SUBMISSION TO THE COMMISSION ON REGIONS

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY SUBMISSION TO THE COMMISSION ON THE DEMARCATION/DELIMITATION OF REGIONS

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The Democratic Party is pleased to be able to present its proposal for the demarcation of regions both for delimitation purposes for South Africa's first non-racial proportional representation election, and for constitutional purposes, as the basis for the formation of federal states.

The DP's proposal is substantially based upon a document prepared for us by Dr P A Pienaar of the Department of Geography at the University of South Africa, entitled A Model for the Delimitation of Autonomous Regions in South Africa. All the statistics and graphs used in this proposal are taken from Dr Pienaar's document. The DP, however, takes full responsibility for the content of its proposal.

The DP consulted widely within its own structures in the process of compiling this proposal. We believe that the commission should similarly consult as widely as possible with regional and local communities in the process of drawing up its final proposal for regional boundaries. Before the relevant forum decides on final boundaries, we would strongly urge that communities impacted by such decisions be consulted through local referenda.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The Democratic Party and its predecessors have consistently advocated a non-racial, proportionally representative electoral system in a federal constitution. The principal reasons for our promotion of federalism have been:

Federalism will distribute power

By providing a variety of different sites of power, federalism enables more people to take part in the process of government. It brings government closer to the people. This promotes accountability of political office-bearers to their constituents, and promotes the establishment of a democratic culture. It can also reduce the intensity of the struggle for power at the central government level as it ceases to be a 'winner takes all' contest.

Federalism is a defence against tyranny

The Democratic Party believes that an over-concentration of power at central government level leads to the retention of power for its own sake, and the use of power and patronage for the advantage of the party or group which is in power. South Africa's history is littered with examples of the use of the monopoly of centralised political power to impose an oppressive philosophy on the entire country. A federal structure makes this much more difficult, and the system also provides a variety of sites of power in which more people can exercise power, making the retention of central government power relatively less important.

Federalism accommodates pluralism

The Democratic Party acknowledges the cultural, linguistic, geographic and political diversity of South Africa. This diversity is a national asset which needs to be developed in a spirit of mutual respect, tolerance and conciliation. Federalism helps to accommodate this diversity by multiplying the sites of power.

Moreover, by multiplying sites of power and competition, new and transcending alliances based on regional or common interests can be forged, which can lead to the resolution of problems and issues at a localised level. This will certainly make the resolution of seemingly intractable problems far easier.

The above benefits of a strong federal government can however be negated if the boundaries of federal units are drawn without regard to the objects of devolution of power, the economic viability of regions, the socio-cultural make-up of South Africa, the political and administrative capacity of various regions, and the history of regionalism (provinces, TBVC states, self-governing territories, etc) in South Africa. The delimitation of regions will therefore be a critical determinant in the ultimate success or failure of a federal form of government in our country.

2. FUTURE ADJUSTMENTS TO REGIONAL BOUNDARIES

We consider this an appropriate opportunity to make some recommendations regarding the procedures which should be adopted to enable adjustments to regional boundaries once these are set prior to the election of the constitution—making body/Transitional Parliament. Such procedures are necessitated by the fact that it is highly unlikely that we will get the drawing of regional boundaries right the first time round. Mechanisms should thus be created to adjust

boundaries both during the Transitional Period, and thereafter.

Whatever mechanism is agreed upon, should be included in the National Constitution. We suggest that it may be advisable to make it easier to adjust boundaries during the Transitional Period, than thereafter when the country is governed under a more permanent constitution.

The following procedure is suggested for boundary adjustments during the Transitional Period:

- The procedure could be initiated by any particular region, by means of a motion passed by the regional legislature;
- The request from the regional legislature is then referred to a Regional Boundary Commission, consisting of non-partisan technical experts, who must investigate the request and make an appropriate recommendation to the Transitional Parliament/constitution-making body;
- The Transitional Parliament/constitution-making body can change regional boundaries through the normal procedure laid down for constitutional amendments, provided that such changes will be of no effect unless also agreed to by the regional legislatures concerned.

Substantially the same procedure can be prescribed for the post-transitional period with the possible added requirements of regional referenda and enhanced majorities.

3. CRITERIA FOR DELIMITATION

Different criteria can delimit divergent regions in the same territory – hence the choice of suitable criteria will vary from one case to the next. Where existing historical constitutional entities are joined together in a federal dispensation, for example, Germany (Bavaria, Saxony, Brandenburg, etc) or Switzerland, with its existing cantons (Ticino, Valais, etc) political regions already exist. However, the situation becomes problematic when regional states or provinces have to be carved out of a unitary system.

For the sake of equilibrium the ideal situation would be to divide regions symmetrically so that each region could have a more or less equal number of people, territory and cultural diversity. Not only does the geographic nature and population distribution pattern make this impossible for South Africa, but it is also undesirable since the regional diversity cannot be addressed, and the present state's potential for conflict will probably only be duplicated according to the number of regions. If the distinctiveness and uniqueness of each region is not affirmed by means of greater cultural homogeneity, regionalism in the true sense of the word is out of the question. In a meaningful effort to delimit, a wide range of criteria should be studied in conjunction. These include the following:

3.1. Language is the main medium of communication between people. It is a cultural symbol but also a medium of communication between government and citizens. For the successful application of a future language policy in a multi-linguistic state such as the RSA, the spatial language pattern will have to be considered as one of the most important variables in the choice of suitable criteria for demarcation. (See figure 1)

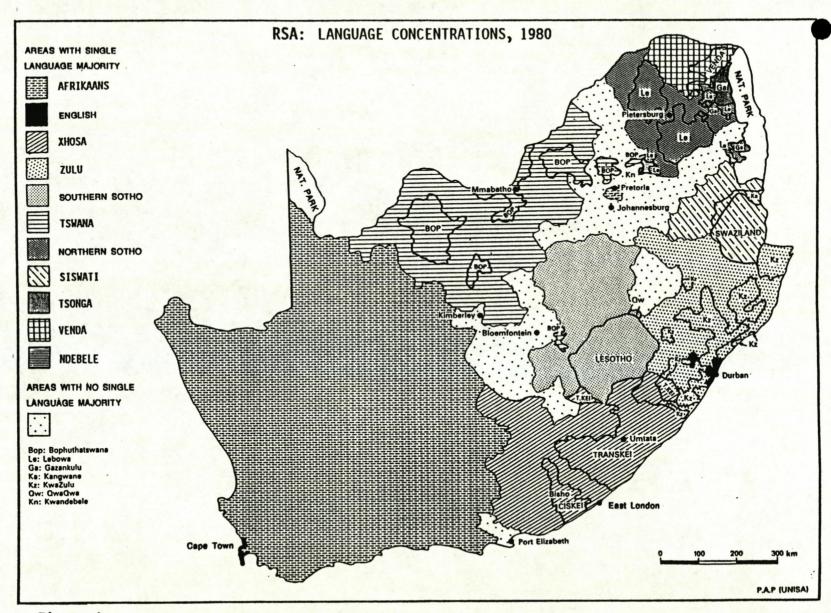


Figure /

- 3.2 Functionality should be a second important consideration. The individual urban and industrial complexes are mutually linked in one integrated spatial urban framework characterised by a high density of traffic networks and residential and production systems. The growth of the four smaller metropoles that have developed around the coastal cities of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban (fig 2) is the result of their productive hinterlands (tributary or functional service areas) within which the cities form integrated nodes in a functional communication network. In this way a spatial interdependence has developed between the Boland and Cape Town, the Cape Midlands and Port Elizabeth, the Border region and East London and the Natal interior and Durban. Hence these cities represent natural functional capitals in their surrounding areas.
- 3.3. Thirdly, traditional or historical boundaries are important because over many decades they have acquired a fair amount of acceptability and hence credibility. The present provincial boundaries have been in existence since the previous century and geographical phenomena such as the Orange and Vaal Rivers, as well as the Drakensberg escarpment should therefore enjoy wide acceptance, notwithstanding the administrative areas that have been defined by them for decades.

In a process of regional demarcation, the approach should not be to focus on the number of regions as such, but on the viability of and balance between regions. Hence there are four remaining interrelated criteria: demography, resources, development and administration.

- 3.4. Demographic characteristics refer not only to the total population of the region but also include factors such as population growth, distribution and density, literacy and health considerations. It is desirable to strike a balance between demographic interests and the composition of regions as far as possible, without jeopardising regional distinctiveness.
- 3.5. A meaningful resource base in each region is necessary to eliminate as far as possible conspicuous imbalances. In this context reference is made not only to physical geographical factors such as territory, land and water provision, but also to developed human and economic resources such as communication and traffic infrastructure, level of urbanisation, as well as differentiated urban functions and services. The effect of underdevelopment in vast rural areas with low population densities should be balanced by the inclusion of developed urban core areas.
- 3.6. The development potential of each region relates directly to its resource base. Indicators of development can be found among others in each region's contribution to the gross geographical product (GGP) of the state, the per capita income of each region in comparison with the national average, as well as the rural-urban distribution of the population. As a rule, greater urbanisation is indicative of greater development potential. Finally, the boundaries of regions should not unnecessarily split up integrated development axes, industrial complexes and growth points or other productive assets of significant spatial extent.

Figure 2

3.7. Regional government requires the integration of existing administrative networks and/or the creation of new administrative structures. For this purpose each region needs an administrative capital with an adequate administrative infrastructure able to accommodate legislative and executive functions. Each magisterial district further requires a particular personnel component with related administrative expenditure. The number of districts in each region, together with the number of local authorities in each district, as well as the existing regional service councils can provide a reasonable indication of the extent of the administrative load and expenses that a region should be able to afford or finance. The implication of this reality is that each region's developed resource base and potential should be able to provide an adequate financial return to support a viable tax basis. In short, each region must be able to afford its own administration.

The above-mentioned four criteria support the principle that de jure regions should also be able to maintain a de facto autonomy by means of viable economic, financial and fiscal qualities. The number of regions should therefore be the result of a fine balance in which cultural, linguistic, functional, historical, economic and development criteria, together play a collective role, against the background of viability.

4. APPLICATION

The delimitation of the nine proposed regions that follows is the result of a cohesive application of all the criteria mentioned in the preceding section. The following additional conditions and considerations however apply in drawing up the proposal:

- 4.1. The names proposed for the regions are tentative and relate to neutral geographic phenomena or historical associations to avoid possible controversial ethnic connotations. The DP believes that the citizens of individual regions should be empowered to decide upon their own choice of name.
- 4.2. The principles and objectives of devolution of power are pursued hence the point of departure is to establish the maximum number of regions that can be demarcated meaningfully, viably and are affordable. The aim is that these regions should have the greatest possible legislative and executive powers to make meaningful autonomy possible.
- 4.3. We assume that both the TBVC states and the self-governing territories will be fully re-incorporated into South Africa and that their territories will thus be fully integrated into the regions to be delimited.
 - 4.4.1 Magisterial districts are the units used in all the analysis relevant to this proposal, for all data are available on a district basis. Hence language and functional, demographic and economic demarcations correspond to district boundaries.
 - 4.4.2 The data bases used in this study and analysis, are unofficial figures, since the latest available official figures were only obtainable in the form of the 1985 census (Oct./Nov.1992). The population figures of the 1991 census used in this

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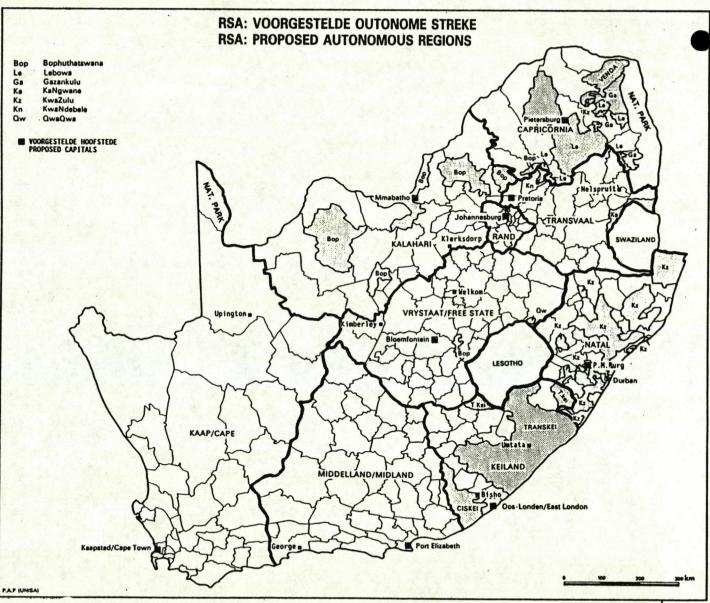


Figure 3

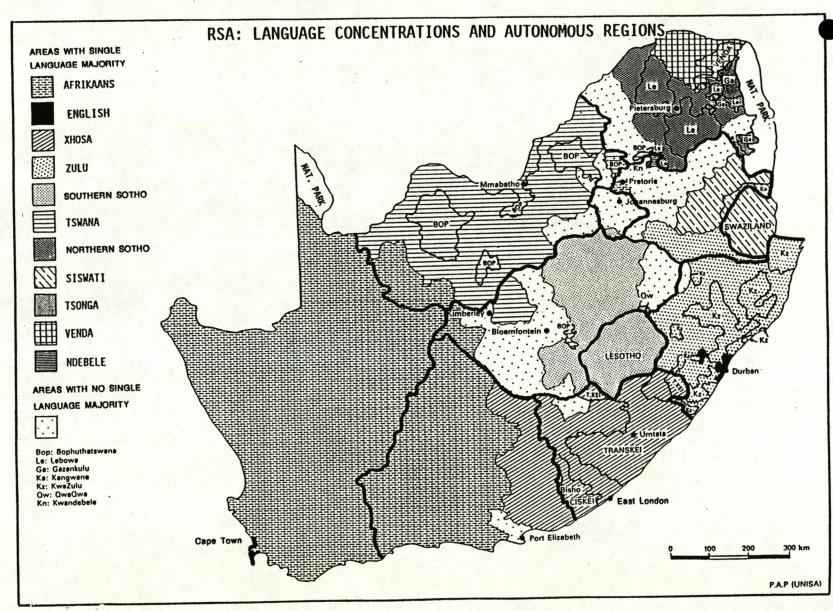


Figure 4

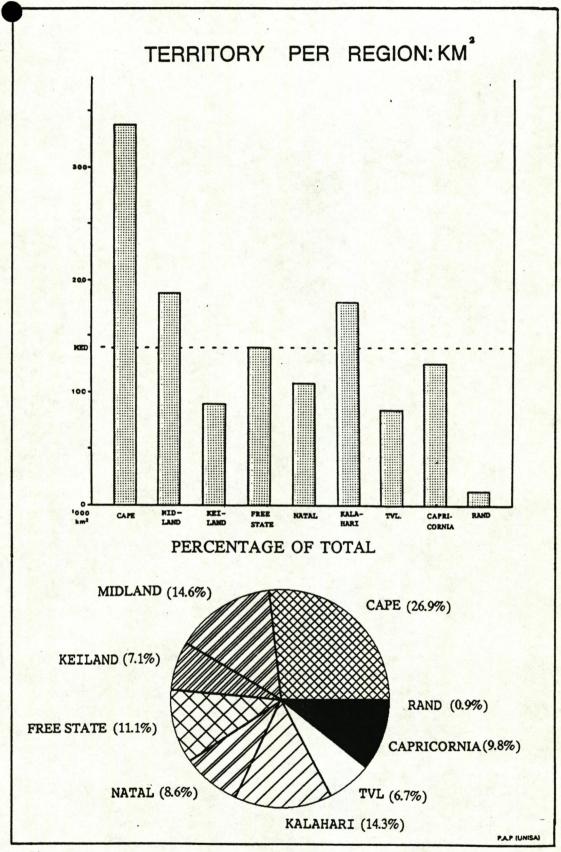


Figure 5

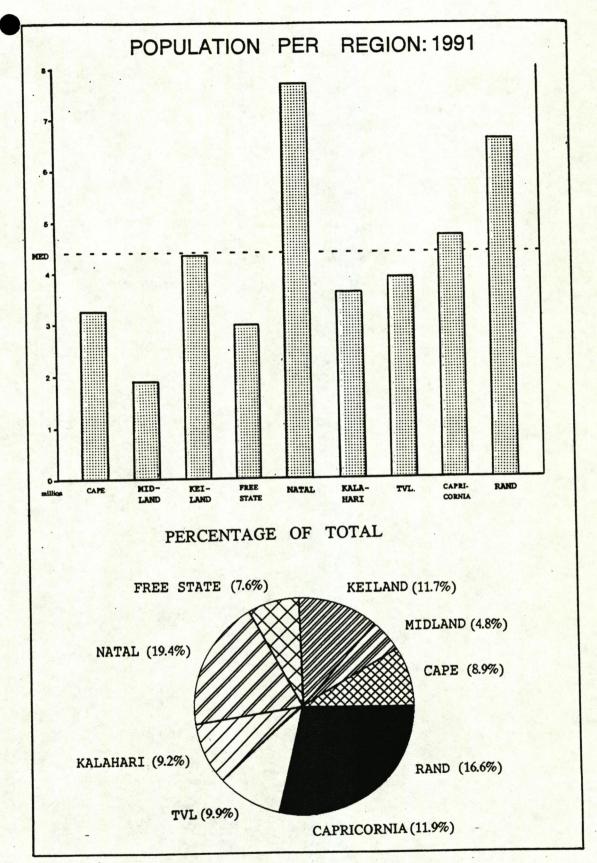


Figure 6

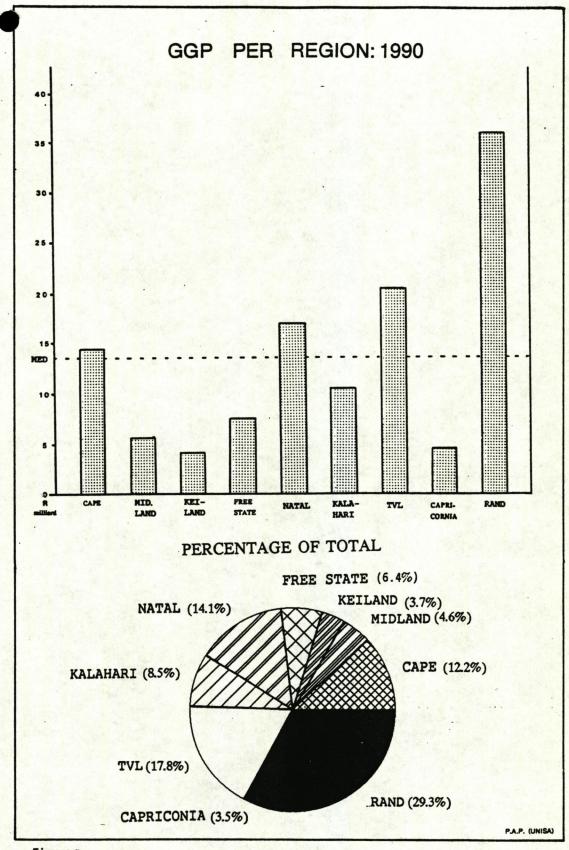


Figure #



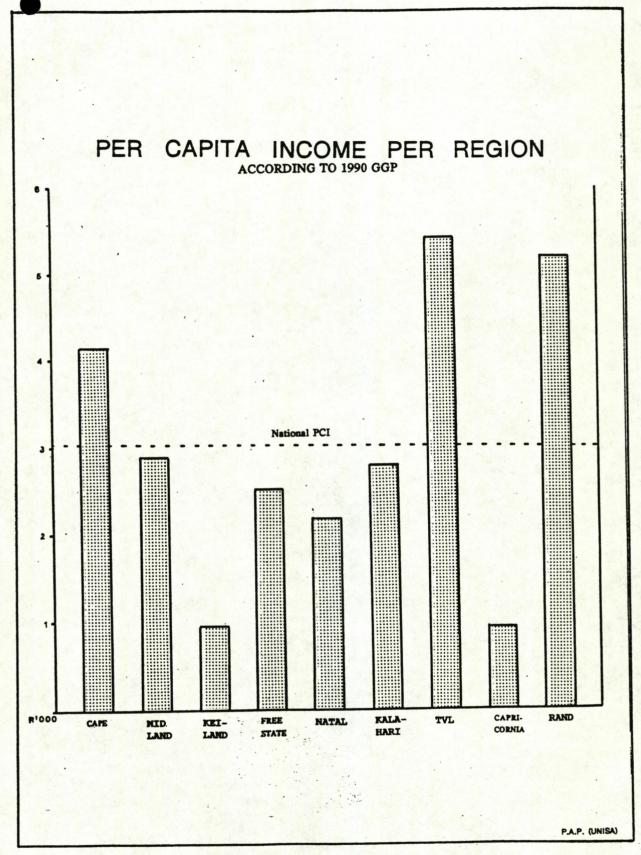


Figure 8

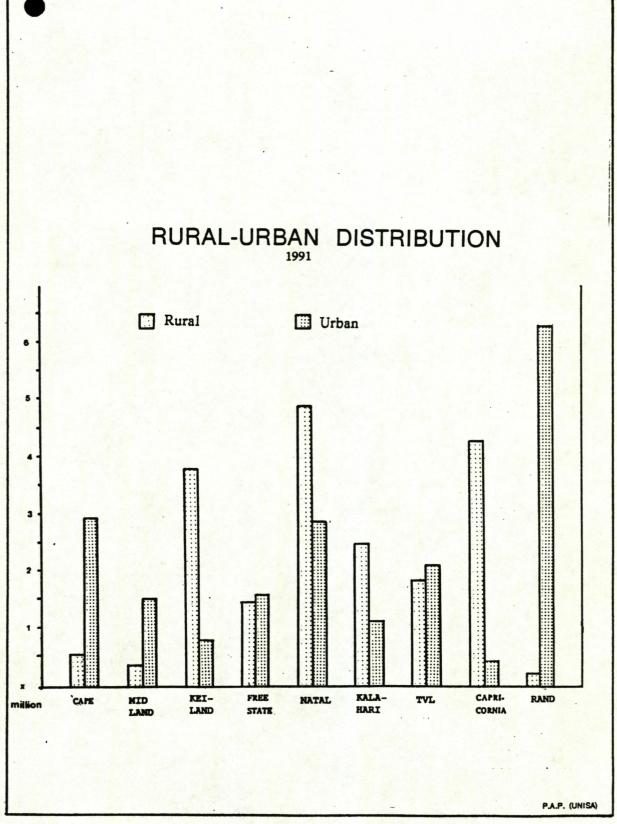


Figure 9

study, were adapted and made available by demographers of the Development Bank of Southern Africa.

- 4.4.3 The gross geographical product figures represent adjustments for 1990 of constant 1985 prices obtained from the application of econometric models by staff of the Economics Department at the University of South Africa.
- 4.4.4 Unfortunately, the latest available census figures (at the time of this analysis) on language data are somewhat obsolete since no new data have been published since the 1980 census.
- 4.4.5 The statistical analysis on which the proposed model is based are thus regarded as tentative until such time that official new figures become available.

5. NINE AUTONOMOUS REGIONS PROPOSED FOR SOUTH AFRICA

The following nine regions are those proposed by Dr Pienaar and are represented cartographically in figure 3:

Cape, Midland, Keiland, Free State, Natal, Kalahari, Transvaal, Capricornia and Rand.

With the exception of three boundary changes and certain name changes set out in paragraph six, the DP proposes that regions be delimited as follows:

1. CAPE (DP PROPOSAL: WESTERN CAPE)

Name. Western Cape is the abridged (easier to use) version of "The Cape of Good Hope". "Western" distinguishes the region from the Eastern Cape.

Location and size. The region stretches from the Cape Peninsula in the south-west over a distance of 300km eastward to Riversdale (fig 3), and then through the Little and Great Karoo to where the districts of Hay and Gordonia are included north of the Orange River. The Western Cape is by far the largest region (fig 5) but the low population density of 10 per square km is misleading because virtually 79 percent of the population resides within a radius of 100 km of Cape Town in an area with a high density of 184 persons per square km.

The region manifests a vast expanse from the core area in the south around metropolitan Cape Town (2 036 808 inhabitants) to the sparsely populated peripheral area in the north where the furthest districts are situated about 800 km from Cape Town. Cape Town is the natural capital and convergence point of a well-developed traffic network that functionally integrates the whole area.

Subregions. The regions can effectively be divided into two areas. First, there is the developed Peninsula/Boland/Overberg area with its relatively high rainfall, intensive agricultural production systems, high level of urban and industrial development, and a diversified economy. The accompanying high population density of approximately 15 percent of the territory, is responsible for more than 75 percent of the region's GGP. Secondly, there is the northern periphery with the largest portion of the territory. This area reflects an

extremely low population density because some of the most arid parts of South Africa (eg, National qualand) are found here. Because of the remoteness of these northern districts which manifest totally different (rural) interests compared to the metropolitan south, it would be desirable to decentralise some administrative functions to Upington as a subcentre.

TABLE 1: STATISTICAL PROFILE: CAPE (WESTERN CAPE)

		TERRITORY		W 2
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
338 516	26,86	10	41	7
		POPULATION 1	991	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 518 473	8,90	581 226	2 937 246	16:84
		ECONOMY (199	90)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
14 639	12,21	R4 160	Above nat. average	+ R1 127
	LA	NGUAGE USAGE	E (1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	XHOSA	OTHER	-
69,6%	19,9%	9,6%	0,9%	

Language and culture. Afrikaans is by far the predominant language followed by English which represents about one fifth of the inhabitants, but is concentrated mainly in greater Cape Town. Because of strong migration from Keiland, the Xhosa component is increasing in size as a result of more recent settlement which is mainly focused on greater Cape Town. The Xhosa component is thus expected to be far greater than the 9,6 percent of 1980. However, the greater part of the region manifests a rural (Afrikaans) character.

Prognosis. With a slightly above average contribution to the GGP (fig 7) and the third highest personal income (fig 8), which is significantly higher than the national average of R3 033, the region is in a relatively favourable position. The high level of urbanisation helps to support a sound development potential. In spite of a relatively big administrative load due to the remote districts and seven regional service councils, the region should easily be able to finance its own administration and possibly even be able to generate funds to support the underdeveloped regions.

2. MIDLAND (DP PROPOSAL: EASTERN CAPE)

Name: This area has traditionally been known as the Eastern Cape.

Location and size. The region stretches from Mossel Bay in the west to the traditional eastern frontier, the Fish River, where the Ciskei and Border region are situated. The Orange River also forms an historical boundary in the north. Eastern Cape has the second largest territory, and because of the vast Karoo region in the central and northern parts, the region has an extremely low average population density of 10 people per square km. Although the arid Karoo comprise more than 60 percent of the territory the southern area near the coast, with the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropolitan area in particular, is dominant with a density of 231 people.

TABLE 2: STATISTICAL PROFILE: EASTERN CAPE

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
184 560	14,64	10	43	7
		POPULATION (1	991)	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
1 896 348	4,80	354 791	1 541 557	19:81
		ECONOMY (199	90)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
5 842	4,60	R2 891	Slightly below ave.	- R142
	LA	NGUAGE USAGE	E (1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	ENGLISH	OTHER	- 1
46,5%	43,8%	9,4%	0,3%	_

Subregions. Three subregions can be distinguished, namely the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropolitan area (895 318 inhabitants) and environs along the eastern coastal region with about 57 percent of the total population, the southern coastal region and Little Karoo in the south-west with George as an subcentre (about 18 percent of the population), and the vast Karoo with the remaining 25 percent of the population, in which area primary production systems predominate. Graaff-Reinet could possibly be developed as a subcentre to serve rural interests in the Karoo.

Language and culture. Two important languages, namely Afrikaans and Xhosa are dominant, which English is clearly in the minority. Afrikaans is dominant along the coastal area west of Port Elizabeth and the western districts of the Karoo (fig 4), while Xhosa is dominant east and north—east of Port Elizabeth. There may be a temptation to use the dividing line between Afrikaans and Xhosa (fig 4) as the boundary, but this line does not define a sharp boundary since it only indicates an absolute majority (more than 50 percent) per district. Rather there appears a gradual transition from an Afrikaans dominated west to a Xhosa dominated east. In the east there are significant numbers of Afrikaans—speaking people as well. English as home language is spoken only in the districts of Port Elizabeth, Albany (Grahamstown) and Knysna in significantly large concentrations.

Prognosis. The province has the smallest absolute population (fig 6) but an urban population larger than Keiland, Kalahari and Capricornia (Bushveld) (fig 9) while its population figure is almost on a par with that of the Free State. The high level of urbanisation (81%), as well as a per capita income close to the national average, indicates a fairly good development potential. However, the area has a fairly large administrative load of 43 districts and 7 regional services councils because of the extensive rural interior. Nevertheless, the region should remain economically viable thanks to a relatively greater diversification of the economy and concomitant hight GGP figures in Port Elizabeth and the southern coastal region, as well as a number of prominent productive districts in the Karoo.

3. KEILAND

Name. This is the name of a linguistically homogeneous (Xhosa) region on both sides of the Kei River. This river is a dividing phenomenon between "Ciskei" and "Transkei", while "Keiland" should have a symbolically unifying effect because the area on this side ("Cis") and on the other side ("Trans") of the Kei is united with a large number of districts of the RSA.

Location and size. The historical boundary that corresponds to the Fish River in the west, is also the western boundary of Ciskei and therefore still has a functional role. In the north the Orange River, Lesotho and the existing Natal border are obvious boundaries, although the Natal district with a Xhosa majority (Griqualand East) is also included.

Subregions. Three clear politico-spatial entities are united in this province, namely Transkei, Ciskei and the RSA districts stretching from East London, through the corridor between Transkei and Ciskei, as far as the Orange River (fig 3).

Transkei houses almost 70 percent of the total population with a density of 74 people per square km, while Ciskei has approximately 18 percent of the population but with a high density of 102. The RSA districts, however, house only 12 percent of the population which is relatively sparse (15 per sq km).

However, the RSA districts generate more than half the region's total GGP and register a per capita income figure more or less on a par with that of the Western Cape/Weskaap. Although the absolute GGP figures per district in the Transkei compare fairly well with those of the RSA districts in the region, the high population figures neutralised the situation to such an extent that extremely low per capita figures (table 3.1) are registered. Hence the region is "carried" financially by the RSA districts to be able to register an average figure of R953.

However, this support is inadequate and the region will have to receive financial assistance from ther more prosperous regions, or from the central government. The extremely low level of urbanisation which is especially noticeable in the Transkei, further confirms that the region's level of development is relatively low.

There may be a temptation to shift the western boundary westwards to coincide with the language boundary in the Eastern Cape (fig 4) so that the 15 districts in the eastern part of Eastern Cape west of Ciskei can be included, in an effort to boost the area economically. Such action will increase the total population of Keiland to more than 5 million and the GGP to only R4 963 million. The per capita income will increase by only R36 to R989 per person, while it will make no noticeable difference in the extremely low level of urbanisation. However, to weaken a neighbouring viable region at the expense of such marginal benefits would be most imprudent.

The Language analysis (table 3) indicates that the region as a whole is linguistically and culturally Xhosa dominant. In the RSA districts of the region, however, Afrikaans and English represent one-third of the total.

TABLE 3: STATISTICAL PROFILE: KEILAND

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
89 840	7,1	51	53	6
		POPULATION 19	91	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
4 624 215	11,7	3 797 710	826 505	82:18
		ECONOMY (199	0)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
4 406	3,7	R 953	Far below average	- R2 020
	LA	NGUAGE USAGE	(1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
XHOSA	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	S. SOTHO	OTHER
93,1%	2,3%	2,1%	1,7%	0,8%

TABLE 3.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - KEILAND

DESCRIPTION	TRANSKEI	CISKEI	RSA DISTRICTS
TERRITORY SQ. KM	43 654	8 231	37 955
POPULATION	3 210 259	836 651	577 305
URBANISATION	5,7%	35,2%	60,7%
GGP/R'MILLION	1 513	493	2 400
PERSONAL INCOME	R 471	R 589	R4 158

Prognosis. Keiland will initially require budgetary aid to be able to maintain a viable autonomy. Although East London (214 368 inhabitants) has a smaller population than Umtata (299 901), the port city has a better infrastructure and location to act as capital of Keiland. Bisho (Ciskei), Umtata (Transkei) and Queenstown (RSA) will probably be able to serve as future subcentres.

4. FREE STATE

Name: The name is an abbreviated version of the "Orange Free State".

Location and size. The Free State is fairly easy to demarcate because of the general acceptability of its historical boundaries such as the Orange River in the south and the Vaal River in the north and west (fig 3). The compact territory therefore corresponds largely to Bloemfontein's traditional service area which accounts for the inclusion of parts of the existing northern Cape (fig 2) and in surface area to the national average for the nine regions (fig 5). Only Eastern Cape has a smaller population, while the population density of 21 people is also lower than the national average of 31.

Language and culture. The region houses a large variety of languages: Southern Sotho, Afrikaans, Xhosa, Tswana, Zulu and English (2,4%). Southern Sotho is strongly represented although the province as a whole does not have a dominant Sotho character like, say, Keiland with its Xhosa character. Southern Sotho is predominant in the south-east, central and northern areas while the strongest concentrations occur in the self-governing region of QwaQwa (fig 4). Afrikaans is dominant from Bloemfontein (the traditional capital of the province) to the south-western boundary, with the exception of the district of Boshof, where Tswana is dominant (fig 4). There are strong concentrations of Zulus in the north-eastern districts of Vrede and Harrismith which border on Natal. The conspicuous Xhosa presence comprises mainly large concentrations in the mining districts of Welkom, Virginia and Odendaalsrus. Tswana manifests the strongest concentrations in the western districts bordering on the Kalahari region, but also in ThabaNchu, the exclave of Bophuthatswana situated east of Bloemfontein. Bloemfontein is both the traditional and functional capital (318 775 inhabitants) and is the point of convergence of traffic networks in a very central location in the province.

Kimberley manifests stronger functional integration with the Western Free State and with

Bloemfontein than with Cape Town or even the Kalahari region. Hence this city and its surands is included in the Free State of which it was in fact an original party before the historical Keate allocation added that western part of the Free State Republic south of the Vaal River to the Cape Colony. One can expect Kimberley to play a particular administrative role as subcentre of the western Free State and Welkom to perform the same function in the northern districts.

TABLE 4: STATISTICAL PROFILE: FREE STATE

		TERRITORY		a great to the
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
140 251	11,13	21	53	5
		POPULATION 199	01	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
2 994 741	7,58	1 420 259	1 574 482	47:53
		ECONOMY (1990)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
7 623	6,36	R2 545	Fairly below ave.	- R488
	LAN	NGUAGE USAGE	(1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
S. SOTHO	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	TSWANA	ZULU
52,5%	17,8%	10,7%	10%	6,7%

Prognosis. With 53 districts and about 5 regional service councils the region should have a fairly large administrative load. However, the region has a developed infrastructure, a relatively urbanised population, a greater gross geographic product than the viable Eastern Cape and a personal income level not far below the national average. The region also has a long history of second—tier government. Thus the region is expected to be able to maintain a viable autonomy.

5. NATAL

Name. The name of the region which corresponds largely to the present province is obvious, historical and generally acceptable.

Location and size. The traditional boundaries of the present province are still relevant because here administrative, historical, language (fig 4) and functional boundaries (fig 2)

largely coincide. It is proposed that only the district of Griqualand East, which prior to Transkei's independence in 1976 was part of the Cape Province, be added to the Eastern Cape. Thus, the region stretches from the Umzimkulu River in the south to the Mozambique border in the north. The Drakensberg and its escarpment in the west (Lesotho) still form a physiographic boundary between Natal and the Free State, and Natal and the Transvaal without deviating from the traditional boundaries. The size of Natal's territory (fig 5) is below average and reasonably compact.

TABLE 5: STATISTICAL PROFILE: NATAL

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
107 847	8,55	71	63	5
		POPULATION 199	01	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
7 662 815	19,39	4 911 998	2 750 817	64:36
		ECONOMY (1990)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
16 904	. 14,10	R2 206	Significantly below ave.	- R827
	LA	NGUAGE USAGE ((1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
ZULU	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	OTHER
76,0%	17,3%	2,4%	1,6%	2,7%

Subregions. With the largest population (fig 6) and the third highest GGP, Natal is one of the strongest provinces. Nevertheless the region comprises two highly contrasting components that are geographically intertwined (fig 3), namely, Natal and Kwazulu. Although the latter houses virtually two-thirds of the population, the area is extremely underdeveloped. More than ninety percent of the province's GGP is generated in the Natal section while the core area in greater Durban (1 457 071 inhabitants), with R9 454 million (more than the whole Free State), is solely responsible for about 56 percent of the total. Hence the remainder of the province falls in the peripheral area which is also functionally delimited by the service area or hinterland of Durban. The relatively large GGP with the accompanying high personal income figures of R5 867 is therefore largely neutralised by underdevelopment in Kwazulu which is reflected in a striking below average per capita income of R2 206 for the region as a whole.

Language and culture. The dominant position of Zulu is indicated in the statistical profile, but Natal (excluding Kwazulu) the language distribution shows greater variation: Zulu 46,3 percent; English 39,5 percent; Afrikaans 5,5 percent, while nine other languages together represent the remaining 8 percent. In Kwazulu itself, however, Zulu is completely dominant with 98 percent. English predominates insularly in greater Durban and Pietermaritzburg, while Afrikaans is the dominant language in Newcastle only (fig 4).

TABLE 5.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - NATAL

DESCRIPTION	NATAL	%	KWAZULU	%
TERRITORY SQ. KM	71 773	66,5	36 074	33,5
POPULATION	2 647 540	34,6	5 015 275	65,4
PEOPLE/SQ. KM	37		139	
URBANISATION	59,3%		23.6%	
GGP/R' MIL	15 531,8	91,9	1 372,3	8,1
PERSONAL INCOME	R5 867		R274	

Prognosis. The province's 63 magisterial districts (Natal 37, Kwazulu 26) are reasonably far above the national average figure of 41 per region – hence the region will have to budget for a fairly large administrative load which is expected to place a heavy burden on regional taxation. Nevertheless, Natal should be a good candidate for self-government. It is recommended that Pietermaritzburg with its existing infrastructure will continue its role as provincial capital.

6. KALAHARI

Name. This linguistically neutral name refers to the prominent desert-like physiographic phenomenon stretching from Botswana through parts of Bophuthatswana, to the present Cape north of the Orange, and in so doing comprises a large portion of the region.

Location and size. Linguistic homogeneity, as in Keiland and Natal, as well as traditional boundaries, plays an important role. Tswana is the majority language from Thabazimbi in the north to Barkly West in the south, and Kuruman in the west (fig 4). The districts of Brits, Rustenburg, Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp are an exception in that Tswana is the dominant minority language. Botswana in the west and the Vaal River in the south and east respectively constitute the international and functional boundaries of the region.

The region occupies the second largest territory (fig 5) and as far as population, GGP and per capita income are concerned (figs 6, 7 and 8) take fifth place. The boundaries of the region also succeed in incorporating 12 of Bophuthatswana's 14 districts, which are divided into seven territorial fragments, into one region (fig 3 or 4). A second component of the region focuses on the 17 districts of Western Transvaal (development region J) which is the

economic centre of gravity of the region, while the third component comprises seven sparsely potential districts in the present Northern Cape (part of development region B).

TABLE 6: STATISTICAL PROFILE: KALAHARI

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
179 649	14,26	20	35	4
		POPULATION 199	01	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 625 889	9,17	2 487 893	1 137 992	69:31
		ECONOMY (1990)	*
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
10 154	8,47	R2 800	Slightly below ave.	- R203
	LAN	NGUAGE USAGE ((1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
TSWANA	AFRIKAANS	XHOSA	S. SOTHO	TSONGA
57,8%	12,2%	7,3%	5,7%	5,5%

Subregions. The contrasts in the region are clearly reflected in the contrasting sets of data for Bophuthatswana and the RSA districts in table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - KALAHARI

DESCRIPTION	BOPHUTHATSWANA	· KWAZULU
TERRITORY SQ. KM	40 246	139 403
POPULATION	1 951 041	1 674 875
PEOPLE/SQ. KM	48	12
URBANISATION	14,9%	50,6%
GGP/R' MIL	1 359	8 795
PERSONAL INCOME	R696	R5 251

In comparison with Keiland and Natal, where the regions also consist of a merger of

independent and self-governing states, the Kalahari has an advantage in that the RSA districts plate more dominant role in the way of population and size. This situation can be observed directly in the more favourable personal income of R2 800 for the region as a whole. Thanks to well-developed commercial agricultural and mining activities in the Western Transvaal districts the region has sources of income which can be used to great advantage in good rainfall years. The 35 magisterial districts and four regional service councils do not place an excessively high administrative burden on the fiscal resources – hence the Kalahari is expected to be viable.

Capital. The region has no metropolitan areas worth mentioning and therefore has a mainly rural character and similar interests. However, there is a conspicuous lack of a natural capital. Lichtenburg has a nodal and central location in the Western Transvaal, but the economic and industrial core is in Klerksdorp, the largest urban area in the region (324 934 inhabitants). Mmbatho, capital of Bophuthatswana, however, has an administrative and government infrastructure from which remote areas can be served, which is why it has been proposed as administrative capital. Klerksdorp and Vryburg could probably become administrative subcentres in their respective subregions.

Language and culture. Although a Tswana homogeneity and dominance was identified in the area, a variety of languages are spoken in the region (table 6). Mining activity in the region draws labourers from many different areas of the RSA, a fact that is evident in the presence of the full spectrum of indigenous languages in the relevant districts. Tswana is only just a majority language in the RSA districts with a share of 50,9 percent, while Afrikaansspeaking people represent about 25 percent. English takes fifth place with 2,7 percent.

Prognosis. This proposal offers the greatest possible achievable consolidation of the area inhabited by Tswana-speaking people. The inclusion of the Western Transvaal districts ensures a much greater economic viability for a region thus constituted, than most other proposals which include the Northern Cape.

7. TRANSVAAL

Name. Of the three remaining areas in the present province of Transvaal, this region best qualifies to retain the traditional name.

Location and size. There is a fair resemblance with Development Region F, but traditional boundaries (with the Free State and Natal in the south), language rationalisation, functionality, as well as development potential played a role in the delimitation of the region in the eastern part of the present province of Transvaal. The region includes the present two self-governing areas, Kangwane and Kwandebele, and has the second smallest territory (fig 5) but the fifth largest population (fig 6). In the economic sector, however, the region fares well with the second highest GGP figures and highest personal income (figs 7 and 8).

Language and culture. Greater Transvaal houses a large variety of indigenous languages in the northern and eastern parts, each with a specific territorial base of varying extent (fig 4). In the southern and central parts these languages have deconcentrated and become territorially interwoven with languages of European origin (Afrikaans and English) with the result that there are large linguistic shatter zones in which all of them have become minority languages.

For the sake of language rationalisation, the northern boundary of this region has been defined in the a way that Northern Sotho, Venda and Shangaan/Tsonga are grouped together north of the boundary, while Siswati, Zulu and Sindebele occur mainly south of the dividing line (fig 4).

TABLE 7: STATISTICAL PROFILE: TRANSVAAL

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
84 183	6,68	46	30	4
		POPULATION 199	01	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
3 906 005	9,88	1 853 552	2 052 453	47:53
		ECONOMY (1990)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
21 289	17,76	R5 450	Far above average	+ R2 417
	LA	ANGUAGE USAGE ((1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
AFRIKAANS	ZULU	SISWATI	N. SOTHO	SINDEBELE
20,4%	19,3%	19,2%	11,5%	10,1%

The region has a unique multilingual character in that it has speakers of about 11 languages. Four languages, however, manifest spatial and numerical concentrations (table 7) in spite of their minority status. Afrikaans has majority status in Pretoria and strong concentrations in the districts of Witbank, Middelburg, Bethal, Ermelo, Highveld Ridge and Nelspruit. Zulu has majority status in the south-eastern districts adjacent to Natal, while Siswati forms an expected majority in the eastern districts and Kangwane (Swazi homeland) adjacent to their heartland (Swaziland) (fig 4). As is to be expected, Sindebele is strong in Kwandebele northeast of Pretoria. Although Northern Sotho has reasonable concentrations in the urban districts of Pretoria and Wonderboom, nowhere does it have territorial superiority in the region.

Development potential and subregions. The region has two clear development axes with their point of convergence in Pretoria. First, there is the eastern axis through Bronkhorstspruit, Witbank and Middelburg to Nelspruit. Secondly, there is the south-eastern axis through Delmas, Leandra, Secunda-Trichardt and Bethal to Ermelo. Along these axes there is mining and industrial development as important sectors in a well-diversified economy. Large-scale commercial agricultural activities coincide with the divergent environments which in the

Highveld of the south-eastern subregion correspond with the summer crops and in the Lowelld with its subtropical character. In this regard, Ermelo and Nelspruit, important towns in their respective environments, can be expected to play auxiliary roles as subcentres.

Position of Pretoria. The fact that Pretoria (767 397 inhabitants) is proposed as capital is a rational step in helping to scale down the highly dominant role of too large a metropolitan area (PWV). Secondly, Pretoria fits in culturally and linguistically with the Transvaal in which there is, inter alia, a strong Afrikaans element. Thirdly, Pretoria is traditionally the capital of the Transvaal. Fourthly, Pretoria is an important link in the development axes that have already been identified. Finally, it solves the problem of rivalry for capital status between Witbank, Middelburg, Nelspruit and Ermelo. Nonformal functional links between Pretoria and Witwatersrand will continue to exist as at present, for communication and commuting across regional boundaries are certainly not new phenomena.

Prognosis. The Transvaal has sound economic development which is reflected in the relatively high per capita incomes and a favourable level of urbanisation. Furthermore, the favourable administrative load of fewer districts and the outstanding infrastructure found in Pretoria, are especially advantageous. The Transvaal should therefore not only be able to afford its own administration on the strength of its healthy taxation basis, but can also be expected to make funds available for supporting other underdeveloped regions.

8. CAPRICORNIA (DP PROPOSAL: BUSHVELD)

Name. The name Bushveld is politically neutral and refers to the dominant natural vegetation.

Location and size. As indicated earlier, language rationalisation is an important consideration in the delimitation of this region. As the fifth largest region stretching from the Ellisras district in the west to the Kruger National Park on the Mozambique border in the east, it is fairly compact. The Limpopo as the RSA border demarcates a semicircular area from west to north and south—east (fig 3). The distance is about 350 km from Messina in the north to Groblersdal or Warmbaths in the south.

The region is predominantly rural (cf the extremely low urban population in table 8) – hence Pietersburg (99 334 inhabitants) with its central location also plays an important nodal role (figs 2 and 3) as the centre with the most diversified service infrastructure in the region. The functional service area of the city corresponds noticeably with the language demarcation (figs 2 and 4). Ecologically and physically the region has a "Bushveld character" which also differs from the "Highveld character" south of the language boundary in the Transvaal region. The entire Kruger National Park as an important tourism resource is included in the region (fig 3).

Language and culture. Obviously Northern Sotho (Pedi) is dominant in Lebowa, as well as in the southern, central and north-western part of the region (fig 4). In fact it is the majority language in the region as a whole. Shangaan/Tsonga occupy second position and manifest a strong concentration in the eastern districts, but as is to be expected, particularly in Gazankulu. The language, Venda, takes third place and forms a strong regional subconcentration (fig 4) in the north in the present independent state of Venda as well as in the adjacent RSA districts, Soutpansberg and Messina. A fourth component comprises 11 RSA

districts geographically intertwined with the area (fig 3).

TABLE 8: STATISTICAL PROFILE: BUSHVELD

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV. COUNCILS
123 952	9,84	38	30	4
		POPULATION 199)1	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
4 711 709	11,92	4 300 814	410 895	91:09
		ECONOMY (1990)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
4 189	3,49	R899	Far below average	- R2 144
	LAN	NGUAGE USAGE ((1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
N. SOTHO	TSONGA	VENDA	SINDEBELE	AFRIKAANS
56,1%	18,9%	13,9%	3,3%	2,9%

The areas in which Venda and Shangaan/Tsonga respectively play dominant roles as languages are too limited and their resource bases are too insignificant to qualify for the status of separate autonomous regions. At most they can obtain the status of separate administrative areas in a regional context; a finding confirmed by the unconvincing nature of Venda's present "independence". Although Bushveld has the third largest population (fig 6) and the fifth largest territory, the GGP figures (fig 7) and the per capita incomes (fig 8) together with Keiland, are the lowest. The region's underdeveloped is further confirmed by the extremely unfavourable rural—urban distribution (fig 9).

Viability and prognosis. A closer study of some of the characteristics of the four entities within the region provide the following comparative data (table 8.1):

In the midst of drastic disparities revealed by the comparative analysis, only the RSA districts appear to manifest viable development characteristics. Although their personal income figures are above the national average, the extent of the GGP is too limited to push the regional average up above R899. In seeking additional sources to support Bushveld, the option of amalgamating the region with the Transvaal could be considered but then there will no longer be true regionalisation. Not only will the language and cultural composition as well as functional patterns become very complex, but a region with a huge population of 9,52 million

devoid of any specific character or patterns of homogeneity will be created. The only real advatage, however, will be an increase in the average per capita income to R2 770. This is still below the national average while no surplus funds (as in the Transvaal) will be available for supporting other underdeveloped regions.

TABLE 8.1: COMPARATIVE SUBREGIONS - BUSHVELD

DESCRIPTION	LEBOWA	GAZANKUL U	VENDA	RSA DISTRICTS 70,6	
PERCENTAGE LAND	17,9	6,0	5,5		
PERCENTAGE POP.	58,2	15,3	11,9	14,6	
PERCENTAGE URBAN	6,2	4,7	3,9	27,0	
GGP/R' MIL	591	138	272	3 187	
PERSONAL INCOME	R216	R191	R485	R4 652	

Bushveld has sufficient territory and an extensive range of resources, both physical and human, but initially, as in Keiland, will probably require aid from other more developed regions if it is to meaningfully retain its autonomy. However, such funds will have to be carefully supervised to ensure optimal use of resources, for example, further development of agriculture, mining and tourism.

9. RAND (DP PROPOSAL: WITWATERSRAND)

Name: The name is a traditional term that is in fact a reference to a geographical watershed.

Location and extent. As part of the Development Regions Model, region H plays an extremely dominant role, because at present the area houses more than 23 percent of the population (TBVC states included) and generates about 39 percent of the total GGP. In an effort to channel part of this over-concentration of wealth to surrounding areas, a reduced area is proposed. The northern section is cut off and divided between the Kalahari and Transvaal respectively (see fig 3). Functionally speaking, the remaining southern section is so strongly interwoven as an urban complex that further scaling down is extremely difficult. Sasolburg in the south is retained because it is an integral part of the Vaal Triangle. Yet this extremely compact region with its high population density is still the most economically dominant area in the RSA.

Language and culture. The Witwatersrand is almost exclusively a multilingual area in which twelve languages, all with minority status, are used. Four of them, Zulu, Afrikaans, English and Southern Sotho, register percentages above 10 and together represent about two-thirds of the total number of speakers. The remaining one-third is divided among eight other languages, of which Tswana, Xhosa and Northern Sotho manifest significant concentrations.

TABLE 9: STATISTICAL PROFILE: WITWATERSRAND

		TERRITORY		
AREA SQ. KM	% TOTAL	PEOPLE SQ. KM	DISTRICTS	REG. SERV.
11 929	0,89	582	18	4
		POPULATION (199	01)	
NUMBER	% TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	RATIO
6 569 273	16,62	252 887	6 314 386	04:96
		ECONOMY (1990)	
GGP/R'MIL.	% TOTAL	PERS. INCOME	STATUS	AMOUNT
35 174	29,35	R5 356	Far above average	+ R2 323
	LAN	NGUAGE USAGE ((1980)	
1	2	3	4	5
ZULU	AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	S. SOTHO	TSWANA
18,5%	17,7%	16,8%	12,3%	9,1%

Functional characteristics. Johannesburg with a population of about 2,12 million is proposed as capital because it has the best infrastructure and the most nodal location. The surrounding 17 urban districts are all linked in an integrated communication network. With the exception of any agriculture worth mentioning (as is to be expected), all the other sectors of a fully developed and diversified economic system are present in this highly compact region. The corporate management and financial institutions concentrated on the Witwatersrand, often as huge business conglomerates, have an extensive business network of interests in other regions which contribute to the relative wealth of the metropolitan area because the head office functions are concentrated mainly in this region.

Prognosis. With a relatively compact administrative network and well-developed infrastructure, this region should be able to make available really significant financial returns for use in other underdeveloped regions. Since a great deal of income and profits are generated in other regions because of decentralised business interests, the corporate sector of the Witwatersrand is as it were indebted to those outlying regions involved in the creation of its "profits".

TABLE 10: SYNOPTIC COMPARISON OF REGIONS

REGION	POPULATION	%	GGP/R'MIL	%	PERSONAL INCOME
WESTERN CAPE	3 518 473	8,9	14 639	12,2	R4 160
EASTERN CAPE	1 896 348	4,8	5 842	4,6	R2 891
KEILAND	4 624 215	11,7	4 406	3,7	R 953
FREE STATE	2 994 741	7,6	7 623	6,4	R2 545
NATAL	7 662 815	19,4	16 904	14,1	R2 206
KALAHARI	3 625 889	9,2	10 154	8,5	R2 800
TRANSVAAL	3 906 005	9,9	21 289	17,8	R5 450
BUSHVELD	4 711 709	11,9	4 189	3,5	R 899
WITWATERSRAND	6 569 273	16,6	35 174	29,4	R5 356
NATIONAL	39 509 468		120 220		R3 033

6. AMENDMENTS TO THE BOUNDARIES DISCUSSED IN 5

As pointed out earlier it is strongly recommended that the commission should consult a wide spectrum of local and regional interests in the process of determining regional boundaries.

The DP followed a process of intensive consultation with its party structures at grassroots level, which structures in turn consulted with other interest groups in their areas. As a result of this process, the following changes to our original proposals circulated to our regional party structures and set out in 5 above, were adopted by the National Executive of the party. (Due to time constraints it was not possible to adapt the maps, tables and other statistics in time for our presentation to the commission.)

6.1 The Natal/Keiland border

We propose that the border between these two regions should be the present Natal border. This implies that the Mount Currie (Kokstad and Matatiele – Griqualand East) and Umzimkulu (presently Transkei) districts be excised from Keiland and included in Natal. Although this area is 60% Xhosa speaking, it falls within the functional service area of Durban/Pietermaritzburg and even when it formed part of the Cape Province, gravitated culturally and economically towards Natal.

6.2 Western Cape/Eastern Cape border

We propose that the Western Cape region should in the east follow the present boundary of Development Region A. From representations received it is clear that

Commerce, Agriculture, Churches, Sporting bodies, etc, throughout the Southern Cape and South Western Districts see Cape Town as their nodal point and not Port Elizabeth.

6.3 Western Cape/Eastern Cape/Free State

We propose that the magisterial districts of Britstown, Philipstown, De Aar and Hopetown be included in the Free State and excised from the Eastern Cape. Functionally they will be better off due to the proximity of Kimberley.

7. SUMMARY

There is a clear rationale for the separate existence of each of the autonomous regions that is demarcated on the basis of the aforementioned criteria. Hence there is a fine balance in spite of the fact that territory, resources, population, share in the GGP, personal income levels and urbanisation levels manifest considerable differences. The balance is rather in the immeasurable effort towards greater homogeneity in the linguistic, cultural and functional areas. There is thus hope that the centripetal effect brought about by greater homogeneity in each region could be given a chance to develop in such a way that regional autonomy can make a significant contribution towards accommodating those forces that threaten the unity of the state in a unitary system.

It is anticipated that four regions, namely Eastern Cape, Free State, Natal and Kalahari will largely be able to provide for their own needs. In addition, three regions, namely the Western Cape, Transvaal and Witwatersrand, should generate adequate surpluses to be able to give financial support to two underdeveloped regions, Keiland and Bushveld. The region Witwatersrand, in particular, has an obligation in this regard because of its heavily concentrated corporate characteristics.