WORKING PAPERS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICAN STUDIES

VOLUME 2

P. BONNER

RAVAN PRESS

JOHANNESBURG
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements vi
Introduction 1

TRIBESMAN, TRADER, PEASANT AND PROLETARIAN: 8
The Process of Transition from a Pre-Capitalist to a Capitalist Mode of Production in the immediate hinterland of the Kimberley Diamond Fields during the Nineteenth Century:
A Case Study of the Tlhaping
by Peter Kallaway 31

THE REHOBOTH REBELLION 31
by Patrick Pearson

LORD MILNER AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE 52
by Shula Marks and Stanley Trapido

THE GERMISTON BY-ELECTION OF 1932: 97
The State and the White Working Class During the Depression
by Jon Lewis

ETHNICITY, LANGUAGE AND NATIONAL UNITY: 121
The Case of Malawi
by Leroy Vail

UKUBUYISA ISIDUMBU - "BRINGING BACK THE BODY": 164
An examination into the ideology of vengeance in the Msinga and Mpfana rural locations, 1882-1944
by Jonathan Clegg

WOMEN AND SQUATTING: 199
A Winterveld Case Study
by Joanne Yawitch

A LONG WAY TO WALK: 228
Bus Boycotts in Alexandra, 1940-1945
by Alf Stadler

'WE ARE BEING PUNISHED BECAUSE WE ARE POOR': 258
The Bus Boycotts of Evaton and Alexandra, 1955-1957
by Tom Lodge
were, on average, lower than those in other Townships, and many expenses (e.g. rent) were substantially higher. R. First, 'The Bus Boycott', *Africa South* (July, 1957), 58, argues that the real value of African wages was in decline. The deficit between income and minimum essential expenditure for subsistence, health and decency had increased from £4.17.10 in 1950 to £7.11.5 in 1954.


10. The following boycotts were reported between 1948 and 1961:


1950, January, Evaton to Vereeniging. Issue: company decision to use only tar mac roads (i.e. not to enter Township). *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 January 1950.


1954, August, Evaton. Issue: overcrowding. Results: none after one day demonstration boycott. (See text.)


1955 to 1956, Evaton. Issue: fare rise. Result: reduction of fare and wider-ranging improvements to service. (See text.)


1957, January-April, Alexandra. Issue: 1d fare increase. Result: fare reduction through coupon system and raising of Levy. (See text.)

1957-1958, Pretoria townships. Issue: fare increases. Result: two-year boycott, one man killed, fares maintained. Led by A.N.C. (See text.)

1957, January-April, Sophiatown and Western Native Townships. Same as Alexandra: affected by PTCO increases. Resolved through introduction of coupons. (See text.)


1961, May, Grahamstown. Issues: fare increases and

11. Xuma Papers, ABX 430711e (University of the Witwatersrand Archives), Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Operation of Bus Services for Non-Europeans on the Witwatersrand, U.G. 1 - '44.

12. Rand Daily Mail, 1 October 1953.

13. Alexandra Township was laid out in 1905 and was originally destined for white occupation. Its distance from Johannesburg made it unattractive to potential purchasers and in 1912 (one year before the passage of the Native Land Act) the land speculation company obtained official permission to sell stands to Africans and 'Coloured' people. Its status as an African freehold township was recognised by the Native Trust and Land Act and though there were efforts in 1943 by the Johannesburg City Council to abolish the township (which is sited outside the municipal boundaries) wartime economies prevented their success. Alexandra still exists today though a large proportion of its inhabitants are now housed in migrant workers' hostels. Freehold tenure rights began to be removed in 1963. See 'Challenge to Democracy: Rand's Problem Township', Libertas (Johannesburg, August 1942).

14. Modikwe Dikobe, who lived in Alexandra in the 1940s before moving to Soweto, has pointed out to me the considerable difficulties of political organisation in a township where everybody lives in separate detached houses as opposed to the crowded terraces and lean-to rooms of Alexandra.

15. 'Alexandra Township - 1952', Fighting Talk (September, 1942).

16. South African Institute of Race Relations, B Files (University of the Witwatersrand Archives), AD 843 (B30) d.


18. I am grateful to Professor Charles van Onselen for this suggestion.

19. The problems of landlords are discussed in a booklet published by the Alexandra Health Committee, The Future of Alexandra Township (Alexandra, 1943), and Libertas, op. cit., 12


24. The Star, 7 February 1957; Fighting Talk (September 1952), cites a 1951 figure for 40 per cent.


29. First, 'The Bus Boycott', 58.

30. Ibid.

31. Bantu World, 9 March 1957. Also a D.G. Mtshaulana of the Bantu Bus Service Corporation spoke of applying to take over PUTCO routes but he seems to have had no Alexandra connections.


33. Xuma Papers, ABX 430711b.

34. The main Africanist centre was the A.N.C. branch at Orlando: here the leading Africanists were well-educated men, often with university degrees, and employed as journalists, teachers, articulated clerks, etc.

35. South African Institute of Race Relations Archives, Treason Trial Record.

36. South African Institute of Race Relations B Files, AD 843 (B74) d.

37. South African Institute of Race Relations B Files, AD 843 (B74) c; Xuma Papers, ABX 430913 d.

38. I am grateful to Baruch Hirson for information on the Movement for Democracy of Content.

39. South African Institute of Race Relations B Files, AD 843 (B74) b.
