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- 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.
9. M. Horrell, *Annual Survey of Race Relations* (South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg, 1956/7), 166-170.
10. The following boycotts were reported between 1948 and 1961:
- 1948, December, Moroka. After twelve killed in collision between bus and train. *Rand Daily Mail*, 9 December 1948.
- 1949, September-October, Western Native Townships. Issues: treatment of passengers, non-employment of black staff and 1d fare increase. Results: one man shot dead in riots and trams permanently withdrawn. *Rand Daily Mail*, 14 October 1949.
- 1950, January, Evaton to Vereeniging. Issue: company decision to use only tarmac roads (i.e. not to enter Township). *Rand Daily Mail*, 31 January 1950.
- 1954, October-November, Brakpan. Issue: employment of black drivers. Result: after three weeks council concedes black employment. Some A.N.C. involvement. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 November 1954.
- 1954, August, Evaton. Issue: overcrowding. Results: none after one day demonstration boycott. (See text.)
- 1954, November, Kliptown. Issue: 6d a week fare rise. Result: after a four-week boycott, manager d'Agnese agrees to fare reduction, improvements and timetable consultation. *Rand Daily Mail*, 2 November 1954.
- 1955, November, Katlegong. Issue: Transportation Board refusal to allow Katlegong men to run taxis. Result: two-week boycott of buses and Germiston-registered taxis. Led by Vuka Afrika Party. *Bantu World*, 19 November 1955.
- 1955 to 1956, Evaton. Issue: fare rise. Result: reduction of fare and wider-ranging improvements to service. (See text.)
- 1956, April-May, Brakpan. Issue: 1d fare increase. Result: reduction - after five-week boycott. Led by A.N.C. and Vigilance Association. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 May 1956.
- 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 PUTCO increases. Resolved through introduction of coupons. (See text.)
- 1957, February-April, Randfontein. Issue: sympathy with Alexandra and 2d fare increase. Result: after two-month boycott township loses bus service. *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 April 1957.
- 1957, February, East London. Issue: sympathy with Alexandra. Result: eleven-day boycott. *The Star*, 22 February 1957.
- 1957, February, Port Elizabeth. Issue: sympathy with Alexandra. Result: two-week boycott led by A.N.C. and South African Coloured People's Organisation. *The Star*, 18 February 1957
- 1957, February, Bloemfontein. Issues: non-employment of black drivers and use of bus profits to subsidise segregated white facilities. Result: boycott postponed after inadequate response to local A.N.C. leadership. *The Star*, 18 February 1957.
- 1957, February, Germiston, Eastwood and Edenvale. Issue: sympathy with Alexandra. First, 'Bus Boycott', 56.
- 1957, March-April, Worcester. Issue: refusal of company to respond to A.N.C. call to reduce fares. Result: 90 per cent effective three-week boycott. *The Star*, 12 April 1957.
- 1957, November, Port Elizabeth. Issue: 1d fare increase. Result: failure after second day to arouse sufficient response. Led by A.N.C. *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 November 1957.
- 1957, February, Durban, kwaMashu. Issue: high fares on new service. *The Star*, 16 February 1959.
- 1960, January, Port Elizabeth. Issues: fare increase, protests against Coloured Affairs Department and 50-year Union celebrations. Led by South African Congress of Trade Unions. *Rand Daily Mail*, 13 January 1960.
- 1961, January, Port Elizabeth. Issue: dismissal of workers by Bay Passenger Company. *Rand Daily Mail*, 17 January 1961.
- 1961, May, Grahamstown. Issues: fare increases and

- low local wages. *Rand Daily Mail*, 3 May 1961.
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 (B3 AD 843 (B30) d.
  17. Turok, 'Search for a Strategy', 355.
  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
  20. *The Star*, 22 March 1957.
  21. *Natal Witness*, 22 February 1957; *The Star*, 22 March

- 1957.
22. *The Star*, 18 January 1957.
  23. *The Star*, 5 February 1957.
  24. *The Star*, 7 February 1957; *Fighting Talk* (September 1952), cites a 1951 figure for 40 per cent.
  25. T. Huddleston, *Naught for your Comfort* (London, 1956), 26-8.
  26. *The Star*, 8 January 1957.
  27. National Transport Commission Report for 1954 to 1957, U.G. 26 - '58, 11.
  28. *Rand Daily Mail*, 22 December 1956.
  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.
  32. G. Carter, T. Karis and G. Gerhert, *From Protest to Challenge*, 4 (biographies), (Standord, 1977), 123.
  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, articled 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.
  40. *Rand Daily Mail*, 19 November 1955.

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