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Title: The Dispersal of the Regiments: Radical African Opposition in Durban, 1930.

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During the afternoon of 17 June 1929, 6 000 African workers abandoned their barracks, backyard dwellings, rented rooms and kias, and made their way through the streets of Durban towards the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (ICU) Hall in Prince Edward Street. The more noticeable amongst the ranks of stick-wielding workers included the barefoot dock workers, domestic servants in red-trimmed calico uniforms and ricksha-pullers displaying colourful tunics. The less noticeable comprised the majority - the labouring poor of the port town. The immediate reason for this mass mobilisation was the 'siege', by 600 white 'vigilantes', of the ICU Hall. Having beaten one African to death with pick-handles, the vigilantes comprising the 'well-educated', 'the elderly' and a 'large hooligan element' attempted to storm the Hall. They mistakenly believed that two white 'traitors' - Communist Town Councillor S.M. Pettersen and A.F. Batty, an ICU organiser - were ensconced inside. When the "relief column" of workers finally reached the Hall they were greeted by 2 000 whites and 360 policemen. The violent clashes which followed left 120 injured and 8 dead.(1) The riots of June 1929 in Durban occupy a brief moment within a wider process of sustained urban militancy. This popular opposition was an expression of both a particularly repressive and exploitative system of urban control and impoverishment in Natal's countryside during a period of economic depression spanning the years 1928 to 1933.

Introduction: The ICU and its African Constituency in Durban, 1926-29

Within six months of being founded the ICU in Natal obtained a new Provincial Secretary and Durban Branch chairman in the guise of former mine clerk, police-spy and petty landowner, A.W.G. Champion. By January 1927, the ICU was claiming a nation-wide membership of 57 760 from a previous claim of 17 760. The Durban Branch reportedly accounted for over half this increase.(2) This increase in membership can be related to the response of the ICU to particularly oppressive aspects of Durban's generally inflexible native affairs policy.(3) In 1928 the Natal Branch of the ICU seceded from the parent body and formed the ICU yase Natal with Champion as General Secretary. Prior to this split the ICU in Durban had embarked upon a programme of litigation which was successful in abolishing the bodily disinfecting of workers ("dipping"), removing the character column from passes and lifting the curfew imposed on Africans.(4)

The ICU was not alone in voicing urban African grievances during the late twenties. After 1926 a section of the Natal Native Congress (NNC), led by

J.T. Gumede, split from the more conservative section of the Natal Congress movement led by John Dube. In Durban,Gumede's Natal African Congress (NAC) frequently shared the same platform as the ICU. A growing militancy within African political organisations characterized the post-1924 period. This tendency was related to the impact upon Africans of the policies of the Pact government which came to power in 1924. The aims of the Pact government were to protect the position of white wage earners through a "civilized labour policy", to encourage the development of agrarian capitalism (which required a readily available supply of African labour for white farmers) and to enforce controls over black labour. As has been noted elsewhere, the black middle classes were expendable in all these areas.(5) It was in organisations such as the NAC and ICU that a predominantly petty bourgeois leadership expressed its fears of being squeezed down the short stairwell into the ranks of the labouring classes. There was clearly no direct correlation between the interests of this leadership and the labouring poor whom they frequently claimed to represent. It was precisely this ongoing tension which, by 1930,was to generate a conspicuous gap between African leadership, especially within the ICU yase Natal, and the town's socially diverse African population.

As early as 1924 there was official recognition of the increasingly heterogeneous nature of Durban's African population. Not only was the emergence of 'a permanent town Native element' within Durban's estimated 35 000 strong African population noted, but also further distinct social strata such as 'casual labourers', 'migrant workers' and 'traders'.(6) For townspeople the urban environment represented the bedrock of their experience, whilst the casual labourers became increasingly compelled to remain in the town as the option of a rural means of subsistence was steadily foreclosed, particularly during the rural economic crisis of the late twenties. For migrant labourers, who represented a significant section of the African population, rural ties provided the essential context for their temporary entry into Durban.

A 1924 census revealed that over 220 traders, the majority of whom were meat-sellers, herbalists and general hawkers, were operating in and around Durban's municipally-controlled Native eating houses.(7) These men, whilst temporarily able to avoid the rigours of wage labour, were under constant threat of being forced down into the ranks of the working class. Their insecure social and economic position found expression in the formation of the African Stall Owners' Association, their frequent meetings in the Durban Workers' Club and their

appeals for support from both the ICU and the NNC.[8] The grievances and demands of this small but politically important group of petty traders remained on the agenda of the ICU, and then the ICU yase Natal, throughout the period 1925-30. Another important section of Durban's African population comprised those men and women who were unable to secure wage labour or find official sanction for trading activities. Many carved a tenuous position for themselves through involvement in informal economic activities such as prostitution, beer-brewing and dagga-selling. The unemployed and unemployable, living on the outer, and often criminal, fringes of the urban social order, represented a volatile part of an increasingly socially diverse African population.

At the level of everyday political struggles, however, the relationship between these loosely-defined social groupings was to assume a remarkably intractable character. For this reason the successful mobilisation of popular support by trade union officials and the leadership of political organisations depended on their responsiveness to a socially disparate constituency. The securing of such resonance with popular grievances and demands could therefore take, and in some instances force, this leadership into areas as varied as demands for domestic beer brewing, conditions in municipal barracks, industrial disputes and calls for better facilities from petty traders.

Up until 1927 the success of the ICU and the radicalized section of the Congress movement in establishing a secure support-base amongst Durban's labouring poor had been ambiguous. Certainly they had succeeded in mobilizing popular support against particularly harsh forms of local oppression. The NNC, on the other hand, had barely extended its roots beyond the parochial interests of Durban's small kholwa élite. However, after 1928 new challenges were to face this divided and often unrepresentative leadership. In Natal's countryside, impoverishment, starvation wages and the eviction of labour tenants, compounded by a searing drought, were part of an everyday reality for rural Africans. In Durban itself rising unemployment was coupled with the fact that African wages, even in cash terms, had barely risen over a period of twenty-two years.[9] In the face of heightening urban militancy in the late twenties, the leadership of the ICU yase Natal, the NAC, the NNC and finally the local branch of the Communist Party of South Africa (CPSA), were forced to clearly define their positions vis-à-vis Durban's emergent urban popular classes.

During 1929, the ICU yase Natal and NAC leadership in Durban was compelled to

abandon its previous tactics of litigation and petitioning local and central government. The municipality's beer monopoly was to become the central focus and symbol around which more general working class grievances were mobilized. For twenty years the Durban municipality had monopolized the brewing of sorghum beer (utshwala) and sold the pink brew to Africans in beer halls scattered around the town. The profits from this enterprise were channelled into financing the social costs of African labour in Durban. Between 1909 and 1929 the net profits from the beer halls amounted to a least £ 551 000, nearly all of which was used to build barracks and beer halls, to finance the Native Administration Department and subsidize the policing of the town.

In December 1928, proposals for a new beer hall in the peri-urban area of Sydenham were mooted by the local Health Board. The ICU yase Natal collaborated in the formation of the Anti-Kaffir Beer Manufacturing League and together with local residents, many of whom had a stake in the local shebeen trade, they spearheaded opposition to the proposed beer hall. Shortly afterwards, the ICU yase Natal leadership, including Champion, J.H. London, J.A. Duiker and James Ngcobo, consolidated the connection between beer halls and the disguised form of exploitation which they represented in Durban itself. By June 1929, specific working class grievances became enmeshed in a more generalized upsurge of militancy directed against the local state in Durban. Amidst calls for a general strike, a beer boycott, sporadic attacks on white residents and the picketing of beer halls, the ICU yase Natal leadership vacillated. The process whereby the leaders of the ICU yase Natal and the NAC were radicalized by this groundswell militancy, which resulted in the June 1929 riots, has been discussed elsewhere.(10) Despite the imprisonment of some ICU yase Natal leaders, the brutal actions of the central government's Mobile Squadron in November 1929 and the concerted onslaught on shebeens, the boycott of Durban's beer halls remained unbroken.

Three reports, two official and one non-official, on the violence of 1929 suggested broadly similar ways of dealing with "native unrest" in Durban. These can be summarized as follows: firstly, that a location be established for married Africans, 'better class natives' in Champion's words; secondly, that places of recreation be provided for workers; and finally, that an advisory board be established in terms of the Urban Areas Act.(11)

What follows below is an examination of an important turning point in African

political opposition in Durban which reflects certain tendencies within, and the changing nature of, national struggles. The immediate response of the local state in Durban to the militancy of 1929 was to establish a Native Advisory Board (NAB). The NAB was seen as a means of providing a voice for a section of Durban's African community which had increasingly identified with the town's dominated classes, particularly a petty bourgeois political leadership, with a view to breaking the alliances of 1929 and halting the continuing beer boycott. On the other hand the local state attempted to defuse the militancy of Durban's labouring poor through the official provision and control of African recreation.

The main objects of this paper are the following: firstly, to assess the impact of the local state initiatives with regard to the establishment of the NAB and the control of popular cultural expression. Secondly, to examine the changing tactics of the ICU yase Natal in the face of an ever widening split between leadership and rank and file, and also to cast some light upon the symbols and language through which the ICU yase Natal attempted to forge an urban-rural alliance. Thirdly, to chart the growing disaffection of the majority of Africans in Durban with the leadership of those organisations which had previously found some resonance amongst the menu peuple, and to examine how and why the CPSA was able to fill the space left by these organisations. Finally, and tentatively, to examine the ideology of popular protest in Durban during 1930 and to suggest that those initiatives implemented from above, which sought to resuscitate and control "traditional" Zulu symbols and practices, had a by no means single predictable outcome.

The Native Advisory Board and the Beer Boycott

At the end of 1929 the Durban Town Council established a Native Advisory Board. The Durban Joint Council had pointed out the dangers of radicalising 'native opinion' and clearly located this 'opinion' within the ranks of Durban's petty and aspirant petty bourgeoisie. Prior to 1930 Durban's dominated classes were by no means deeply divided. The factors conducive to the formation of alliances between various sections of the African population, in particular the shared experience of racial and class oppression in a labour coercive environment and the absence of differential working class housing, were more potent than elements which might have divided Africans. The exiguous membership of the NNC provided ample proof of the socially and economically uneasy position of Durban's black bourgeoisie. The short term aim of constituting the NAB was to break those

alliances which were underpinning the continuing beer boycott. The long term aim of this 'goodwill gesture' was to co-opt a small section of Durban's African population at the expense of the dominated classes as a whole.

The Board comprised four Town Councillors and ten African representatives. The ICU yase Natal was allowed two representatives, the Natal Native Congress two, municipal barracks four and government barracks two. The terms of reference of the NAB were never made absolutely clear. This was possible because the Board was not formally constituted as a statutory body in terms of sections 10(1) and 27(3) of the Urban Areas Act since Durban had no 'Native location', defined within the meaning of the Act. The NAB thus had 'no legal status' and was deemed a 'goodwill gesture' on the part of the local state.(12) C.F. Layman, the censorious manager of Durban's Native Administration Department, was initially responsible for nominating candidates from municipal institutions. The manager had obviously not precluded the possibility that the NAB could be used as a springboard for continuing radical opposition.

A.W.G. Champion, who was to represent the ICU yase Natal on the NAB, adopted a placatory tone towards the white Town Councillors who served on the Board. He stated that the ICU yase Natal was:

> anxious that the misunderstanding of the past years should be forgotten. That a clean chapter ... should have in its pages nothing but the writings of mutual understanding between the Native workers and City fathers with all who employ native labour. That the spirit of cooperation as founded in the principles of the Joint Councils ... should be the guiding star.(13)

But the boycott was not a 'misunderstanding', it was part of an everyday reality which the Town Council and officials were attempting to change through the NAB. Indeed, at the first meeting of the Board in January 1930, the question of the boycott was raised by the Council representatives, and at the subsequent meetings extensive debate about the need to halt the boycott and determine its source, overshadowed other issues. The Chairman of the NAB, Councillor Dr Arbuckle, referred to the fact that the 'unfavourable position' of the Native Revenue Account would have to be offset by increasing rents and other charges at municipal barracks and trading quarters since a 'great proportion of the revenue was derived from Native beer', although 'the Corporation derived no benefit from its sale'.(14) In an attempt to locate the source of the boycott, plain-

clothes African constables were issued with free beer tickets by the municipal N.A.D. in order to secure 'reliable information'. These spying activities, however, proved of little use.(15)

The beer boycott was clearly a politicising experience for African workers. In early 1930 the mass resistance of 1929 gave way to isolated incidents of protest, such as the assault of African constables and attacks on their living quarters.(16) The antagonism of African workers towards authority, extended to include the newly-established Native Advisory Board. The opaque terms of reference of the Board and its immediately apparent unrepresentativeness of all Africans, led to its being viewed with increasing suspicion by working class blacks.(17)

Initially, the African members of the NAB presented a united front on the question of the boycott. J.R. Msimang, one of the NNC representatives, claimed that Africans 'had been fooled for a long time but they had now awakened' and that the boycott of municipal beer 'would never be raised'. The view generally was that for individual members to decide to vote against the boycott would be 'treading on dangerous ground', indicating the groundswell movement supportive of the boycott. All members thus rejected municipally-brewed beer and urged discussion of the proposed location, and wider economic issues which the Board members regarded as integral to the boycott issue.

In order to 'sound out' popular feeling about the boycott, the NNC had called a meeting in March at the Somtseu Road location and passed a resolution stating that the NNC had 'no connection whatsoever with the Beer Boycott'. However, it called for the abolition of the monopoly because the 'sale of beer as a money-making concern' was a 'bad principle'. The 'degenerating and barbarous' principle of monopoly, it affirmed, should be replaced by other measures 'to uplift the black race'.(19)

The degree to which the NNC was removed from the world of the migrant labourer, the permanently urbanised or the growing numbers of unemployed and marginalised, was relatively unambiguous. As Dube had claimed in 1929: 'I am in a rather different camp from Mr Champion of the ICU.'(20) The sustained scepticism with which the NAB was viewed by African workers was matched by one NNC representative, when he claimed that it was 'impossible for the members of the Board to get into direct touch with the Natives whom they represented', and hence it was not possible to 'give an indication of the feelings of his people' on the boycott

issue.[21] The March resolution of the NNC had little impact on the beer boycott. However, it suggested the ways in which the boycott could be used as a political bargaining tool. The continuing boycott of municipal beer provided the NNC demands for a location for married Africans and their families, with additional ballast.

The call for an African village had been a central demand of Durban's encumbant African élite (such as Dube), as well as of a broader aspirant petty bourgeois grouping (petty traders and teachers, for example) for over a decade. For a kholwa élite there was no doubt over the eligibility of the 'raw native' for such accomodation, he was perfectly well-suited to Durban's barracks.[22] For individuals such as John Dube the implications of the absence of permanent and differential housing in Durban were clear. The provision of barracks, characteristic of a labour coercive economy, kept wages low, enforced migrancy and, most importantly, failed to distinguish between the "dangerous classes" or casual workers on the one hand and, on the other, the urban-based African middle and aspirant middle class.[23] The economic gap between the wage labourer and lawyers' clerks, carpenters, drivers, tailors and civil servants was obscured by the social admixture of these classes-in-the-making, at the level of day-to-day experience, and living conditions. J.M. Ngcobo of the ICU yase Natal suggested this tension when he stated that the proposed location should be built by, and for, African bricklayers, carpenters and painters. Needless to say, Ngcobo himself was an artisan.

Another meeting, held shorly after that called by the NNC, was called by NAB members A.F. Matibela, George Champion and J.B. Mkwanazi. The unanimous decision of this meeting was to endorse the boycott and demand the suspension of municipal brewing, pending a 'settlement of the boycott'. At the same meeting Champion, on behalf of the ICU, handed out pamphlets entitled Igazi ne Zinyembezi - kumu Etshwaleni (Blood and tears - Hands off beer). The pamphlet urged Africans who were patronizing the peripheral beer halls of Sydenham and South Coast Junction to desist and maintain the boycott.[24] The continued agitation of the ICU yase Natal in favour of the boycott suggests the difference both in strategy and constituency of the Union and the NNC. These differences had a long history and were to continue to indicate the almost complete failure of the NNC's parochial leadership to find any resonance with, or provide organizational roots for, a population whose voice they claimed as their own.

At the end of March, the Native Administration Committee resolved to increase rentals for all African traders in Durban.(25) The careful watch by the Borough Police on Durban's beer halls resulted in reports that members of the ICU yase Natal were intimidating beer drinkers; Champion himself had threatened an African employee, Kishwekaya Sangweni, at the Victoria Street beer hall for precipitating the arrest of another worker who had advocated the boycott of the beer hall. At an ICU yase Natal meeting, David Sitshe, one of Champion's "lieutenants", had received the support of his audience when he stated that 'Sangweni must die'. Furthermore, an ICU yase Natal driver had reportedly informed employees at the beer hall that Africans would oppose municipal beer 'until death', and anyone seen drinking would be killed.(26) However, the united front on the beer boycott, at least at the level of the NAB, proved brittle. The moves to increase traders' rents, the continuing militancy of the ICU yase Natal leadership as well as the support which the boycott was receiving from African workers, seems to have mobilised the conservative elements on the Board which had hitherto vacillated in the face of the unremitting boycott.

On the 16 April one of the NNC representatives on the Board, J.R. Msimang, a trader and sometime usurer, proposed a motion that 'the promoters of the beer boycott be requested to suspend the same until such time as the proposed Native village is established.'(27) The motion was seconded by the other NNC representative on the Board, A.F. Matibela. Msimang backed up his motion by providing a near-grotesque description of alcohol-ravaged workers squandering wages in Durban's shebeens. Msimang also noted, significantly, the proposed increase of traders' rents. This had a direct bearing on his economic position and on that of a number of other NAB members, as well as on a NNC constituency, part of which seems to have bribed Msimang into proposing the motion.(28)

The NNC motion was carried by eight votes to two. Champion strategically abstained while J.M. Ngcobo, the other ICU yase Natal representative, voted against. Ngcobo vehemently attacked Msimang and the NNC, and claimed that workers' demands for higher wages and better housing had yet to be met. The four Town Council representatives who voted in favour of the motion received the support of the two NNC members and three others who were nominees of Layman. In short, the municipal N.A.D. had ensured that its voice would be echoed by the NAB on the crucial vote over the beer boycott. Those in favour of the continuance of the boycott comprised the ICU yase Natal and the S.A. Railways and Harbours representatives. The workers whom the latter represented had shown a high degree of militancy during 1929. Champion, on the other hand,

abstained from voting. While it appears clear that he was still involved in supporting the boycott, it would have been impolitic for him to come out either for or against the motion. He was caught in between the recent, and personally directed vituperation of the de Waal Commission and the ongoing popular boycott of beer halls. His abstention was a gesture to a Native Affairs Department which continued to view his activities with the utmost suspicion,(29) but perhaps more so to the 'many people' who had 'grave doubts about the usefulness of the Board.' While the NNC had promulgated the resolution, the co-option of the more visible and militant petty bourgeois ICU leadership remained ambiguous. Furthermore, the pledge to halt the boycott emanated from an unrepresentative élite who occupied an increasingly discredited position within the structures of local government.

The anti-boycott resolution threw into sharp relief the increasing distance between the members of the NAB and the dominated classes in the town. The day after the Board's anti-boycott motion, the NNC held a mass meeting which was heavily guarded by police, in order to present their position on the boycott. The meeting was able to register only nine votes. Nearly 700 members of the assembly refused to support the motion and left prematurely.(30) As for Msimang, he 'stood condemned in the eyes of his own people' and eventually feared for his life. By July 1930, 'strange circumstances' had forced him to vacate his business premises.(31) Msimang was finally forced to resign from the NAB on charges of bribery and corruption, which were laid by Champion.

Urban Militancy and the Zulu King

The minor turbulences rippling through the Advisory Board were paralleled by broader patterns of disaffection emanating from Durban's barracks, back-yards and peri-urban squatter settlements, where a special squad of Liquor Police was attempting to smother isitshimiyane brewing. The quiet which had fallen over beer halls, matched the paucity of beer flowing from Durban's three large breweries. In the period 1914-1917, an average of 223 620 gallons of beer were brewed a year; by 1920 the figures had substantially increased.(32) But during the period June 1929 to July 1930, the output had fallen from over 750 000 to 90 750 gallons. Revenue from the sale of beer, usually comprising well over a half of the income to the Native Revenue Account, fell to £6 107 during the same period. The estimate for beer revenue had been a massive £52 000; the shortfall of £47 517 'was almost entirely due to the boycott'.(33)

Whereas the NNC had not extended itself beyond the ranks of an educated kholwa élite, the ICU yase Natal could at least claim some support-base amongst Africans in Durban. The working class militancy of 1929, which had forced the ICU yase Natal leadership into a more radical position, had to some extent been blunted by the remorseless police action of that year. However, during 1930, the ICU leaders remained in the vanguard of the beer boycott which had the support of a diverse social base. African women, for example assumed an increasingly prominent position in sustaining the ongoing boycott.(34) This diverse constituency of the ICU yase Natal reflected itself in the ideological content of popular protest in Durban. During 1929, from the available evidence, the speeches of the leaders laid emphasis on notions of self-improvement, exhortations to join organisations,pleas for unity, as well as religious symbols of freedom.(35) An increasingly dominant Africanist emphasis, initially injected by the radical Congress leader J.T. Gumede, was also evident in the ideological discourse during the year. This differential articulation of ideological elements was further broadened by less structured ideas, "often contradictory and confused and compounded of folklore, myth and day-to-day popular experience."(36) It was these "inherent" ideas (such as the notion that municipal utshwala 'burned one's insides') which played a crucial role in sustaining the beer boycott.

The NNC generally held its meetings in the Recreation Hall at Somtseu Road location, usually with the approbation of municipal officials. The ICU yase Natal, on the other hand, chose Sydenham and Cartwright Flats ('Durban's Hyde Park', as Champion called it) as its main meeting places. These open-air gatherings, attracted a more diverse cross-section of Durban's black community. Dockworkers, domestic servants, messengers and lumpenproletarians (whose ranks swelled with the onset of the Depression) were part of crowds which numbered anything between two and five thousand.(37) During 1930 mass meetings were frequently addressed by veteran ICU yase Natal leaders such as London, Duiker, Sitshe and Gwala. Women such as Bertha Mkhize could also be noted at the meetings and on one occasion a number of women were arrested for assaulting policemen.(38)

Although claims were made that both the ICU yase Natal and its Provincial Secretary had 'lost a great deal of control, power and influence' amongst Africans, the C.I.D. believed that unrest could resurface at any point. By May 1930 these fears appeared to be well-grounded. As early as 1926 both the NAC and the ICU had taken up the grievances of Durban's ricksha pullers. At the

beginning of 1930 Champion had lodged a formal protest with the Town Council concerning various fees which these self-employed men had to pay to both the Council and the ricksha companies. On 19 May a section of the pullers came out on "strike". The striking ricksha pullers demanded that the municipal Native Administration Department intercede on their behalf in order to resolve the deadlock with ricksha-owners. The ricksha companies meanwhile secured new pullers from the ranks of those Africans who had entered Durban on the back of rural poverty. The strikers threatened these 'scabs' with violence.(39) Official fears of imminent unrest, however, focused on rumours of a rural-urban alliance being organized by the ICU yase Natal, in collaboration with various tribal chiefs in Natal and Zululand.

At the end of May sixty-two African chiefs and tribal authorities from Natal and Zululand arrived in Durban against official expectations. The ostensible reason for their arrival in Durban was an invitation extended to them by the Secretary of the ICU yase Natal, in order to discuss the ricksha strike.(40) While the arrival of so many chiefs might have been precipitated by the ricksha strike, this event had a more wide-ranging significance. On the one hand it symbolised the coalescence of urban and rural struggles, while on the other, it was a prelude to Solomon kaDinizulu's meeting with the ICU yase Natal leadership three months later. When the chiefs consulted with ICU leaders, crowds of Africans thronged the streets in anticipation. The C.I.D., meanwhile, attempted to ascertain the implications of the gathering which had been 'guarded', and about which 'very little information' had been given out.(41)

Although the ICU had been active in organizing the rural areas of Natal during the later twenties,(42) the meeting of African chiefs in Durban in 1930 represents the first attempt of the Union to forge an urban-rural alliance. In Natal during the late twenties and early thirties town and countryside were part of a single complex reality. Urban grievances were frequently echoes of economic struggles being fought in rural areas. At the level of political struggles rural and urban issues in Natal had tended to be separate. The ricksha strike may well have provided the ICU yase Natal with a political bridge into a rural constituency. Certainly the punishing conditions in rural areas, combined with sub-subsistence wages being paid to Durban's black working class, made such a bridge increasingly feasible. Although the urban-rural alliance came to nothing, at an ideological level there was a discernable shift towards traditionalist language and idioms, expressive of a heroic Zulu past.

This emerges clearly at a mass meeting held by the ICU yase Natal the day after the closed meeting with African chiefs had taken place. Six thousand Africans attended this gathering. There were ten speakers who included indunas and chiefs, as well as the ICU yase Natal leadership in Durban: Tom Gwala, J. Duiker, J. Ngcobo and Champion. Also present was Ngonyama ka Gumbi, secretary of the Pietermaritzburg Branch of the ICU yase Natal. The speakers from the country-side of Natal and Zululand told of hunger and starvation wages. Ngonyama was particularly militant. He invoked the injustices of the British to the Africans during the South African War, the harshness of poll and dipping taxes and the 'murderous acts' of the European population. Speaking the language of radical African nationalism, obviously influenced by the CPSA's 'Native Republic' slogan,(43) he suggested that Africans should 'cut the throats' of the Government and ministers of religion, 'as the Russian Communists had done'. It was reported that:

> An elderly Native from the seats of the alleged Chiefs got up and thanked Champion publicly for what he was doing. He said that they would carry on the work undertaken by him in Durban to the country also ... Then a younger Native from the crowd ... commenc(ed) 'bongering' or singing the praises of the chiefs from the past and the warring acts. He commenced with Tshaka and ended up with Champion ... this is a most dangerous proceeding in a gathering of the ICU variety ... the effect (is) electrical.(44)

At the close of the meeting, Duiker shouted 'Humu! Humu! (regiments disperse!) and the last cry to echo across the Flats which was taken up by 6 000 African voices was 'Ematsheni!' (beer halls). According to Detective R.H. Arnold, a seasoned and astute observer of the ICU yase Natal activities in Durban, this cry 'could be construed to mean anything in respect to the Beer Halls embargo'.

The report on this meeting is highly illuminating in that it suggests how the language and symbols of a pre-colonial past could be retrieved and mobilized for novel purposes. Furthermore it suggests the thin line between the strength of genuine traditions and "invented tradition".(45) Seen in these terms, the report suggests the way in which a language of symbolic communication could be used to supply a sense of continuity with, in Hobsbawm's words, "a suitable historic past". Shula Marks has skilfully shown the ideological importance of the Zulu royal family for both Natal's African petty bourgeoisie and the ideologues of segregation. However, the independent appropriation, from "below", of more general Zulu "traditional" forms was fraught with ambiguity and contradictions.

Most importantly, in the context of popular struggles in Durban during 1930, it was downright threatening.

The worst fears of the government Native Affairs Department were seemingly confirmed when Champion claimed that 'by the Chiefs coming to (Durban), it showed that now the District and Rural areas would combine with them in one general movement'.(46) The government demanded that Champion divulge the names of the chiefs who had attended the meeting. His reply was that 'he did not know who were chiefs and who were commoners, and the Police and Government agents should know what chiefs attended'.

Despite official anxiety over the bonds being forged between the ICU yase Natal and tribal authorities, as well as the increasingly Zulu nationalist content of the Union's mass meetings, it is unlikely that the government was expecting the arrival of the Zulu king in Durban. In late August 1930 Solomon arrived in the port town. Three days after having visited workers at the Bell Street barracks he slipped into the ICU Hall, too late to see a concert performance by the minstrel group Dem Darkies, but early enough to address an enthusiastic meeting.(47)

Prior to 1930 both the Zulu royal family and Natal's kholwa landowners, of whom John Dube was the most representative exponent, had been openly hostile to the activities of the ICU and later the ICU yase Natal. In 1927 Solomon had launched a bitter attack on the ICU, and Dube rapidly put the contents of this speech into Ilanga Lase Natal.(48) Champion replied to this 'underground political plot of a gang of Bantu political traitors' in his own newspaper, in characteristic polemical style.(49) It has been suggested that in response to the deepening economic crisis of the late twenties, especially in the country-side of Natal, the alternatives open to Africans had been either to join the ICU or to move closer to the Zulu king as a rallying point of popular protest.(50) The apparent irreconcilable split between the ICU yase Natal on the one hand, and the Zulu royal family on the other, would tend to suggest that these two areas were mutually exclusive. However, Champion's June meeting with the chiefs and his later meeting with Solomon hints at the tentative emergence of a broadly-based popular alliance consisting of an urban-rural petty bourgeoisie, African workers and traditional African leadership.

With the sharpening class conflict in Natal and Zululand during this period the Zulu royal family and its traditionalism "constituted a bulwark against radical change" both for an NNC élite and the ideologues of segregation such as the sugar baron G.H. Heaton-Nicholls.(51) The potential force for conservatism which traditional African authority represented appeared to be negated by the arrival in Durban of Solomon and African chiefs. The apparent about turn which Solomon's "unity talks" with the ICU yase Natal leadership suggested is less easy to explain than the consistent repression of the ICU by Natal's ruling classes. One likely explanation is that a frustrated Zulu royal family was manipulating popular feelings in an attempt to secure recognition of the paramount position of Solomon.(52) Certainly this had been, and continued to be, the central project of the Inkatha ya ka Zulu. These shifting political tactics should also need to be understood in terms of the high degree of ideological fluidity within the ranks of African opposition. The public antagonism between individuals such as Solomon and George Champion was belied by a highly mutable ideology of popular protest.

The welcome which the ICU yase Natal had extended to the chiefs was also extended to the new ANC President, Pixley Seme (who had replaced the more radical Gumede in April) when he arrived in Durban in late June 1930. In keeping with a novel tendency within the ICU yase Natal which saw the Union as a source of popular entertainment, Seme was greeted with the singing of the ICU choir, the Durban Fear No Harm Choir and the Crocodiles Company, at the Durban Workers' Club. However, three months later, Champion was banished from Natal under the amended Riotous Assemblies Act by the Minister of Justice, Oswald Pirow. Undoubtedly the central government saw this as a means of preventing the emergence of a 'general movement' encompassing town and countryside, a possibility which had been suggested by the presence of Solomon in Durban.(53)

Political Factionalism and the Struggle over Cultural Expression

After June 1930, African political organizations in Durban experienced an almost remorseless process of disintegration and fracturing. Undoubtedly, this related to developments on the broader national level where Pixley Seme, in alliance with the conservative faction of the ANC, was seeking to gain the confidence and support of chiefs, and replace mass action and popular militancy with consultation and moderation.(54) The League of African Rights which had been formed in late 1929 was dissolved during the early thirties. Both the

CPSA and the radical section of Congress were represented on the executive of the League which drew up a "petition of rights" with demands for the abolition of the pass laws, the extension of the vote and free education.(55) When J.T. Gumede was ousted from the Presidency of the ANC the radicals in the nationalist movement were replaced by elements whom the CPSA continually ridiculed as the 'good boys' of Congress.(56) In Natal, Seme attempted to re-establish the ANC. In October, he nominated Durban's Branch executive, which included a number of ICU yase Natal men. However, Seme alienated Dube by soliciting Champion's support. In Durban itself the Branch of the ANC which Seme had elected rapidly fell to pieces, while the NNC in the town split into at least three discernable factions, each endorsing separate candidates for the second term of the NAB. For example, the Durban Bantu Traders' Association, represented by aspirant NAB members W. Bhulose and A.J. Mtembu, received Dube's backing. Dube at this time was in conflict with F.M. Xulu, Chairman of the Natal Exempted Natives' Association.(57)

On a national level such divisions reflected the "disunity of a people undergoing a transition to an industrialised society".(58) They were, however, also symptomatic of heightening central state repression. The old Riotous Assemblies Act had been honed to give the state extensive powers to prohibit meetings and banish persons from specified areas, and the Urban Areas Act had also been amended to facilitate the expulsion of the 'habitually unemployed' and control the entry of African women into urban areas.(59) The processes of internal differentiation and class division within the swelling ranks of urbanized Africans, became marked during the thirties.(60) By the early 1930s, the forces impelling the detachment of aspirant and middle class Africans from the masses appeared to be greater than those capable of generating a united African response to harsh economic conditions and state repression.

Through the NAB, the needs of a small section of African society in Durban were receiving some degree of attention. The establishment of the Board and the promise of a location at Clairwood for 'more civilised' Africans, partly fulfilled their demands. The provision of this proposed housing scheme depended substantially on the decreasing revenue accruing to the Native Revenue Account since white labour, fearful of being undercut, fiercely opposed the use of cheap migrant labour in the erection of houses.(61) Not surprisingly then, those sections of the African population which were to benefit from the proposed location, also had, along with the local state, a stake in the termination

of the boycott. The perception that beer revenue was central to the financing of African housing and to labour coercion and control, was pivotal in the mass mobilisation against municipal beer halls in 1929. However, the realisation by Board members of these intimate connections assumed an altered importance, given the rapidly changing conditions of struggle.(62)

The anti-boycott resolution of April 1930 had no apparent impact upon the boycott of municipal beer. Instead, the initial suspicion directed at the Board was replaced by open criticism of its unrepresentativeness. When the new NAB was elected in July, the NNC and ICU yase Natal representation had been cut by half and substituted by an extra two representatives from church organisations, both of whom were NNC members. By September, the only voice of opposition on the NAB was J.M. Ngcobo, who had become Provincial Secretary of the ICU yase Natal after Champion's deportation. However, even Ngcobo's voice remained muted: the fruits of the rural-urban alliance were nowhere to be seen, the ICU yase Natal had lost an important figurehead in the guise of Champion, and the Union had increasingly become associated with a discredited institution. The attempt to co-opt a specific stratum of Africans through the NAB, had coincided with renewed attempts by police and native affairs officials to modify certain aspects of an emergent urban African culture, in order to maintain the overall efficiency and coercion of African workers. The most "dangerous" elements of this culture were evident outside of working hours.

Although the shebeen provided a central social institution for urban and semi-urbanised people in Durban, the cultural resilience of Africans expressed itself in a variety of other forms and activities. The group activities of Africans involoved in amalaita gangs, ngoma dancing, dance halls, church choirs and football teams,(63) for example, were integral to the nurturing of a culture based in areas relatively discrete from the work-place, and indeed, provided the essential context for African opposition in the late twenties and early thirties. The capacity of the ICU yase Natal to give political direction to popular grievances in the period prior to the beer boycott, had always been viewed by Durban's police and native affairs bureaucracy with great apprehension. For example, in early 1929, clashes which broke out amongst over five hundred 'undisciplined' African dancers were clearly linked to the political agitation of the ICU yase Natal. The Chief Constable, W.A. Alexander, claimed that:

> some provision should be made in different areas of the town, convenient of access by the Native,

> where they may find suitable recreation in their leisure hours in order to avoid the evil influence and vicious examples to which they are exposed in Cartwright Flats and other meeting places.(64)

C.F. Layman condemned ngoma dancing on the grounds that the 'congregation of Natives armed with sticks, etc., in towns, has almost invariably resulted in serious friction amongst the various tribes'.

The reluctance of the municipal N.A.D. to countenance ngoma dancing in the town was replaced, after the 1929 riots, by attempts to provide for the strict control and policing of large numbers of Africans gathered together for the purposes of dancing, or any other communal social expression outside of the workplace. These moves had been endorsed by the de Waal and Native Affairs Commissions of 1929, as well as by the Joint Council. The connections between the opposition of 1929 and the apparently trivial and escapist informal vocabulary of ordinary Africans, as expressed in dance forms, were clear. For example, ngoma dancing provided the vocabulary for marching groups of African beer hall pickets. The boycott of municipal beer hastened the attempts to render potentially "dangerous" cultural practises, such as drinking in shebeens, into other forms of "cheap, harmless entertainment for workers".(65)

The opposition of ordinary African men and women, which had found a temporary vehicle of expression in the ICU yase Natal, stood in sharp contrast with near-monadic or irresolute African leaders. A report in the Natal Mercury in August 1930 suggested that, if at one level, a strategy of incorporation was finding its mark, at another level the resolve of most Africans in Durban remained no less diminished. It was reported in the local press that:

> the beer halls are still as deserted as they were a month ago. Even the ricksha boy is deliberately missing one of the joys of his arduous life ... Natives who had hitherto been good law-abiding boys are now being forced to resort to isi-tshimiyane (in) shebeens outside the Borough. ... Another remarkable feature (is) that although the group responsible for the boycott cannot have more than two or three hundred members, it is influencing, and indeed intimidating, 40 000 natives in the Durban area.(66)

The space created by Champion's removal from Natal was filled by internecine power struggles within the ICU yase Natal and also by the resurgence of the CPSA's Durban Branch, led by Johannes Nkosi.

The 1930 Pass Burning Campaign and the Death of Johannes Nkosi

In January 1929 a number of CPSA organizers arrived in Durban from Johannesburg. These included S.P. Bunting, C.F. Glass, Douglas Wolton, Issy Diamond and Mike Diamond, amongst others. This migration coincided with the adoption by the CPSA of a "radically new programme" which called for a 'South African Native Republic' to be achieved through a national democratic revolution. This would pave the way to a classless society. The debates and disagreements over the validity of the slogan cannot be discussed here. What can be mentioned is that despite opposition from the Bunting faction of the CPSA, the Party "abided loyally by the Comintern ruling."(67) At a national level the late twenties saw the steady "Africanisation" of the previously white-dominated Party. In 1928 it was reported that Party membership numbered 1750 of which 1600 were Africans, as against 200 the year before.(68)

During the course of 1929 the Native Republic slogan had been ventilated, particularly by J.T. Gumede, at mass meetings in Durban. The Party organizers seem to have kept a fairly low profile in Durban throughout 1929. Although Champion repudiated communism on the grounds that it would dispossess "men like myself who hold landed properties", his dealings with the Party organizers appear to have been generally relaxed.(69) Organizers, for example, sold copies of Umsebenzi at ICU yase Natal meetings, and on occasion, spoke at these meetings. In June 1929, Johannes Nkosi, a one-time domestic servant and farm labourer, was appointed Branch Chairman of the CPSA in Durban. Nkosi was also active in the Party night school movement in Durban. He "taught the Red Flag" and was paid 15s a week by S.M. Pettersen. Pettersen, who was a ship-chandler and owned a smallholding in Westville, had managed to be elected onto the Durban Town Council in a 1929 bye-election.(70) It seems that throughout 1929 the Durban Branch of the CPSA conducted sustained but low-profile attempts at organisation. In one rare record of a 1929 speech by Nkosi, the general tenor of the Party line in Durban was suggested:

> Yesterday there were natives who did not like the ICU or Communists, but on the day of the riots there was no difference between anybody ... This over the beer was a general beer strike, and we should also have a pass strike ... I am ... telling you that it is now time to unite, whether Basuto or any other race ... They won't look to see if a native is an ICU or a Communist, they will shoot every black man ... there should be an

> Independent Black Republic ... I am closing the meeting because the ICU is holding a meeting next door.(71)

At a national level the CPSA was preparing an anti-pass campaign to which end it had invited the ANC, the ICU and trade unions to take part.(72)

In September 1930 the Durban branch obtained a new hall in Hospital Road at the Point, and held numerous meetings to prepare the ground for the proposed anti-pass campaign. Nkosi received organisational support from Pettersen, Albert Nzula, Issy Diamond and Garna Makabeni. Nkosi called upon Africans to destroy their passes ('badges of slavery', as he put it) on Dingaan's Day, 16 December. The speeches of Nkosi in the few months prior to December suggest a fiery and reckless confidence. On 9 November, Nkosi, accompanied by a maverick ICU yase Natal member, S. Mtolo, harangued a meeting in the following terms:

> You must throw away your passes and carry your sticks. If you see any Police on the streets they must be killed, also anyone working for the Corporation ... any Native found working on that day must be killed ... Don't run away if a riot occurs ... I hope the steamer on which Hertzog is returning from England will sink and that his soul will go to hell. You are not to drink any more beer and if you see anyone going into the beer halls tomorrow, kill them ... I want you to smash the barrels in the beer halls and spill the beer.(73)

In Durban, the nationally co-ordinated anti-pass campaign discovered in municipal beer a vital symbol around which other working class grievances could be mobilized.

During the same month African women echoed Nkosi's demands that beer halls should be attacked. These women, denied the right to brew their own beer, held that 'the men have failed and we women will show them what we can do'.(74) Such issues were receiving no ventilation on the NAB and the distance of the Board from day-to-day living issues was aptly expressed by togt workers:

> It occurs that a certain native Magcekeni Matonsi was nominated or elected as a representative of the Bell Street Point Barracks ... We wish to state that we do not know him and he does not know our mind ... we do not wish to be led by a man

> we do not know. We were only told by the authorities that he is our leader, and we know nothing of him.(75)

Representatives of mediatory bodies such as the Durban Joint Council expressed concern over the undemocratic nature of the NAB,[76] clearly fearing the development of a irremediable cleft between the Board and the people whom it claimed to represent.

Concern over the uninhibited activities of the Communist Party was also expressed by the Native Welfare Officer, J.T. Rawlins (N.W.O.) who had been appointed in 1930 to supervise African "welfare and recreation". In his policing and information-gathering duties in parts of the town which remained untraversed by municipal N.A.D. officials, he discovered 'fairly large' Communist Party meetings. He indicated in his reports that the CPSA was not popular 'in these hard times', especially since the speakers were asking for money to subsidise a trip overseas in order to present African grievances to a wider audience.[77] However, the N.W.O. called for 'exhaustive enquiries' into the activities of the Durban Branch 'so that they cannot go about freely in Durban'.

Official fears of the repetition of the 1929 resistance remained close to the surface during late 1930. African women were organizing a conference to mobilize support for the anti-municipal beer movement, while widescale drunkenness and amalaita gang activities tended to indicate that the objective conditions of existence for most African people had little changed. The Native Affairs Commission had suggested wage increases for African workers and yet employers of labour failed to act upon this advice. The battle against the 'idle, dissolute and disorderly' became more intense with the onset of nation-wide depression, while the ranks of the unemployed swelled. The distance which the more prominent ICU yase Natal leadership had publicly placed between the CPSA and the ICU yase Natal was defied by the more fluid allegiances of rank and file. The distinctions which Champion had made between the ICU yase Natal and the CPSA before the de Waal Commission of Inquiry into the 1929 riots were dissolved at the level of the daily experience of Africans in Durban.

By November 1930 the appeal which the CPSA held for both labouring and unemployed Africans in Durban became clearer. While the ICU yase Natal's ambiguous but popular leader was absent and its new secretary discredited by his presence on the

NAB, the CPSA under Johannes Nkosi offered a brand of radicalism previously unseen in Durban. On the other hand, J.M. Ngcobo did little to discourage disaffection from the ICU yase Natal. He was quick to disavow the proposed pass-burning campaign. Ngcobo claimed that he:

> had been approached on many occasions to indicate the policy of this organisation concerning such demonstrations ... He assured the Board that the movement did not have the support of the ICU and they did not wish in any way to be identified with such demonstrations.(78)

African rank and file, however, defied the apparent clarity of position of African leadership. By December 1930, the CPSA in Durban had a purported membership of 6 000. Cyrus Lettonyane of Kadalie's anti-communist Independent ICU, took, en bloc, the Independent ICU's membership over into the ranks of the CPSA. According to the C.I.D., members of the ICU yase Natal 'secretly joined up in hundreds' with the campaign, and large numbers of rank and file ANC members put their weight behind the Communist Party.(79)

J.T. Rawlins, the N.W.O., keeping a careful, but not entirely astute eye on this popular movement, claimed that there were 'few adherents' of the Communist Party and that the anti-pass campaign would fail. However, at an ICU yase Natal meeting on 14 December, attended by 3 000 people, Rawlins might have found some seeds of doubt. He requested that the meeting keep calm and work in a 'constitutional way'; but he could not help noticing that:

> the ICU prolonged their meeting till late that evening in order to keep away their members from going across the Railway line where the Communists were holding their meeting.(80)

"Fickleness", then, was the only possession of rank and file.

By late afternoon, on 16 December, over three thousand Africans had gathered at Cartwright's Flats. Nkosi suggested that they march to the statue of Queen Victoria in the city centre 'to remind her that she had not kept her promise'. According to another witness, the crowd gathered in the 'usual method of Zulu warfare - a formation as of the horns of an ox'. A man in a red robe collected

passes and after petrol had been thrown on three thousand passes, a match signalled their destruction and brought forth loud cheers of 'Usutu!' By all accounts, Nkosi, standing on a table, spoke of caution. The atmosphere was tense, however, and was fuelled by large numbers of inebriated workers and lumpen elements. As one witness claimed, 'the majority of natives present appeared to be of the scum of the town', and that while 'the speakers did not want to fight', the rank and file, 'collected from Sydenham and such places' certainly did.(81) While three thousand passes were still burning, a force of twenty-five white and forty-five African police charged the crowd with assegais and knob-kerries, and simultaneously, the Chief Constable advanced with the police and, aiming at Nkosi, shot him dead. Three other Africans died with Nkosi.

At the subsequent court case, thirty-one Africans were charged with public violence. The court records are illuminating in that they suggest the extent to which the social base of the pass-burning campaign comprised Durban's labouring poor together with a conspicuous number of unemployed and "criminal" elements. At least six of the accused had previous convictions for a variety of offences such as theft, assault and possession of illicit liquor. The leader of the Independent ICU, who had taken 300 predominantly Sotho followers into the CPSA,(82) had no less than six convictions for offences ranging from theft and assault to malicious damage to property. But perhaps the most interesting case, in so far as it illustrates the continuities between urban and rural struggles, is that of Thomas Qwabe. He had served two years hard labour in 1906 after being convicted on charges of treason during the Bambatha rebellion.(83)

In December 1929 those Africans who shifted between the ranks of the employed and the unemployed, the marginalized living in the peri-urban areas and the voiceless, frustrated working class combined to resist a particular form of class and racial oppression - the pass. On the one hand, this challenge was directed as much against those who had been partially incorporated through the NAB, as at the harsh controls enforced in a labour-coercive environment. On the other hand, the success of the pass-burning campaign provides an index of just how desperate economic conditions were in the countryside of Natal and Zululand.(84) With Nkosi's death, dissolved many of those radical elements which had been part of a popular discourse since the end of 1928. The monopolisation of beer brewing was a grievance which was uniformly experienced by all Africans in Durban. Moreover, it provided, at an ideological level, a symbol around which

more general urban and rural discontent could be mobilized. By June 1930, African opposition in Durban had become imbued with a more clearly-defined class content. Undoubtedly, pass-burning did not particularly appeal to NNC members, nearly all of whom were exempted.(85) The promise of a 'native village' for a group of educated kholwa, a category inclusive of many ICU yase Natal leaders, as well as rank and file, promoted a process of internal stratification amongst blacks in Durban. After the fracturing of the popular alliances of 1929, the most oppressed sections of the working class were left to face, with a desperate futility, the full thrust of police and municipal coercion. The united opposition of Africans in the twenties, gave way in the thirties, to political factionalism and the rapid dissipation of the transient cohesiveness of the broad alliances of the late twenties.

The opposition of December 1930 continued in hidden ways, into 1931. The boycott remained in evidence throughout the early part of the year, while the brewing of isitshimiyane continued in the face of extensive raids on shebeens.(86) A small African petty bourgeoisie which increasingly perceived itself as socially different from the 'unchristianized houseboy' and the 'raw uncivilized' labourer and ricksha puller,(87) had received the promise of differential treatment. With these promises, which had been made explicit in the NAB 'goodwill gesture' and implicit in the planning of Lamontville, Durban's African middle and aspirant middle class attempted to distance itself from the working class. The shifting, but ambiguous, position of some of these people was captured by J.M. Ngcobo when he commented on Nkosi's death:

> We (the ICU yase Natal) as a Union and more so as Officials did our best to disassociate ourselves with the activities (of the CPSA), but (Champion) is away and no one at present is looked upon by our rank and file for ... advice ... this was an act of cold blooded murder.(88)

For one observer, this shifting balance of class forces during the early thirties was less ambiguous. 'The African intelligentsia', claimed Gilbert Coka, became 'wedded to the billiard tables'.(89)

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3. See M.W. Swanson, '"The Durban System": Roots of Urban Apartheid in Colonial Natal', African Studies, Vol. 35, No. 3-4, 1976; P. Maylam, 'Aspects of African Urbanization in the Durban Area before 1940', unpublished paper presented to the Workshop on Natal c. 1930-1960, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1980. Also la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', pp. 71-113.

4. La Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', pp. 144-48.

5. See Helen Bradford, 'Mass Movements and the Petty Bourgeoisie: The Social Origins of the ICU Leadership', Journal of African History, Vol. 25, No. 3, 1984, for some insightful comments in this regard.

6. See, for example, Mayor's Minute, 1924, p. 199.

7. Town Clerk's Files (T.C.F.) Native Location, Vol. 36, File 49, jkt 3, Return of Native caterers etc. Trading in Municipal Native Institutions controlled by the N.A.D. April 1924.

8. La Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', p. 146.

9. T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol. 63, File 467, jkt 1, Evidence of Native Administration Committee of the Durban Town Council to Native Economic Commission, March 1931.

10. P. la Hausse, 'Drinking in a Cage: The Durban System and the 1929 Riots', Africa Perspective, No. 20, 1982; la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', Ch.4.

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13. T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 232A, jkt.1, Champion to T.C., 27 December 1929.

14. Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 19 February 1930; and 19 March 1930.

15. T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol. 21, File 91, jkt.1, T.C. to C.C., 22 January 1930.

16. T.C.F. Native Locations, Vol. 14, File 49, jkt.1, Compound Manager, Bell Street Barracks to municipal N.A.D., 6 February 1930.

17. See Minutes of the Native Advisory Board, Book 1, 22 January 1930.

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19. T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol. 21, File 91, jkt.1, F.M Xulu to T.C. Resolution of Mass Meeting, 5 March 1930.

20. Minutes of Evidence of Native Riots Commission, Durban, July 1929, p.407, Evidence of J. Dube.

21. Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930.

22. Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, p.408, Evidence of J. Dube.

23. See, for example, Minutes of Evidence of the Native Economic Commission 1930-32 (NEC), pp. 6302-09, Evidence of Violet Makanya; also pp. 6291-92, Evidence of A.J. Lutuli.

24. T.C.F Kaffir Beer, Vol.21, File 91, jkt.1, 'Blood and Tears' pamphlet (translation of original Zulu).

25. Minutes of the Native Administration Committee, Book 3, 24 March 1930.

26. T.C.F. Kaffir Beer, Vol. 21, File 91, jkt.1, Confidential Evidence of K. Sangweni to H.S. Fynn, Additional Native Commissioner, 28 March 1930.

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30. Natal Mercury, 17 April 1930.

31. See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930; and T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.1, Msimang to T.C., 12 May 1930.

32. See T.C.F. Supply of Native Beer, Vol. 48, File 91, jkts.1-3.

33. Mayor's Minute, 1930, p.lii.

34. See la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', Ch.4.

35. Cf. W. Beinart and C. Bundy, 'The Union, the Nation, and the Talking Crow: the Ideology and Tactics of the Independent ICU in East London', unpublished African Studies Institute seminar paper, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985. This perceptive study traces the changing ideological discourse of the Independent ICU in East London.

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41. D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, Report of Detective-Sergeant R.H. Arnold, C.I.D., 2 June 1930.

42. See H. Bradford, 'Strikes in the Natal Midlands: landlords, labour tenants and the I.C.U.', Africa Perspective, No. 22, 1983.

43. See p. 19 below.

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48. See Ilanga lase Natal 12 August 1927. Dube claimed that Solomon regarded the activities of the ICU leaders as 'very dangerous' and also felt that they were 'exploiting poor Native workers'.

49. Udibi Lwase Africa, September 1927.

50. S. Marks, 'Natal, the Zulu Royal Family and the Ideology of Segregation', Journal of Southern African Studies, Vol. 4, No.2, 1978.

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58. H.J. and R.E., Simons, Class and Colour in South Africa 1850 - 1950. (Harmondsworth, 1969), p. 434.

59. See Government Gazette, 5 February 1929. Bill to amend the law relating to Natives in Urban Areas. Over 1 000 Africans were expelled from Durban on the basis of these regulations.

60. The socially exclusive nature of the ANC leadership during the early 1930s is suggested by Mweli T. Skota's, The African Yearly Register - An Illustrated National Biographical Dictionary (Who's Who) of Black Folks in Africa (Johannesburg, 1931).

61. N.E.C. Minutes of Evidence, p. 6467, Evidence of Durban Municipal Council.

62. Ironically, one N.A.B. member claimed that "it was not an easy matter to explain to his people the real position" of the Native Revenue Account. See Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 16 April 1930.

63. For discussion of these recreational forms see la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', Ch. 6.

64. T.C.F. Native Affairs in the Borough, Vol. 48, File 467, jkt. 2, C.C. to T.C., 13 March 1929.

65. Cf. C. van Onselen, Chibaro (Johannesburg, 1980), pp. 186-94.

66. Natal Mercury, 28 August 1930.

67. H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour, pp. 407-09. For an examination of the programme see M. Legassick, 'Class and Nationalism in South African Protest: The South African Communist Party and the "Native Republic", 1928-34', unpublished paper, Syracuse University, 1973. Also see B. Bunting, Moses Kotane - South African Revolutionary (London, 1975), pp. 14-42. For the programme itself see Carter-Karis Microfilm, Reel 3A, 2:CC1:85/3, extract from the South African Worker, No. 596, 31 January 1929.

68. Bunting, Moses Kotane, pp. 29-30.

69. Native Riots Commission, Minutes of Evidence, pp. 337-8. Champion was at pains to disassociate himself from the CPSA. Ironically, Communist literature was discovered by police in the ICU Hall.

70. See la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', p. 181.

71. D.J. K22. B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, file 6301/29, C.I.D. report on meeting, Bell Street, 9 September 1929.

72. H.J. and R.E. Simons, Class and Colour, pp. 443-44. A large section of the ICU and ANC boycotted the conference.

73. T.C.F. Durban Native Riots - 1929, Vol. 57, File 323, Reports of Constables Msizane and Tshabane, 11 November 1930.

74. T.C.F. Native Affairs in Borough, Vol. 63, File 467, jkt. 1, W.B. North to T.C., 19 November 1930.

75. T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.1, A. Gumede and S. Ngcongo (on behalf of Bell Street barracks) to N.A.B., 21 November 1930.

76. T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.1, Mabel Palmer to T.C., 21 November 1930.

77. T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.1, J.T. Rawlins to T.C. 14 November 1930. This was undoubtedly a reference to Albert Nzula's attempts to raise finances for a trip to the Soviet Union. He made the trip in 1931 but never returned. See R. Cohen, 'Albert Nzula: The Road from Rouxville to Russia' in B. Bozzoli (ed), Labour, Townships and Protest (Johannesburg, 1979), pp. 325-40.

78. Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 26 November 1930.

79. D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, C.I.D. Report, 30 March 1931.

80. T.C.F. Native Advisory Board, Vol. 57, File 323A, jkt.2, Extract from N.W.O.'s report, 18 December 1930. Compare this speech with that of Nkosi's, pp. 19-20 above.

81. Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1932, Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931, Evidence of B.E. Pepworth. The description which follows has been assembled from these records. R.H. Arnold claimed that the membership of the CPSA in Durban comprised the 'worst loafing type'.

82. The precise relationship between the Independent ICU and is not clear at this stage. However, it should be noted that Nkosi made specific reference to the "Basuto" in his speeches and further, that the CPSA had dealings with the Basutoland based Lekhotla la Bafo (the "League of the Poor") from 1928. On 16 December a large number of Sotho men were present at Cartwright's Flats.

83. See Durban Criminal Records, A Court, Durban, 1927-1932, Case Heard by G.P. Stead, January 1931. Eleven of the accused received fines of £25 or 5 months hard labour and four received six months hard labour.

84. See Marks, 'The Ideology of Segregation', pp. 183-4.

85. See D.J. K22 B.1, Native Unrest in Durban, File 6301/29, C.I.D. Report, 30 March 1931.

86. See la Hausse, 'Struggle for the City', p. 329. In 1930 there were 1 121 arrests for the possession of illicit brews.

87. For the views of one member of the N.A.B. on this matter see Minutes of the N.A.B., Book 1, 13 September 1933.

88. Forman Papers, BC. 581 6.53, J.M. Ngcobo, Acting Secretary of the ICU yase Natal to Chief Native Commissioner 31 December 1933.

89. See G. Coka, 'The Story of Gilbert Coka of the Zulu Tribe of Natal, South Africa', in M. Perham (ed.), Ten Africans (London, 1936), p. 318. Although Coka was in Pietermaritzburg at the time, his comments can also be taken as relevant to developments in Durban. He also claimed that 'individualism was giving (the African) a petty bourgeois outlook', p. 316.