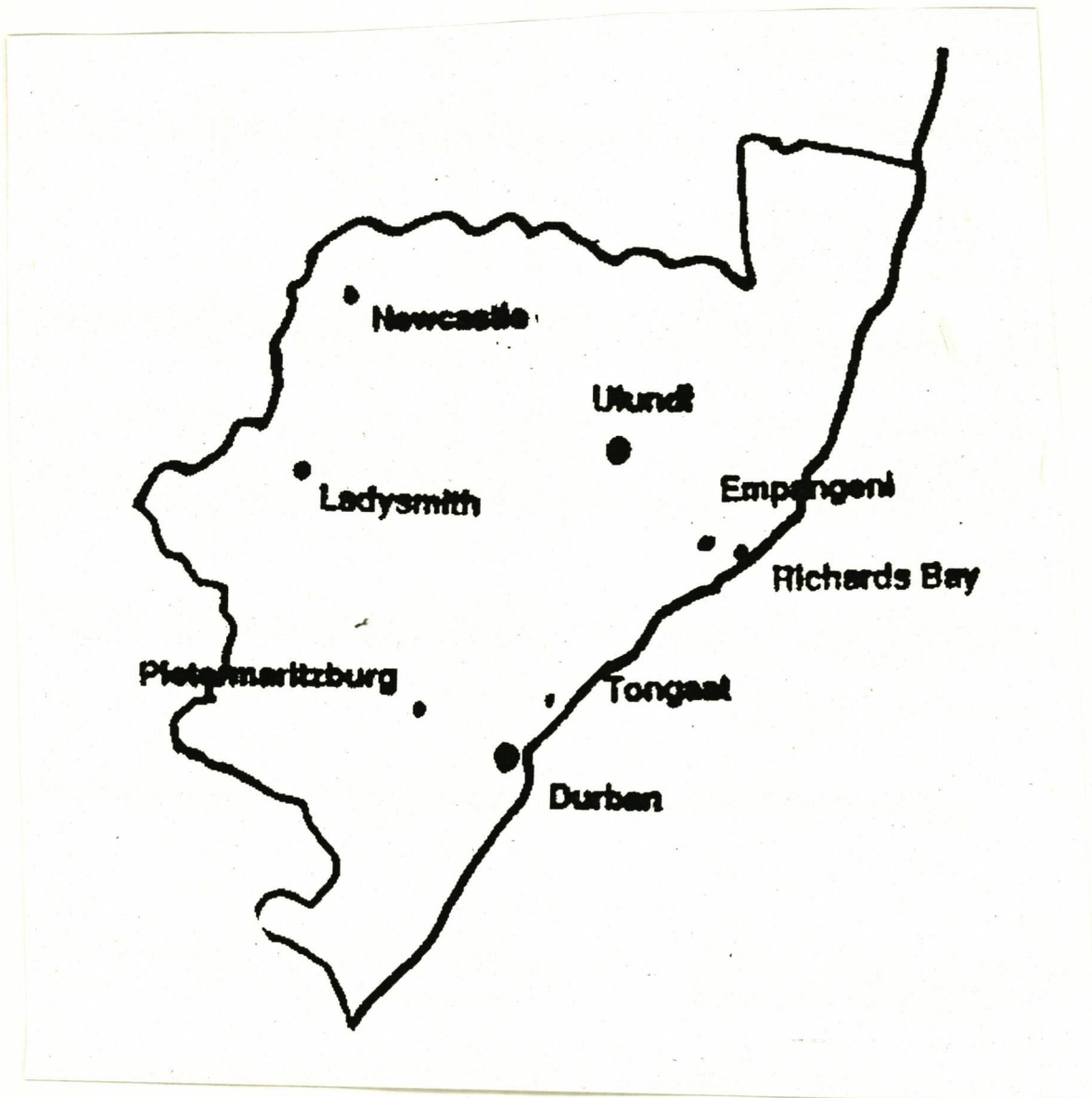
A provisional estimate of the population size for the revised Eastern Cape is approximately 1,6 million. According to one estimate, Whites constitute one-quarter, Coloured people one-quarter and Africans the remainder. The main languages spoken are Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.



## 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.

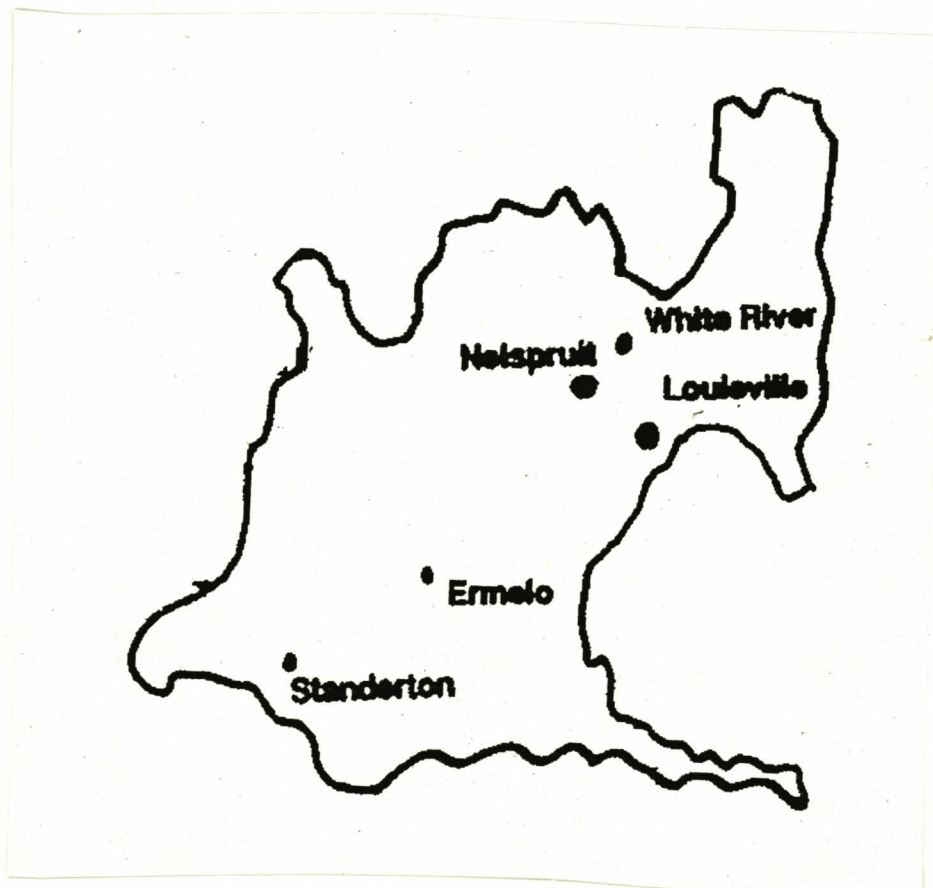
Please note that our proposed region differs from the government's economic region in that, unlike the latter, it does not include Northern Transkei. In our proposals, the Northern Transkei would form part of the Border-Kei region and the 1910 boundaries would apply.





## **F. EASTERN TRANSVAAL**

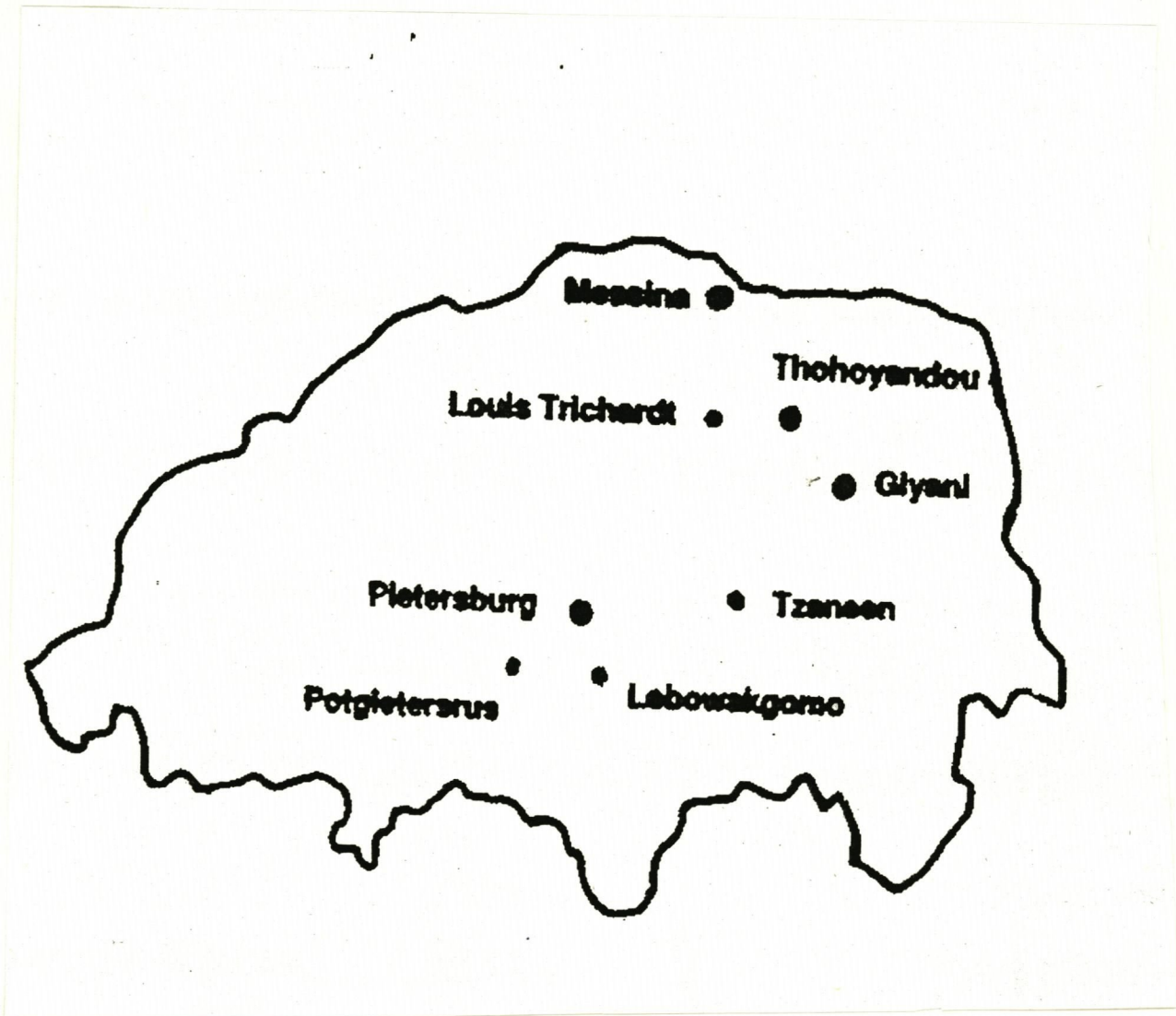
This region includes Kangwane. It has a total population of 2 million. The White population for this region is 16% and the African population is 82%. The most frequently used languages are Siswati and Afrikaans. Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga and Ndebele are also widely spoken. Please note that the boundaries are 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.





## **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

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.



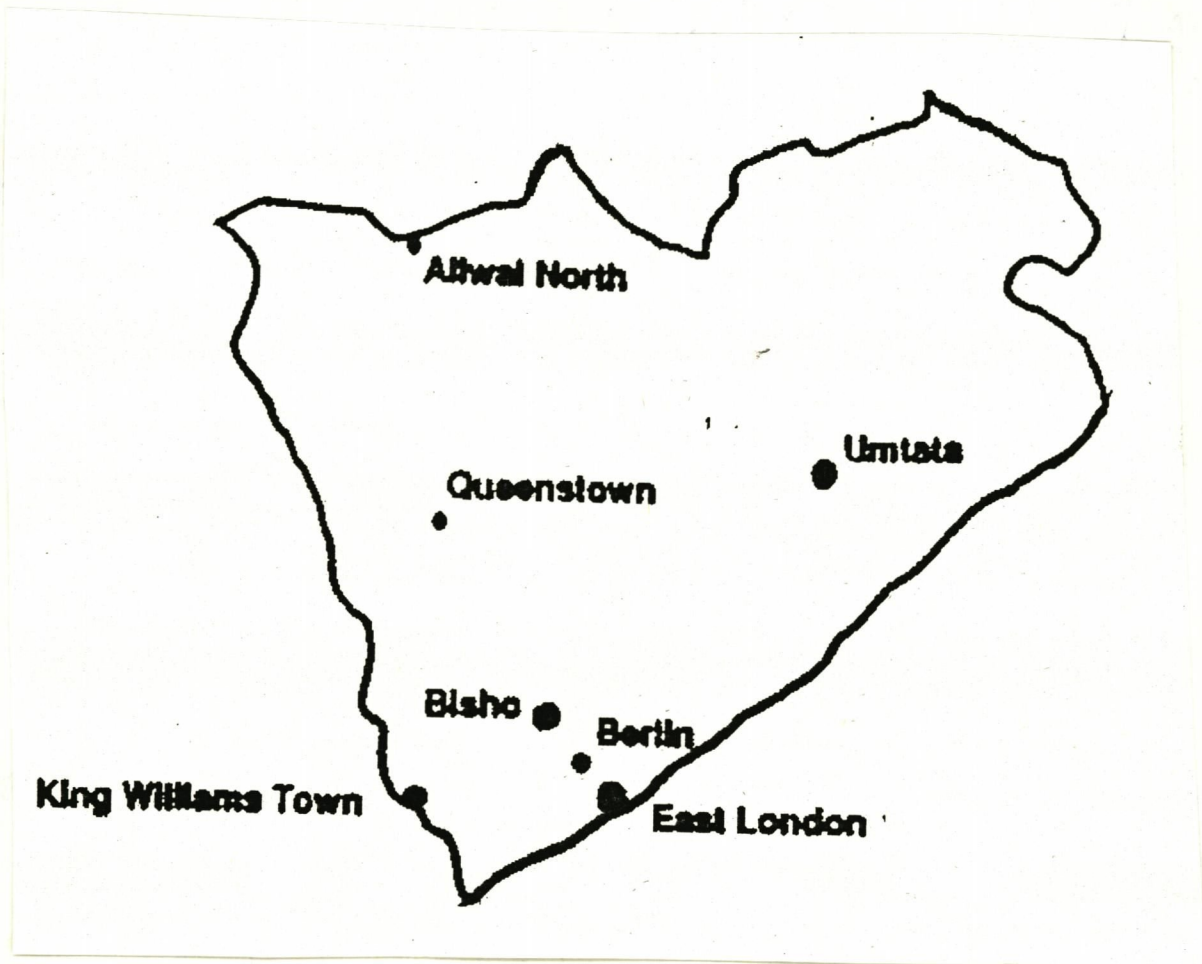


Strong regul. govt. without strong  
central govt. leads to war.

### 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.





Loading business, town planning - naming streets.  
Regions & local authorities, these sort of powers.

Press

Local govt. - too open 'research must be done'  
Unhappy about last part.

Metropolitan areas - not explained.  
What it is & how it comes.

Names  
reconsidered

Devolved

Border / Rei

p. 6 - Johannesburg regime.  
① ~~Extraneous~~ original powers.  
Revoke / override

Certain powers only reserved.  
Framework / implementation.

Codes

[Basic Law - Fed. Rep 3 (P.L.)]

Deal with functions not with powers.

Regional influence on exercise of national powers.

Commitment on the ground to local democracy - convert into principles of local & regional govt.

Central govt. with capacity to heal wounds, re-unite our country.



## 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>1.8%</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>