

EAST GRIQUALAND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

CHAIRMAN:

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17 June 1993

The Secretary
Commission on Demarcation/Delimitation of Regions
P.O. Box 307
ISANDO
1600

SECRETARY:

MR J P VOS

P.O. BOX 188, KOKSTAD

SUBMISSION TO THE
COMMISSION ON REGIONS

REF: 1/11/11/19

Dear Sir

MOTIVATION WHY EAST GRIQUALAND SHOULD REMAIN PART OF REGION E (NATAL).

Attached and enclosed please find:-

- (1) Original of our FAX transmitted to you on 17 June 1993.

This seeks to procure an appointment with the Commission to present verbal evidence in support of this Association's written submission entitled "Motivation why East Griqualand should remain part of Region E (Natal).

- (2) Copy of our "Fax Transmission Report" proving successful transmission at 08:32 on 17/6/93 of the fax referred to in (1) above.
- (3) 15 Copies of this Association's written submission entitled "Motivation why East Griqualand should remain part of Region E (Natal)."

Please note that this document was prepared at the time of the CODESA negotiations. Since the Association still stands firmly behind its motivation, any reference to CODESA in the Executive Summary should now be read as the "Multi-Party Negotiating Council".

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

J P VOS
DIRECTOR

EAST GRIQUALAND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

MOTIVATION WHY EAST GRIQUALAND SHOULD REMAIN PART OF REGION E (NATAL)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The various political parties at CODESA are currently formulating proposals in regard to a second tier government, which includes the demarcation of regions. According to available formal and informal documentation, there are suggestions that East Griqualand, which is at present part of development Region E, (Natal), should be included in a new region (Xhosa Region) or in the current Region D.

It seems that the main reason put forward for the inclusion of East Griqualand in a region which lies to the south, is to keep the Republic of Transkei in one particular region. To meaningfully incorporate the Umzimkulu district of the Transkei in Region D or the proposed Xhosa Region, would require that the current East Griqualand must also become part of the regions mentioned.

However, from an economic perspective, it is obvious that East Griqualand must remain part of Region E. Durban and Pietermaritzburg are the dominant economic nodes. The economic gravitational forces exerted by Durban and Pietermaritzburg are in fact so strong, that they reach deep into the Transkei. The districts of Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff, Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, as well as the Umzimkulu district, are affected by these forces. The level of economic development, and thus the level of welfare in East Griqualand and Southern Natal, are more or less the same. On the contrary, the economics of East Griqualand and the Northern Transkei are more diverse in nature. This is a very important aspect when considering the optimal planning and administering of a region, especially when seen in the light of the greater fiscal authority which second tier government is expected to have in future.

There is in reality no particular reason, from an ethnic point of view, why East Griqualand should be part of the regions which lie to the south of the area. The only argument that can be used, is that the Umzimkulu district, although originally part of East Griqualand, is currently part of Transkei. Furthermore, the Black population of the Umzimkulu district has closer cultural and historical bonds with the Black tribes in Natal than that of Transkei. These facts run counter to the argument that Transkei as a whole should be incorporated into a single region.

In conclusion, it is important to stress that economic laws cannot be ignored in demarcating regions. If a particular area is incorporated into a wrong region for no other sound reason than political expediency, it will never develop to its optimum, with resultant negative effects for the area in particular, as well as the country in general. The growth which towns like Kokstad and Matatiele experienced after the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal, justly illustrates the importance of the correct incorporation of a particular area in an appropriate region.

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East Griqualand Regional Development Association

MOTIVATION WHY

EAST GRIQUALAND SHOULD

REMAIN PART OF REGION E (NATAL)

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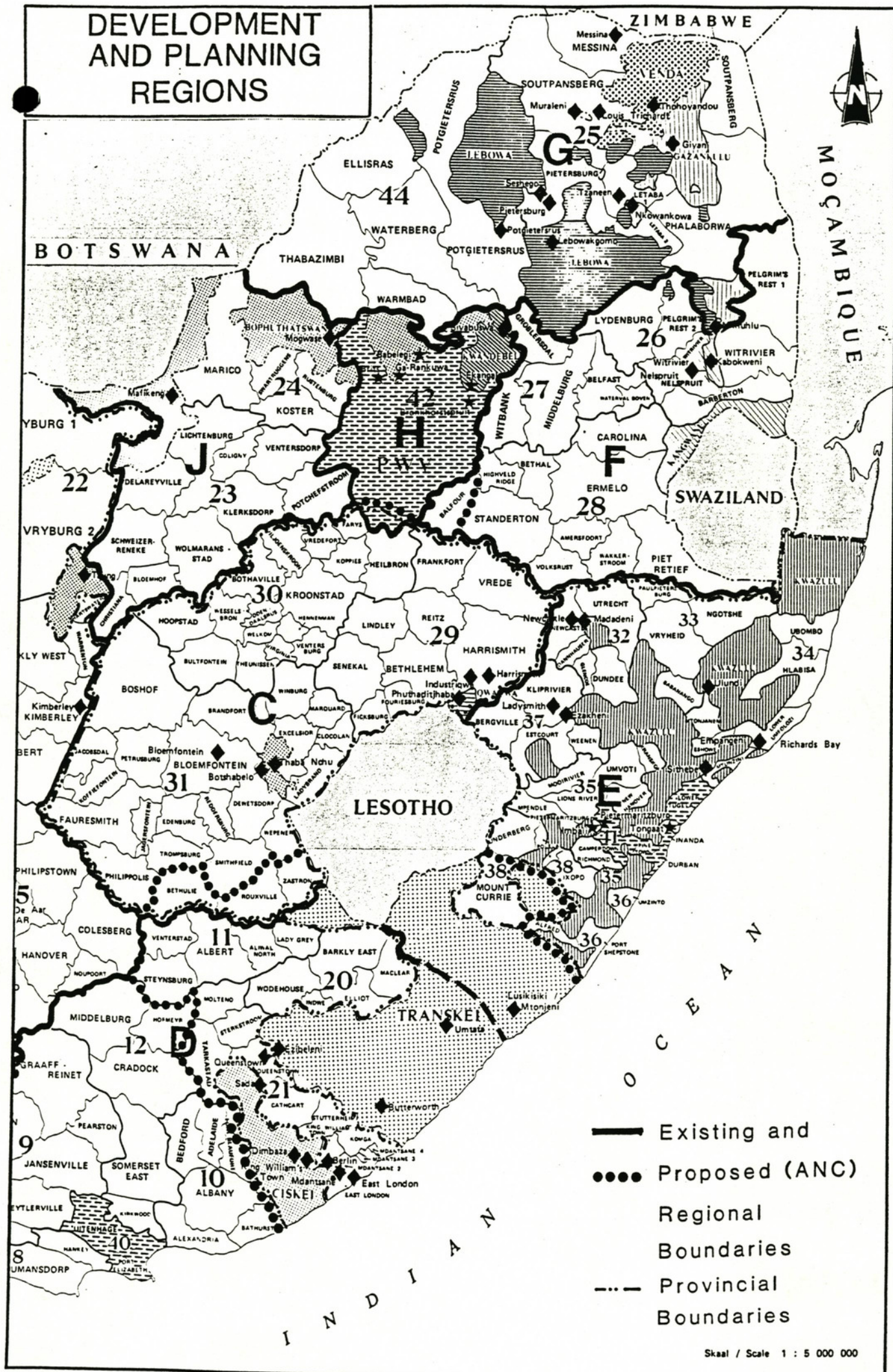
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DEVELOPMENT AND PLANNING REGIONS



**MOTIVATION WHY EAST GRIQUALAND SHOULD
REMAIN PART OF REGION E (NATAL)**

1. **INTRODUCTION**

Although the future constitutional dispensation in South Africa is still open to doubt, one aspect is clearly evident, namely that South Africa will have strong second tier government. Both the current Government as well as the African National Congress (ANC), the two major participants in the negotiation process for a new constitutional dispensation, believe in regional government with extensive authority. Although the current nine development regions are seen by the Government as well as the ANC as a basis for the demarcation of the regions for second tier government, both parties have already indicated that they would like to make some border adjustments. The ANC identifies a tenth region¹, the so-called Xhosa Region which the ANC suggests should include East Griqualand. The Government is still investigating the matter, but according to documents obtained from various government sources and direct discussions it seems clear that a variety of options are under consideration including making East Griqualand part of the current Region D.

The exclusion of East Griqualand from Region E (Natal) is of great concern to a major part of the business and agriculture community of the Region. The resistance which the community has against the exclusion of East Griqualand from Region E is based mainly on economic factors notwithstanding the fact that there is also merit in keeping East Griqualand part of Region E from an ethnic point of view, as is indicated further on in this document.

A disturbing fact in regard to the proposed redelimitation of existing regions is the heavy emphasis which is apparently being placed on non-economic factors. However, various participants in the

¹ See map.

constitutional negotiation process have publicly expressed themselves in favour of emphasising the role which economic and socio-economic factors must play in the so-called "New South Africa". The ANC (1992) expressed their attitude concerning the criteria to be used for the delimitation of regions as follows: "We envisage an organic, developmental approach towards the creation of national unity, not something forced from 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." The people of East Griqualand do not find fault with this approach.

When the ANC (1992) argue as to why East Griqualand must be part of the proposed Xhosa region the development idea expressed above is negated and is expressed as follows: "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."

It is probably true that the northern parts of Transkei (excluding the Umzimkulu district) cannot be seen as part of Natal but it is also true that East Griqualand is currently seen as an integral part of Natal by all people who have an interest in the region. Apart from this incorrect interpretation by the ANC, the apparent disregard of the need to demarcate regions according to economic factors is not acceptable. The success of any future constitutional model in South Africa, at national and at regional level, is to a great extent dependent on the economic development to which it will give rise. The National Party whose apartheid policy disregarded important economic laws has learnt an expensive lesson in this regard.

The objective of this document is to demonstrate how important it is, that East Griqualand remains part of Region E (Natal). This objective is motivated firstly by looking at the historic and constitutional development which eventually led to the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal, and its inclusion as part of

development Region E (Natal). Secondly the economic factors which merit East Griqualand staying part of Region E (Natal) are discussed. Specific attention is given to aspects such as nodality, homogeneity, physical-economic and socio-economic infrastructure, fiscal federalism, tourism and the flow of labour.

In the last section ethnicity is investigated as a criterion for keeping East Griqualand part of Region E (Natal). Attention is also given to support within East Griqualand for retaining the areas as part of Region E.

This document deals with most of the arguments for and against the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal, on a purely factual basis. Data is only quoted where it substantiates an argument. More exhaustive studies on particular aspects could be done, but these would most probably lead to the same conclusions being drawn.

2. CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF EAST GRIQUALAND

A short chronological sequence of the constitutional history of East Griqualand introduces this section whereafter certain aspects which could possibly lead to misunderstanding are discussed.

2.1 Historical Background

Up to the 19th Century, East Griqualand was uninhabited, and was known as "No man's land" (Nomansland). This so-called Nomansland was an area of unoccupied land lying to the South-East of the Drakensberg. Included in Nomansland was the whole of the present Mount Currie district (Republic of South Africa), the Umzimkulu district (Republic of Transkei) as well as a portion of the district of Matatiele (Republic of Transkei). Although the area was probably visited from time to time by San (Bushman) hunter-gatherers, as well as by Black tribes which fled from the militarism of the Zulu nation

under Shaka and Dingaan, no permanent habitation occurred. The reason must be sought in the region's inhospitable climate and ecology.

The first permanent settlers in the area currently known as East Griqualand, were the Griquas. In 1854, when the independent Republic of the Orange Free State came into being, the Griqua landholding in this territory became the subject of dispute. The governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, offered Nomansland to the Griqua community under the leadership of Adam Kok III. The Griquas officially took possession of East Griqualand in 1863. In addition to the urban stands in Kokstad which were allocated to Griqua citizens, between 500 and 600 farms of more or less 3 000 acres were made available for individual occupation. The Colonial Government gave official deeds of transfer to the respective owners.

After several years of dispute between neighbouring Black tribes and a tug of war between the colonies of Natal and the Cape regarding the possession of East Griqualand, Nomansland was annexed by the Cape Colony in October 1874. However, the Cape High Commission only assumed official authority of the territory on the 1st October 1879 under the name, designation and title of East Griqualand.

In 1886 the Transkeian Territories Act was promulgated which included East Griqualand in the so-called "Transkeian Territories". The Act indicated that the Cape Colony was to administer the area as a separate Native Territory within the Colony. The "Transkeian Territories" were stated to be:

- The Transkei (including Gcalekaland);
- East Griqualand;
- Tembuland (including Emigrant Tembuland and Bomvanaland);
and
- The Port and Territory of St. John's River.

As far as East Griqualand is concerned, it was administered under the abovementioned Act until 1951. In 1951 the Mount Currie district (Kokstad) was taken over by the Department of Justice and the Matatiele portion of East Griqualand followed suit in 1976 when the whole of East Griqualand became one magisterial district.²

From about 1874, White settlers moved into the area and over a period of time acquired large tracts of farm land. Although the farms which were acquired from the Griquas were in some cases bought at low prices, the acquisitions were legal. The Mount Currie and Matatiele districts became consolidated into the East Griqualand Divisional Council in 1969. After the independence of Transkei in 1976, East Griqualand became geographically separated from its present province and for all practical purposes became part of Natal. After a Committee of Inquiry was appointed to investigate the desirability and feasibility of incorporating East Griqualand into Natal, the boundaries of the Provinces were altered. On the first of April 1978, the East Griqualand Divisional Council was thus terminated and the area became the Mount Currie magisterial district of Natal.

The most important towns are Kokstad in the East and Matatiele near the Lesotho Border. Other villages are Cedarville, Franklin and Swartberg.

In 1981 a regional development strategy for Southern Africa was announced at a meeting between the South African Prime Minister and business and community leaders. According to this strategy which is also known as the Good Hope Plan for Southern Africa (Rep. of S.A. (a), 1981), South Africa was divided into eight development regions. Later a ninth region was added. According to this regional division

² It must be noted that the Transkeien Territories as were mentioned in the Transkeien Territories Act are not the same as the Republic of Transkei. Because of the similarities of the two terms it leads to confusion. As will be indicated later, East Griqualand has never been part of the Republic of Transkei and never had any official ties with any Black tribes.

East Griqualand as well as the northern part of Transkei was included as part of Region E (Natal). It is important to note that the demarcation of these regions was done according to economic and developmental criteria.

2.2 Important aspects concerning the constitutional history of East Griqualand

The constitutional status of East Griqualand, was the subject of a tough struggle between various interest groups. Various official and non-official reports were published over the years of which probably the most important was the Steyn Report (Rep. of S.A. (b), 1976) and the Report of the President's Council on the needs and demands of the Griquas (Rep. of S.A. (c), 1983). The Steyn Report concerned itself with the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal. Less important reports are the Mentz Report (Rep. of S.A. (d), 1980) and the Bothma Report II (Rep. of S.A. (e), 1979). Both these reports are concerned mainly with the constitutional needs of the Griqua and Coloured peoples.

Certain facts come continually to the fore in these and other reports and are of great importance to the debate concerning East Griqualand's future, to whom it belonged in the past and into which region it should be included in the future. Historical agreements play an important role in this debate.

2.2.1 Historic-cultural heritage of the Griqua people

Regarding the Griqua people, it is important to record that not only were they the first group of people who inhabited East Griqualand on a permanent basis but they also, in practice, administered the area as a self-governing territory until the convention of 1874.

The abovementioned statement does not downplay or diminish the contribution of the Whites to the area. The Steyn Report states the

following: "East Griqualand was settled by the Griquas but tamed, developed, conserved and beautified by the White man."

2.2.2 No historical accord with Black tribes

East Griqualand in its present context, was clearly never a Black tribal territory and for the past 130 years it has been an area of Griqua, Coloured and White settlement.

In the past the Transkei Government apparently laid claim to this area, basing their claim on a treaty of 1844. This treaty was allegedly negotiated by a missionary on behalf of Faku, the Pondo chief. The validity of this treaty is somewhat questionable as Faku and his tribe did not occupy the area known as Nomansland.

Some people are of the opinion that this treaty, if it has any foundation, was in fact one of convenience as it would have served only British Imperialist interests and the missionary concerned.

Notwithstanding the validity or otherwise of the above treaty, the British Government sent Sir Walter Curry in 1861 to lay claim to the territory. It is reported that Faku agreed to the Cape Colonial Governments claim to the territory.

2.2.3 East Griqualand was never administered as an organic part of the Cape Province

In the ANC's proposal that East Griqualand should become part of the proposed Xhosa-region specific emphasis is laid on the fact that the northern boundary of the region coincides with the 1910 frontier of the Cape Province. Based on this statement it can be concluded that much significance is attached to the historical boundaries of the Cape Province.

In truth however, East Griqualand never became part of "The Cape proper" but was always treated as "something apart" by that Colony

and later by that Province and the Central Government, and administered in a distinctive way. This was in many respects markedly different from the way in which the Cape Province west of the Kei was administered (Rep. of S.A. (b), 1976).

2.2.4 East Griqualand has historically kept strong ties with Natal

For the layman the merits for the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal may seem to be of political expedience only. Furthermore it could be argued that this resulted from the implementation of past Bantustan policies. Although this step probably set the ball rolling, this area had over the years already become closely integrated with Natal. Examples of the close interrelationship prior to the official incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal are as follows:

- Every Farmers' Association as well as the East Griqualand Farmers' Union were affiliated to the Natal Agricultural Union;
- East Griqualand's railway system is an integral part of the railway system of Natal - in fact no rail links with the Transkei exist;
- The Department of Posts and Telegraphs serving East Griqualand has its Head Office in Pietermaritzburg;
- All East Griqualand sporting activities were linked to Natal;
- East Griqualand businessmen were and still are affiliated to the Natal Chamber of Commerce through the Kokstad and Matatiele Chambers of Commerce.

It is also important to note that, prior to the official incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal, as much as thirteen

central government departments also considered East Griqualand more efficiently administered from their Natal offices than from their Cape equivalents. The departments concerned were:

- The Department of Transport;
- The Department of Public Works;
- The Department of Coloured Affairs;
- The Department of Planning;
- The Department of Community Development;
- The Department of Social Welfare and Pensions;
- The Department of Agricultural Economics and Marketing;
- The Department of Customs and Excise;
- The Department of Police;
- The Department of Prisons; and
- The Department of Health.

2.2.5 The Umzimkulu district of the Republic of Transkei was originally an integral part of East Griqualand

An aspect which must not be overlooked is the fact that the Umzimkulu district of the Republic of Transkei also formed part of the original East Griqualand. Apart from political reasons which resulted in Umzimkulu being made part of Transkei, there is not much merit in the Umzimkulu district being in the same region as Transkei in a new constitutional dispensation. In a later section a specific investigation of ethnic differences between the people of the Umzimkulu district and the rest of the Republic of Transkei, will be highlighted.

3. ECONOMIC INTERDEPENDENCE OF EAST GRIQUALAND WITH REGION E

For the purpose of sustained development of a region it is necessary that economic laws must receive high priority in the demarcation of regions. Certain transitory factors which are currently deemed important in the demarcation of regions such as the aspirations of political parties, the views of traditional leaders and of the

National States, either cease to exist or change because of the evolution which continuously takes place in politics. Economic laws however are of a long term nature and cannot be adjusted artificially. The incorrect inclusion of an area into a specific region can have the effect that the specific area never develops to its optimum potential with, not only negative consequences for the particular area in question, but also for the country in general.

The economic criteria that are considered applicable in delimiting regions are the concepts of nodality, homogeneity and economic planning. These concepts will be discussed in relation to East Griqualand.

3.1 Nodal Regions

Nodal regions are based on the fact that economic entities in a certain area are interdependent resulting in a flow of goods and services between such entities. Nodal regions are composed of heterogeneous units (e.g. the distribution of human population leads to cities, towns, villages and sparsely inhabited rural areas - in other words, a hierarchy of settlements), but these are closely interrelated with each other from a functional point of view. The biggest flow of goods and services tends to polarize towards and from the dominant node (or nodes), usually large cities. Around each node there will develop a zone of influence or spatial field in which interaction in various forms take place. However, as the force of distance exerts itself the flow densities decline as one moves away from the control centre. Eventually, at a certain radius flow densities will fall below a critical level and this sets the outer limits of the spatial field.

If East Griqualand's location is seen in a regional context according to nodal criteria³ as set out above, the enormous linkage which East

³ See also Richardson, H.W. (1969), Elements of Regional Economics, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth.

Griqualand has with the metropolitan area of Durban, especially as far as economic goods and services are concerned and with Pietermaritzburg, the current provincial capital of Natal, as far as socio-economic and government services are concerned, becomes obvious. An important aspect is that the sphere of influence of the two metropolitan areas mentioned does not end at the southern border of East Griqualand but in effect extends much further south deep into the Republic of Transkei.

In Table 1 a percentage distribution is given of the origin of the retail stock of various centres. This flow of retail stock can be regarded as a very good indicator of interdependence. If Kokstad, the main town of the area, is used as an example, almost 50 percent of the retail stock originates from Durban and Pietermaritzburg as against only 9,6 percent from Port Elizabeth and East London. The latter can be considered the nodal cities of the present Region D.

TABLE 1: ORIGIN OF RETAIL STOCK OF KOKSTAD, MATATIELE AND CEDARVILLE
(PERCENTAGE PER TOWN)

ORIGIN OF RETAIL STOCK	Kokstad	Matatiele	Cedarville
Kokstad	8,7	4,8	13,6
Matatiele	-	6,3	18,3
Cedarville	-	-	4,5
Pietermaritzburg	17,3	12,8	13,7
Durban	30,8	31,8	22,8
Johannesburg	17,3	14,3	13,6
Cape Town	8,7	7,9	4,5
Port Elizabeth	3,8	7,9	-
East London	5,8	6,3	-
Other	7,6	7,9	9,0
TOTAL	100,0	100,0	100,0

Source: Department of Planning and the Environment, An Overhead Regional Study Regarding East Griqualand.

The reverse dependency is also true between East Griqualand and the rest of Region E. East Griqualand is primarily an agricultural area and although it consists of only one magisterial district, it produces an important part of the total agricultural production of Region E. Table 2 gives an indication of the importance of East Griqualand relative to the rest of Region E regarding certain agricultural products.

TABLE 2: ESTIMATED GROSS OUTPUT OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN EAST GRIQUALAND COMPARED WITH THE REST OF REGION E

Enterprise	Percentage of production in Natal (%)
Dairy Products	15,0
Beef	17,0
Mutton	30,0
Wool	40,0
Maize	5,0

Source: Producers Organisations.

As far as the definition of a nodal region is concerned, it is not only the extent of production of a particular area which is of importance but the linkage of the area with the rest of the region. In this respect the traditional markets for the products of East Griqualand are the urban populations of Durban and Pietermaritzburg as well as the South Coast of Natal and to a smaller extent the adjacent parts of Transkei. For example the wool which is produced in East Griqualand is sold by auction in Durban and exported through Durban's harbour. Almost no agricultural products originating from East Griqualand are marketed in Port Elizabeth, East London or Umtata.

3.1.1 Distance and Physical Infrastructure

The reason for the strong gravitational forces which are exerted by metropolitan areas such as Durban, Pietermaritzburg and the South

Coast on East Griqualand are mainly due to proximity. Kokstad is situated 180 and 240 km from Pietermaritzburg and Durban respectively, whereas it is more than 400 km from East London and more than 650 km from Port Elizabeth. Although it might be nearer to Umtata, the latter exerts almost no gravitational force on East Griqualand because of its size, its under developed industrial sector and then rural area which lies between Umtata and East Griqualand.

A further reason for the interdependence of East Griqualand and Natal is in particular the layout of physical infrastructure. As far as the rail connection is concerned, the area is linked only with Natal. Durban is the nearest harbour and the Louis Botha Airport is by far the most convenient national and international airport for use by the inhabitants of East Griqualand. The electricity grid and the telephone network form the furthest point of the system which starts in the PWV and moves through Natal. Additional physical infrastructure such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation and an extensive road network is provided and maintained from Pietermaritzburg or Durban.

3.2 Homogeneous regions

The homogeneous region concept is based on the view that geographical areas may be linked together as a single region when they share uniform characteristics. These characteristics might be economic (such as similar production structures or homogeneous consumption patterns), geographical (such as a similar typography or climate) and even social or political factors (such as regional identity and/or ethnic homogeneity or traditional party allegiance).

In this section the importance of economic homogeneity (which includes geographical factors) influencing the demarcation of regions is discussed. In another section attention will specifically be given to aspects such as regional identity and ethnicity.

Geographically speaking East Griqualand and Southern Natal are very homogeneous. This fact is also recognised in the Steyn Report which states as follows: "Geographically it is the last of the great shelves or terraces encountered as one ascends from the coast to the rampart of the Drakensberg, and is in fact a south-westward extension of the Natal Midlands."

Notwithstanding the abovementioned fact it is probably more important that regions should be economically homogeneous rather than physically homogeneous. The effective application of economic policy in a specific region is rendered more manageable if the level of economic development is fairly equal.

The difference in the needs of people is par excellence explained by the difference in their income levels and not so much by differences in their language or culture. Should there be a significant unequal distribution of income in a particular area, it can be accepted that the needs of the people will differ markedly. This is especially true with respect to the public's demand for public goods and services.

The consequence of this aspect is important if it is taken into account that the respective regions will in future have more fiscal autonomy than in the past. Regional governments will probably not only have the right to determine priorities on government spending in their regions, but will also have certain authority in regard to the levying of taxes on local economic activity in order to finance these local services.

East Griqualand is a fairly developed area and therefore its per capita income is much higher than the average for Region E and D, where both regions consist of large areas with subsistence economies. According to statistics provided by the Development Bank of Southern Africa the per capita income for 1990 of Region E is R1 737 and that of Region D is R1 630. The corresponding figure for East Griqualand is almost R4 500 per annum. Since the difference in the

per capita incomes of the two regions is not substantial, it could be argued that it does not really matter into which region East Griqualand is actually incorporated. However, two aspects of cardinal importance must be considered:

- The aim of the ANC is not to incorporate East Griqualand into the current Region D, but into a new region (Xhosaland), which has a larger degree of a subsistence economy than Region D. (Note that Transkei and Ciskei form part of this proposed new region.) The effect of this incorporation will be that the difference in the per capita income between Region E and the new region will be much higher than is currently the case between Regions E and D.
- It must be accepted that regions consist of subregions and that with greater local autonomy, fiscal policy (tax and expenditure policies) will also to a certain extent differ from subregion to subregion. The difference in income between East Griqualand and the adjacent subregions of Region E is minimal because both areas are at a similar level of development. In contrast where East Griqualand adjoins Northern Transkei, Transkei has a significant lower level of development than East Griqualand, due to the subsistence economy prevalent in the area.

3.3 Planning Regions

The third method of classifying regions (in addition to homogeneous or nodal regions) is by division into planning regions. This is an essential categorisation when considering questions of regional policy and planning. A planning (or programming) region is a region in which economic decisions apply. Thus the area should display a degree of uniformity.

Since the implementation of regional policy requires the power to execute decisions, regions ideally need to be defined into areas with

administrative and political jurisdiction. As planning regions have a large degree of permanency they should conform as far as possible to the boundaries of natural economic regions.

As far as the effective planning of East Griqualand is concerned it is especially important to pay attention to the area's location relative to that of Regions E and D. Should it so happens that the area becomes part of Region D it will mean that the relative small commercial economy of East Griqualand will be the only commercial economy in the region surrounded by the subsistence economy which applies in the current Republic of Transkei. Because East Griqualand is so small (only one magisterial district) it can be speculated that it will not positively influence the adjacent subsistence economy. Rather the opposite can be expected, namely that the economy of East Griqualand will degenerate.

Due to the distance from Region D's nodal points, the planning and administration of a small area such as East Griqualand cannot be effectively managed. The unique development needs of East Griqualand which differ markedly from those of the northern Transkei, would not receive the attention they deserve as a result of lack of planning and effective administrative control.

On the other hand, if East Griqualand stays part of Region E the negative aspects in regard to planning mentioned above will not apply, because one commercial economy is linked with another with more or less the same development needs.

A further aspect regarding effective planning and administration of an area is that the planners and administrators of the region must as far as possible also be consumers of the goods and services of that area. The southern parts of the Drakensberg are becoming an increasingly important holiday area for the inhabitants of the Pietermaritzburg/Durban metropole. In the same way the South Coast

is the holiday area for the inhabitants of East Griqualand. By making East Griqualand part of Region D this unity in planning and consumption will be totally distorted.

Further examples exist which would further distort the unity which currently prevails between planning, production and consumption of goods and services. East Griqualand farmers are affiliated to the Natal Agricultural Union, the Natal and East Griqualand Wool Growers Association, and the Natal and East Griqualand Fresh Milk Producers Union. East Griqualand farmers also belong to Natal based Agricultural Co-operatives such as Stock Owners and National Co-operative Dairies (NCD). In the same way businessmen of East Griqualand are affiliated to the Natal Regional Chamber of Commerce through the Kokstad and Matatiele Chambers of Commerce.

An important aspect of business affiliations between East Griqualand and Natal mentioned above is that these affiliations already existed long before the incorporation of East Griqualand into the jurisdiction of the Natal Provincial Administration from that of the Cape Provincial Administration. This is proof of the logic of economic integration which is of relevance here.

The direct financial implication of the altering of regional borders must not be ignored. The incorporation of East Griqualand into another region would have enormous financial implications particularly in regard to the provision of government services. Not only is a change between one development region and another involved, but also a change to the existing provincial borders. Many government services are currently provided by second tier government. A change in boundaries thus has broad implications, such as health, education and many other services. It could be argued that provinces, as they currently exist, will not be part of a new constitutional dispensation and that regional administrations will be totally re-constituted. However a change from a provincial administration to a new regional administration will still need to be an evolutionary process. Thus if the old province and the new

region have the same boundaries the process of change will be that much easier.

4. ETHNIC INTEGRATION AND POPULAR ACCEPTANCE OF THE INHABITANTS OF EAST GRIQUALAND

This document does not seek to promote ethnicity as a valid argument for the demarcation of a region. However if the ethnic argument is used even this argument supports the view that East Griqualand belongs in Region E.

Ethnicity and the voluntary association of people are considered by some to be essential elements when considering the demarcation of regional boundaries. This aspect is especially relevant in the light of the unification of West and East Germany, the disintegration of the Soviet Union into different independent states and the current independence struggle in what was Yugoslavia. The claim by the ANC for the incorporation of the current East Griqualand (Mount Currie magisterial district) into the proposed Xhosa Region is based mainly on the above mentioned criteria. The ANC aim is to have the whole of Transkei and the Ciskei part of one region. For the meaningful inclusion of the Umzimkulu district in the proposed Xhosa Region, it becomes important from a geographical viewpoint that the current East Griqualand should also be included in the Xhosa region.

It is relevant to note (see point 2.2.5) that the Umzimkulu part of Transkei was originally part of East Griqualand. It was included in Transkei in 1961 by the Government for political reasons only as part of the movement towards the new Republic of Transkei.

The inclusion of East Griqualand (as well as the Umzimkulu district) into the proposed Xhosa Region, based on the argument of ethnicity, is however unacceptable for two reasons. Firstly, the population of East Griqualand is by nature cosmopolitan. It consists of a relatively large Griqua population and the Black population is

composed of different tribes with different languages and different cultures. In 1989 the population distribution in the magisterial district of Mount Currie was as follows: Whites 5 101, Griqua/Coloureds 5 575, Asians 41 and Blacks 31 767 (Bureau of Market Research, 1989).

Secondly it is true that, in respect of culture and language, the Black inhabitants of East Griqualand and more specifically those of the Umzimkulu district, have a closer affinity with the people of Northern Natal than with the Black people of the Transkei and Eastern Cape.

When there were talks in 1979 of possible incorporation of the current East Griqualand into the Republic of Transkei, W.J. Hornsby (1979), member for the Griquas warned against it by enlightening the factors which should have been taken into account when the Umzimkulu district was incorporated into Transkei by stating: "This may have been convenient and expedient at the time but we contend that this was erroneous as the vast majority of the Blacks living in the area belong to tribes which have a closer cultural affinity to the Zulus than with the majority of Xhosas in the Republic of Transkei."

The Umzimkulu district is predominantly the home of the Nhlanguwini and Bhaca tribes. Both these tribes have their origin in Northern Natal. Hammond-Tooke (1962) reported the following on the Bhaca: "This small group of people are of particular interest as they are representative of those tribes which were forced to flee from Natal during the chaotic period of Zulu history subsequent to Tshaka's rise to power. The Bhaca are very conscious of their "Zulu" origin, although this is hardly the scientifically correct term to use as the name "Zulu" should correctly be applied only to the descendants of the small Zulu clan which by rapine and conquest established political and cultural hegemony over the whole of Natal from 1816 onwards."

If cognisance is to be paid to one of the ANC's criteria (ANC, 1992) namely, "Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account", it is probably more correct to adopt the viewpoint that the Griqua were the first official inhabitants of East Griqualand, and that they should have a significant say in regard to which region East Griqualand should be incorporated. If one adopts an even broader perspective and the rest of the Midlands of Natal is also taken into account, the wishes of the English-speaking Whites in East Griqualand must also have their ethnic preference given due consideration.

The people of East Griqualand have for many years an affinity with Region E (Natal). This affinity has been especially strengthened by business associations, strong sport and cultural bonds which have already existed for many years as well as the fact that many of the English-speaking Whites of the area studied in private and public English-medium schools in Natal.

An added aspect which strengthens the unity of Region E, is the fact that large numbers of migrant workers from East Griqualand and the Northern Transkei work in Durban, Pietermaritzburg and the South Coast. These are the only areas where a large number of workers from the Northern Transkei and East Griqualand can be employed without being cut off from their traditional places of residence.

5. SUMMARY

The various political parties at CODESA are currently formulating proposals in regard to a second tier government system. These proposals include the demarcation of regions. According to available formal and informal documentation there are suggestions that East Griqualand, which is at present part of development Region E, (Natal), should be included in a new region (Xhosa Region) or in the current Region D.

It seems that the main reason put forward for the inclusion of East Griqualand in a region which lies to the south is to keep the Republic of Transkei in one particular region. To meaningfully incorporate the Umzimkulu district of the Transkei in Region D or the proposed Xhosa Region, would require that the current East Griqualand must also become part of the regions mentioned.

However from an economic perspective it is obvious that East Griqualand must remain part of Region E. Durban and Pietermaritzburg are the dominant economic nodes. The economic gravitation forces exerted by Durban and Pietermaritzburg are in fact so strong that they reach deep into the Transkei. The districts of Matatiele, Mount Fletcher, Mount Frere, Mount Ayliff, Bizana as well as the Umzimkulu district are affected by these forces. The level of economic development and thus the level of welfare in East Griqualand and Southern Natal are more or less the same. On the contrary the economics of East Griqualand and the Northern Transkei are much more diverse in nature. This is a very important aspect when considering the optimal planning and administration of a region, especially when seen in the light of the greater fiscal authority which second tier government is expected to have in future.

There is in reality no particular reason, from an ethnic point of view, why East Griqualand should be part of the regions which lie to the south of the area. The only argument that can be used is that the Umzimkulu district, although originally part of East Griqualand, is currently part of Transkei. Furthermore the Black population of the Umzimkulu district has closer cultural historical bonds with the Black tribes in Natal than with those of Transkei. These facts run counter to the argument that Transkei as a whole should be incorporated into a single region.

In conclusion it is important to stress that economic laws cannot be ignored in demarcating regions. If a particular area is incorporated into a wrong region for no other sound reason than political expediency it will never develop to its optimum with resultant

negative effects for the area in particular as well as the country in general. The growth which towns like Kokstad and Matatiele experienced after the incorporation of East Griqualand into Natal justly illustrates the importance of the correct incorporation of a particular area in an appropriate region.

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