

**DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS AND LOCAL  
GOVERNMENTS:  
AN IDRC RESEARCH PROJECT**

**INCLUDING A PRELIMINARY CRITIQUE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT  
PERSPECTIVE ON SOUTH AFRICA**

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**INTRODUCTION**

The major parties contending for power in South Africa suggest that the future constitution should have three levels of government: national, regional and local. Each level of government will have certain, as yet undetermined, functions and powers.

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

- \* into separate areas for blacks and whites,
- \* into areas controlled by bantustan governments and those controlled by the national government,
- \* into areas which sent out migrant labourers and into those areas which received them,
- \* and so on.

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

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

As part of an IDRC research project on local government in South Africa, this project is involved in establishing the general principles according to which boundaries could be demarcated: (i) in the regions (Provinces, metropolitan areas, regions, etc.) and (ii) in the urban areas (major cities, small towns, industrial

decentralization points, dormitory towns, black spots and resettlement villages).

This progress report is divided into two major sections:

1. **THE CONTEXT:** The first reviews briefly some of the principles which could be used in defining regions. The second outlines the proposals of the National Party and Democratic Party as they relate to regional breakdowns. The third section describes the ANC regions.
2. **THE PROJECT'S PROGRESS:** This section identifies some of emerging areas of work undertaken in this research project.

#### **A. THE CONTEXT:**

### **1. PRINCIPLES TO BE USED IN DEFINING REGIONS AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES**

#### **1. THE CASE OF REGIONS**

Preliminary investigation suggests that in considering the definition of regions the following should be taken into account:

- \* The regions should be economically and socially functional.** In terms of the former, the regions should be large enough to incorporate those areas which are functionally interdependent with each other, but small enough to ensure coherent planning and administration can occur. Communication links are important here. In terms of the latter, care should be exercised to try and ensure the regions are inclusive of linguistic, ethnic, and other community-related groups so as to give effect to more appropriate planning for the needs of such groups.
- \* The regions should allow for balanced development.** This point relates to the fact that the regions should be large enough to include the widely divergent, but contiguous, areas presently existing in South Africa.
- \* The regions should be compact.** The gerrymandering in South Africa has reinforced a tendency for regions to be disjointed, elongated, etc. Instead, regions should be as compact as is practicable.
- \* The regional boundaries should take into account population size.** While this principle is less significant, a strong case may be made for trying to ensure regions are approximately equal in size and geographic product. However, this is very difficult to achieve in practice, given the major differences in population density, and particularly as one moves towards more regions.



**\* The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take into account existing boundaries.** While this is the least important principle, there are many reasons why we should be cognizant of existing boundaries.

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

## **2. THE CASE OF LOCAL AREAS**

The review of legislation suggests that in the main the following principles have most frequently been used in determining regional and local authority boundaries:

- \* community or diversity of interest
- \* means of communication
- \* physical features
- \* existing boundaries
- \* sparsity or density of population.

When taken in abstract these principles seem quite reasonable. Unfortunately, when these principles are applied under apartheid they assume special significance and meanings which entrench apartheid.

In the next section some simple indications of how the ruling National Party's proposals, while provided within a framework of participatory democracy, in fact would continue to entrench apartheid at the local level.

## **CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSALS OF THE NATIONAL PARTY AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY**

The National Party and Democratic Party have recently produced their own constitutional proposals. In both sets of proposals, significant emphasis is placed on the geographic organization of our country and the various powers and functions which will be assigned to each of the levels of government.

### **1. REGIONAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION**

The DP proposals suggest three tiers of government with the second tier distinguishing in a qualitative way between regional councils and metropolitan councils. This distinction is proposed because of the strong differences between the metropolitan regions (where most of South Africa's wealth is locked up) and the regional/rural areas (where many poorer people live and where there is substantial fragmentation between tribal authorities, local authorities, development and services boards, health committees, etc.).

According to the DP, metropolitan councils would be more administrative units which administer "services currently the responsibility of RSCs and take on some of the functions currently administered by provincial -- such as planning and



transport -- and central government -- such as aspects of schools, hospitals and policing" (pg 8).

There is some danger in these proposals because they are very close to the Joint Services Boards in Natal which are really multiracial (and non-representative) structures which were set up instead of RSCs because of the representations made by Inkatha. Parenthetically, similar proposals are presently being made by the DP City Council in Johannesburg. The experience in Natal suggests these structures continue to ensure white domination and control administratively of metropolitan government.

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

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

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

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

The NP proposals for regional government suggest a structure comprising proportional representation, indirect nomination and the protection of minority interest. In addition, an Executive Committee would be a joint committee of the major political parties (the plural is stressed).



## **2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION**

The Democratic Party proposals suggest that local authorities "will continue to attend to local planning, recreational and cultural facilities, primary health care and regulations".

Significantly, both sets of proposals emphasise that local negotiations should not await the outcome of national negotiations. In the NP proposals this has very ominous implications where they suggest that "following negotiation at local level, a formal agreement or charter must be drawn up for every local authority and promulgated under the Local Government Act, to serve accordingly as the 'local constitution' of the local authority concerned" (Pg 16).

The electoral systems suggested in the DP and NP proposals are also problematic. With respect to the DP proposals, they suggest a combination of voting based on the ward system and at-large elections. As the evidence from the USA indicates, this system usually works against the interests of the working classes.

The NP proposals suggest a combination of democratic voting by proportional representation and voting depending on one's ownership of property. They also suggest increased majorities would be required for "sensitive matters". These are clearly unacceptable as it weighs heavily against democratic representation.

At the same time, because of forced removals under apartheid, it might be that people are given the opportunity to vote either at their place of residence or at their place of work. The DP and NP both imply that you only vote according to your place of residence or residential ownership.

It is important to add that the NP suggests that its delimitation of wards at a local level must be on the basis of "accepting property valuations and voter numbers in a fair proportion to one another" (pg 17). This is clearly unacceptable as the wealth is completely locked up in white hands.

## **3. NEIGHBORHOOD COUNCILS**

The NP even go further by suggesting the establishment of Neighborhood Councils. These would allow for "self-determination" over community interests. These voluntary associations would have substantial powers which could not be overridden by even the National Government. Interestingly, the NP proposals are trying to create a split between the ANC and civics here by suggesting that these councils could be established by "ratepayers' associations and civic organizations" (pg 18).

## **4. ADDITIONAL COMMENTS**

Finally, the NP proposals build in directly and indirectly special representation and veto powers for (as yet undefined) minorities in both regional and local government. A special case of this is where the Executive Committees in the region must be made up of three to five leaders of those political parties which

have a predetermined minimum representation in the Regional Legislative Council.

Overall, the proposals by the NP and DP have important implications for the geographical breakdown of a future South Africa. As with apartheid, boundaries will continue to have extraordinary significance: they will continue to be invisible, but powerful fences preventing the democratization of our country.

### **3. THE ANC'S REGIONS**

When the NEC made suggestions on legally re-forming the ANC, it was suggested that 14 regions would be created. These were to be based around particular centres, and no regional boundaries were set.

It should be noted that the experience of having fourteen regions has emphasised:

- (i) the major differences which exist between the regions in terms of population, communications, ethnicity, economic potential, etc.;
- (ii) the lack of clarity in terms of the actual demarcation of regions (for example, between Border and the Eastern Cape; or between the three regions of Natal where it becomes rather arbitrary to put areas into different regions; or the Western Transvaal where there are problems due to repression in Bophuthatswana; etc.)
- (iii) the problems with creating ethnic regions (Transkei is a creation of apartheid); and
- (iv) a related point is that some areas do not fit comfortably into the regional breakdowns (such as Umzimkulu and in Transkei which it might be argued should fall into Southern Natal).

### **4. PROPOSALS FOR A GEOGRAPHICAL BREAKDOWN**

Before developing firm principles on the delimitation of boundaries, there is a need for general agreement on the way in which regions and localities would be broken down.

For example, let us suggest the following breakdown:

**1. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT:** Bicameral Parliament as per proposals. The upper house would need to be specified, but could consist of two representatives from each sub-region elected on the basis of first past the post (they could be staggered terms as per the US Senate).

**2. REGIONS BASED ON THE NINE DEVELOPMENT REGIONS, BUT INCLUDING THE TVBC GOVERNMENTS**

While the nine economic regions appear to have some functionality, the variety of local geographical sub-regions vary enormously over the country as a whole.



Given the differences in size (population, geography, etc.) and power (economically, developmentally, etc.), for descriptive purposes, each region could be broken down into sub-regions or counties. The following might be the breakdowns (if we accept the Economic Regions as per the 1981 proposals of the Government):

(i) Western Cape (4): Counties might be centered around the Cape Town Functional Region, the Namaqualand area, the Beaufort West Area and the George area.

(ii) Northern Cape (3): Counties might be centered around the Kuruman-Vryburg area, Upington and De Aar.

(iii) Orange Free State (2): Counties might be centered around Bloemfontein-Botshabelo in the South and Welkom in the North.

(iv) Eastern Cape (4): Counties might assume the rough outline of ANC regions in the area and be centered around: Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage, East London, Umtata and Aliwal North.

(v) Natal (5): Counties might be centered around: the Durban Functional Region, Pietermaritzburg, Newcastle, Empangeni, Port Shepstone-Matatiele.

(vi) Eastern Transvaal (2):  
Counties might be centered around: Nelspruit and Ermelo.

(vii) Northern Transvaal (2): Counties might be centered around Pietersburg and Messina.

(viii) PWV (4): Counties might be centred around: Central Rand, West Rand, East Rand, North Rand.

(ix) Western Transvaal (2): Counties might be centred around Klerksdorp and Mmabatho

### **3. LOCAL GOVERNMENT**

Conditions for at least three forms of Local Government exist:

- (i) Metropolitan Government:
- (ii) Local Authorities, and
- (iii) Rural Authorities

The legislative, executive and fiscal basis and powers of each of these levels of government would have to be developed.

If we are able to get agreement in principle with such an arrangement of national, regional and local government, the next step would be to firm up:

- (i) the principles under which we demarcate the various geographical breakdowns;
- (ii) the political process to be followed in determining the delimitations (commissions, etc.)
- (iii) the technicalities of the delimitation itself.

## **B: THE IDRC PROJECT ON DELIMITATION:**

The IDRC project is divided into three phases. The first involves a literature search and the preparation of documentation. The second details some of the emerging principles based on workshops and focus group discussions. The final section will involve the preparation of recommendations on principles and possible regional and local delimitations.

### **1. LITERATURE SURVEY**

A wide range of materials have been collected, particularly those focussing on court cases around the delimitation question. The following materials are being examined:

- \* Basic geographical texts.
- \* Traditional approaches to delimiting local authorities.
- \* Court cases and reviews (particularly from the U.S.A.)
- \* Local legislation.
- \* Measures of fragmentation.

These materials provide an opportunity to evaluate: (i) the principles used in the delimitation of areas; (ii) the way in which those principles are applied; and (iii) the methods used (spatial indices and the like) to operationalise those principles.

### **2. DELIMITATIONS**

During this stage in the process a series of interviews with key actors (particularly political parties and government departments) are being held to identify emerging key principles in the delimitation of political, administrative and development areas.

#### **POLITICAL PARTY INTERVIEWS**

Interviews with the National Party indicate that some work is being conducted by the Government Departments for them, but they view delimitations as an apolitical process chaired by judges and the National Party role is purely to make representations to them. Further interviews with Government Departments and the Development Bank have been set up.

### **3. REGIONS**



The project has collected information (in numeric and spatial form) on a wide variety of delimitations. These include delimitations which are currently in use for political, administrative, developmental, sporting, cultural or other uses. Listed below are some the areas where information in map and other forms has been assembled. Examples of these delimitations have been enclosed.

In addition, the project is presently providing an evaluation of each of these in terms of:

- (i) the principles used in delimiting the boundaries;
- (ii) the advantages and disadvantages of these in terms of the emerging constitutional principles;
- (iii) the problems and prospects associated with using these in terms of the arguments arising out of particularly the legal literature;
- (iv) the major options available in South Africa for use at a local and regional level.

#### **LISTING OF MUNICIPALITIES IN THE VARIOUS PROVINCES**

1. CAPE PROVINCE
2. TRANSVAAL
3. ORANGE FREE STATE
4. NATAL

#### **SPORTING BODIES**

##### **1. SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY BOARD**

The S.A. Rugby Board consists of 25 units which are divided into three groups:

- (i) the Urban Group: criteria are they are urban, have Universities/Colleges, are close to major airports, etc.: Northern Transvaal (Pretoria and Brits); Transvaal (Johannesburg); Free State (Bloemfontein); Western Province (Cape Town); Eastern Province (Port Elizabeth); Natal (Durban).
- (ii) Central Group: towns and smaller cities. These include Western Transvaal (Potchefstroom); Northern Free State (Welkom); Western province (Cape Town); Eastern Transvaal (Brakpan); Vaal Triangle (Vanderbijlpark); Boland (Wellington); Griekwaland West (Kimberley); Far Northern Transvaal (Pietersburg); South Eastern Transvaal (Witbank); Border (East London).
- (iii) County/ Rural Group: is the rural group. These include

Eastern Free State; Stellaland; North Eastern Cape; Northern Natal; South Western Districts (Mossel Bay, George, Oudtshoorn); Lowveld (Nelspruit); S.A. Rugby League (Port Elizabeth/black team); Winelands (within Boland/Wellington); North Western Cape (Upington).

## **SUB-REGIONAL SERVICING DISTRICTS**

Background material collected on nature and origins of Joint Services Boards and Regional Services Councils.

### **1. JOINT SERVICES BOARDS: NATAL**

Gazetted on 4 April 1991 these areas divide the Natal and KwaZulu area into five sub-regions: Port Natal; Tugela; Natal Midlands; Zululand; Southern Natal; East Griqualand.

### **2. REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS: CAPE**

These are Algoa (Albany, Alexandria, Bathurst, Henkey, Kirkwood, Port Elizabeth, and Uitenhage); Walvis Bay; and Western Cape (Bellville, Cape Town, Goodwood, Paarl, Parow, Simonstown, Stellenbosch, Strand, Wynberg, Wellington); Little Karoo.

### **3. REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS: TRANSVAAL**

These are Central Witwatersrand (Alexandra, Davidsonville, Diepmeadow, Dobsonville, Ennerdale, Johannesburg, Lenasia, Lenasia South, Marlboro Gardens, Randburg, Roodepoort, Soweto); Bushveld (Thabazimbi, Warmbaths, Ellisrus, Waterberg, Potgietersrus); East Rand (32 Local authorities of East Rand stretching from Germiston to Nigel); East Vaal; Highveld; Lowveld; Northern Transvaal; Pretoria; West Rand; Vaal Driehoek; West Vaal; Rustenburg.

### **4. REGIONAL SERVICES COUNCILS: ORANGE FREE STATE**

These are Bloemfontein and three other regions are proposed: around Boshof; Bothaville; Vredefort.

## **MAPWORK**

### **NATIONAL POLITICAL MAPS:**

1. Provinces
2. Magisterial Districts



3. South African Development Regions
4. Approximate ANC regions
5. Electoral divisions

#### **REGIONAL SERVICE MAPS**

1. Joint Services Boards
2. Regional Services Councils

#### **METROPOLITAN AREAS**

1. Durban Functional Region

A number of overlays: various DFR boundaries; magisterial district boundaries; KwaZulu boundaries; Umgeni water board areas;

#### **LOCAL AREAS**

1. Major Towns
2. Development Services Boards: development and regulated areas
3. Special Districts (for example, water boundaries; health committees)
4. Municipalities

#### **SPORTING BOUNDARIES**

1. S.A. Rugby Board
2. S.A. Hockey Board
3. S.A. Amateur Athletic Board

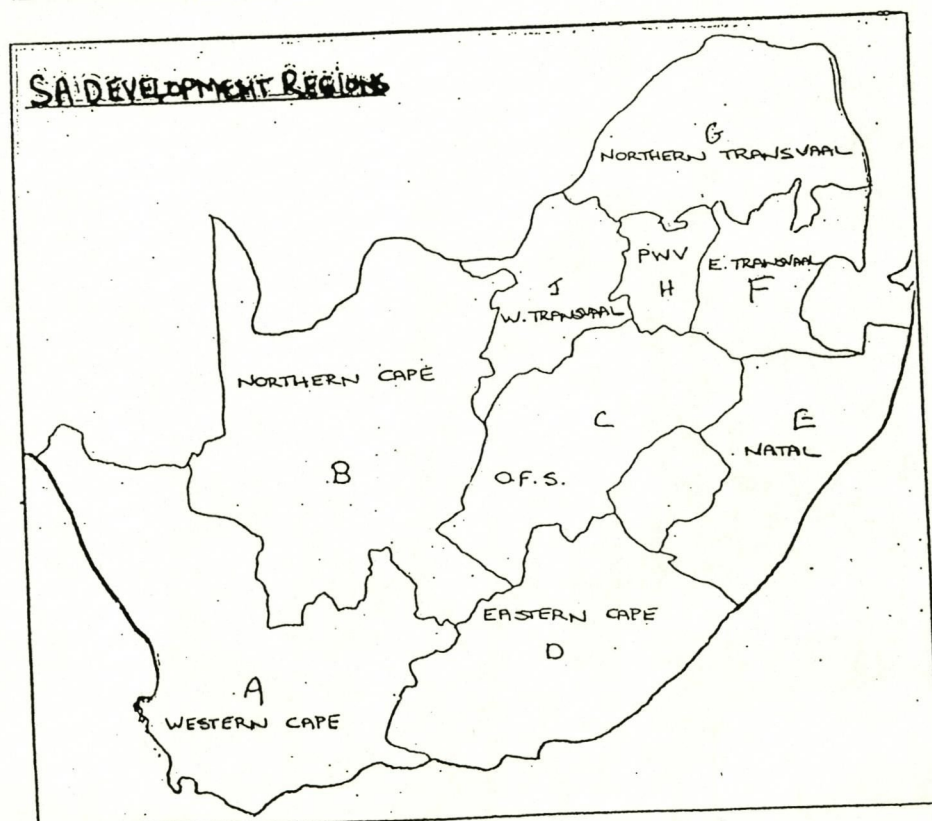
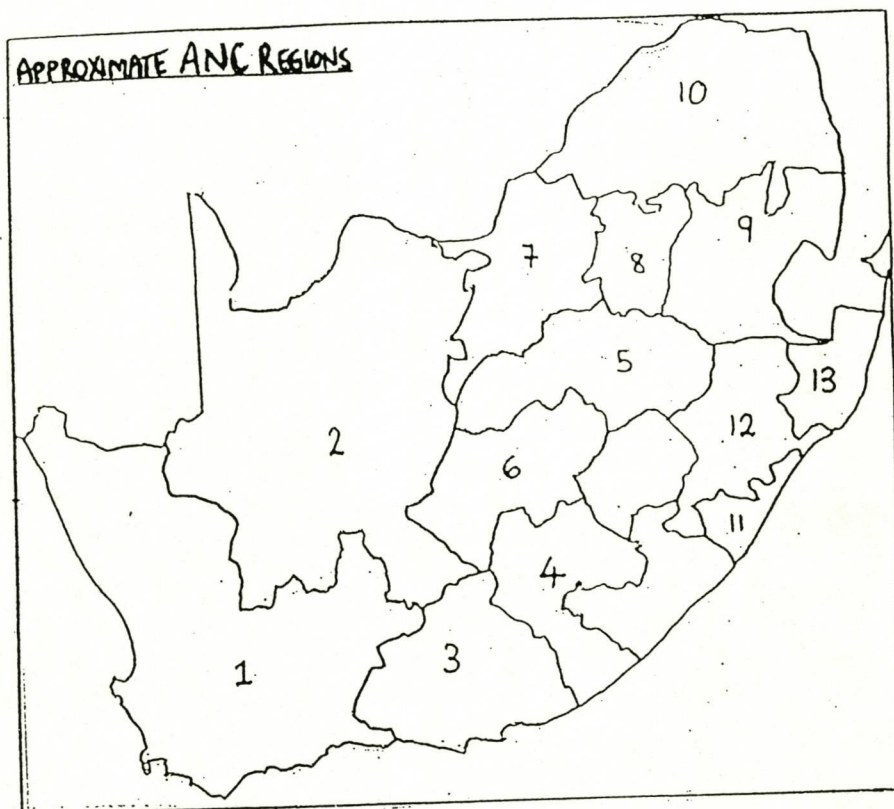
#### **THE WAY FORWARD**

The IDRC research project is in the process of completing the background work on local and regional delimitations, and in the next few months will be undertaking a number of workshops to firm up the proposals for the democratic movement.

In terms of the way forward, the next few months will require intensive effort to firm up the possibilities and prospects of using different principles in negotiating new boundaries. The majority of the work will be completed by the end of February 1992.

# DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

## SOME PRELIMINARY IDEAS



(13)



## DEFINING SOUTH AFRICA'S REGIONS

### WORKING PAPER FOR DISCUSSION

**NOTE:** This brief working paper is based on materials and discussions undertaken in order to aid the development of a position on the question of regions in a future nonracial, nonsexist, democratic and united South Africa.

### ASSUMPTIONS

The paper assumes that we accept:

- (i) all bantustans must be reincorporated into South Africa;
- (ii) there will be provision in the future constitution for three levels of government: central, regional and local;
- (iii) the future regional breakdown in South Africa will be based on criteria such as:

**\* The regions should be economically and socially functional.** In terms of the former, the regions should be large enough to incorporate those areas which are functionally interdependent with each other, but small enough to ensure coherent planning and administration can occur. Communication links are important here. In terms of the latter, care should be exercised to try and ensure the regions are inclusive of linguistic, ethnic, and other community-related groups so as to give effect to more appropriate planning for the needs of such groups.

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

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

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

**\* The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take into account existing boundaries.** While this is the least important principle, there are many reasons why we should be cognizant of existing boundaries.

### OPTIONS

In negotiating the future regional breakdown in South Africa, three options present themselves:

- (i) that we accept an existing legal framework
- (ii) that we choose another organizational framework used by some organizations but not widely accepted (such as boundaries used by trades unions, political parties, sporting organizations, etc.) The problem with this is that while there are many points of agreement in the regional breakdowns, they vary enormously: some sporting bodies, for example, break the country down into more than twenty-five districts, COSATU breaks the country into only 9 regions (Highveld, Northern Transvaal, Witwatersrand, OFS/Northern Cape, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Southern Natal, Northern Natal), the UDF divided the country into eight regions (Northern Transvaal, Southern Transvaal, OFS, Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Border, Natal, Northern Cape).
- (iii) that we begin a process of delimitation: the problem with this is that it is a lengthy process, and without a democratic government the chances of minority groups gerrymandering the boundaries would be very great.



Without detailing the arguments, it would be most advantageous if we suggest that an existing, legally defined, framework is used as the basis from which to negotiate the future regional breakdown.

## EXISTING LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

**1. MAGISTERIAL DISTRICTS:** These basic units are too small to be the basis for regional government. In addition, they have changed over the years as the bantustans have been created.

**2. PROVINCES:** The four provinces are probably the most commonly understood regional breakdowns in South Africa. At the same time, though, the actual boundaries have changed over the years to accommodate the creation of the bantustans. For example, in East Griqualand (the area around Kokstad) was originally part of the Cape Province, but with the creation of the Transkei, it became part of Natal.

The Provincial breakdowns are probably too large for effective administration and political representation. Because of this, today very few regional breakdowns within civil society use the provinces. In addition, the provinces have become synonymous with white control and administration.

Before the ANC was banned it was organised on provincial lines. However, the experience of the mass democratic movement and the size of the provinces led to the ANC's reestablishment of legal structures within 14 regions. The region's of the ANC are as follows: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Border, Transkei, Eastern Cape, Southern Natal, Northern Natal, Midlands, Southern OFS, Northern OFS, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, PWV, Northern Transvaal.

**3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS:** In 1982 nine economic development regions were created to facilitate economic development within South Africa (including the TVBC governments). These regions have been used for planning purposes since then and the Development Bank of South Africa operates with this framework. The nine regions are:

- A. Western Cape
- B. Northern Cape including the Western districts of Bophuthatswana
- C. Orange Free State including QwaQwa and ThabaNchu district of Bophuthatswana
- D. Eastern Cape and Border including Ciskei and South Western Transkei
- E. Natal including KwaZulu and Northeastern Transkei and Umzimkulu.
- F. Eastern Transvaal including Kangwane
- G. Northern Transvaal including Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda
- H. Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging including KwaNdebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele districts of Bophuthatswana
- J. Western Transvaal including the rest of Bophuthatswana

It is clear that this breakdown is quite similar to that of the ANC:

- \* Transvaal also has four regions
- \* while Natal and the Orange Free State are single economic development regions, for the ANC they have three and two regions respectively. However, it should be noted these two provinces have not been very effectively divided into ANC regions and, particularly in the case of the OFS, they have too small a population and too weak an economic base to divide so much (especially with respect to their geographical area)
- \* the Cape is divided into three and not five regions given that the Transkei is split between Natal and Eastern Cape and Border is incorporated into Eastern Cape.

Some of the advantages of such an existing legal framework are:

- \* it is based on fairly neutral economic criteria and even disregards existing bantustan boundaries.
- \* it has been used for planning purposes only and so does not have a history of being used to administer apartheid.
- \* it was developed and is used by the South African Government, all the bantustan structures (TVBC and the self-governing), and the Development Bank



of South Africa.

\* it is reasonably close to the ANC's regions and has the advantage of being an existing, acceptable legal framework.

Some of the disadvantages would be that

- \* the major division of the Transkei into a north and south is fairly arbitrary.
- \* the precise demarcation of the boundaries has not been researched and affected communities consulted.

## **RECOMMENDATIONS**

Given the above the following recommendations are made:

### **1. TO ACCEPT THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT FRAMEWORK AS A BASIS FOR THE FORMULATION OF REGIONS.**

Notwithstanding the disadvantages indicated above, and considering the existing regional frameworks, the economic development framework reflects closest the ANC's organizational framework. As indicated below, however, there is one modification which would ensure that many of the major boundary problems noted above are avoided.

### **2. TO MODIFY THE NINE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS AND INSTEAD DEMARCATATE TEN REGIONS THROUGH DIVIDING REGIONS D (EASTERN CAPE/CISKEI/SOUTHERN TRANSKEI) AND E (NATAL/KWAZULU/NORTHERN TRANSKEI) INTO THREE REGIONS AS FOLLOWS:**

**D1: EASTERN CAPE (EXCLUDING THE BORDER CORRIDOR)  
D2: CISKEI, BORDER CORRIDOR, TRANSKEI AND EAST  
GRIQUALAND (USING THE 1910 CAP PROVINCE BOUNDARY)  
E: NATAL, KWAZULU**

The most significant difference between the nine Economic Development Regions and the ANC's 14 regions occurs in the Eastern seaboard area. Here, there are two development regions, but the ANC has six regions (from south to north): Eastern Cape, Border, Transkei, Southern Natal, Midlands, Northern Natal. At the same time, it should be noted that even in the East Griqualand region of 'white' Natal, there was significant concern when it was excised from the Cape because it separated out the Umzimkulu part of Transkei from Transkei proper. It was then put under the control of Natal. It would make some sense to revert to the 1910 boundary dividing natal and the Cape. In addition, for administrative reasons, dividing the main parcel of land controlled by Transkei is a nightmare.

These six ANC regions straddle roughly three broad functional regions:

Eastern Cape: dominated by a modern industrial base of Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage and commercial agricultural farming;  
Ciskei/Border/Transkei: dominantly rural, underdeveloped bantustans, with an emerging secondary industry base at East London, Umtata, etc.  
Natal/KwaZulu: the Durban Functional Region together with a number of regions ranging from underdeveloped to fairly highly developed.

It is therefore proposed that the two Economic Development Regions for the eastern seaboard should more properly be three Economic Development regions.

**This would mean there are ten regions as follows:**

1. Western Cape
2. Northern Cape which includes the Western districts of Bophuthatswana
3. Orange Free State including QwaQwa and ThabaNchu district of Bophuthatswana
4. Eastern Cape
5. Border including Ciskei, Transkei and East Griqualand
6. Natal including KwaZulu
7. Eastern Transvaal including Kangwane



8. Northern Transvaal including Lebowa, Gazankulu, Venda
9. Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging including KwaNdebele and the Odi
- 1 and Moretele districts of Bophuthatswana
10. Western Transvaal including the rest of Bophuthatswana

Such a demarcation would have the added advantage that no parcel of land presently administered by any of the various bantustan or national governments is split. Rather the mosaic of regions created under apartheid would more properly be reorganized into ten compact and economically functional regions.

As indicated below, the final boundary determinations would have to await a democratically organised delimitation commission.

**3. TO ACCEPT THAT THE FINAL DEMARCATATIONS OF THE BOUNDARIES CAN ONLY BE COMPLETED WITH A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT CONSTITUTING A DELIMITATION COMMISSION.**

This final recommendation is to allow for communities who might be unfairly disadvantaged through the demarcations to be given adequate representation. This is particularly important given that in a number of cases communities were dumped into bantustans right on the border of 'white' controlled towns. To make such people who are functionally part of such 'white' areas part of completely separate regions would be unfair.



# PROPOSED REGIONAL BREAKDOWN (APPROXIMATE 1989 FIGURES)

The following table indicates some basic statistics on each of the ten proposed regions. Please note the following:

- 1. POPULATION:** This was the approximate 1989 population (the undercount rates are usually substantially higher for blacks than whites).
- 2. GROSS GEOGRAPHIC PRODUCT:** This is a simple index of wealth generated within a region.
- 3. MALE ABSENTEEISM:** This is an index of migrancy. Negative figures reflect relative absenteeism of male workers, and positive figures reflect the presence of migrant workers from elsewhere.

		POPULATION	o/o. in full GGP	MALE ABSENTEEISM
1.	WESTERN CAPE	3512 (9.5%)	26787 (12.9%)	8.8%
2.	NORTHERN CAPE	1101 (3.0%)	3947 (1.9%)	-4.0%
	Cape Province	750 (2.0%)	3702 (1.8%)	13.2%
	Bophuthatswana	351 (1.0%)	244 (0.1%)	-39.4%
3.	ORANGE FREE STATE	2631 (7.1%)	12939 (6.3%)	26.2%
	Orange Free State	2286 (6.1%)	12416 (6.0%)	35.9%
	QwaQwa	277 (0.8%)	409 (0.2%)	-34.2%
	Bophuthatswana	68 (0.2%)	114 (0.1%)	-18.2%
4.	EASTERN CAPE	1934 (5.2%)	11207 (5.4%)	4.1%
	Cape Province	1934 (5.2%)	11207 (5.4%)	4.1%
	Border Corridor	TO	BE	SUBTRACTED
5.	BORDER / TRANSKEI	3908 (10.6%)	4076 (1.9%)	ABOVE
	Ciskei	804 (2.2%)	2145 (1.0%)	-28.7% TOTHE
	Border corridor	TO	BE	ADDED ABOVE
	Transkei	3104 (8.4%)	1931 (0.9%)	-50.0%
6.	NATAL	7440 (20.1%)	29866 (14.5%)	-14.0%
	Natal	2585 (7.0%)	26440 (12.8%)	8.9%
	KwaZulu	4855 (13.1%)	3426 (1.7%)	-27.7%
7.	EASTERN TRANSVAAL	1969 (5.3%)	19366 (9.4%)	26.2%
	Transvaal	1406 (3.8%)	19046 (9.2%)	50.7%
	KaNgwane	563 (1.5%)	320 (0.2%)	-27.0%
8.	NORTHERN TRANSVAAL	4276 (11.5%)	6246 (3.0%)	-36.8%
	Transvaal	498 (1.3%)	3425 (1.7%)	26.7%
	Lebowa	2560 (6.9%)	1417 (0.7%)	-42.8%
	Gazankulu	693 (1.9%)	716 (0.3%)	-48.7%
	Venda	525 (1.4%)	688 (0.3%)	-47.8%
9.	PWV	8520 (23.0%)	80295 (38.8%)	35.8%
	Transvaal	7363 (19.8%)	78945 (38.1%)	44.4%
	KwaNdebele	392 (1.1%)	305 (0.1%)	-30.4%
	Bophuthatswana	765 (2.1%)	1045 (0.5%)	-13.5%
10.	WESTERN TRANSVAAL	1789 (4.8%)	12219 (5.9%)	22.1%
	Transvaal	1052 (2.8%)	9202 (4.4%)	53.5%
	Bophuthatswana	737 (2.0%)	3017 (1.5%)	-15.5%
	TOTAL SOUTH AFRICA	37080 (100.%)	206948 (100.%)	0.9%



## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT REGIONS (APPROXIMATE 1989 FIGURES)

The following table indicates some basic statistics on each of the economic development regions. Please note the following:

1. **POPULATION:** This was the approximate 1989 population (the undercount rates are usually substantially higher for blacks than whites).
2. **GROSS GEOGRAPHIC PRODUCT:** This is a simple index of wealth generated within a region.
3. **MALE ABSENTEEISM:** This is an index of migrancy. Negative figures reflect relative absenteeism of male workers, and positive figures reflect the presence of migrant workers from elsewhere.

	POPULATION	GGP	MALE ABSENTEEISM
<b>A. TOTAL</b>	<b>3512 (9.5%)</b>	<b>26787 (12.9%)</b>	<b>8.8%</b>
<b>B. TOTAL</b>	<b>1101 (3.0%)</b>	<b>3947 (1.9%)</b>	<b>-4.0%</b>
Cape Province	750 (2.0%)	3702 (1.8%)	13.2%
Bophuthatswana	351 (1.0%)	244 (0.1%)	-39.4%
<b>C. TOTAL</b>	<b>2631 (7.1%)</b>	<b>12939 (6.3%)</b>	<b>26.2%</b>
Orange Free State	2286 (6.1%)	12416 (6.0%)	35.9%
QwaQwa	277 (0.8%)	409 (0.2%)	-34.2%
Bophuthatswana	68 (0.2%)	114 (0.1%)	-18.2%
<b>D. TOTAL</b>	<b>4699 (12.7%)</b>	<b>14644 (7.1%)</b>	<b>-24.7%</b>
Cape Province	1934 (5.2%)	11207 (5.4%)	4.1%
Ciskei	804 (2.2%)	2145 (1.0%)	-28.7%
Transkei	1961 (5.3%)	1292 (0.6%)	-51.3%
<b>E. TOTAL</b>	<b>8583 (23.2%)</b>	<b>30505 (14.7%)</b>	<b>-19.1%</b>
Natal	2585 (7.0%)	26440 (12.8%)	8.9%
KwaZulu	4855 (13.1%)	3426 (1.7%)	-27.7%
Transkei	1143 (3.1%)	639 (0.3%)	-48.7%
<b>F. TOTAL</b>	<b>1969 (5.3%)</b>	<b>19366 (9.4%)</b>	<b>26.2%</b>
Transvaal	1406 (3.8%)	19046 (9.2%)	50.7%
KaNgwane	563 (1.5%)	320 (0.2%)	-27.0%
<b>G. TOTAL</b>	<b>4276 (11.5%)</b>	<b>6246 (3.0%)</b>	<b>-36.8%</b>
Transvaal	498 (1.3%)	3425 (1.7%)	26.7%
Lebowa	2560 (6.9%)	1417 (0.7%)	-42.8%
Gazankulu	693 (1.9%)	716 (0.3%)	-48.7%
Venda	525 (1.4%)	688 (0.3%)	-47.8%
<b>H. TOTAL</b>	<b>8520 (23.0%)</b>	<b>80295 (38.8%)</b>	<b>35.8%</b>
Transvaal	7363 (19.8%)	78945 (38.1%)	44.4%
KwaNdebele	392 (1.1%)	305 (0.1%)	-30.4%
Bophuthatswana	765 (2.1%)	1045 (0.5%)	-13.5%
<b>J. TOTAL</b>	<b>1789 (4.8%)</b>	<b>12219 (5.9%)</b>	<b>22.1%</b>
Transvaal	1052 (2.8%)	9202 (4.4%)	53.5%
Bophuthatswana	737 (2.0%)	3017 (1.5%)	-15.5%
<b>TOTAL SOUTH AFRICA</b>	<b>37080 (100.%)</b>	<b>206948 (100.%)</b>	<b>0.9%</b>