## TEN PROPOSED REGIONS FOR A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

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#### INTRODUCTION

## Why regions and regional government are important

The ANC wants the new democratic South Africa to be one united country. But the ANC also believes that within the united South Afric it is important to divide the country into regions.

In a democratic South Africa, we will need 3 levels of government:

- 1. A central or national government to do national tasks
- 2. Regional government, in every region, to do tasks of the region
- 3. Local government, in cities, towns, villages etc so that communities can be involved in making their own decisions that affect them.

The government of the new united South Africa must not be distant from the people. It must not be a government where all the decisions are made at the national or central level and the people are left out of decision-making. Regional and local government must aim to bring the process of government closer to the people. It must aim to involve the people in making decisions that affect them.

The ANC has supported this view that we should have regions and regional government, for some time.

We believe that regional government can make South Africa more democratic. But there are some people who support the idea of regional government for totally different reasons. They want to create region and regional government that weakens democracy. They want all the wealth - the rich suburbs and the factories - to be kept separate. This will mean that the poor stay poor and do not get the benefits of South Africa's wealth.

We are against plans to make regions, that will have this effect.

## The ANC's proposal for regions

The regions and the powers of regional government are questions that must be decided by the **Constituent Assembly**. The Constituent Assembly will be elected by all the people of this country in free and fair elections. It will have the power to take the decisions that will shape the new South Africa. The purpose of this book is to begin

forming an ANC view on the question of regions before the Constituent Assembly. This book presents the ANC proposal and not our final position. This book has been produced to encourage our members and all democrats to discuss the issue of regions.

The ANC proposes that there should be 10 regions. The regions are: Western Cape, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape, Border/Kei, Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal, PWV, Eastern Transvaal, OFS, Natal

In deciding what the boundaries of these regions are, we have tried to be fair and not give an advantage to any political group. The re-shaping of our country is very important. It must not be decided by the immediate aim of any political group to win elections. It must be decided by what will be best for the country as a whole.

Where possible, we have kept the boundaries of the four provinces (Transvaal, OFS, Natal, Cape) that were agreed on in 1910 when South Africa became a Union and gained independence from Britain. In this book we often refer to the 1910 boundaries. But we may need to make small adjustments to this. The ANC suggests that a Commission, or special committee is set up to do this.

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# CHAPTER 1: THE ANC'S PROPOSALS FOR REGIONS IN A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

The ANC has three main proposals:

1. South Africa should be divided into 10 regions:

Western Cape
Northern Cape
Eastern Cape
Orange Free State
Border/Kei
Natal
Eastern Transvaal
Northern Transvaal
PWV
Western Transvaal

- 2. We should keep the boundaries that were drawn in 1910 as far as possible.
- 3. A Commission or special committee of people should discuss what small changes may need to be made to the boundaries we have proposed.

### CHAPTER 2: WHY WE WANT A UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

South Africans long to overcome the divisions and hatred of the past. We want to create a country that belongs to all South Africans, where everyone can live with dignity. We want to make South Africa into one whole country.

We say NO to:

- Forcing different races to live apart in separate areas through liwe like the Land Act, Group Areas Act and Urban Act
- Dividing our country into so-called white areas and bantustans or homelands
- Separate government for different race groups eg. Separate education departments and health departments.
- Unequal opportunities for different race groups, for example providing whites with better education, reserving jobs for whites
- · Dividing the people of this country against each other.

Because we reject these things, we long for a united South Africal where we are all entitled to the same citizenship and all share the same loyalty to our country.

Most of all, we want a South Africa that is at peace with itself, where we all share equally in joy and in suffering.

We want equal rights and freedoms for all throughout the whole country. Every person must feel safe and sure that the government and its laws will protect them, wherever they are.

Today, there are many different groupings who all have their own gurs, bombs and assegais. In a democratic South Africa we will need one single army that includes both the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe. This will be an army that is looked up to by all the people of South Africa. We will have a single police force that aims to serve the people and follows the discipline, or rules, that are respected both by the police and the people. In a democratic South Africa, we cannot have an armed force that answers to warlords or leaders of extreme political groupings. This will destroy democracy.

Because of the homeland system and the way the government made different departments of government for different race groups, we have

a more expensive government than any other country with the same number of people as South Africa. We have more Departments of Education than any other country in the world!

We do not want to live in a country where children cannot go to school because of racial divisions. Where children must go without shoes or food and our houses are without water and are dark at night. Everyone should have the right to go to school, to be examined by doctors and begive birth in safe conditions. This right should not depend on where you live, as it does today in apartheid South Africa.

Almost half of our people (40%) live in poverty in overcrowded rural areas, without proper roads, water, sewage and no electricity. Mary of these areas have been cut-off from the rest of South Africa by laws which have made them part of the homelands. One third of our people (30%) live in townships where living conditions are bad. Townships of the normal services like roads, sewage and electricity that other parts of the cities did.

We need schools, homes, food, clinics and jobs everywhere in South Africa. These problems are nation-wide. To solve these problems we need a national plan that aims at solving these problems throughout the country. We will also need to use the resources (money, knowledge and skills) of the whole nation, to address these problems.

## CHAPTER 3 WHY WE NEED STRONG REGIONS WITH ACTIVE GOVERNMENTS IN A UNITED SA

The problems of poverty and bad living conditions are found in every region of our country. In every region, people have been divided against each other. As we said in the last chapter, this means we need a strong united South Africa and a national plan to solve these problems. But as well as a national plan or policy we will need to find solutions that work at a regional and local level. This is why strong regions an active regional governments are very important to developing a strong united and democratic South Africa.

#### Why we need regional government

If we want a non-racial democracy in South Africa as a whole, we must achieve non-racial democracy in every region.

There are many good reasons for creating regional government structures.

Firstly, regional government structures make it easier to run the country. To run the country efficiently, it is useful to have people in the regions who can take decisions that effect the region. If every decision had to be taken by the central government, it would make the process of decision-making and action by the government very slow. To develop or build the economy, we will need detailed information and facts about every region. In fact, the creation of regions will make it easier to organise everything - the police, the supply of electricity, he arrangement of sports matches.

But it is not just for these reasons that the ANC are in favour of strong regions. Secondly, regional government also takes the government closer to the people. Regions are very important in building a democratic South Africa, where all citizens can play an active role.

It is always dangerous to give a small group of people all the power, in any society. It can have very bad effects. It can lead to those people abusing their power. It has the effect of removing the government from the people. It can lead to the central government creating a huge structure of departments and committees to run the affairs of the country. This is expensive to run and slows down the government. In

this situation, it is possible that people employed by the government become the people who really have the power - instead of those people who were elected by the country.

We all know what it is like to be governed by a distant government like the Pretoria regime. We do not want to be governed by a regime that becomes distant from the people - even if it was democratically elected by all of us.

Our own experience in the ANC has shown us that strong regions can build a strong and democratic national organisation. In the same way, strong regions can build a strong national government. To do this, we have to achieve the right balance between the regional government and the central or national level of government. This means we need to decide on the power of both these levels and their different responsibilities, so that the levels of government work together.

The creation of regions also makes it easier for many other organisations, that are not part of the government, to work better. For example trade union, community organisations and religious bodies all work better if they have regional structures as well as national structures. Where there are regional structures it makes it easier to these organisations to look after the rights and interests of their members.

In the type of new South Africa that we want, regions will have a very important role to play.

A united South Africa cannot be created by forcing everyone to be the same and ignoring the differences between them. A united South Africa will be created out of the people as they are today. They will bring their own languages, cultures and beliefs and regional or local differences into the new nation to exist together. We welcome a these differences as long as they are not used to cause violence and hatred against others in the way that apartheid has done. We wan a South Africans to take pride in the whole of South Africa.

If the way in which we divide our country into regions is done well and carefully, then this can help us to make sure that the needs and vishes of all the different language speakers are taken into account. If one language is spoken far more than others in a region, then that language

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should be used by the government in that region. For example, Afrikaans in the Northern Cape and Tswana in the Western Transvaal.

The creation of regions will also help us to bring the Transkei, Bophuthathswana, Venda, Ciskei (TBVC states) back into South Africa In these areas, government facilities like buildings exist and man people have had experience in running the government and its differe to departments. We can use these facilities and the experience that some people have had to build our democratic government at a regional level. So without cutting-off any area of the country from the rest of it like the homeland system did, we will still be able to allow each region to express itself in its own way.

The people living in the TBVC states are accepted by the ANC to be fill citizens of South Africa, like all other South Africans. They have the right to share in the whole country. They will no longer be communities forced out of "white South Africa". They will no longer be forced to live in so-called independent states that can only survive because of money handed to them by Pretoria. They will have strong demands for schools, electricity, water, roads, clinics, cinemas, swimming pools running tracks and assistance to farmers. Their voices will be important voices in our country.

Leaders who are in touch with the people in these areas, need not feat democracy.

The people living in these areas have been involved in our struggle for democracy. They have the right to vote in a democratic South Africa. Their common citizenship of South Africa, will mean that at last their areas will get proper attention from a government that is concerned to meet their needs.

# CHAPTER 4: HOW THE REGIONS OF A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH ARRICA WILL BE DECIDED

In this chapter, we look at the reasons we will use to decide on how many regions there should be and what their boundaries will be.

The ANC believes we should decide on our regions in the same way it has been done in other countries in the world. The most important go! we have to achieve when we form regions, is to make sure that the regions help the process of government and make it more democratic.

We must form regions in a way that removes the divisions created by apartheid and changes the way the country was broken-up into small pieces by the homeland system. The ANC believes that the way regions are formed must be acceptable to the people.

We must not create regions which allow some areas to be kept poor and others to keep all the wealth. We must also not form regions in such a way that it allows for any one group of people to insist that that eg on belongs to them alone. Regions will not have the right to break away from the rest of South Africa and become separate countries. We must also form our regions in a way that tries to prevent conflict between them.

There are a number of important things to consider when we decide on what the new regions of a democratic South Africa will be. These are

- A region must be able to work as a unit. All the parts of the
  economy (like factories, electricity supply, railways etc) that depend
  on each other must be grouped together in one region. But regions must
  also not be too big. They must be small enough to make the task of
  governing the region possible.
- The way we form regions must make it possible for there to be growth and progress in both the urban and rural areas.
- Regions must be one unbroken piece of land. We do not want region made up of small, scattered pieces like Bophuthathswana.
- The number of people living in the area must be considered.

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- We should use the old boundaries for example the Orange River and Vaal River - when it is possible. These are boundaries that the whole country is used to and will make it easier to set up regional and local government.
- The regions must be formed according to what is acceptable to the as many people as possible.

## The Government's Proposals for regions

The Development Bank of South Africa and the South African government, have proposed that there should be nine regions. These regions are areas of the country where the parts of the economy depend on each other, and if grouped together it will be easier for the economy to grow and develop - as we mentioned above in point 1. These are of en called economic development regions.

The ANC mostly agree with the government proposal. However, we want three changes made to this proposal before we can agree with it.

1. The government proposal says that the Transkei must be divided in to two parts. The northern part would become part of Natal and the southern part would become part of the Eastern Cape. We disagree with this, because while it may help strengthen and build the economy, the Northern Transkei and Natal are two different areas. People do not see them as belonging to one region.

Instead of dividing up the Transkei into two parts, we think there should a tenth region. This will include the present Ciskei, Border and Transkei. The boundary on the north will be the same as the boundary of the Cape Province as it was drawn in 1910. One suggested name for this region is Kei. In this book we will call it Border/Kei.

2. The second change that must be made to the government proposal is that we should keep the boundaries agreed to in 1910, wherever possible. The reason for this is that the 1910 boundaries can help us draw the boundary between Natal and Border/Kei. It will also help to solve some of the other problems that are caused by drawing boundaries strictly according to how the economy could be built. An example of this, is that in the government proposal Mafikeng/Mmabatio was placed in the Western Transvaal region. But this is an area that has

long been part of the Northern Cape. Another example is that Sasolber was placed in the PWV, when it has always been thought of as part of the Orange Free State.

3. The third change to the government proposal that must be made is that we need to find a way where small changes to the boundaries can be made, to meet the wishes of the people living close to the boundaries. For example some people say that the town of De Aar belongs naturally to the Western Cape and not to the Northern Cape if we do not make small adjustments then we may find a situation where people who have lived close together for many years are suddenly part of different local government structures.

The ANC believes that the question of regions should be decided as scon as possible.

Whatever the outcome of the process of deciding on regions is, the ANC wants to avoid drawing regional boundaries which are aimed at benefitting one or another political party in elections. We also do not want regional boundaries to be drawn in a way that aims to give deriain race groups special privileges or power.

While it is not the purpose of this book to discuss Walvis Bay (a harbour in Namibia that still belongs to South Africa), the ANC locks forward to the day that Walvis Bay is returned to the Namibian people

## CHAPTER 5: WHY REGIONS ARE IMPORTANT TO THE CONSTITUTION

#### A constitution

The constitution of a country tells us how the government of that country will be structured. It tells us what the different parts of the government will be and what they will do - for example the parliament, the courts and the police and defence force. It tells us what the power of the government is, what its duties are to its people and what the right and duties of the people to the country are.

The present constitution of the apartheid regime says that Africans on the have a right to vote and that Indians and coloureds have a right to vote for government structures that have no power.

The ANC is fighting for a new constitution that gives equal rights to all our people. We want the new constitution to be drawn up by the democratically elected representatives of our people. This must take place in a Constituent Assembly.

#### The new Constitution

The ANC wants the constitution of the new South Africa to allow for three levels of the government. These are the national level (often called the central level), regional level and local level. The ANC aims to make sure that all three levels strive for non-racialism and democracy.

The ANC proposes that the new constitution gives regions an important role.

Firstly, the constitution must provide for regional government hat is very active and works well. This means that regional government will be elected by the people in that region, in free elections that must be held regularly.

Secondly, we propose that the constitution gives regions a role of electing people to the national parliament.

How would regions do this?

Parliament or the National Assembly as it is also called, is made up of people who have been elected by the people as a whole to decide on the laws of the country. The number of people who sit in the parliament is a set number. This is often called seats - meaning there

are seats for that number of people.

The ANC proposes that the parliament or National Assembly is chosen or elected by proportional representation. This means that every person in the country will have one equal vote. Each person will vote for the party that they support. All the votes from the whole country are then added together. If half of all the people who voted (50%), voted for one party then that party will get half the seats in the National Assembly. So parties get seats in the National Assembly according to how many people voted for that party.

This is different to the system that the whites-only parliament has now. In this system, people vote for a person from their area to go and represent them in parliament.

With the system of proportional representation, you only vote for he party you support. Each party will draw up a list of the names of the people who will sit in the National Assembly if their party wins votes in the election. If there are 400 seats in the National Assembly, then each party will draw up a list with 400 names on it. But of course it is unlikely that any party will win all the votes in the country. If a party wins half of the votes, then the first half of the names on the list will be the people who sit in the National Assembly.

But the ANC also believes that it is important for representatives from the regions to sit in the National Assembly. We say that only half of he seats for the National Assembly should be chosen in the way we describe above. The other half should be chosen by regions themselve. This means that each party will also make a list of people for each region. When people vote, their vote will count towards the party at a national level (and elect people from the national list) and again towards the party in the region (and elect people from the regional list).

This will mean that people in the regions will have a strong voice in choosing people from their region to represent them in the national Assembly. These people will then be accountable to the people in the regions who elected them.

There is also another way in which regions would could choose representatives to the national government. The ANC is thinking about the idea of having another elected body of government at the national

level. In most countries this second body is called the Senate, Upper House or Second Chamber. This body could be elected by the regions. This idea is still being thought about and we do not have definite proposals now.

Thirdly, regions are also an important way that we could make sure that in a democratic South Africa, all our people's languages are give importance. The most widely spoken languages in each region, could be given the status of official languages in that region. Regions can therefore help to create a democratic South Africa, where in one country, we will be able to respect the differences of language, culture and religion among all South Africa's people.

All these decisions will be made by the Constituent Assembly when draws up the new constitution.

## CHAPTER 6 WHAT POWERS WILL THE REGIONS AND REGIONAL GOVERNMENT HAVE?

The Constitution must state what powers the regions and their regional governments will have. This will have to worked out in detail. However, at this stage it is important to state generally what we think the powers of the regions should be.

We will start by saying what regions WILL NOT have the power to do.

- Regions are not independent and can never break away from the res
  of the country.
- Regions cannot violate the basic rights of the people, such as the right to form political parties, the right to practice their culture and speak their own language, the right to religious freedom. These right will all be written into a document called a Bill of Rights. All region will have to govern themselves according to the Bill of Rights.
- Regions will not have the power to have their own separate armes and police forces. Traffic officers, police and all other people who have the authority to enforce the law will have to carry out their tasks according to the same rules and standards in every region.

## The different tasks of national and regional government

The task of the national government is to make the laws needed to advance the country and ensure that the economy grows and that conditions of life improve. It must provide a broad plan for how this can be done in the regions. It must also provide money to achieve these goals. Regional government must find ways to carry out these plans. They must decide on the best way for their region.

In practice this will often mean that the tasks of regional government and national government will often overlap. We will have to find vay to make sure that these two levels of government work together and are not in conflict. If a conflict does arise, the decisions and laws of the national government will have more authority. The national government will always have the power to make laws that bind the whole country. However, regions will be able to shape national policy and have the power to decide how it should be carried out in their

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region.

Let us look at health as an example of how the different powers and tasks of national and regional government will work. The health problems and needs of all South Africans can not be addressed unless the whole country co-ordinates its efforts. We need a national plan to train health workers, provide health services, educate people about health and to prevent and control diseases. But at the same time it would be impossible for the national government to decide on where every hospital or clinic should be built. Regions will have to make these decisions according to their own needs.

One of the most important questions is how money can be raised to ring the government - both national and regional. Our aims to build the economy and improve the living conditions of our people, depends on how we raise money for this and how we spend it. We will have to pay a lot of attention to how this will be done - for example through tax - and work out ways for how poorer regions will receive the funds they need to develop.

## The powers of the regions cannot be easily taken away

The ANC believes that the regions, their boundaries, their powers and tasks must be written into the new constitution. The constitution in stall also say how regional government will be elected. It must say what the different tasks and powers of national and regional government are.

This will mean that central government cannot take away the powers of regional government or dismantle it without changing the constitution. To change the constitution, a large number of people - at least 67% - would have to support it. This is far more difficult to do than to simply pass a law - which would only need just more than half of the national assembly to vote for it.

The system of regional government is not new to South Africa. In the past, before the tricameral system was introduced in 1983, South Africa had national and regional government. There were regional government structures in all the four provinces. The regional governments shared important tasks with the central government over areas like education, health and roads.

But the powers of the regions and regional government were not written into the constitution. This made it easy for the NP government to dismantle the regional government system, when they wanted to

#### Summary of Chapter 6

The ANC proposes that we build a new system of regional governmen with 10 regions. This will be based on the old system that existed before 1983 and the tricameral parliament. All the regions will have the right to exist and the right to make and carry out decisions. At the regions and the national government will aim to build democracy, no racialism and to improve living conditions and build the economy. Regional and national government will be accountable to the people.

#### CHAPTER 7: THE SHAPE OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA

We can now begin to see what the new South Africa will look like.

Ever since 1910, South Africa has been governed as a single united country. (This is of course apart from the destructive way the country was divided up by the bantustan system). The new South Africa will be a single united country, as it was in 1910. But it will also be differe to because we will have 10 regions instead of four. The regional governments will not face the threat of being dissolved the way that regional governments where dissolved by the NP government in 1933. It will change to a democratic country where everyone has equal rights.

The national government will be accountable to the whole nation. It will take responsibility for national tasks like: relations with the rest of the world, defence, keeping peace in the country and building the economy. It will also have to plan how the country can attend to problems like housing, food, education and health. It will need to look at ways to create new jobs, give people land and provide support to the unemployed, elderly and disabled. The national government will have obtained as according what is written in the constitution.

The Constitution and the Bill of Rights will be the highest law, with the most authority. The national government itself and all the region will have to work according to the rules written in the constitution and Bill of Rights.

There will be one national non-racial, defence force, police force and prisons service. The defence force, police and prisons service will also be accountable to the regions they are in and local communities.

There will be the same courts system in the whole of South Africa. The way the courts are structured will be similar to the way they are no vewith national courts, regional courts, district courts and magistrates courts. There may also be community courts.

People will be employed to work for the government (a civil service) at a national and regional level. The national part of the civil service will have its offices in the capital city of the new South Africa. They will be responsible for assisting the national parliament and doing what s

needed for national laws to be put into practice. The different regional parts of the civil service will be accountable to both the national government and their own regional governments.

The ANC plans to link the regional and national government by formin Committees in each region and/or having a person who is appointed by the central government, based in each region.

Regional governments will be responsible for carrying out government policy - plans and laws - in their region. They will be elected by the people in the region and are accountable to those people.

We do not want a situation where people appointed by the central government, run all the affairs of the region with no regard for what people in the region want and need. We also do not want a national government that spends all the nation's money on running itself and does not give regions the money and other resources they need to grow and develop.

Regional government will work democratically and take care of all the areas of government that the constitution states. It must strive to build the economy and improve the standard of living for people in the region, build roads, schools, hospitals and supply water. They must also encourage the growth of our languages, our arts, drama and sports.

Regional government structures will also be the link between local government and the national government.

#### CHAPTER 8 LOCAL GOVERNMENT

When drawing up the new constitution we will have to pay special attention to the role and the power of local government. We will need to decide what the relationship between regional and local government should be. Local government will be very important in building equality in the new South Africa.

This book is not about local government. Nevertheless, there are some important things that we want to say about local government.

The main aim of local government is to bring the government closer to the people so that they can participate in important decisions that affect their lives.

Civic organisations will still be important. They advance the interest and needs of the many communities that have not had the benefit of proper local government structures in the past. Local government must have a working relationship with all community organisations - lite civics, trade unions, sports religious, cultural and educational organisations, chiefs and development agencies or organisations which assist communities with projects aimed to develop the economy and the community in general.

The ANC proposes that the tasks and the powers of local government are not written into the constitution but are stated in a law. This lay would give local authorities the power to make the laws they need (by-laws) as long as these do not go against laws and decisions made at a national and regional level. The differences between urban and rural areas must be considered when the tasks and powers of local government are outlined.

This law, should also make it possible for there to be Metropolital governments in the larger cities. Metropolitan governments bring together all the different local areas of a city into one government structure. For example, Metropolitan government for Johannseburg would include Johannesburg, Soweto, East Rand, West Rand, Eldorado Park, Lenasia as well as other areas close to the city. These areas also still have their local governments.

Local government must be able to deal directly with the structures and

departments of the national government where it needs to.

Local government must be non-racial, non-sexist and democratic.

Everyone in an area must have equal rights and equal responsibilities

The ANC's most important aim is to build a non-racial and democratical South Africa. To do this, we must make sure that discrimination is ended and that those people who have suffered because of aparthed are now able to progress. We must avoid a situation where local government structures are able to continue with apartheid policies and discrimination. The central government must be able to prevent local authorities from doing this.

#### NOTE:

Please take note: It is difficult to find out exactly how many people ve have in South Africa. For example the number of people the government says there are is very different from the numbers of people that the Development Bank of South Africa says that there are.

In the next pages we have said how many people there are in the 10 regions. This is just to provide you with an idea of how many people there are - it is not exactly right. The numbers are supplied by the government, who always count people according to their race group. The ANC looks forward to the day when we can give you information about our country without referring to race.

The boundaries we have drawn on the next pages are only rough outlines. We have drawn them to give you an idea of what our proposed regions will look like. These are not the final position from the AND on how the boundaries should be drawn.

We have used names of the regions and place in them, that everyone knows. These names could be changed later, after people have been consulted.

#### 1. WESTERN CAPE

There are 3,5 million people in the Western Cape. Over half of these people are coloureds, one quarter are white and the rest are African. The most widely spoken language is Afrikaans. Within Cape Town man people speak English. There are also many Xhosa-speakers and this number is increasing.

#### 2. NORTHERN CAPE

The Northern Cape includes the western parts of Bophuthathswana.

There are 1,1 million people in the Northern Cape. About two thirds of these people are African (60%) There are also many coloureds (28%) and about half as many whites as coloureds (12%).

The most widely-spoken languages are Afrikaans and Tswana.

The ANC proposes that the 1910 boundaries are followed an

#### 3. ORANGE FREE STATE

This region includes QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu and the northern and southern regions of the Orange Free State.

Mafikeng/Mmabatho is included in this region.

There are 2,6 million people in this region. Most of the people are African (81%). The rest of the people are mostly white. (16%) The most-widely spoken languages are Sotho and Afrikaans. Xhosa, Zillu and Tswana are also widely spoken.

The ANC proposes that the 1910 boundaries are followed and Sasobe g is in this region and not in the PWV.

#### 4. EASTERN CAPE

We propose that this region DOES NOT INCLUDE Border, Ciskei and Transkei. (The government's proposal argues that is should). There are about 1,6 million people in this region. Half of these people are African, one quarter are white and one quarter are coloured. The most widely spoken languages are Xhosa, Afrikaans and English.

#### 5. NATAL

We propose that this region DOES NOT INCLUDE the Northern Transkei (The government proposes that Northern Transkei is included in the Natal region). This region includes Natal and Kwa Zulu. There are about 7,5 million people in this region. Most are African (78%), and the rest are white (9%) and Indian (11%). There are also a small number of coloured people. (2%) The most widely spoken languages are Zulu and English. Afrikaans is

also spoken a lot in some areas.

#### 6. EASTERN TRANSVAAL

This region includes Kangwane.

There are about 2 million people in this region. Most people are African (82%) and most of the rest are white (16%).

The languages used most often are Siswati and Afrikaans. Zulu, Pedi, Tsonga and Ndebele are also widely spoken.

Please note that the boundaries we have drawn are only rough guides.

#### 7. NORTHERN TRANSVAAL

This region includes Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda.

There are about 4,25 million people in this region. Almost all of them are African (96%) and there are some whites (4%).

This area has a great many people for its size. There is no main city and the economy is very weak.

#### 8. PWV

This region includes Kwandebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele Districts of Bophuthathswana. We propose that Sasolberg IS NOT INCLUDED in his region but is included in the OFS.

There are about 8,5 million people. More than half of the people are African (58%). The next biggest race group are the whites (36%) and there are also many Coloureds and Indians. (6%)
All the languages of South Africa are spoken here.

#### 9. WESTERN TRANSVAAL

This region includes all the parts of Bophuthathswana we have not mentioned yet. We propose that Mafikeng/Mmabatho is NOT INCLUDED in this region, but is included in the Northern Cape.

There are about 1,8 million people in this region. Almost three quarters are African (71%) and one quarter are white (25%). There are also pureds and Indians in this area (4%).

ase Note: People living in Bophuthathswana were not counted in se figures.

#### . PROPOSED BORDER/KEI REGION

E propose that this region includes the Ciskei, Border, Transkei and ast Griqualand.

here are about 4.2 million people in this region.

ost people speak Xhosa and English and Afrikaans are also spoken.

East London and the surrounding areas are the best place from which industry for the region could be developed. Boundaries will be based on the 1910 boundaries.