

(Statements by Prof. Z.K. Matthews &amp; Dr. M. Wilson, 17.10.46).

BASIC PRINCIPLES:

1. The fundamental principle underlying the residence of Natives in urban areas at present is that these areas are primarily European areas and that the African is entitled to live in the town only as long as he is necessary to the labour requirements of the town. His permanent home is in the Reserves. All our laws relating to urban areas are inspired by a determination to maintain this conception. Our refusal to allow the African to own freehold property, to build his own house even on a plot leased from the local authority, our regulation of the right to enter, be in or seek or take up employment in the urban area, or our regulations relating to the removal of redundant Natives from towns - all these spring from the same source. The time has come for us to abandon this principle in favour of the principle that the African, like other members of our nation, is entitled to make his home in the town as in the country. This should apply not only to the individual worker but also to his family and children. The arguments in favour of this view are as follows:-

- (i) There is not and never will be sufficient land in the Reserves to make it possible for all Africans to have their homes permanently in the Reserves.
- (ii) Not all Africans are interested in making a living by means of farming.
- (iii) The system under which Africans live partly in the Reserves and partly in the towns undermines social and moral values in African society and prevents the African from becoming an efficient labourer.

While a certain amount of progress has been made in the direction of recognising the African as in the process of becoming a permanent urban dweller, the idea seems to be gaining ground that Natives in towns should be accommodated in separate locations, villages or townships remote from their places of employment. This is not a satisfactory solution of the problem. The further away the location is from the town, the more difficult it is for such a section of the town to be provided with necessary amenities such as light, water and sanitation. The transport problem also becomes acute depressing further the economic position of the poorly paid African worker. It is suggested that the African township should be a part of the main town and should be properly integrated with it. The location should not be looked upon as a kind of Reserve away from the Reserves, but as a definite part of the town. Such close association of the African township with the rest of the town would tend to emphasise the unity of the problems of all persons living under the jurisdiction of the urban local authority, would lead to the development of a civic sense in the African community such as is frequently sadly lacking in the average Native location which is looked upon not as a home but as a kind of temporary camp. Moreover a separated African township would not be able to meet the expenditure of the separate services required for the benefit of its residents.

CONDITIONS OF RESIDENCE:

2. In dealing with the question of improved conditions of residence in the urban areas as already indicated, the emphasis must in future be placed upon permanent as against temporary residence. This does not imply that all Africans in towns should be regarded as permanent residents, for a long time to come the floating population will be with us and may well continue to constitute the majority of the urban Native population, but there must be a gradual change over from the floating population to the permanent population as the norm. This means that urban local authorities must be required to provide land for different types of accommodation for the Africans resident within their areas of jurisdiction. Thus

- (i) There must be provision for those who want to own their own houses and the plots on which such homes are situated. The fact that such persons will, to start with, be few in number should not be made the pretext for denying the African this right. The houses they build must conform to plans approved by the local authority.
- (ii) There must be provision for those who want to build their own houses on plots they have leased from the local authority. Here also the houses built must conform to plans approved by the local authority.
- (iii) There must be provision for those who are not in a position to build their own houses but who require housing accommodation. Their needs may be met by housing schemes. In this connection it is suggested that there is no reason why the local authority should have a monopoly of the right to build houses for Africans to hire. Private enterprise among Africans and others should also be encouraged to serve the African community.



community in this way. There ought to be no bar to the Africans who have the necessary means investing their money in putting up houses for hire by other Africans. Employers of labour and others should also have the right to do this.

#### PROVISION OF ACCOMMODATION

3. (a) As already indicated, it is suggested that accommodation for Natives in urban areas should be provided
- (a) by local authorities for those Natives who are unable to provide accommodation for themselves either because their economic circumstances do not permit of their doing so or because they are in the urban area only temporarily and do not wish to put up homes for themselves
  - (b) by Natives themselves either on plots owned by themselves or on plots leased from the local authority. In each case the buildings erected must conform to plans approved by the local authority, and the urban local authority should assist such Natives by advancing them money or supplying them with building materials on credit as is provided for in section 16 (i)(c) of the Act (25 of 1945).
  - (c) by employers for their employees. While large employers of labour should continue to be required to do this as laid down in section 2 (i)(e) of the Act, small employers of labour should not be discouraged from providing suitable quarters for their employees.
  - (d) by private enterprise. Neither Africans nor anybody else should be debarred from putting up houses in approved areas to be let to Africans.
- (b) Natives should be employed on the construction of houses for Natives. In no other way can we ever overtake the shortage of housing created by the inevitable migration of ever increasing numbers of Africans from the rural to the urban areas. There are two ways in which this can be done, namely,
- (1) by leasing or selling to Natives plots on which they may erect their own houses in accordance with plans approved by the urban local authority;
  - (2) by employing Native builders in connection with sub-economic housing schemes.

The chief practical difficulty that would be encountered in such a scheme is the shortage of trained African builders, but this difficulty is not insurmountable. By embarking upon a training scheme for Africans as has recently been decided by the Government and improving and expanding training facilities in existing African industrial schools, in a few years time it might be possible to turn out a sufficient number of trained African builders to cope with the situation. The maintenance of the colour bar in the building industry and indeed in all industries could only be justified if European workers alone could adequately supply the varying needs of all sections of the population. This they cannot do. The welfare of the community as a whole should be given precedence over the monopolistic rights of any group of workers.

#### COST OF PROVIDING ACCOMMODATION

Normally the aim of the State should be to see that all persons are put in a position to provide accommodation for themselves. Certainly the laws of the State should not be framed in such a way that large sections are precluded from ever being able, even if they have the means, to provide homes for themselves. It is admitted that in any case a large number of people will always be unable to bear the cost of providing accommodation for themselves and their families. In that case it seems necessary that those who benefit from the contribution they are able to make to the welfare of the community - namely the State, the Employer and the Municipal ratepayer - should in varying degrees bear the cost of providing accommodation for such persons. The State should provide funds which might be borrowed by local authorities at a low rate of interest for the purpose of putting up housing schemes, such schemes to include both economic housing schemes for those Natives who are able to afford them and sub-economic housing schemes for those not able to afford them.

#### 4. OWNERSHIP OF HOMES.

Natives should be allowed to acquire the ownership of their homes in or near urban areas. The local authority should have the power to lay down minimum standards as far as the houses to be built are concerned, to ensure that public health standards are observed both as regards the type of house erected and the way in which it is kept after erection. The employment of



The employment of African sanitary inspectors and home demonstrators to teach people better methods of keeping their homes, would be of great benefit to such people. Such officers ought to be employed also in connection with municipal sub-economic housing schemes to prevent such schemes from developing into slums.

#### 5. SQUATTING ON LAND NEAR URBAN AREAS.

The principal causes of Natives squatting on land in the vicinity of urban or industrial areas are:-

- (i) the shortage of houses in the urban location
- (ii) the desire to be free from the restrictive control imposed on dwellers in urban location by the local authorities.
- (iii) the large number of people who, having left European farms, have no right to enter the urban locations and no right to enter the overcrowded Reserves
- (iv) the shortage of land in the reserves
- (v) the desire to be near their places of employment without being subject to the irksome restrictions of the urban locations.

The principal methods suggested for dealing with this problem are:-

- (i) the increase of the number of houses in urban location
- (ii) the adoption of a policy which will make locations more attractive to live in as against the negative policy of irksome restrictions and concentration camp conditions followed today.
- (iii) improving conditions of residence of Natives on European farms with better housing, better wages, educational facilities for children, health services, etc.
- (iv) adding to the land available for Natives in the Reserves and making it possible for more people to make agriculture a full time job.
- (v) Improvement of social amenities in the Reserves - educational facilities, health services, better transport, better recreational facilities for youth.

#### 6. APPOINTMENT & EMPLOYMENT OF OFFICIALS.

- (a) Having regard to the ever increasing numbers of Africans who are taking up residence, the importance of the position of superintendent of locations cannot be overestimated. It seems necessary to emphasise, however, that the problems with which the Superintendent and his staff have to deal are more of a sociological rather than of a purely administrative and legal nature. For that reason an understanding of the nature of society and of social processes, especially in a changing society, is of greater importance than mere acquaintance with the Bantu language or languages spoken in the area or so called "ability to handle Natives". It is recommended in arriving at a decision on the suitability or otherwise of a candidate for service as Superintendent in the Native Affairs Department of the urban local authority that greater stress should in future be laid on training in social science and a broad general education than on police experience or experience with the more backward types of Africans. Urban Africans represent the more articulate, if not the more progressive sections of the African population, and no person who cannot deal with the most advanced as well as the relatively more backward sections of Africans will make a success of this difficult type. What has been said about the Superintendent applies mutatis mutandis to less senior officials both European and African.
- (b) More opportunities for the employment of Africans in urban Native administration ought to be provided. In view of the importance of this work for peace, order and good government, an effort should be made to attract the best type of educated Africans to enter the service of urban local authorities. This can be done by improving the remuneration, the conditions of service and the status of African employees in municipal service. In addition to making use of Africans as junior clerks and constables, there ought to be scope in municipal service for nurses, social workers, organisers of recreation, sanitary inspectors, rent collectors, home demonstrators to train people in how to keep their homes tidy, to teach people the judicious use of money.

#### 7. RENT COLLECTION.

The important thing in rent collection is to bear in mind that the payment of rent imposes a heavy burden upon the African urban dweller. Every method must be used to make the payment of rent as easy and as convenient as possible. If, for example, the rent is payable on a monthly basis whereas wage-earners are paid on a weekly basis, it means that during the week that the rent falls due, all the weekly earnings will be spent on rent, resulting in much hardship on the family during the following week.



Similarly most employees leave for work before the location offices are opened and return home after they are closed. The appointment of rent collectors who could collect this rent in small amounts at times which are convenient to the tenant, as is done by insurance agents, would result in fewer defaulters and less necessity to take the extreme step of ejecting people from their homes.

#### 8. AFRICAN CO-OPERATION IN MAINTENANCE OF LAW & ORDER.

In this matter of the co-operation of Africans in the maintenance of law, order and good government, Africans distinguish between different kinds of law. While it would be possible to secure the co-operation of Africans in the maintenance of those laws which they regard as beneficial to the community as a whole, it would be practically impossible to get their co-operation in dealing with the laws which they regard as of a discriminatory nature. Non-cooperation with the authorities in regard to such laws is rightly or wrongly regarded as part of the general struggle of the African against discriminatory and unnecessarily restrictive legislation. The tragedy is that this attitude is very easily extended to normal laws, thus inducing a general disrespect of law and order in the average urban dweller. It is suggested that a reduction in the number of irksome and negative restrictions of life in the location would lead to the development of a better civic sense in the community and make possible better and more genuine co-operation on the part of Africans with the authorities in the maintenance of law and order. No people can cooperate in the maintenance of laws of which they generally disapprove.

Another factor that needs to be taken into account is the fact that Africans have no share in the making of the regulations which they are expected to obey. No regulations ought to be applied in the location until the people have had an opportunity of discussing them fully and freely. The system which seems to be adopted in most places under which people are merely informed that such and such regulations are to be introduced into the location without prior consultation with the residents of the location, is not conducive to co-operation.

#### 9. MACHINERY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF OPINION.

The present machinery for the expression of African opinion in the urban areas is the system of Advisory Boards. This machinery is not adequate. Both the members of Advisory Boards and the people they are supposed to represent, regard this machinery as totally inadequate because the Boards have no real power. It is true that under the Act as amended, the functions and powers of the advisory boards have been widened in scope but the power of the board remains that of consideration and report. The Boards have no executive functions at all, and it seems an anomaly that in the urban areas where there is presumably a larger number of educated Africans with a better knowledge of men and affairs than in the rural areas, the advisory boards in urban areas have less powers than the Native Local Councils in the rural areas.

10. Yes, Local authorities are forms of local government; they are responsible for the welfare of all the inhabitants in the area; all inhabitants make a contribution to the welfare of the area. They should therefore be represented in the body which takes final decisions in matters concerning their welfare by someone directly responsible to them. Local government affects people even more intimately than Central government, and therefore representation in local government is even more vital to the man-in-the-street than representation in Central Government.

11. Administration and control of urban locations, villages and hostels, is rendered unsatisfactory by the fact that the African is regarded there as merely a temporary dweller, as a necessary evil but still an evil. Hence, tendency to want locations, etc. to be too far away from rest of town. Conception of this as necessary part of the town to be treated in some way as rest of town, though apart, with all necessary amenities. To secure this stricter supervision of discharge of their function by local authorities should be exercised by Native Affairs Department, especially in regard to smaller local authorities. There is not enough flexibility in law relating to urban areas. Things are done in smaller local authorities which are not really necessary in such areas simply because they are laid down in the Act.

12. Not being in favour of the system of registration of contracts of service and the attempt to control the influx of Natives into towns by means of documents which may be demanded at all times, I do not think the



system can be simplified. I am of opinion that it should be abolished.

13. (a) No. Large towns like Port Elizabeth do without it. The system does not prevent Natives from entering the areas concerned. Its application to women is even more obnoxious.

(b) No distinction can be drawn between the two as long as criminal sanctions apply to both. If registration must be maintained, only civil sanctions should apply. Certificates should only have evidential value in case of dispute between employer and employee like an ordinary receipt.

(c) I do not consider it essential to control the movements of Natives in urban areas. Such control can only be justified on the ground of the prevention of crime, and it does not achieve that object. It just degenerates into a vexation of the Native.

14. (a) Yes.

(i) From the Native Reserves

(ii) Poverty of the Reserves; shortage of land; dullness of life in rural areas; lack of social amenities. The best method of dealing with the problem is (i) increasing land in rural areas, (ii) providing opportunities for employment in rural areas - road-making, dams, bridges, water supplies, sanitation, etc., (iii) providing social amenities and social services in rural areas, e.g. education, health.

(b) The best way to regulate such influx is to provide such counter-attractions as are suggested above. Such positive measures will, in the long run, be more effective than the present negative methods.

15. By redundant is presumably meant persons not necessary to the labour requirements of the town. The only satisfactory way of dealing with such Natives is to provide them with employment opportunities in the area concerned or elsewhere, but if they can live without being employed, i.e. if they can support themselves and are not criminal, I do not see why mere redundancy should be regarded as a criminal offence.

17. (a) I am in favour of the distribution of labour through a system of labour exchanges at which persons seeking employment may register and through which persons seeking employment might obtain information as to the areas in which their services are required. Such exchanges should be established in the rural areas as well as in the urban areas and possibly in centres where recruiting agencies have been established.

(b) the use of such bureaux should be voluntary. If they are properly conducted, with the right sort of persons employed, labourers and employers would soon come to recognize their value and make use of them.

18. Yes. The effect of this would be to make employers of labour improve conditions of service for their employees in order to attract labourers. Reduction of people dependent on Reserves would lead to better development of agriculture.

19. (i) In urban locations and villages -

(a) domestic brewing with wet and dry areas

(b) Licensed beer halls run by private individuals

(ii) elsewhere in urban areas

(i) licensed houses

Municipality might run a brewery to supply licensed dealers.

20. Total prohibition has proved a failure. There ought to be no racial discrimination in liquor restrictions.

21. (a) Am not in favour of the continuation of the Pass System in general.

(b) No.

(c) No exceptions - all should be abolished.

22. Yes. (i) Passes do not protect (ii) Passes do not prevent crime (iii) Passes cause friction between Africans and Police (iv) Passes cause criminality (v) Passes place stigma on legitimate activities of people (vi) Passes cause ill-feeling between black and white.

23. No. See no objection in citizen being identified.



1. Migrant labour involves the separation of families. Commonly it means that a man is away from his wife and children, or that an unmarried youth is away from his elder relatives. With increasing frequency also unmarried girls are going to town to work, away from their families.

2. The periods of separation are long, and the length of them is increasing. The Landsdown Commission (par.102-3) gives an average of 13.6 months in town and the 7.6 in the country, for recruited men from the Rand mines in 1943; and it shows that the period in town has increased since 1931 when it was 10.88 months working and 8.1 at home.

Of all the migrants the recruited labourers probably return home most frequently. They can always be sure of getting a similar job again when they wish it, whereas those in better-paid or more popular work are reluctant to leave it and return home, lest they do not find a similar job on their return.

Migrants therefore may be assumed to spend on the average at least two-thirds of their time in town, away from their families.

3. Figures on the extent of migrant labour are curiously lacking in the Union (the published information is much fuller for the Territories further north) but it appears that in 1929 over 50% of the able-bodied men were away from the Transkei, and from Middledrift over 70% were away. The figure may well be higher today.

4. The absence of such a large proportion of the men, for such long periods means that discipline, particularly the discipline of boys and youths, is lax. There are never more than half the fathers and elder brothers at home to deal with them, and in very few homes is the father always there. The mothers are incapable of controlling their sons. This connection between the absence of the men and the indiscipline of children is common talk among Africans.

The absence of fathers during war-time in England has been observed to have similar effects. Indeed there were complaints of the unruly behaviour of the sons of refugees in this country, and that unruliness was commonly attributed to the long separation from their fathers.

If the absence of a relatively small proportion of the able-bodied men, over a short period of years, has an observable effect on family discipline in a European community, it is not surprising that the constant absence of 70% of the able-bodied men should have a very marked effect on discipline in an African community. It is to be noted in this respect that mothers among the Africans of the Union had traditionally less authority over growing sons than a mother has among Europeans.

5. We are now suffering from the effect of this lack of discipline in the homes. Riots in schools are to be directly related to migrant labour.. Discipline in the homes has broken down as the result of the absence of the men, and it is hardly surprising that discipline in schools is difficult to enforce.

6. The effects of migrant labour are cumulative. For a time it was possible to live on our social capital - the habits of order developed in the traditional form of the society - but we are reaching the point when that tradition is being lost, and we are reaping the result of the separation of men from their homes.

7. Migration also affects the discipline of youth in towns. Town parents have repeatedly complained to me that it is very difficult to look after their adolescent sons and daughters in town when they are mixing with large numbers of migrants - youths and girls who have come to town to work, and who are free from the control of any senior relatives. The migrants, it is said, are very lax in their behaviour, and increase the difficulty of building up a stable family life in town.

8. Migration has obvious effects also on the relations of husband and wife. Wives left alone in the country for long periods are much more ready to accept the advances of men who may pay attention to them than they would be were their husbands with them, and men without their wives in town go to prostitutes or take temporary concubines. This again is not peculiar to Africans. The divorce rate rose noticeably among Europeans when husbands were absent on service for long periods.

9. Migration means either a disproportion of the sexes both in town and country, or women going to town away from their parents and/or children. If the women stay at home and the men go to town to work, then there is <sup>an</sup> ~~an~~ imbalance.



more men than women in town, and far more women than men in the country. This has been the practice and is still true of the Rand and Cape Town. On the Rand there are 4.32 males to one female, in Cape Town 2.36 males to one female, and correspondingly in the Transkei 0.74 males to one female. (1936 Census Report).

On the Rand and in Cape Town therefore every African woman has many potential partners. A married woman knows that if she leaves her husband she will have no difficulty in finding another partner. Many never marry at all, preferring temporary attachments which can be broken at will. The scarcity of women leads single men and married men whose wives are not with them to offer what are, for them, considerable sums to prostitutes and concubines, and the temptation to a woman to accept, when poverty is pressing, is very strong. Disproportion of the sexes adds greatly to the difficulty of building stable homes in towns.

The effects of such a disproportion of the sexes is again not peculiar to Africans. During the war the presence of large bodies of men (either bachelors, or men without their wives) has had an obvious influence on the divorce and pre-marital pregnancy rates in the areas in which they have been stationed.

Many Europeans, and some Africans, observing the immorality in town advise that the movement of women into towns should be limited, but the very policy which they pursue perpetuates the disproportion between the sexes which is a root cause of the conditions they deplore. It is useless to suggest that no African women go to towns - they are required in domestic service, and now also in industry - and any attempt to limit the number of women going maintains that disproportion which fosters unstable marriage. (This argument is demonstrated in detail in The Economics of Detribalization in Northern Rhodesia, by Godfrey Wilson. 1942. Rhodes-Livingstone Papers.)

Even if the women do go to town, and there is little disproportion of the sexes (as in East London, Port Elizabeth, etc.), migration is yet bad, for it often means that these women are separated from their families. Unmarried girls go to town to work in considerable numbers from this district. They are away from the supervision of their parents and the great majority of them bear illegitimate children. Parents are well aware of the danger of their daughters going to work in towns alone, but the pressure of poverty and the desire of the girls themselves who are, quite naturally, bored in a country side denuded of young men, compel them to agree.

Married women who go to town to join their migrant husbands are frequently compelled to leave at least some of their children behind, because of the lack of accommodation in town.

10. Migration has a direct effect on health. As we have shown it greatly encourages extra-marital relations, and consequently the spread of venereal disease.

It also has a less obvious effect on the food supply of the country. The migrants are the able-bodied - primarily able-bodied men, and to a less extent able-bodied women. On the Rand a great proportion of the males are between 20 and 45 years. Correspondingly in the country there is a disproportionate number of old people and children. The few men left in the country are not a permanent group but one whose membership is constantly changing, as some go back to town, and others return home. This shifting group of men, together with the women (who have a considerable amount of other work to do in fetching wood and water, cooking, cleaning, and caring for children) are quite unable to produce enough food to feed themselves and all the non-workers - the old, the unfit, and the children - who are congregated in the country. It has in fact been shown that, despite the shortage of land in the country (27% of the families in the Cis-Kei being without any land) there is yet not sufficient labour to cultivate such land as there is. (Landsdown Commission Report).

Of the earnings of the emigrants it seems that in ordinary years a relatively small proportion is spent on food - certainly not sufficient to compensate for the labour of the men. For traditionally the men did share in the production of food. Among many tribes of the Union (such as the Sotho of Basutoland, the Lovedu of the Transvaal, and the Pondo of the Transkei) the men shared in agricultural work. Among people such as the Xhosa where the men did no agricultural work, grain was much less important in the diet than it is today, and the men co-operated in food production by hunting and caring for stock. The withdrawal of the labour of so large a proportion of the able-bodied men from food production, as well as the greatly increased density of population, means that the food supply of the country, and consequently the health of the people, is steadily deteriorating.



There has been no revolution in agricultural technique such as to make it possible for the few able-bodied to support the many unfit, on very limited land. Many wives left behind with their children have a desperate struggle to get enough food to keep body and soul together, let alone feed themselves adequately.

11. Migrant labour is one of the main obstacles to a revolution in agricultural technique because it prevents the development of skill in agriculture - no man can become a good farmer when he spends only a third of his time on his land. A second major obstacle to the agricultural development is the small size of holdings in the reserves, and one of the obvious means of enlarging holdings in the country is to encourage the families of migrants to move to town. Only when many families move out of the reserves will it be possible for Africans to become full-time efficient farmers. The van Eck Report made this very clear.

Experience in Tanganyika shows that it is perfectly possible to develop a stabilised and progressive African peasantry, remaining permanently on their land, provided holdings are not too small, and provided a proportion of their produce can be sold. (I have studied such a community closely).

12. Stabilization is, of course, also a condition of developing skill in industry. Commonly the men from this district engage in different work each time they return to Cape Town or Port Elizabeth, and therefore they never develop skill in any one occupation. A typical example is that of one who has been successively a labourer in cement works, a store boy, a dairy worker, a gardener, and a hospital orderly, in or near Cape Town. Now he is living at home working his land, and earning a little by cobbling and tin-smithing. He worked for me for 3 years as gardener and handy man, and I know that potentially he was skilled. He clearly had the capacity to master one trade.

13. The Chamber of Mines has maintained that the mines, and therefore the country, cannot afford stabilization. It is also commonly argued that it is dangerous to have large numbers of Africans resident in European towns.

I maintain that exactly the opposite is true. The country cannot afford migration both because it is extremely inefficient and extremely dangerous. Migration is inefficient because it precludes that development of skill - that increase in output per man-hour - on which any substantial increase in our national income must depend. And migration is dangerous because it undermines family life on which discipline and order in society ultimately depend. There is no society in which the family is not primarily responsible for the training and discipline of each succeeding generation. Without family training juvenile delinquency and adult crime will increase to the point of anarchy. Already the results of the break-up of African families through migration are apparent. I do not suggest that the break down of the family is the sole cause of crime - far from it - but I do suggest that it is one important cause.

14. Now the traditional African societies were orderly. The young men and women who grew up in them were well disciplined. And some Europeans argue, let us perpetuate that order and discipline by preventing "detrabalization", by leaving Africans to "develop on their own lines in the reserves", only bringing out the able-bodied men "temporarily" as labourers. Such a line of argument exhibits ignorance of social facts. To suggest that it is possible to revolutionize the economy of a people and to leave everything else unchanged is foolish - to ask for the maintenance of tribal controls and migrant labour is to ask to have your cake and eat it.

15. I do not consider that any system of special leave or travelling facilities would have an appreciable effect on family life, and the cost in time and transport would be a heavy drain on wages, either directly or indirectly.

16. I consider that it is both practicable and desirable for African families to live in labour centres. Were the residential and property rights of Africans in the urban areas once recognized, and townships laid out, then a certain proportion of the Africans would build for themselves, employing African labour. Such buildings would, of course, have to conform to the regulations of the municipal health authority. The municipality should provide sub-economic housing for the poorest section of the African population (as it does for Coloureds and Europeans) and large industries might well provide housing for a portion of their workers.

The process of stabilization should proceed along with the development



It has been no revolution in the sense of a sudden change of policy, but a gradual development of new industries. Gradually there would be a transfer of labour to such industries as were within reach of townships, and industries which employed only migrants would, by shortage of labour, be compelled to change their policy.