UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS.

REPORT

OF THE

INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE
ON THE SOCIAL, HEALTH AND
ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF URBAN
NATIVES

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REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON THE SOCIAL, HEALTH AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF URBAN NATIVES.

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REPORT OF THE INTER-DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE ON THE SOCIAL, HEALTH AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF URBAN NATIVES.

THE HONOURABLE THE MINISTER OF NATIVE AFFAIRS:

1. The Committee set up in pursuance of a letter dated 8th August, 1941, from the Right Honourable the Prime Minister has the honour of presenting the following report:

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

2. The personnel of the Committee is as follows:

Department or Body  Representatives
Native Affairs  Mr. Douglas L. Smit—Secretary for Native Affairs (Chairman).
              Mr. A. G. Gries—Ex Chief Native Commissioner.
Public Health  Dr. Peter Allan—Secretary for Public Health.
              Dr. G. W. Gale—Assistant Health Officer.
Social Welfare  Mr. G. A. C. Kusche—Secretary for Social Welfare.
              Dr. F. V. Brummer—Social Research Officer.
Labour  Mr. F. McGregor—Chairman of the Wage Board.
National Marketing Professor I. S. Fonnie—Economist
Council with Mr. P. G. Caudwell of the Department of Native Affairs as Secretary.

3. The Committee was instructed—

To explore possible ways, other than merely increasing wages, of improving the economic, social and health conditions of Natives in urban areas, to collate facts, and to make suggestions to the Government as to what is practicable in the above direction.

4. Owing to the need for submitting certain proposals in time for the Supplementary Estimates an Interim Report was submitted on the 9th March, 1942, and this Interim Report in its original form appears as Appendix II. For convenience of treatment, it has been disected and rearranged so that each part or so much of it as has not been superseded by subsequent developments is embodied in its appropriate order in the present Report.

5. Personal inspections have been made, and witnesses have been examined by the Committee at Pretoria, Johannesburg and Reef centres, Kimberley, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Bloemfontein, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. Thereafter, in response to representations, a delegation from the Committee visited a number of smaller towns. In all 262 European and 154 Native witnesses were examined.

CHAPTER II.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS.

6. At an early stage in the Committee's deliberations it became evident that certain fundamental factors of a social and economic nature permeated the whole enquiry and that attention to these factors was a necessary precedent to the investigation of practical remedies for the amelioration of the problems of the urban Native. Reference is made briefly to these considerations in the following paragraphs.

7. The Committee has been impressed above all by the poverty of the Native community. This poverty is a factor, the ill-effects of which permeate the Native's entire social life. In most of the smaller towns the poverty of the Natives was seen against a background of general poverty, where not only a large proportion of white citizens, but even the municipalities themselves seemed unable to shoulder any burdens additional to those they were already carrying.

8. Another factor to which the Committee wishes to draw attention is the maladjustment arising from broken family ties, particularly in respect of Natives in compounds, municipal hostels and lodgers in private families and domestic servants in urban centres. In both the European and Non-European society, the family is the fundamental unit upon which the community is built. A system which runs contrary to the maintenance of this unit of social life is in essence unsound and it is therefore not surprising that the Committee has received extensive evidence of the detrimental results of broken family life.

9. There is, however, a growing tendency for Natives to bring their families to town with them. Here, however, the poverty of the Native worker is such that it is economically necessary for the wife as well as the husband to work and the children thus suffer from lack of family discipline.

10. The territorial segregation of Natives in urban areas is another matter of far-reaching importance requiring special mention. Particularly when locations are considerable distances from places of employment and marketing and shopping centres, it is accompanied by heavy economic burdens which the urban Native is expected to bear out of his already insufficient earnings. Moreover, it tends to add to the capital cost of essential services.

11. Local authorities are required to maintain Native Revenue Accounts, out of which the expenditure on public services such as administration and the maintenance of locations, sanitation and water supply is met. The Committee draws attention to the fact that such Accounts, which are maintained out of direct and indirect taxation of the Native, whose income is below an economic living standard, cannot meet the entire cost of services which should be provided. Since the Native by his presence in the urban areas, contributes toward the welfare of the local community at large, contributions from the General Revenue Account into the Native Revenue Account are fully justified. Indeed many municipalities are rightly adopting this principle. At those centres, however, where Native Revenue Accounts are expected to be self-balancing, the essential public services required by the Native community must fall below an adequate standard. That such deficiencies should exist in any centre where the General Revenue Account is well able to contribute toward the essential needs of the Native community cannot too strongly be condemned.

12. The Committee was favourably impressed by the growing understanding of many sections of the European community with regard to the needs of the urban Native. This tendency was not only discernible amongst representatives of organisations specialising in Native
problems, but amongst other groups as well. Sympathetic awareness of the problems was strikingly evident amongst witnesses representing the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State, the Labour Party on the Rand, many Industrialists and members of the medical and other professions.

13. European ignorance and indifference can only retard obvious essential improvements in existing conditions. Officials of the Union Government and the various authorities who recognise the need for progressive measures cannot easily put even much needed measures into operation, if public support is lacking.

14. On the whole, the urban Native community accept their social and economic conditions without thought or criticism. There is, however, that growing class of thinking Native who looks to the European to establish satisfactory living conditions for his people. The Native requires to be convinced that his European Trustees are endeavouring to serve Native interests to the best of their ability. Policies which only accept progressive measures when such a course becomes inevitable, cannot engender gratitude and appreciation, but will in the long run give rise to dissatisfaction and resentment.

15. While a growing body of public opinion regards the Native's social needs with understanding and sympathy, the Committee considers that it is still not sufficiently recognised that Natives possess a dignity and self-respect which is necessary to the proper adjustment of the racial relationships between them and the European community. Any policy which tends to undermine this fundamental characteristic, will eventually react detrimentally upon the whole economic and social structure of the community. A progressive policy at this stage is not only justified from the point of view of the actual needs of the urban Native, but will unquestionably ease the problems of racial adjustment which the Union will have to face to an increasing degree in the future.

16. It is not the Committee's intention to deal fully with all the considerations outlined in the previous paragraphs. The Native Revenue Account is discussed in some detail in Chapter IV—Housing, Rent and Fees, and the question of the standard and cost of living of the urban Native will now receive treatment.

17. Cost of Living.—In the Interim Report mention was made of £7. 10s. 0d per month as the amount required under existing conditions in Johannesburg to house, feed and clothe a Native family of five in decency. The items supporting that estimate are as follows:—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>£</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Food, 41/2 weeks @ 22s. p.w.</td>
<td>4 15 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent (including water, sanitation, streets and services)</td>
<td>1 5 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuel and light</td>
<td>0 14 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>0 6 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>0 6 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes, Church fees, School books, Burial Society, Recreation and Hire purchases</td>
<td>0 7 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The estimate for food is taken from a carefully prepared "suggested diet" drawn up by Miss Betty Smith, Housecraft Organiser in the Social Research Branch of the Johannesburg Municipal Non-European and Native Affairs Department, included in the Department's valuable study of the income and expenditure of 987 Native families published in December, 1941. At first glance the cost of this diet may appear high; but under scrutiny it justifies its modest claim to be a low cost diet which goes some way towards meeting essential requirements with due regard to Native custom and taste. Trial budgets hitherto have been based too much on the foodstuffs which town-dwelling Natives, pressed by poverty, influenced by custom, and not guided by knowledge, do ordinarily purchase for daily use, instead of what is needed if the diet is to be adequate as a basis in order to sustain energy and resistance to disease.

18. Dr. F. W. Fox analyses the diet actually purchased against "marginal" and "optimal" requirements. The results show enormous deficiencies when compared with optimal requirements and in a majority of cases a serious shortfall even in comparison with the marginal or minimum requirements. The general deficiency is in fact so great that Dr. Fox is forced to conclude that the food purchased must be supplemented from other sources which resolve themselves in the main into,corns from the rich man's table. His final paragraph is quoted in full:—

"The bald fact remains that the diet as purchased is grossly deficient in many of the requirements of an adult male, still more does it fail to meet the needs of the children and the pregnant or lactating woman. In other words, the health of the group is very largely dependent on a most undesirable state of supply. Surely a disgraceful state of affairs!"

19. With these conclusions the Committee fully agrees.

20. The figure for rent is the median of fifteen reasonably suitable types of municipal houses at rentals ranging from £17s. 6d. to £32s. 6d. per month. The remaining items follow the Johannesburg survey mentioned above.

21. Figures based upon actual family budgets at Springs vary between £7. 5s. 0d. and £17. 18s. 9d.

22. Recent investigations by the Wage Board into the earnings of unskilled workers in thirty-five industries, including Municipal employees, show that in Johannesburg 27,991 adult male labourers receive an average wage of £1. 1s. 9d. per week, which with the Government cost of living allowance of 8s. 8d. per month brings the figure to £1. 3s. 9d. per week or 53. 2s. 11d. per month. The cost of housing, feeding and clothing an average family was estimated some two years ago at £6. 10s. 0d. per month, which with the cost of living allowance would be raised to at least £6. 18s. 8d. This computation makes no allowance for the necessary change-over from the existing diet to a minimum scientific diet.

23. Professor Batson in his study of the poverty datum line mainly for Coloured people in and around Cape Town, found this figure for a family of five between £7. 0s. 9d. and £9. 4s. 3d. according to the ages of the children. Commenting on the conventional standard datum line, to the essentials of which he has adhered, he remarks:—

"Such a standard is perhaps more remarkable for what it omits than for what it includes. It does not allow a penny for amusements, for sport, for medicine, for education, for saving, for hire purchase, for holidays, for odd bus rides, for newspapers, stationery, tobacco, sweets, hobbies, gifts, pocket money, or comforts or luxuries of any kind. It does not allow a penny for replacements of blankets, furniture, or crockery. It is not a human standard of living. It thus admirably fulfils its purpose of stating the barest minimum upon which subsistence and health can theoretically be achieved under Western conditions. It does not in any sense describe even a minimum ideal."
and this will vary with the degree of mechanisation and rationalisation found in the industry in which they are engaged, if the remuneration of skilled labour should chance to rise above its true economic value, there remains not more but less margin for raising the unskilled level. The money must come from somewhere; and unless profits are already considerable, there are only three ways in which it can be found: either (1) there must be increased productiveness, including better organisation and the elimination of waste, or (2) there must be a scaling down of skilled wages, or (3) the ratio of unskilled to skilled workers must be increased. As our industries are already subsidised to enable them to compete with world prices, it is clear that the price of products cannot be raised.

27. Method No. (1) does not appear to be beyond the limits of practicability. No. (2) would present the utmost difficulty in view of the strong and natural opposition always experienced when any suggestion for lowering emoluments is mooted. In addition the Committee is advised that although the reduction of skilled wages in the few industries in which the proportion of skilled workers is high, would no doubt effect an appreciable saving; yet in most of the repetitive industries, they cannot be manipulated very low, and any conceivable reduction in skilled rates would release so little that its effect when applied to increasing unskilled wages would be infinitesimal. In regard to method No. (3) we are advised from the same authoritative source that there is no fixed ratio regulating the number of unskilled to the various grades of semi-skilled and skilled classes. As indicated above, in the repetitive industries, for example, pucking, wrapping and bottling trades, sheetmetal-trade, soap, tobacco, sugar, sweets, rope, ploughs, to name only a few, the proportion of skilled employees is very low—often a very few per cent. or even less. The great bulk of the employees is found in the semi-skilled, operative and labourer classes. There is no doubt an optimum ratio which unskilled labour should bear to other classes; and this will vary with the degree of mechanisation and rationalisation found in the industry. We are now reaching the stage when minimum wages have been laid down for almost all unskilled labour in the larger industrial areas, and the initial effect of raising the wages of this class has been to bring about a reduction in the number employed, through better organisation and the installation of machinery wherever possible.

28. Witnesses who represented Industry before the committee unanimously supported the Natives' claim for increased wages, from which we assume that Captains of industry, with the knowledge at their disposal, are prepared to face a new situation. Another most hopeful feature is a stirring of the public conscience manifested by the example of such municipalities as Port Elizabeth, Durban and Queenstown, which of their own motion, and without previous difficulty in obtaining labour, have embarked upon a considered policy of imposing wages.

29. While the Committee has been at work, the Wage Board has made extensive investigations in connection with the determination of Native wage rates and cost of living allowances.

30. Comparatively recent Wage Board recommendations which have become law, have fixed the basic minimum wage in Durban at R2.00 per week (£4. 6s. 8d. per month), Port Elizabeth at £5. 17s. 6d. per month, Cape Town in a smaller number of industries at 30s. (£6. 10s. Od. per month) and the figure recommended but not yet made law at East London is £2. 6s. Od. per month. This wage together with the cost of living allowances, have levelled wages, and in many cases, even raised wages, to £3. 15s. Od. to £6. 6s. Od. per week.

31. The Durban Corporation voluntarily adopted a scale of wage raising on 1st April, 1942, to £5. 1s. 4d. plus cost of living allowance 8s. 8d. = £6. 10s. Od. per month, and from 1st August, 1942, to £5. 11s. 4d. plus 8s. 8d. = £6. 10s. Od. per month.

32. These measures are bound to influence the general wage level; and will do much to relieve the immediate economic situation.
the interests of Native employees are under consideration. The terms of representation should in this connection include provision for the calling of a meeting between representatives of such Native unions, a representative of the Native Affairs Department and an Inspector of the Department of Labour for the purposes of a joint discussion and in order that the Inspector may be in a position to lay the views of the Union before the relative Council. In order that such discussion may be as effective as possible and that the Department of Native Affairs should be kept in continuous touch with Native unions, it is suggested that a suitable officer be appointed to the staff of such Department on the scale 600£ to 700£ who would be able to assist and advise Native workers and their unions both at such discussions and on other occasions.

30. The Committee believes that the growth of trade unions amongst Native workers in South Africa is as inevitable as it has proved to be in other countries and that it would be unjust to refuse recognition to workers of one race when those of all other races have been statutorily recognised. Apart from the advantages of recognition outlined above such unions are able to enforce the enforcement of wage regulating instruments affecting their members.

31. Natives for the gold mines are recruited almost exclusively from reserves and tribal areas; and there is a considerable percentage of foreign Natives from tropical Africa and Mozambique. This labour force, over three hundred thousand strong, constitutes a body of untutored humanity which if well organised and rightly directed would be difficult to control; and a cleavage on colour lines might easily prove more explosive than past cleavages along lines of class or supposed conflicts of interest. All these men are serving under contract, for fixed periods, and have come forward under known and accepted conditions of service. They are well housed, well fed, and physically well cared for. 32. Labour Exchanges.—Numerous labour exchanges have been established in this country, who is employed in a town and have become well established, or they have gradually fallen into disuse without having achieved any very valuable results. 33. There have in the past been several attempts to establish labour exchanges; but they have either had a restricted field of usefulness, for example, within a particular town or district where they have become well established, or they have gradually fallen into disuse without having achieved any very valuable results.

44. It is said that Natives prefer to negotiate their own terms of service, and do not fully realise the money value of time lost while searching for work. It is also true that popular employers have little difficulty in obtaining labour; but there is therefore some slight foundation for the Natives' belief that it is usually the less satisfactory employers who make use of a labour exchange. This in turn reacts on the quality of labour which may eventually offer itself, a representative of the Native Affairs Department and an Inspector of the Department of Labour, the office at which the registration of service contracts is carried out, whether Government or Municipal, appears to be the most convenient as the local office of the labour exchange. All Municipalities consulted were agreeable to undertake their share in carrying out such schemes.

47. Labour from the Country.—In its discussions the Committee has regarded as a “Town-dwelling Native” any Native who supports his family in a town, whether permanently or not. This raises the vexed question whether a wage based upon the needs of the town-dwelling Native would be appropriate in the case of the worker from the country, who is employed in a town and supports a family in a rural area, perhaps under less expensive conditions. Apart altogether from the question whether the expenses of the country dweller are less than those of the town, dweller, and many authorities question the assertion, the claim that the remuneration of the country dweller should be lower can only be sustained if it is considered equitable that industry should accept what would amount to a subsidy from the employee fortunate enough to possess private resources, a frankly untenable position. There is the further difficulty that were differential wages fixed for townsmen and countrymen, married and single, employed by divers industries, it would naturally favour the “unspoiled” newcomer from the country.

48. The belief that the situation can be met by developing the Native Reserves is illusory. There will always be the urge to obtain some cash to satisfy new needs and tastes—appetites beyond the old subsistence economy, that are already almost universal among Natives; and for this reason and for no other, labourers will continue to come in from the country. The policy of developing the Reserves is certainly correct, for the sake of a more contented and better nourished population, but its does not solve the difficulties of the town.

49. Family Allowances.—In addition to the inequalities referred to above, in these are further difficulties due to the fact that whilst the minimum wage may be regulated by a family of say three children, the married couple with fewer than three is better off than is the couple with more, similarly the unmarried man or the married man with no children will be more favourably situated than the man with children, and it has been suggested that inequalities due to such causes might be met by supplementing wage regulation with a system of family allowances applicable, in the first instance, to all employees who maintain a wife and family in a town.

50. It may be suggested that such schemes could be operated by employers in a given industry acting in concert who would pay to the worker a wage presumed to be in accordance with the economic value of the individual and his relatives, and add to this sum a further amount payable by the individual himself, so as to make up into a pool administered by their own organisation or by the State, from which the wages of workers may be supplemented in accordance with family needs.

51. Such a voluntary system would, it is thought, find little support amongst industrialists in this country and in the opinion of the Committee would become successful only if applied to all workers in industry either by the use of non-contributory State funds or by means of funds wholly or in part raised by levy on employers varying with the number of employees. 52. The Committee has no first-hand acquaintance with the operation of such a scheme. It is clear that a suitable system of family records linked up with the service contract would need to be developed, and that the machinery could not be maintained without cost. On the other hand the proposal seems to offer an economically defensible solution of the difficulties which arise from the employment of the unskilled and lowest paid class of workers) side by side of employees with widely varying family needs.

53. Industrialists, while in no case condemning the principle of family allowances, have on the whole exhibited the customary caution in granting a suggested innovation. Unfortunately the difficulty which it seeks
to overcome is not immediately theirs; and they have shown no marked inclination to undertake pioneer experiments. The Committee has not been able to formulate a fully worked-out scheme, but commends the proposal to the attention of the Departments concerned (Native Affairs, Labour, Social Welfare), University groups, Joint Councils, and the body to be set up to consider a Social Security Code.

CHAPTER IV.

NUTRITION.

54. The Extent and Effects of Malnutrition.—There is overwhelming evidence of an appalling amount of malnutrition amongst urban Natives both old and young. A recent survey of Native school children in Durban showed that over 40 per cent. were suffering from clinical signs of malnutrition. In considering this result, it should be borne in mind that the nutrition level at which clinical symptoms appear is definitely lower than that at which optimal health is maintained.

Dr. Neil Macvicer, who has had over 40 years' professional experience among the Bantu, writes of a procession of Native school children which he saw in Johannesburg: "It seems to me I had never before seen such a collection of miserable looking objects. One could only suppose that they were the victims of mass undernourishment." At Grahamstown, a recent investigation by highly trained and experienced sociologists indicated that the expenditure of 23 average families upon food was only 63 per cent. of the cost of a minimum adequate dietary for those families. A survey made by Dr. Aming, M.O.H., Benoni, in 1938 disclosed that in the location there the average daily consumption of Rice per head was barely one-tenth of a pint. The standard laid down by nutrition experts is from one to two pints daily.

55. In connection with nutrition it appears necessary to controvert the idea which still prevails in some quarters, that the basic requirements of non-Europeans differ fundamentally from those of Europeans. While it is true that the rural Native is usually willing to accept what most Europeans would regard as a somewhat monotonous diet, the tastes of the permanently urbanised Natives are changing in this respect and there is an increasing demand for the varieties of foodstuffs which are more easily available in towns than in the country. The need of the growing Native child and of the adult for protective food-stuffs is the same as for the European. With regard to calorie requirements, the needs of Native manual workers, who in addition to their day's work often cycle several miles to and from their place of employment, are actually greater than those of Europeans in sedentary occupations. The outdoor nature of his work, generally inadequate clothing, further increase the Native's calorie requirements, particularly in winter.

56. The worst effects of malnutrition are to be seen in cases of frankly declared deficiency diseases such as scurvy, rickets, pellagra. Pellagrins may ultimately apart altogether from a much higher percentage in reports that 5 per cent. of all the deaths occurring in the Union (the King Edward VIII Hospital at Durban) were due to scurvy and other children's diseases, pneumonia, influenza and the common cold. Even if malnutrition amongst urban Natives both old and young is due to spleneness and desperation which may readily create mass disillusionment, the extent of its incidence present should be borne in mind.

57. In all cases of malnutrition there is lowered resistance to infections such as tuberculosis, leprosy, whooping cough and other children's diseases, pneumonia, influenza and the common cold. If malnourished individuals escape these specific diseases they will suffer from a constant impairment of their physiological processes which diminishes the physical strength and effectiveness of manual workers, the educability of children, the mental vigour of their parents, and the general contentment of the entire malnourished community. Indeed, undernourishment is undoubtedly a factor in the production of the spirit of hopelessness, tending to suicide and desperation, which may readily create mass disillusionment.

58. The Committee designedly lays emphasis upon all these end-results of malnutrition and undernutrition because it wishes to show that the problem of remedying malnutrition the cost of not doing so. There is first of all the expenditure on hospitalisation (at a minimum rate of 5s. per diem) of those who fall prey to severe deficiency diseases and to the intercurrent infections listed above. Again quoting from the report of the Superintendent of the Edward VIII Hospital for 1938-1939: "Nearly all Native patients, quite apart from the disease or injury for which they were admitted, were undernourished. One can safely say that about half of them were grossly undernourished . . . . Symptoms of pellagra and similar diseases were quite frequent and in children, conditions such as nutritional oedema were commonplace . . . . A fair description for most of our patients would be that they were the victims of malnutrition which would begin with the phrase: 'an undernourished Native infected with intestinal parasites' . . . ."

59. There is the economic loss to industry through physical debility and consequent inefficiency of manual workers and through absenteeism of workers sick at home for irregular periods; and the economic loss to Native breadwinners' families, in which connection it is to be noted that Natives do not always receive sick or unemployment benefits.

60. The total economic loss due to sickness caused or aggravated by malnutrition and undernutrition may well exceed the expenditure which was necessary to prevent it by subsidising the nutrition of the people concerned. Whether that be or not, the Committee would not rest its argument for such subsidisation solely upon economic considerations. It feels strongly that the facts revealed are a challenge to the social conscience as well as to the economic insight of the nation.

61. Measures for the Improvement of Nutrition.—The basic importance of adequate nutrition in relation to health and economic efficiency has only received full recognition within the past decade. It is not surprising, therefore, that measures designed to secure adequate nutrition for the under-privileged sections of the community are not as fully developed as measures designed to improve housing, sanitation and medical services among them. Whereas the Central Housing Board was established in 1920, the National Nutrition Council was only set up in 1940.

62. Viewed in the light of present-day knowledge, it appears anomalous that whereas millions are being spent from public funds upon the construction of houses for Natives, assistance from public funds towards the building up of the bodies of the people who inhabit those houses has been trifling by comparison. Nevertheless, there is a heavy burden upon medical services to cure ills many of which are due to or accentuated by malnutrition which could be prevented by an equivalent or even less expenditure simply upon food.

63. The Committee does not question the necessity for improved housing, sanitation and medical services for urban Natives, but it regards as no less urgent the need for improving their dietary; and it is for this reason that it has deliberately given to the consideration of nutrition problems this early place in its report.

64. Low purchasing power is obviously the primary cause of malnutrition. In the case of urban Natives this is accentuated by the purchase of so many commodities in very small units, for instance tea at 3d. per ounce.
packet, as against 3s. 4d. per pound packet. The high proportion of children in the Native population, to which may be added old people without pensions, increases the burden of the average Native breadwinner in comparison with his European counterpart. In this case, the high cost of fuel is an important factor, resulting as it does in under-cooking, indigestibility and incomplete assimilation of food. This applies particularly to maize and derived foods, which require prolonged cooking. Under-cooking does in under-cooking, indigestibility and incomplete assimilation of food. This applies particularly to maize and derived foods, which require prolonged cooking.

63. Moreover, as is now well-known, the Union produces insufficient food-stuffs, with the exception of maize, which provide an adequate minimum diet for all its inhabitants. This basic shortage is accentuated by faulty methods of distribution and by seasonal fluctuations in the production of perishable protective food-stuffs such as milk, vegetables and fruit. Scarcity results in high prices which place several nutritionally important classes of food beyond the reach of the great majority of urban Native families.

64. From these facts it is clear that there can be no complete solution of the problem of malnutrition among urban Natives, as among other malnourished sections of the community, until there is both a general rise in wage levels among such sections and a bigger production and better distribution of food-stuffs in general and protective foods in particular. Thus wage regulation and agricultural and marketing policy must be developed to have a more equitable effect on other factors of production. Indeed, the measures advocated in the remainder of this section of the Report are in one sense merely palliatives for a situation due to basic errors or insufficiencies of the whole economic system viewed in relation to fundamental human needs.

65. The Committee has considered how prices of food-stuffs may be reduced to the Native consumer through more effective methods of distribution and/or by eliminating the middle man's profit. Co-operative societies do not appear to be very effective at the present stage of the evolution of urban Native society and it is not considered they are likely to be instrumental in effecting any appreciable reduction in the cost of living. Interesting evidence was received in Johannesburg regarding co-operative buying at ordinary stores by eliminating the middle man's profit. Co-operative method is commended to the notice of location administrators and to the Natives themselves.

66. Some municipalities have embarked upon retail distribution, at cost, of milk purchased in bulk at wholesale contract prices. The actual distribution is effected by municipal employees whose wages are charged to the Native Revenue Account. Germiston offers a praiseworthy example of a successful scheme along these lines, the consumption of milk in the location having been multiplied fivefold within a year through such a scheme — although even in the end it stood at an average of only one-fifth of a pint daily per head of population. The limiting factor of milk distribution schemes is the availability of milk at low contract prices rather than the response of the urban Natives they benefit.

67. The Committee approves and recommends the principality of municipal distribution at cost of such commodities as milk, vegetables, fruit and fuel. Opposition may be anticipated from Native retailers where the such exist, but the vested interests of a very small minority should not be allowed to stand in the way of benefits to the whole community; and the position can be met by the slow development of municipal distributing organisation, which, in many cases, will probably offer a surer means of livelihood than the vicesdistances of private trading.

68. With regard to vegetables and fruit, schemes have already been formulated by the South African Native Trust in some localities, but the absence of a central co-ordinating agency under the control of the Trust is forwarded to urban locations for sale under municipal control; and one such scheme is already in operation in Johannesburg. The Committee recommends the fullest development possible of schemes of this nature.

71. The production of vegetables and fruit in the locations themselves by the private efforts of their occupants is promoted in a very meagre fashion by a very meagrely applied to communal feeding schemes. It is not reasonable to expect every Native household to produce his own vegetables. He may arrive home after dark and after a hard day's toil. Rottenness may be accelerated by the offer of free seeds or even seedlings (from a municipal nursery — see paragraphs 73-75) and of prizes for well-kept domestic vegetable gardens. It is possible also for other members of the family to be occupied in gardening. In the lay-out of locations an endeavour should be made to secure at least some land suitable for gardening, under irrigation if possible, and this should be leased in plots at low rental to location residents. A successful example of such a scheme is to be seen in Pietermaritzburg.

72. The Committee recommends that local authorities should undertake measures with a view to increasing the local production in locations of vegetables and fruit.

73. In Johannesburg the Municipality itself has undertaken the maintenance of a location vegetable garden utilising the services of juveniles and distributing the vegetables partly to those who grow them and partly, at cost, to other location dwellers. The possibilities of such a scheme for the simultaneous solution of two grave urban problems—juvenile delinquency and malnutrition—are worthy of exploitation to the full.

74. The keeping of livestock—cattle, goats and poultry—by location residents is generally considered as obtaining milk and eggs, was favoured by some witnesses, particularly Natives. In smaller towns with large commons, the keeping of cattle and goats is practicable and is not incompatible with public health requirements, if the livestock are confined to that part of the common not within the location itself. In large towns, however, the keeping of cattle and goats is in any case undesirable on hygienic grounds. In such areas milk supplies must depend on the development of municipal milk schemes as already recommended. The keeping of poultry is very liable to produce unhygienic conditions unless strict supervision is exercised; but assuming that such supervision will be forthcoming, the Committee considers that the advantages to be derived therefrom outweigh any possible disadvantage to health due to unhygienic conditions. In any case, the Committee recommends that encouragement should be given to the keeping of poultry.

75. Generally speaking, the Natives are ignorant of food values and of efficient methods of utilising even the foods which are available to them. This ignorance shows itself, for instance, in the widespread preference for highly refined cereal products as against those made from the whole grain, for sugar and sweets as against vegetables and fruits, in the comparative neglect of pulses, peanuts and the soya bean, and in the incorrect methods often employed in the cooking of vegetables. Such ignorance can only be met by education and propaganda beginning in the schools and continuing through the employment of home visitors and pamphlets in various types. Valuable pioneer work in this direction is being undertaken by the Department in Johannesburg, and the Committee recommends that work along similar lines should be carried out by all municipalities.

76. The Committee has considered the possibilities of communal feeding schemes. This method of promoting sound nutrition has the advantage of being combined with a possible, if the management is enlightened, of ensuring the consumption of well-balanced meals. Communal feeding already exists in labour compounds and could—setting aside financial difficulties—be extended to other communal areas. It should not, however, be too readily assumed that because of its success in compounds communal feeding would be equally successful if applied to locations in
general. Compound Natives have little, if any, choice in the matter, and are in any case probably more amenable to regimentation than the more sophisticated, and sometimes more suspicious, populations of urban locations. European witnesses were more ardent advocates of communal feeding than were Native witnesses. Several of the latter said that communal feeding was not in accord with Native ideas, and added in effect: "Give us higher wages and lower prices for food. Then we can feed our families ourselves. A child should look to his parents for his food, not to some outside organisation. Communal feeding may further weaken the bonds of family life and discipline." 

77. With such a sentiments the Committee is in full accord. Nevertheless the consequences of malnutrition among urban Natives are so widespread and so serious that there appears to the Committee to be a strong case in favour of the provision of communal meals on a selective basis even if only as an interim measure, pending a really adequate rise in wage levels. Any expenditure in this direction would be more than counterbalanced by a saving in cost. There is considerable opposition. Moreover, the provision of communal meals, particularly at schools and in connection with maternity and child-welfare centres, would afford opportunities for educating the rising generation of urban Natives in food values, sound domestic budgeting and the proper techniques of the handling and cooking of food.

78. Private philanthropic enterprise, sometimes assisted by grants from local authorities (these grants often being derived from the Native Revenue Account—i.e. the Natives themselves), has already entered this field. The commonest form of this activity is the establishment of soup kitchens, the beneficiaries being sometimes school children only, but more often poor of all ages. Meals are also provided at crechea towards the cost of which the parents of the children themselves may or may not make a contribution. There is no counterpart in Native schools to the free meals provided by the education authorities for European children.

79. The Cape Town Municipality is about to undertake an interesting experiment in the conduct of an eating house in new premises near the single men's quarters in the Langs Location, where well-balanced meals will be served at cost. There is considerable opposition, from vested interests and even from others on the ground that this is an incursion into the natural sphere of Natives desiring to serve their own people, and further that the method of catering, which was the chief ground for transferring this service from private to municipal control, were largely due to the fact that the premises hitherto let for the purpose by the Municipality were badly designed and unsuitable. After repeated inspections and direct representations to the Native Affairs Department, to the Native Affairs Commission and finally to the Minister in person, it has been decided that the interests of better nutrition must prevail, and that the experiment is to proceed.

80. Whatever schemes of communal feeding are devised, it is unlikely that it will be medical services. In selecting beneficiaries it is important to remember that the needs of pre-school children, of pregnant and nursing women and of school children are more important.

in the order named—than those of adults, it should be borne in mind that not all Native children go to school and that often it is the very poorest and worst-nourished who do not.

81. The composition of communal meals is also a matter of considerable importance. The guiding principle here is that such meals should provide as high a proportion as possible of the protective elements which are absent from or very inadequately represented in average Native diets. From this point of view soup is very variable in quality and may often, through sheer lack of funds, be of comparatively low nutritive value. Usually more good is to be achieved through the distribution of meals of the Oslo Breakfast type. Advice on the composition of communal meals should be obtained from the National Nutrition Council through the Department of Public Health.

82. The cost of communal feeding has been variously estimated-at 5d. to 6d. a meal. The lower figure does not provide for milk. The provision of communal meals as has already been indicated is an activity which at present is largely confined to private philanthropic enterprises. In the opinion of the Committee this enterprise cannot be sustained or assisted from public authorities particularly if that assistance be used to guide such activities along the most profitable channels. In many cases, for example, at crèchea and possibly at schools, the beneficiaries may meet the necessary costs in part.

83. The Committee recommends that the Government refund 50 per cent. of the net cost of approved schemes for the provision of free or partly free meals, whether such schemes are carried out by Provincial or local authorities or by voluntary agencies. The requirement that a scheme be approved will enable the Government to give expert guidance both in the selection of beneficiaries and in the composition of the meals provided.

84. Natives have been excluded from the benefits of the State-aided Milk and Butter Schemes, largely owing to the fact that the surplus would, in any case, never have been sufficient to meet the Native needs as well as those of Europeans and Coloureds; but they have not been excluded from the benefits of the schemes for the assisted or free distribution of certain surpluses of fruit, notably oranges. The whole question of the emergence of so-called "surpluses" and of their disposal is very complex and beyond the competence of this Committee to discuss in all its bearings. The only recommendation which the Committee wishes to make is that in any distribution of such surpluses the needs of the urban Natives, among whom there is probably a higher incidence of malnutrition than among any other under-privileged group, should receive recognition on their intrinsic merits, regardless of any racial distinction.

85. Mention must also be made here of Poor Relief administered by the Department of Social Welfare to paupers. This service is on a national scale, but is restricted to persons practically without means of self-support. The scale rate for the feeding of paupers provides an adequately balanced diet. In actual administration, however, the assistance rendered often maintains a pauper at a level little above the breadline and cannot therefore be said to contribute to nutrition in the full sense of the word. Further reference is made to this subject in chapter VII.

CHAPTER V.

HEALTH AND MEDICAL CONDITIONS.

86. General Considerations.—The Committee has been greatly impressed by the evidence it has received of the high incidence of ill-health among urban Natives, and of the inadequacy of the provisions for dealing with declared disease and of the comparative neglect of measures to preserve health. It has seen for itself in locations and other places where urban Natives reside, conditions which can hardly fail to produce chronic ill-health among the inhabitants and which favour the rapid spread of infectious diseases. What is most disgusting of all is that in many instances the very lowest standards of public hygiene are tolerated in locations belonging to towns in the other parts of which much higher standards are enforced as a matter of course. The saying that "disease knows no colour bar" has been worn threadbare by South African publicists in health matters, but the practical results which should flow from the acceptance of this axiom are not yet in evidence in the great majority of South African towns.
86. Although it is impossible to produce accurate vital statistics in respect of Native urban populations, in the nature of things the incidence of disease is considerably greater than that of the white population, and the causes of death more or less are indicated by the Registrar-General's returns. The number of deaths from tuberculosis in these cities is almost certainly under-recorded, and the Registrar-General has stated that he is determined that there should be no under-statement of this disease.

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88. The social misery and economic wastage resulting from unhealthy living conditions and a high incidence of disease require no elaboration.

89. Many factors, most of them closely interrelated, are productive of urban Native ill-health, and it is of primary importance to deal effectively with these factors rather than to embark upon special measures directed against specific manifestations of ill-health itself. It is from this standpoint that the present section of the Report has been drawn up.

90. Insanitation. Insanitation is undoubtedly the principal factor making for ill-health in urban locations. The outstanding insanitary features of the majority of locations are bad housing, inadequate water supplies, insufficient or unhygienic latrine accommodation and unsatisfactory arrangements for the disposal of domestic wastes and for public cleansing generally.

91. There are still large numbers of urban Natives living in houses, built by themselves or by the local authorities, which are insanitary according to all the standards of public health. Owing to lack of proper foundations and damp-proof courses, they are liable to damp; their walls and floors are of such construction that they favour the breeding of vermin and the spread of diseases carried by dust, especially tuberculosis; they are ill-ventilated; and they are overcrowded.

92. Housing schemes for Natives have not kept pace with, much less overtaken, the growth of the permanently urbanised Native population. In the year 1925, the Housing Committee appointed by the Ministry of Public Works reported that 10,000 new houses were required in the urban areas of the Union for the adequate housing of Natives. In 1936, the Department of Public Health (Annual Report for 1935-36) estimated that 16,000 new houses for Natives were required in the eight largest towns of the Union alone. Despite considerable activity since the latter date, it is probable, taking into consideration the accelerating rate of flow of Natives into the towns, that houses provided by industrial expansion even before but particularly since the War, that the position is even more acute today.

93. The situation is thus presented in order that there may be a clear realisation of the tremendous task which still has to be made up with regard to the provision of really hygienic Native housing. The position today is that the majority of the urban Native population is living in houses which are "of such construction or in such a state or so situated or so dirty or oververminous as to be injurious or dangerous to health". The quotation is from the section on "one hundred and twenty-two (a)" of the Public Health Act of 1919 defining nuisances.

94. Economic aspects of housing schemes developed by local authorities under the provisions of the Housing Acts or in other ways are dealt with in Chapter VI. In this section dealing with health matters the Committee wishes to draw attention to the anomaly that many of the houses being built for Natives under the Housing Acts, themselves primarily designed to prevent or eradicate slums, were not yet completed when occupation was overdue and therefore slums as defined in the Second Schedule to the Slums Act, and escape condemnation as such only by reason of the specific withdrawal of Native locations from the purview of the latter Act. The Committee suggests that the provision of the Slums Act as itself an example of the tendency towards the adoption of dual standards of public hygiene, which is incompatible with a scientific approach towards this subject. It cannot be accepted that the physiological requirements of Natives with regard to fresh air, light and sanitation are less than those of any other group of human beings. However strong and durable the walls and floors of the new houses are, this cannot alter the fact that most if not all of the houses are overcrowded; and overcrowding rather than poor construction of a house is a prime factor in the spread of tuberculosis and other disease infections, as was proved by the classic investigations made in Scottish cities nearly a generation ago.

95. Under section one hundred and twenty-one of the Public Health Act, it is a "duty of all local authorities to prevent or remedy any danger to health arising from insanitary dwellings". The Committee recommends that this duty should be carried out adequately by all local authorities, and that those who fail should be subjected to those measures of coercion for which a far-seeing legislature has already made provision within the Public Health Act, the Housing Act and the Natives (Urban Areas) Act.

96. Water Supplies. Water supplies are usually very inadequate. Even in locations where there is a piped supply, it is exceptional for water to be laid on to the individual houses. Water often has to be carried considerable distances from standpipes, which obviously does not favour the maintenance of high standards of domestic and personal cleanliness. Moreover, because of the absence of a tap within the house or yard, water has to be carried in receptacles which are themselves often unclean, and stored in open vessels exposed to pollution.

97. It is only in the most recent housing schemes that any provision has been made for personal ablution facilities within the dwellings themselves, and then only in the form of showers. There are some locations in which there is not one shower and many more in which the provision is quite inadequate in relation to the total population, inconveniently situated and of such crude type of equipment that it does not invite regular use. It is unreasonable to expect any people to keep their dwellings and their persons clean unless they are provided with reasonable facilities for so doing.

98. The Committee recommends that measures be taken by local authorities to improve the water supplies within the locations under their control, and particularly to improve facilities for personal ablution and the washing of clothes.

99. Latrine accommodation in many locations falls far below the minimum standards laid down in the Second Schedule to the Slums Act and nowhere else may one latrine be provided for each five persons if the latrines are part of a water-borne sewage system, and one latrine to every eight persons if any other system is in use. Many houses in the locations are entirely without what in the remainder of the urban area is regarded as an essential adjunct to any dwelling, however humble, namely a latrine. The absence of household latrines necessitates at times the provision of those aesthetically repulsive and hygienically dangerous structures known as communal latrines. They are never (quoting from the Second Schedule to the Slums Act) "accessible to all the occupants (of the dwellings served by them) with reasonable convenience", for example, at night, in wet weather, or during illness; and it is doubtful whether the ratio of one latrine to every eight persons is ever maintained. Finally the construction of both household and communal latrines is often very defective, so that fly-borne diseases have every chance of spreading. The Committee was able during inspections to compare the advantages of household latrines over communal latrines in the same location and also to observe the invariable filthiness of communal latrines where these alone were available for use by location residents. On the other hand household latrines even when imperfectly constructed were almost always found to be clean. The Committee recommends the complete abandonment of the communal system of sanitation and its replacement by individual household latrines of hygienic construction.
100. The methods used for the disposal of domestic refuse and waste waters are rarely satisfactory. Rubbish is all too frequently allowed to accumulate in the open in yards or even on the streets, thus attracting and providing a breeding place for flies and rodents, both of which are carriers of disease. Lidded receptacles for the storage of rubbish are the exception rather than the rule. A refuse removal service is not always provided, and even when it is, removals rarely are made at sufficiently frequent intervals. Similarly for sewage and regular removal of slop waters is far less common than their crude disposal by throwing them on to the plots or running them into the streets. Neither houses nor streets are conveniently drained even in the very few instances. The dust which blows about the average location must then, from these various sources of pollution, harbour an exceptionally rich flora of septica and other pathogenic germs; and it is not surprising that sore eyes, skin diseases, tuberculosis and bowel infections are as common as they are.

101. The Committee recommends the provision by local authorities of much more effective public cleansing services in locations than are at present provided by most of them.

102. Native Poverty as a Factor in Insanitation and Ill-health.—It is obvious that poverty is as important a factor in the production of insanitation as is in the production of malnutrition. The individual native household is too poor to build a hygienic house and latrine, too poor to provide himself with proper storage receptacles for refuse and slops, too poor to meet, as far as he can, the economic charges for sanitary removal services. Collectively the Natives are too poor to provide these services even on a communal basis, which is another way of saying that their cost cannot be met from the Native Revenue Account alone. Hitherto the practical result of a strict adherence to the principle of fiscal segregation has been that adequate sanitary services for locations are not provided.

103. Full discussion of the demerits of the policy of absolute fiscal segregation is undertaken elsewhere in this Report. The point to be made here is that in the Public Health Act, the duty laid upon a local authority to "safeguard and promote the public health" within the district under its jurisdiction is of universal applicability within that district. There is no justification in the Act for the refusal of local authorities to spend more upon the sanitation of locations than can be raised in revenue from the locations themselves, nor is this principle applied by local authorities to other poor areas or communities under their control.

104. The conclusion seems inescapable that few if any local authorities have carried out their obligations under section ten of the Public Health Act, with regard to the Native areas in their districts, in a really satisfactory manner. Moreover, neither the Public Health Department, nor the Native Affairs Department [acting under the Natives (Urban Areas) Act] has been entirely successful in its efforts to bring about improvements by persuasion; nor have these Departments, except on the rarest occasions, deemed it expedient to advise their respective Ministers to exercise the powers of coercion conferred upon them by the Legislature.

105. The Committee recommends that, in the interests of public health of Native areas falling under the jurisdiction of urban local authorities, action should be taken whenever necessary under section ten (5) or section eleven of the Public Health Act, whichever is appropriate. With regard to section ten (3), which provides machinery for the assistance of financially weak local authorities in respect of the control of infectious diseases, it is recommended that authorities be generous in the extension of the scope of its application to include all public health activities.

106. In another direction poverty plays a part in the production of ill-health. It results in a lack of clothing and of bedding. It is by no means rare for the members of a family to be more numerous than the blankets it possesses. This encourages the unhealthy practice of sleeping partially or even fully dressed in daytime attire. Inadequacy of personal clothing and bedding leads to verminous conditions and to lowered resistance against disease especially respiratory disease.

107. Poverty also makes it impracticable for the average urban Native to buy cheap invalid appliances, utensils and foods which are necessary for home nursing, even if he can scrape up the few shillings necessary for a medical consultation in places where medical services are not free. Even beds are often lacking, laid-on water in the home is a rarity, and the nearest closet may be a hundred yards or more away. It is not surprising that even cases which are as mild, rapidly become worse and often die for want of these simple amenities. From this viewpoint, it is plain that the ratio of hospital beds to population required to be higher for the urban Native than for the European whereas in practice the ratio is always lower.

108. Ignorance.—Both poverty and insanitation are accentuated by ignorance—ignorance of wise domestic budgeting, of food values, of the best care and use of foods, of how to lessen the risks of insanitation, of the significance of early signs of ill-health, of the elements of home nursing, and so forth. Not only is the Native ignorant, but he is also superstitious and in consequence encourages the production of insanitation by the whole tribe of charlatans and quacks, including Europeans as well as Natives—he often spends his money in expensive but useless remedies. His utter ignorance of the mode of spread of infectious diseases—notably tuberculosis and venereal diseases—is far more disastrous to him now than it was when he lived in a crowded community than when he lived in the comparative isolation of kraals dotted over a wide countryside.

109. There is therefore a very wide field for the improvement of the health of urban Natives through health education. This has already been appreciated by all progressive municipalities, who are employing ever-increasing numbers of health visitors, sanitary inspectors, district nurses, district midwives and Native health assistants, all of whom carry out health propaganda as part of their duties. The Department of Public Health gives subsidies in respect of such workers (except Native health assistants) and the principal hindrance to increased employment of these types of personnel is lack of facilities for their training rather than lack of financial provision for their subsequent employment.

110. The Committee accordingly recommends that:

(1) Facilities for the training of Native nurses and midwives should be increased by every possible means.

(2) A special course of training for Native health visitors (female) specially adapted to the problems of urban Native life, should be instituted by the appropriate authorities, and generously subsidised by the Government.

(3) Improved facilities should be established for the training of Native males as sanitary inspectors; or, preferably, for their training as urban Health Assistants, on the basis of a syllabus specially adapted to location health problems and approved by the Royal Sanitary Institute and the Public Health Department so that it may provide a qualification which shall be recognisable for purposes of part-refund under section sixteen of the Public Health Act. The Committee considers that the need for such assistance is great that it justifies the immediate establishment of the necessary training facilities by municipal health departments competent to undertake such training and that encouragement thereto should be given by means of generous Government subsidy.

(4) All prospective social workers among Natives should be given thorough training in the fundamentals of hygiene.

(5) Special attention should be given by competent authorities to the teaching of hygiene in Native teachers' training colleges and in Native schools.
111. Although designedly laying emphasis on the primary importance of removing the fundamental causes of ill-health, the Committee is aware that in spite of all efforts at prevention, there will still remain a large volume of ill-health for the remediating of which provision must be made. Accordingly, it recommends that there should be an expansion of hospital, dispensary and district nursing and midwifery services for urban Natives.

112. There are certain special services combining both curative and preventive functions, which are customarily undertaken on a scale by local authorities and to which more detailed consideration will now be given.

113. Maternity and Child Welfare Services.—For well-known reasons it is impossible to estimate infant mortality rates for Natives with the same degree of exactitude as for Europeans, but all competent witnesses were agreed that the rate is rarely if ever less than 200, and that the average for urban locations may with safety be placed at nearer 300 than 200 per thousand births. This rate is three or four times that for Europeans living under identical climatic conditions. Among the principal causes of infantile deaths are diarrhoea and enteritis, incompetence of insanitation (ignorance), congenital syphilis (a disease of ignorance, as the prospective mother often does not know she has syphilis in a transmissible form), acute respiratory infections including whooping cough and measles (diseases of overcrowding, poverty and ignorance).

114. It is sometimes assumed that communities in which there is a high infantile death rate will be made stronger and healthier by this drastic elimination of "the wealchings." Such views are utterly fallacious. A high infant mortality rate means, invariably, a high death rate from disease in the general population. It represents the survivors. Thus, for every infant which dies from congenital syphilis there will be half-a-dozen more who will survive with the disease still in their systems chronically undermining their health, weakening their resistance to other diseases. Similarly, the survivors of whooping cough and measles may provide a breeding ground for pulmonary tuberculosis to be manifested in adolescence.

115. In addition to miscarriages and still-births due to syphilis, and chronic pelvic disorders and sterility due to syphilis, there is among native women a still imperfectly recognised amount of chronic ill-health due to injuries and non-venereal infections occurring at or soon after childbirth. These various complaints, in addition to their direct effect upon the women who suffer from them, frequently have important indirect effects upon the well-being and happiness of family units through the physical weakness or incapacity of those upon whom family welfare mainly depends.

116. In view of the fundamental importance to the national health of the well-being of mothers and of children in their tenderest years, it is somewhat surprising that the subsidy by the Department of Public Health to medical maternity and child welfare services is on a less generous scale than to venereal diseases services (two-thirds plus free drugs) and tuberculous services (though of course the only form of subsidy at present being given is a one-third refund of the salaries of health visitors and district nurses and midwives). The Committee recommends that there should be an increase of the scale of subsidy in respect of the salaries of health visitors and district nurses and midwives. The Committee recommends that there should be an extension of the subsidy to all branches of medical maternity and child welfare activities. These include provision not only for health visitors and district nursing, but also for prenatal and postnatal clinics, infant clinics, and the issue of adequate rations of milk and other protective foods to necessitous cases among pregnant and nursing women and among children of pre-school age. Such an extension of the field in which subsidies operate will stimulate the establishment of more adequate schemes than those which, generally speaking, exist in respect of most urban Native communities today. Considerable as the consequent expenditurc by the State may become, the Committee is confident that it will be far less than the enormous wastage of human resources reflected in current Native infant mortality and morbidity rates.

117. The Committee would go even further and suggest that if, after due enquiry by the Department of Public Health, there is found to be in any local authority area an undue number of infantile deaths, the establishment of a maternity and child welfare scheme by that local authority be made compulsory.

118. Venereal Diseases.—Popular concern among Europeans over the high incidence of these diseases among Natives too often centres solely upon the risk of their spread from Natives to Europeans. As venereal diseases are rarely transmitted without sexual intercourse, this risk is slight and indeed negligible if the ordinary rules of hygiene with regard to the domestic handling of food and clothing are observed.

119. Unfortunately, this narrowly personal concern is too often blinds the public to the real gravity of the situation which lies in the effects of these diseases upon the Native community itself and the potential economic consequences thereof. It is well known that venereal diseases are a breeding ground for pulmonary tuberculosis to be manifested in adolescence. Similarly, the survivors of chronic pulmonary tuberculosis frequently have important indirect effects upon the well-being and happiness of family units through the physical weakness or incapacity of those upon whom family welfare mainly depends.

120. The incidence of syphilis among Natives is difficult to determine, and varies from one district to another. Sample surveys indicate that in many urban areas it is somewhat around 30 per cent. This means that 30 per cent. of the Native population of such areas has had syphilis and has never been fully cured. It does not mean that all are suffering from perceptible symptoms of syphilis at the moment, but it may mean that their health is being steadily undermined and that at least a quarter of them will in due course suffer from one or other of the fatal sequelae. The incidence of congenital syphilis is appallingly high. At the King Edward VIII Hospital 22 per cent. of infantile deaths last year were directly due to syphilis, excluding those in which syphilis was a secondary factor. Random samples of urban Native school children often give 20 per cent. or over who are positive to the blood tests for syphilis. Among urban women of childbearing age 25 per cent. or over are syphilitic and capable of transmitting the disease even though not suffering from any obvious manifestations of the disease themselves.

121. Section sixty-six of the Public Health Act empowers the Minister of Public Health to refund to local authorities two-thirds of the nett cost of approved schemes for the treatment of persons suffering from venereal disease. In addition, the Minister may and in practice does supply free of charge remedies to use in treatment and make available free diagnostic laboratory services. Local authorities have responded well to the encouragement thus offered them; and today there are efficiently conducted venereal diseases clinics in all the large and most of the small towns of the Union at which absolutely free treatment is given to Natives (and other persons) suffering from venereal diseases.

122. The provision of such facilities is relatively simple compared with the difficult task of inducing sufferers from venereal diseases to treat themselves or admit the existence of their infection and to remain under treatment for the prolonged periods necessary, at least in syphilis, for complete cure. The
Committee endorses the view held over many year by the Public Health and the Native Affairs Departments, against frequent well-meaning but ill-informed representations to the contrary, that coercion is undesirable and in any case impracticable. All the more importance, therefore, attaches to high efficiency in the methods used for enlightenment and persuasion. Such methods have been pursued, with great success, by several municipalities through the employment of trained Native Health Assistants whose duty it is to act as record clerks at clinics and thereafter search out the contacts of known cases and follow up defaulters from systematic treatment.

123. The Committee recommends the increased employment of Native male health assistants of this type in addition to Native nurses and health visitors.

124. It must be frankly recognised that the appallingly high incidence of venereal diseases among urban Natives, through whom it is spreading back to rural Natives as well, is part of the price which has to be paid for the imposition into urban areas, for the purposes of industries and of domestic service, of thousands upon thousands of rural Natives who leave their wives in the reserve. A striking example of the consequences of this policy is the three hundred beds for the accommodation of Durban alone where a thousand new cases of syphilis come up for treatment every month! The preference of employers, following the custom established by the mines, for what is known as tribal labour is easily understood; such labour is more docile, is prepared to accept lower wages, and can be more cheaply housed and fed than if there were wives and families to provide for as well.

125. It would be a difficult matter to stop the flow of labour from the tribal areas to the towns, especially during a period of industrial expansion; but it is urgently necessary that a much larger proportion of employed men should live within reach of their wives and families.

126. Meantime, the incidence of venereal disease among urban Natives will be diminished by such social welfare measures as the provision of improved recreational facilities for males and females and by the substitution of hostels for the backyard premises in which so many female domestic servants live under conditions which undoubtedly favour the spread of venereal disease. Specific recommendations under these heads are made in Chapter VII.

127. Tuberculosis.—As in the case of venereal diseases, the incidence of tuberculosis is difficult to determine, but it is agreed that the illness is increasing among Natives, particularly in the coastal towns. Three Natives die every day from tuberculosis in Durban alone. Striking as it does chiefly at adolescent and early adult life, tuberculosis causes an enormous wastage of human and economic resources in addition to the expenditure on tuberculosis hospitals and schemes.

128. There is a shortage of beds for the accommodation of Natives suffering from tuberculosis in a communicable form. Medical officers of health complain that it often takes several months to secure the admission to hospital of Native tuberculosis who, in the meantime, are spreading infection. Until recently, for example, there were only fifty beds available, at Rietfontein Hospital, for the whole of the Transvaal; and at the time it took evidence the Committee was informed that in the overcrowded wards of the Non-European Hospital in Johannesburg there were eighty cases of tuberculosis. In Durban alone there are one thousand four hundred known cases of tuberculosis among Natives, and suitable bed accommodation for scarcely one-fifth of this number.

129. Fortunately the position with regard to bed accommodation has recently been considerably improved in the Transvaal, owing to the vigorous policy being pursued by the Department of Public Health with the sympathetic support of the Transvaal. Eighty more beds have already been provided at Rietfontein and a further hundred are soon to be added in accommodation at present under construction.

130. The Committee recommends that this expansionist policy be continued in the Transvaal and extended to the other Provinces even if new provision is to be of simpler construction than has hitherto been regarded as necessary. There is a vast lease-way still to be made up in this matter.

131. The institutional treatment of tuberculosis cannot by itself meet effectively the whole problem of tuberculosis. There is in addition need for the care of the families of persons suffering from tuberculosis and for the after-care of persons discharged from institutions for the treatment of tuberculosis. Care of the families means, or should mean, more than assistance along the lines of ordinary pauper relief of families who have lost their-breadwinners. It is amongst these families, the members of which have been exposed to more than ordinary risks of tuberculous infection, that there is special need for a liberal allowance of protective food-stuffs and for hygienic housing and surroundings, and schemes for their assistance should include special provision for these special needs. Similarly, the care of those who have been discharged from hospitals and sanatoria should include the elimination or alleviation of those environmental and economic conditions which usually contribute to the breakdown of the sufferer from tuberculosis in the first instance.

132. The care of the families of tuberculosis and the after-care of the tuberculosis themselves thus involve more than the provision of purely medical treatment, and in practice it has been found that the necessary supplementary provision is best undertaken by voluntary Tuberculosis Committees working in close conjunction with local authorities. Such Committees have hitherto depended mainly upon the local authorities themselves and upon the income from the King George V. Jubilee Fund for the carrying on of their activities. To meet the needs with which they are confronted, the Committees are hopelessly inadequate; and it is recommended that generous assistance should be given to them in terms of section fifty (1) (f) of the Public Health Act.

133. Dental Services.—Except in a few large centres there is no provision for dental services for Natives beyond simple extractions. Dental services for indigent and poor Europeans are in little better state, and the Committee is doubtful of the practicability of immediately or even in the near future putting into effect any comprehensive scheme of dental services for Natives. True preventive dentistry is nearly synonymous with adequate nutrition of the pregnant women and of the very young child, and with the regular practice of the rules of oral hygiene, so that fulfilment of the recommendations made with regard to nutrition and health education will go far towards preventing conditions for which preventive curative dental services will otherwise be required.

CHAPTER VI.

HOUSING, RENT AND FEES.

134. Rent is an item which absorbs a very considerable portion of the urban Native's income. For this reason the Committee was requested to pay special attention to this problem in order to ascertain in what way the burden of rent could be made less onerous.

135. In the course of evidence, it was frequently put forward that the rent which the Native should be called upon to pay should not be more than a certain percentage of his income, usually 20 to 25 per cent. The Committee has come to the conclusion, however, that it is not advisable to lay down a hard and fast rule. Where a man earns a fairly high wage, it may be reasonable for him to pay, say, 20 per cent, of his income for rent, but this does not necessarily apply...
in the case of a man earning a low wage. The balance in the latter case would not be sufficient to provide the
necessaries of life for himself and his family.

136. Only a portion of the population is housed in
municipal undertakings and it will be necessary accord-
ingly to divide the urban Native population into two
categories, for the purpose of dealing with the question of rent
(a) those Natives who are living in family life in a
Native location or Native village; and
(b) those living in family life outside such in-
stitutions.

Regarding the latter the position is dealt with in Chapter
VII.

137. The Committee does not feel so much concerned
in respect of the rent paid by males or females who
live in the native village, as in those cases those who
are living in municipal hostels for single persons or in
compounds, or those who are domestic servants living on
their employers' premises. In those cases the charge
for accommodation varies from about 5s. to 12s. 6d.

138. Regarding the latter the position is dealt with in Chapter
VII.

139. In order to illustrate the pure rent position in
a sub-economic scheme based on a loan repayable in
forty years the various monthly charges payable by
the tenant in respect of each unit of £100 debited
against the house occupied by him are set out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>8d</th>
<th>1s</th>
<th>2s</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest @ 3½ per cent. p.a</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redemption</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintenance and depreciation</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of Rental</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cost of Collection</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

140. It is proposed to deal first with what may be
called pure rent. There are in general two types of
housing in Native locations. There is municipal housing
and housing provided by the Natives themselves. In
the case of the former, the actual rent for the occupation
of each unit is the net charge as shown under the heading of the
consolidated charge. This varies with the circumstances
in different urban areas, but depends largely on the
interest, redemption and maintenance charges on the
capital involved. These latter charges in their turn,
depend on the actual capital expenditure, and on the
terms of the loan, that is, the rate of interest and the
period of the loan.

141. The rate of interest problem should not present
a real difficulty for future development because the
Government has made available to urban local authorities
money for the housing of all sections of the population
including Natives at ½ per cent. per annum. It is not possible to get more favourable terms than this from
any other source.

142. Regarding the period of loans it follows that the
longer this is the lower the annual redemption rate.
The Central Housing Board has stated that in the case of sub-economic funds, the period can be extended
to forty years but in practice it is restricted in most
cases to thirty years. Such periods cannot be regarded as
unfavourable.

143. In order to illustrate the pure rent position in
a sub-economic scheme based on a loan repayable in
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against the house occupied by him are set out as follows:

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<td>7</td>
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</table>

144. If the local authority passes a credit of 2s. 1d.
per month, that is ½ per cent., to the Native Revenue
Account and if the Native's pure rent becomes 6s. 6d.
per month before any charge for services is made.

145. In addition to actual building costs each house
has to bear a proportion of the cost of development of
the scheme as a whole such as roads, stormwater drain-
age, electric light and water mains within the location
area.

146. The irreducible minimum of pure rent for
houses costing £200 and £250 is thus 1½s. and 16s. 3d.
respectively. The problem resolves itself therefore into the
question of the capital involved. If the pure rent
is to be low it is essential that the cost of schemes should
be kept down as much as possible and the Committee
considers that no complete solution of the pure rent
question will be reached until a cheaper type of dwelling
is discovered which is at the same time commodious
and hygienic. It is realised that this presents a problem
which is undoubtedly difficult. It has been found by the
Central Housing Board that it is not easy to prepare
suitable designs for Native families which afford adequate
accommodation because the low wages received by them
necessarily limit the cost of construction. In regard to
the question of providing more commodious housing,
the Board has set out the problem in this way "Which
is the best course to adopt? To give the tenant four
indifferently built and unhealthy rooms to live in at a
lower rental than is possible where first-class construction
is afforded him or to give him less commodious but
healthy accommodation? The latter view has been
considered preferable by the Central Housing Board. It
has always felt that the standard of construction cannot
be lowered beyond a point and the remedy lies in increasing
the wages. If and when the increase occurs the well-built building will still be in existence and permit of
enlargement to meet the requirements of the higher
wage earner. The inferior type of building soon falls
into disrepair and does not lend itself to extension".

147. In the Committee's view there can be but little
advantage from a health point of view in removing
families from slums in one part of the town to what
are virtually slums in another part as overcrowding is
a factor in determining whether or not a property is a
slum. It has been shown elsewhere in this Report that
in many instances these housing schemes have been
overcrowded from the time of occupation. In
the past many local authorities have based their efforts
on the same policy as the Housing Board and this has had the undesirable effect of limiting construction in many instances to two-roomed houses and even one room for families, whereas three or even four rooms would be required to obviate overcrowding. That there is a real shortage of housing arising from this policy has become evident in the attitude now adopted by the Johannesburg City Council which in earlier schemes had, mainly, two-roomed houses. It has now been decided by that Council that no more houses in which there are less than three rooms shall be built for occupation by families of Natives.

148. The following development is of interest in considering this matter. Arising from the War the cost of building material, especially timber, corrugated iron and fittings has risen to a high figure, and these costs to be borne by the scheme were unrealistic in sufficient quantity. It was found that the use of the same materials as in pre-war days brought the cost of construction to a prohibitive figure. It became necessary, therefore, to seek other materials. The Central Housing Board has done this in co-operation with certain local authorities who have conducted experiments.

149. Again, when the new Pretoria Location Scheme was first undertaken, the Council itself conducted experiments before it proceeded to develop its scheme. Several sample houses were built and different types of materials were used in their construction. The Council was able to determine which materials were most satisfactory and also what economies could be effected in construction and design. This led to the saving of many thousands of pounds. Preliminary expenditure of this nature which has to be borne by the scheme does not perhaps bear so heavily when a large scheme of several thousand houses is involved. The position is different where the smaller centres are concerned and for them the burden would be too heavy.

150. The Central Housing Board has through its Technical members done most valuable work in this connection but it has neither the staff nor the facilities for carrying out experiments itself. In any event the Central Housing Board is a part-time body and it deals not only with Native housing but with housing both economic and sub-economic, for all sections of the population.

151. The Committee recommends that consideration should be given to the question of the establishment of a research branch especially for Native housing to be attached to the Central Housing Board for the purpose of investigating methods of construction and the use of materials which will lead to greater economy in supplying Native housing. Facilities should be provided for the conducting of experiments by this branch.

152. The personnel of such a branch would also be in the nature of inspectors to ensure that correct methods are being followed. In addition they would have opportunity of ascertaining whether methods of reducing cost could not be introduced.

153. This could, too, assist the smaller local authorities to whom the services of a town engineer are not available in the preparation of lay-out plans and designs of dwellings.

154. Apart from the necessity for reducing cost, there is an ever-pressing need for more houses. The Committee has found that everywhere housing available for Natives is inadequate. In Johannesburg, for example, an estimate of the families still to be housed is in the neighbourhood of six thousand. These are living in slums within the city itself.

155. According to the census taken in 1938, the Union urban Native population was 896,652 and it is probable that since that time there has been an increase owing to the growth in industrialisation. Many of these Natives are living in most undesirable circumstances. They have no alternative because there is not sufficient accommodation for them in the locations or Native villages. According to the census statistics the percentage of Natives over eighteen years of age living in locations was approximately forty, while, of those under eighteen years of age approximately 62 per cent. of the male and 45 per cent. of the females living outside such areas approximately 15 per cent. are in hostels, barracks and compounds so that 45 per cent. are living elsewhere in urban areas. 11 per cent. are living in what are known as Native townships or areas mainly occupied by Natives and there, of course, a number of domestic servants living on their employers' premises. It is probable that approximately one-third of the adult urban Native population remains to be housed if the policy of segregation is to be carried out stringently. It is necessary for new provisions not only to apply to Natives living outside locations or villages, for inspections carried out by the Committee revealed that a very large percentage of Natives who live in such institutions are very unsatisfactorily housed. This brings the proportion to be rehoused much higher than the one-third mentioned above.

156. The Native who has his family with him must seek accommodation for himself and family. He first tries to get as near his work as possible, but the restrictive provisions of the Urban Areas Act limit his scope in this respect. The provisions presuppose that accommodation will be made available for him in a location or Native village and very frequently this is not the case. He may be compelled, therefore, to seek habourage elsewhere. He tries to get this in the town itself in the cheap quarter. As the saturation is reached or else the demand for rooms is such that landlords are able to ask for enhanced prices which the Native cannot afford to pay. He then goes further afield, even beyond the boundaries of the town, and settlements grow up such as Windermere at Cape Town, Edendale at Pietermaritzburg and Eksterurst and Riverside at Pretoria. In these places there is no local authority, no potable water supply or adequate sanitation.

157. The development of accommodation for Natives in the towns has not kept pace with the growth of the population. The Native is not able, as the other sections of the people can do, to build a house for himself where he pleases, nor can persons other than the municipality build houses for him to occupy because of the provisions of the Urban Areas Act. He must go into a Native location or Native village. The onus is, therefore, on the local authority to build for him.

158. In some areas almost the whole of the Native population is already living in a Native location. Many of these locations, particularly in the smaller places, were in existence prior to the coming into force of the Urban Areas Act and in those cases a great proportion of the housing has been erected by the Natives themselves. The suitability of houses of this type is dependent very largely on the resources, financial and material, available to the Natives. The dwellings vary from shacks built of材料 stacked over reeds to modern brick structures conforming to European ideas. Many are, from a health point of view, thoroughly unhygienic and unsatisfactory and serve as shelters from the elements rather than as accommodation fit for human beings.

159. There is, therefore, an urgent need for municipal housing schemes to be accelerated to rehouse in healthy surroundings those Natives who are already in the urban area, because the conditions under which they are now living constitute a danger, not only to themselves, but to the whole community. The Committee feels that the Resettlement Act which has been suggested could be most helpful in accelerating the work of construction.

160. Some municipalities represented that there were undue delays in so far as official circles were concerned. The Committee feels that there is a need for the consideration and planning of schemes to be expedited and that a more simple procedure than is at present in operation should be evolved.
161. Representations were made regarding the increased costs arising from the War and it has been argued that urban local authorities should not be pressed to embark on housing schemes until normal conditions return. War conditions will undoubtedly have some effect on housing schemes and will retard progress, but it is certain that normal times will not return even for a long period after the War and the Government realises that the necessity for improvement is so great that subject to the limitations caused by war, every effort should be made to accelerate building programmes. With an increase in industrialisation, there will be a bigger flow of Natives into urban areas and the position will get steadily worse. More slums than ever before will be created unless something is done about housing. In order to meet this position which in part has already arisen, alternative methods of construction are being developed and the Housing Board feels confident that by using such methods, the cost will not be very much greater than that of pre-war construction.

162. The Committee realises that many years are likely to elapse before recognised housing schemes overtake the needs of the urban Native population and that in certain instances there will be no alternative but to allow Natives to erect their own houses. Supervision over design and construction is an essential in such cases and to the absence of such supervision and guidance in the past can be attributed some, at any rate, of the undesirable features of the existing Native-built houses in locations.

163. A form of assisted housing scheme for Natives has been adopted by some municipalities, notably Bloemfontein, and has become generally known as the Bloemfontein system of housing. In these cases it has been appreciated that the Native has not had enough capital to complete a house which can be regarded as satisfactory and the local authority has helped him with capital either in the form of material or in cash. The Native is required to repay the capital in instalments within a stipulated period and to pay interest on the amount advanced. Plans have to be submitted and supervision is exercised over the construction.

164. The Central Housing Board is opposed to this type of scheme. It considers that the buildings erected by the Natives themselves cannot be so well-built or so durable as those in recognised housing schemes and in any event the rehousing of Natives would proceed too slowly if the initiative of building was left entirely to the Native. The Committee is prepared to admit the necessity for improvement in the system but nevertheless it has been found that under the Bloemfontein system the Native has generally been able to build a more commodious house at a lower cost than that of a house in a municipal scheme. In addition the Native has a stake in the house itself which is bound to have a steadying effect on his conduct as a citizen.

165. It is felt that the Bloemfontein system is capable of development not to replace the municipal housing schemes but to supplement them and thus to accelerate the provision of Native housing. Some of the defects which normally are found in Native-built housing schemes is thought, be overcome by supervision and guidance.

166. Three types of loans have been used for Native housing—

- (a) the Government sub-economic,
- (b) the Government economic, and
- (c) the external economic.

167. The real problem of rehousing of Natives is fundamentally an economic one, and as long as an economic wage is not being paid to them, it is necessary for the housing of this class to be subsidised. Realisation of this fact led the Government to make available sub-economic housing funds to the extent of fifteen and a half million pounds at three-quarter per cent, interest per annum. This was, of course, for the housing of all sections of the population. Up to the 31st December, 1941, £5,329,041 had been allocated specifically for Native housing.

168. The Government, in lending money to local authorities at three-quarter per cent., is losing annually, for the period of the loan, about £30 on every £1,000 lent. Local authorities under the scheme only have to repay during the period of the loan approximately £71, 18s. 7d. for every £100 borrowed over a period of twenty years. £56, 16s. 0d. if the loan is over 30 years and £49, 18s. 2d. if the loan is for a period of 40 years. This is explained by the fact that the annual instalments received from local authorities on behalf of the sinking fund are reinvested by the Government at economic rates, and the interest and credit for some of this is passed to the local authority concerned.

169. One of the conditions attached to sub-economic loans is that the local authority is required to fix rentals at a figure which will involve it in an annual loss equivalent to 1½ per cent. of the capital borrowed. In computing this rent, however, the local authority is permitted, in addition to the interest and redemption charges, to include the following items as a charge against the scheme—

- (a) repairs and depreciation at 2½ per cent.;
- (b) fire insurance;
- (c) rates; 
- (d) loss of rentals (1/12th of accrued); 
- (e) cost of collection on the basis of 2½ per cent. on rentals due; and
- (f) any other items as may be considered fair and reasonable.

170. Except in one or two instances brought to the Committee's notice, the loss on sub-economic housing schemes for Natives is debited against the Native Revenue Account. In these cases, there is actually a credit of a contribution of the amount of the loss of 1½ per cent. of the cost of the scheme from General Revenue to the Native Revenue Account. Where this is not done, it generally means that some other section of the Native population is bearing this loss. In some instances the Native Revenue Account is credited with the profit from the sale of kaffir beer and it is this or some similar source of income which augments the funds to enable the Native Revenue Account to bear the loss. In other cases, however, an out-and-out grant to make up from General Revenue the cost of the scheme to the Native Revenue Account serves the same purpose. Some, on the other hand, simply make an advance from General Revenue to cover the deficit in the hope that at some future time there will be a surplus in the Native Revenue Account from which to recover the amount advanced.

171. In the case of sub-economic schemes for sections of the community other than Natives, the loss must be borne by the General Account. The Native section, however, probably because of the enforced establishment of a Native Revenue Account, is being treated as a separate unit, and thus there is discrimination against the Native. These funds which the Government makes available are for the benefit of the community generally and the Committee feels that, having regard to the fact that the collection is usually the lowest paid and thus the poorest, it is inequitable that they should bear the loss on the scheme established for themselves. It must be realised that the Native population is almost entirely dependent on the wages which it can earn and as from these it can only pay a sub-economic rent, it seems only fair that the employing section should contribute to the cost of maintaining the scheme. For this reason, the Committee feels that there should be a direct annual contribution from the General Revenue of the local authority concerned of an amount equal to 1½ per cent. of the capital involved.

172. It was feared by the Central Housing Board that this would have a deterrent effect on local authorities, particularly the smaller ones, for it was stated that the possibility of incurring that loss now caused many to hesitate to embark on such schemes even where the