

Southern Africa Labour and Development Research Unit

CONFLICT ON SOUTH AFRICAN MINES,
1972 - 1979

Dudley Horner and Alide Kooy
Saldru Working Paper No. 29

Cape Town

June 1980

ISBN 0 7992 0356 4

I

Between October 1972 and December 1979 a series of 81 incidents of resistance occurred on South African mines, many of them violent, in which 205 workers died and 1 168 were injured. These events took place in almost every mining region in the country, in gold, coal and other types of mining.

It is extremely difficult to obtain adequate information about these events. Detailed investigations have been carried out by the mining houses, but their reports are not ordinarily available to researchers. We have had to rely almost entirely on press reports, which are scanty and often very brief, reflecting the prevailing view that many of the incidents can be attributed to 'faction fighting' and explained simply in terms of irrational tribal violence.

This sort of approach is a distortion of reality. In this paper we argue that all the incidents of 'faction fighting' and indeed all the incidents on the mines must be seen in the correct context, and it is this context on which we wish to elaborate here.

In writing this we have drawn heavily on the work of Phimister and Van Onselev on Rhodesian mining before 1953. We do not suggest that an adequate understanding of the responses of labour on South African mines in the 1970s can be achieved by uncritically taking over their conceptualisations, nor, indeed, that these are theoretically unproblematic. Also, fuller analysis would examine the particular imperatives of mining capital in South Africa at present, the structure of the labour supply and the changing labour process on the mines. This we have not been able to do. However, in our opinion the analysis developed by Phimister and van Onselen represents the most useful context in which to develop an understanding of the events we seek to examine. Van Onselen has described the highly repressive conditions in the mine compounds, where workers were controlled through 'quasi-military' systems of authority, often coupled with force. He has exposed the ways in which the work force was manipulated through the use of drugs, sex, beer, credit, religion and other forms of social control.¹

* This paper was prepared for submission to the session on Forms of Protest and Settlement in Industrial Conflicts of the 5th World Congress of the International Industrial Relations Association in Paris on 3-7 September 1979. It draws on earlier work published as Conflict on South African Mines, Saldru Working Paper No. 5, 1976.

The assumption that the consciousness of African workers in these conditions should be seen in terms of 'associations and organisations which manifestly articulate worker interests'² has been refuted by both Phimister and van Onselen.

Thus van Onselen has written of the compound system as it developed in Rhodesia: 'Within the confines of barrack-like accommodation, surrounded in some cases by barbed wire fences, a quasi-military system of labour discipline operated. Large numbers of black workers were controlled, marshalled and disciplined through the agency of the black compound police, suitably armed with sjamboks (leather whips). Underground control was effected through black capitaos or 'boss boys' who were in turn under the supervision of white miners.'

'The close supervision and discipline ensured through these more highly paid black intermediaries militated against more direct expressions of discontent. Given this repressive control of labour, one must seek the expression of worker discontent in the nooks and crannies of the day-to-day work situation.'³

And: 'In a labour-coercive economy ... worker ideologies and organisations should be viewed essentially as the high water marks of protest; they should not be allowed to dominate our understanding of the way in which the economic system worked, or of the African miners' responses to it. At least as important, if not more so, were the less dramatic, silent and often unorganised responses, and it is this latter set of responses, which occurred on a day-to-day basis, that reveal most about the functioning of the system and formed the woof and warp of worker consciousness.'⁴

Incidents such as the strikes at Wankie in 1912 and Shamva Mine in 1927 described by van Onselen and Phimister, respectively, are, then, to be seen as the 'high water marks' of protest.⁵ But more important, they argue, in terms of worker consciousness, are such issues as workers' selection of particular mines, desertion from particular mines, and day to day resistance in the form of, for example, absenteeism, loafing and industrial sabotage.

II

Mining, and more particularly gold mining, is a crucial sector of the South African economy, in terms of contribution to the national product, foreign exchange earnings and employment. Thus in February 1979 the mines employed a total of 667 000 workers, 69 000 white and 598 000 black,⁶ in an economically active population of 9 440 000.⁷ But far more important for our purposes is the fact that it was on the diamond and gold mines that the compound as the basic labour repressive institution of South African capitalism was developed.

South African capitalist development was predicated on a system of migrant labour, in which male workers were forced out to work on the farms and the mines by the systematic destruction of the rural base through conquest and expropriation and by taxation. The existence of rural 'labour reserves' enabled the farms and the mines in the critical early stages of their development to reap a sort of super-profit through the payment of labour at a level below its reproduction cost - the rest of the cost being borne by the peasant economy. The reserves still exist today in the form of 'homelands', some of which have recently been declared independent, although their precise function in the present stage of development of the capitalist state is not clear. It seems that the process of disintegration of the rural economy is now so far advanced that the reserves should be seen as pools of surplus labour, whose inhabitants have become almost completely dependent on wage labour, rather than as sites for the reproduction of labour power.

Historically the mines have drawn their labour from reserves inside South Africa and from neighbouring countries such as Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique and, more recently, from Rhodesia. The mines' policy has been to recruit their labour from as many regions as possible. However, recent

events in southern Africa have induced the mines to undertake a major recruiting drive inside South Africa, both in the reserves and in the capitalist farming areas, to reduce their dependence on foreign labour. The workers are recruited through The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA), formerly Mine Labour Organisations and earlier the Native Recruiting Corporation (N.R.C.) and the Witwatersrand Native Labour Bureau (Wenela), a centralised recruiting organisation established by the Chamber of Mines. The miners are employed on contracts of 9 to 18 months, at the end of which they return to their homes. While on the mines they live in compounds, which have been described as a kind of bachelor barracks in which workers retire when off shift to bunk beds in communal dormitories and receive their food in specially provided communal kitchens.⁸

The living conditions in the compounds - which house between 1 000 and 8 000 men in hostels containing between 12 and 50 men to a dormitory, where privacy is at a premium, have been described by Wilson.⁹

The compound comes closer to achieving total control over the labour force than any other modern institution. The men are woken in the very early morning by loudspeakers in the dormitories, proceed to communal change rooms to dress for work, then to dining-halls for a meal of porridge, bread and beverages. On some mines the men walk from the hostels to the marshalling point at the shaft-head, on others they are conveyed in 'personnel carriers'.

The miners are then lowered in cages for their work underground, where the majority stay for 9 hours without a break for food, and a substantial proportion for up to 12 hours. At the end of the shift they are hoisted to the surface. It appears that there is less urgency about getting the men up at the end of the day than about getting them down at the beginning - in fact delays at the hoist are a perennial source

of complaint by workers,¹⁰ as they mean not only extra time underground, but also cold food, less choice of food and cold showers in the hostels.

In these circumstances the worker's legitimate control over his day is effectively limited to sleeping later in the morning rather than eating breakfast, or showering and/or going to the liquor outlet before the evening meal (at a risk of finding inadequate food on his return) rather than after. The mine-worker is controlled through an elaborate system of compound manager, assistant manager, indunas, tribal representatives ('police-boys') and isibondas outside working hours and during working hours by underground manager, overseer, section manager, shift boss, mine captain, white miner, African team leader ('boss-boy').

III

In these conditions 'worker consciousness' is expressed in specific ways. One of these is avoidance of particular mines. Phimister and van Onselen have shown that workers from central Africa, through a highly developed system of market intelligence, avoided mines which had the reputation of paying particularly low wages, being particularly dangerous or having a high incidence of death from disease.¹¹ There is evidence that today workers, where they are able to do so, make use of the same sorts of criteria in avoiding certain mines, and indeed, in avoiding mining as an occupation. It is noticeable that it was only after the Chamber of Mines substantially raised wages in 1974 (see Table 5) that black South African workers went to the mines in large numbers; it seems that previously many of these workers preferred to remain unemployed in the hope of getting a higher paid and less dangerous job in manufacturing industry.

Theoretically South African miners have a (limited) choice as to which of the 'open' mines they can work on. Foreign

workers have less choice, and historically have often been fed to the mines which were shunned by local labour. Foreign workers' options have been further reduced by the recent drive by the mines to reduce dependence on foreign labour and to introduce re-engagement certificates as a pre-requisite for the employment of Rhodesian and Mozambican miners (these are issued at the discretion of mine management and effectively not only debar novices but mean that men may only return to the mine on which they were previously employed). But some mines are still so unpopular with local labour that they have had to waive these restrictions. Thus, for example, Western Deep is extremely deep, very hot and very unpopular. And '... given a choice in terms of the Wenela contract, miners generally opt for mines other than this one. Confronted with shrinking employment openings and thus no choice, Mozambican miners have little option but to sign on for Western Deep Levels, and Anglo-American's policy of dispensing with Mozambican labour seems to have gone by the board in this instance ... ERPM (East Rand Proprietary Mines) which is also an old, very hot and unpopular mine has been going out of its way to make openings for Mozambicans and has been issuing new re-employment certificates, sometimes through the post, to ex-employees whose certificates have already expired'.¹²

IV

But it is with worker consciousness and forms of resistance on the mine that we are primarily concerned here.

One of the first and obvious responses to a labour repressive system, as van Onselen and Phimister have shown, has been desertion. They argue that desertion should be seen as a form of combination. Thus desertion can be seen as a reaction to a system of forced labour, a protest against poor working conditions and, in the Rhodesian case, part of systematic and conscious attempts by workers to reach a

market (the Witwatersrand) where their labour would fetch the highest price.¹³ In considering South African mining in the 1970s, it seems clear that the large scale desertions by, or 'repatriations' of, Basotho, Mozambican and local miners (see Diary of Events) were indeed a response to a situation which they found intolerable and one of the few possible responses in the absence of institutionalised collective bargaining procedures.

Moorson¹⁴ has suggested, in examining strikes in Namibia, that desertion was designed 'to exploit tactically the duality of their (the workers') class position'. Thus partly proletarianised workers, with some peasant base, were able to withdraw from the capitalist system for a period and prolong resistance. However the destruction of peasant agriculture in the countries supplying labour to the South African mines eventually forced Malawian, Mozambican and Basotho miners to return to the mines, as was the case in Namibia.

All the evidence, historical and contemporary, contradicts the myth that African miners do not have a clear understanding of the way in which they are used in the production process or that they are content with their situation. On the contrary, it is clear that they understand, not only the job hierarchy, wage differentials and the limits to their advancement up the wage scale, but the functions of these in the production process. They are fully aware of the hazards of mining, in terms of safety and of health. If the miners do not articulate these grievances in terms of formalised protest, it is because of the labour-repressive situation in which they are caught.

Of the 81 disturbances on the mines between 1972 and 1979, 20 were directly related to working and living conditions. Eighteen were strikes based on wage demands, where attempts to picket and the intervention of mine and South African police often resulted in violence. Thirteen of these incidents

took place on gold mines. Some of the strikes were associated with demands for higher wages; the 3 strikes which occurred on Orange Free State gold mines in rapid succession in May and June 1974 were sparked by worker dissatisfaction because 'for years their wages had been less than those on surrounding mines'.¹⁵ Other incidents were clearly associated with the payment of bonuses to certain categories of workers and with wage differentials. (See for example the strikes at Western Deep levels in September 1973 and Indumeni Coal Mines in September 1978).

It is noteworthy that in the conditions of the compound issues like the size of the meat ration and dissatisfaction with indunas can provoke major riots. According to our sources this happened at President Steyn gold mine in May 1978, when more than 1 000 miners rioted after one miner had complained about the meat ration; the strike at Elandsrand in 1979 was apparently also linked to the adequacy of the meat ration (see Diary of Events). Anger at one induna at Koegas Mine in March 1977 developed into a situation where management felt obliged to remove all other indunas and mine police from the mine.

A further incident directly related to working conditions occurred when Mozambican trainees refused to take part in the acclimatisation programme on Loraine gold mine in November 1978. Acclimatisation for underground workers on most mines involves stripping naked in the change room, being weighed and then spending several hours each day for five days running up specially designed concrete steps in rooms heated to about 33 degrees Celsius and with a high degree of humidity. This process is designed to prepare the miner for hard work in the hot, sticky conditions underground.

It seems certain that complaints such as these are common, but it is only when they develop into more forceful protest that they engage the attention of the press.

A further set of incidents was sparked by the specific grievances of Lesotho and Malawian nationals on the mines. In November 1974 the Lesotho government promulgated regulations making compulsory the deferment of 60 per cent of the monthly basic pay of Lesotho nationals into the Lesotho National Bank, to be refunded to the miner on his return to Lesotho after the completion of his contract. Voluntary deferred pay schemes had been operating for miners from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa since 1918, administered by the Native Recruiting Corporation, and at the time of the introduction of the new regulations, about 80 per cent of Lesotho nationals had been subscribing voluntarily to the scheme. A compulsory scheme for Mozambicans had operated for many years without overt worker resistance and a similar scheme was later introduced for Malawians.

It is possible that some of the detail of the new scheme was misunderstood by the Basotho workers, but they understood that the Lesotho regime would be using their money and they objected strongly. The majority of Lesotho nationals on the mines were opposed to the government of Chief Jonathan and suspected that their money would be used by the Bank of Lesotho to meet the needs of the government.

In January 1975 there were seven incidents revolving around the deferred pay scheme, involving Basotho miners in large numbers. Basotho workers stood solidly together on this issue and on at least four mines almost the entire Basotho work force took part in the strikes. They picketed in an attempt to engage the support of other workers; it seems that they were successful with some but not with others and on some occasions attempts to stop other miners going on shift developed into violence.

At least 8 500 Basotho and Tswana miners left the mines and went home.

Obviously these particular incidents were directed at the Lesotho government, but during the disturbances mine property, including kitchens, liquor outlets, a recreation hall and shaft-head buildings, were damaged, and mine management and indunas were attacked. It is interesting that the miners chose to vent their anger at the Lesotho government not in Lesotho but on South African mines; this may have been due partly to fear of reprisals in Lesotho but it is also indicative of a clear understanding of the importance of their labour power to both the mines and the Lesotho government.

In several incidents in late 1974 and early 1975 Malawian miners initiated resistance. The reasons for the discontent among Malawians at that time are obscure: they are possibly related to events inside Malawi and President Banda's decision to suspend recruiting of Malawian nationals for the mines following the crash of a Wenela aircraft in April 1974 in which 72 Malawian miners died. Recruiting started again in 1977 after the conclusion of a new agreement with Wenela and the approval of revised contract terms. Whatever the reasons, the number of Malawian workers on the mines fell from 110 000 in 1973 to a low of 163 in April 1977.¹⁶

V

The great majority of the disturbances fall into a category which is usually dismissed as 'faction fighting'. Those who characterise the events in this way argue that historically there is a strong tradition of enmity between different 'tribes' in southern Africa and that from time to time, for no apparent reason, it flares up into open violence. Thus an Inter-departmental Committee of Inquiry into the riots, finding that 33 out of the 54 incidents it examined were 'ethnic differences', explains: '... in the case of the Bantu this faction-forming has its origin in fear or a feeling of insecurity which leads to violence. This fear is passed from generation to generation and is ingrained in most Bantu tribes. Despite the influence of the White men, civilization, religion and Western standards, the tendency to become violent, where tribal differences are involved, is practically spontaneous'.¹⁷

The Committee goes on to quote 'an ethnologist and Bantu expert' who states that 'the Southern Bantu tribes (Xhosa, Basotho, etc.) are particularly inclined to become violent and that they even regard fighting as a form of recreation'.¹⁸

Here, says the Committee, 'it is worthy of note that in most of the ethnic clashes the participants were Xhosa and Basothos'. 'Tribal members', it explains, 'are closely bound by traditions, customs etc. and as soon as something occurs to affect a tribal fellowman, the tribal feeling comes to the fore and the tribe will then either defend or revenge its colleague'.¹⁹

This sort of crude racism serves no purpose as an explanation. It is not at all useful to suggest that Africans in general and the 'southern Bantu' in particular are for some reason prone to engage in mindless violence.

Yet little work has been done in the South African context to explode this myth systematically. Phimister has shown that a major 'faction fight' between Shona and Ndebele workers in Bulawayo in 1929 can be explained in terms of such factors as competition for jobs at a time of increasing unemployment in the context of the specific conditions of Bulawayo ghetto life.²⁰ Ranger has suggested that the Jagersfontein riots of 1914 should be seen, at least in part, as a strike where nationalism or tribalism was used as a basis for industrial action.²¹

It is our contention that the 'faction fights' on South African mines in the 1970s should similarly be seen in a particular context.

Two of the three incidents in 1973 were 'faction fights'; one of them between Xhosa and Basotho and our information is too scanty to enable us to identify the combatants in the

other. At least 16 of the 25 incidents in 1974 were 'faction fights', five of them involving Xhosa-Basotho clashes; both Basotho and Xhosa miners were also involved in two clashes with other miners. Mozambicans were involved in four clashes that year.

In some of the fights there was a specific issue. The bloody events at Welkom in 1974, for example, seem to have developed from the situation where Basotho workers had access to women in a nearby township and Xhosa miners, far from their homes and caught up in the deprived life of the compounds, resented their lack of similar opportunities. There were sporadic attacks on Basotho men and their women which provoked retaliation.

There were about 26 clashes in 1975, some of which were triggered by the Lesotho deferred pay issue and developed into 'faction fights' later, probably as Basotho miners tried to picket to stop other miners from going to work. Eight of these involved Xhosa and Basotho workers and one involved Xhosa with Rhodesian miners, a new source of labour to replace the Malawians.

Of 11 incidents in 1976, 8 could be attributed to 'faction fighting', between Xhosa and Basotho, Xhosa and Rhodesian, Xhosa and Mozambican and Rhodesian and Mozambican miners. Of the 10 incidents in 1977, 7 were 'faction fights', between Basotho and Xhosa, Xhosa and Rhodesian and Basotho and Rhodesian miners. There were 3 incidents in 1978, of which only one was in this category; the antagonists are not identifiable.

It seems likely that the sources of the conflicts are to be found in such factors as differential treatment of workers, different lengths of contract, and differential access to jobs. It is noticeable, for example, that a large number of fights were between Xhosa and Basotho miners,

as the Committee of Inquiry correctly points out. We would suggest that the reason for this can be found in the structure of the labour force on particular mines. There is an extremely rigid job hierarchy underground on all mines. On some mines long service contract workers from Lesotho have come to occupy large numbers of posts in the upper wage brackets while local (Xhosa) miners have tended to be restricted to jobs at the lower end of the wage scale.

Detailed analysis of the structure of the labour force on each mine would no doubt produce pointers to the reasons for other 'faction fights'. The information at our disposal does not permit such analysis but we would suggest that it would be more useful to analyse 'faction fights' in terms of the mines' policy of dividing workers occupationally and in hostels according to area of origin than in terms of some sort of race stereotype.

VI

It is striking that in almost every incident the South African police were called in almost immediately.

However, as the mines have found, although the police, in association with mine police, succeeded in quelling the riots, a great deal of damage had already been done, in terms of loss of production (which extends beyond the actual work stoppage to: slow downs, breakdowns in systems of authority and the loss of productivity associated with increased resentment, fear and suspicion) damage to mine property, death, injury and bad publicity. The mines and the state are therefore placing a great deal of emphasis on the prevention, rather than simply the control, of riots. Their thrust here takes two forms.

First, more attention is to be given to the 'humane treatment' of workers. Thus the Committee of Inquiry, in

recommending measures for the prevention of riots, notes that 'mineworkers these days undoubtedly lay much emphasis on being treated humanely'. 'This', it continues, 'is a natural tendency, which should be encouraged'.²²

The Committee's recommendations for more 'humane' treatment include: the provision of more married quarters in or near mines, smaller and more 'intimate' hostels, fewer workers to a room, the provision of further and more private showers, washrooms, toilets and dressing rooms, better furniture and training in personal hygiene.²³

Thus workers are to be conciliated, but at times more direct aspects of worker control are visible beneath the concessions to the workers 'natural desire to be treated humanely'. On the question of smaller hostels, the Committee points out that in large hostels or compounds 'it is most difficult for compound personnel to keep in close touch with the inhabitants'.²⁴ The implication of this suggestion is that management should be better informed about the workers and better able to enforce discipline. Similarly, training in personal hygiene is seen as being desirable not only in itself but because it 'would also add to the exercise of proper discipline'.²⁵

The Committee notes that in general mining houses are already 'doing everything they can to make life as comfortable and pleasant as possible' in the compounds.²⁶ Here it is interesting that a recent incident of resistance - and one of the most dramatic - took place at Anglo American's newest gold mine at Elandsrand, where a systematic attempt had been made to introduce 'model' facilities (see Diary of Events). These facilities included a change house, shopping area, dining hall, medical centre, and a small beer garden, all of which were damaged during the attacks.

A persistent theme running through the Committee report and

other available sources is the need to provide legitimate outlets for tensions generated in the mining environment.

The Committee recommends that more married quarters, on or near the mines, should be provided for 'key' mineworkers and that quarters should be built for visiting married women. This amounts to making use of the wives to serve the purposes of the mines: it is clearly to management's advantage that the workers should be able to get their sex free rather than spend a large part of their pay packet on prostitutes, male or female, as long as the provision of married women at the mines does not become too costly.

The miners whose wives are to be permanently housed at the mines, according to the Committee, should be 'key' and/or local (i.e. South African) mineworkers. This constitutes a further division in the work force through the extension of a privilege to particular groups.

The Committee suggests that facilities should be provided for 'the beneficial use of leisure time'. 'We do not wish', it states, 'to deny the Black worker his five-day week for he works long and heavy shifts and, after all, earns his weekend recreation. The difficulty is to keep him busy doing something useful and instructive.'²⁷

It is not satisfactory from the point of view of the mine-owners that workers should spend their weekends getting drunk (the Committee notes with concern that a large number of the riots it investigated took place over weekends or holidays and that 'many of the instigators were under the influence of liquor')²⁸, fighting over women, or, particularly, discussing, among themselves and with workers from other mines, their grievances. It is much better that use should be made of entertainment facilities, 'such as more film shows, sports gatherings and cultural activities ...' Singing, which, says the Committee, 'is an inborn gift in

the Bantu', should be encouraged as a group activity. 'The irresponsible drinkers should, at weekends, be kept away from strong liquor as far as possible and motivated to make more use of the ample sport and recreational activities which the mine authorities have put at their disposal.'²⁹

In case these efforts to 'motivate' the work force are not entirely successful, the Committee suggests that there should be strict control at the liquor outlets in the compounds and that consideration should be given to the control of shebeens, for example through more frequent police raids (although the Committee concedes that 'the shebeens bring about a measure of relief from frustration') and of liquor outlets at hotels near the compounds.³⁰

It is also acceptable that workers should go to work outside the mines at weekends. At one mine, with an exclusively Malawian labour force, 'there was no trouble at all with the beneficial use of leisure time', says the Committee, as 'the Malawian is a willing and useful gardener and virtually hundreds (thousands) of them are fetched at compounds every weekend to work in gardens all over the East Rand'.³¹

Attention should also be given to encouraging hobbies, such as wood-carving.³²

Finally, the 'established churches' should be encouraged to conduct more church services over weekends. It is a pity, says the Committee, that very little is done by the mines to encourage religious practice. 'We realise that the average migrant labourer does not display much interest in religion, but still it is felt that more can be done for him in this regard.'³³

The workers are to be encouraged to spend not only their leisure time but also their money 'usefully'. The Committee recommends that more modern and effective facilities should

be provided 'for the beneficial use of wages'. Better facilities would give the worker opportunity to spend his money to better purpose, it considers, 'and it is hoped, he will spend less on strong drink'.³⁴

'Modern buying centres (shops, outfitters, coffee bars, restaurants, cinemas, etc.) are essential in order that the worker may spend his increased earnings more positively (also on Sundays) instead of wasting it at shebeens at the cost of his own welfare, health and the public order.'³⁵

The Committee is strongly of the opinion that ownership of the buying centres should be taken away from the present concession holders and transferred to the mining groups. It considers that 'the mining industry has a real interest in the welfare of the mineworker - something the store-owner does not'.³⁶ Not surprisingly, the President of the Chamber of Mines and many of the mine managers and compound managers were in agreement with this opinion: it is difficult to conceive of a more satisfactory arrangement from their point of view than one where the workers paid by the mining companies spend their wages in shops owned by the mining companies.

Control is also to be achieved through the careful use of divisions within the work force. It is clearly to the advantage of the mines to have a 'mix' of ethnic/national groups on each mine; as the general manager of Mine Labour Organisations (the recruiting company) has pointed out, if the labour force on individual mines were homogeneous, the mines would run the risk of strikes being total instead of partial.³⁷ The Committee of Inquiry echoes this: 'in the event of trouble or a riot it is likely that the entire labour force will band together and the mine concerned will, therefore, be most vulnerable'.³⁸

But the potential tensions inherent in this 'mix', particularly where workers from different areas have differential access to jobs, are clearly a source of concern. Thus the Committee suggests that on the whole ethnic groups should be more equally distributed in hostels and 'ethnic blocks' (where an entire hostel wing is occupied by workers from one area) should be discouraged.³⁹

However, even before the workers reach the mine, the Committee suggests that they should be screened. It accepts as given the migrant labour system (while conceding that the tensions generated by the system contribute to the riots on the mines) and the mines' dependence on foreign labour. But it considers it desirable that this dependence be reduced, particularly following the dislocation of the labour supply with the withdrawal of Malawian labour and the riots over the Lesotho government's deferred pay scheme. The Committee is also very wary of the labour supply from Mozambique following the institution of a FRELIMO government 'which, according to reports, is inclined very much to the left'.⁴⁰

As the research project on the export of Mozambican labour has pointed out, the mines, led by Anglo American, have decided to reduce dependence on Mozambican labour 'sooner rather than later, for fear of FRELIMO'S capacity to pre-empt the labour supply decisions of the South African mining industry'.⁴¹

The Committee urges that the mines do all in their power to attract more South African labour, by a more intensive recruiting campaign inside the country and the payment of wages 'comparable with wages in industry'.

Furthermore, the Committee is concerned that certain individuals may enter the mines and cause trouble. 'The Committee assumes that B.O.S.S. (the Bureau for State

Security, now the Department of National Security) and the Security Division of the South African police are continually on the lookout for secret or underhand political activities which ... would not normally be disclosed at our investigations. We expect that with the passage of time (if it is not already happening), agitators (communistic or otherwise) and terrorists from outside the country will attempt to be absorbed as part of the migrant labour force taken up by the mines ...'

'We feel that recruiting agents or organisations can play a tremendous part in co-operation with the security sections of the mining industry and of the State, in picking recruits on a very strict footing. This is of special importance insofar as migrant labourers from Mozambique are concerned, who, although they have heretofore been regarded as exemplary labourers, will, from now on, be under considerable pressure and political influence.'⁴²

The Committee found that 'in certain cases the attitude of Mozambicans towards management and Whites was influenced by Frelimo successes in Mozambique'.⁴³

The Committee also suggests that a contract period of 18 months is too long and should be limited to 6 to 9 months with the option of remaining on.⁴⁴

A major area of concern to the Committee and the mines in the prevention of riots is the question of 'communication'. Clearly the perfect communication system from the point of view of the mineowners would be one which allowed them, through a system of early warning signals, to predict worker action. Thus the Committee and the mines have paid a great deal of attention to questions of 'feedback' and channels of communication upward.

At present there are no structures for elected black worker representatives on the mines. As a result, such worker

complaints as reach top management are generally of a less serious nature and management has little warning of explosive issues.

The recommendations of the Committee on this point are rather bland. It acknowledges that 'a big responsibility rests on the State and the mining industry to see to it that the black worker is treated in all fairness, that there are discussions with him, that his complaints are heard and that he is given the opportunity to negotiate with management'.⁴⁵ But its suggestions are limited to a revision of the role of the induna and the compound manager, upgrading of personnel officers and their assistants, with training in African languages and increased social contact with black workers, communication of management decisions through notices in African languages, and the strengthening of the role of labour representatives appointed by the governments of the countries from which the miners come.⁴⁶

The problem with which the mines (and the Committee) are confronted is that any system of full trade union rights which would clearly articulate worker grievances might also provide a base for worker solidarity and better organised resistance.

VII

It is therefore clear that a number of stratagems have been and are being devised to prevent dissatisfaction from developing into riots. Equally clearly other stratagems are being developed to suppress riots ruthlessly where they do occur.

The Chamber of Mines is to set up a central record system where details of every worker's employment and his fingerprints are to be held. This, if used in association with police information, is a very effective way of screening possible 'trouble-makers'.

- There should be foolproof communication systems (for example, two-way radios) and there should be rooms from which administrators can safely exercise control.
- The mines should at all times co-operate closely with the South African Police who should be informed of the first suspicion of riots. However, the Committee warns, the South African Police should be seen as a force for the maintenance of law and order and not as a means for '... thwarting the orderly lodgement of protest by mineworkers. The appearance of the S.A. police on the scene when discussions are proceeding in an orderly manner ... is definitely undesirable and can do more harm than good'.⁵⁰
- There should be regular and effective search parties for dangerous weapons in hostels and compounds.

VIII

A glance at Table 2 shows that incidents of resistance recurred on particular mines. For example, three gold mines - East Rand Proprietary Mines, Western Deep Levels and Loraine - were hard hit. This suggests that a study of the specific conditions in those mines would be very fruitful; for the moment all that can be said is that two of them, ERPM and Western Deep, are particularly deep, hot, dangerous and unpopular mines.

As Table 1 shows, mine conflict reached a peak in 1974, a particularly bad year for violence on the gold mines; declined somewhat in 1975, a particularly bad year for the coal mines, and appeared to be tailing off in 1976. Not that the years since 1976 have been 'peaceful' on the mines: far from it. The major riot at Elandsrand in 1979 contradicts any impression that the trouble is over.

Furthermore, the incidents between 1972 and 1979 were sufficiently dramatic to reach the press, but this does not mean that they were the only incidents of resistance which took place. It is likely, on the contrary, that acts of resistance, connected with delays at the hoist, acclimatisation, conditions in the compounds, wages and wage differentials and systems of authority, take place frequently, even if only in the form of absenteeism and loafing.

However, this leaves unanswered the question of why these acts should have taken so dramatic a form over the period 1973 to 1977. The answer is possibly to be found in the changes which were taking place on the mines at that time: changes in the labour supply, wages and the labour process.

We have not examined these issues in a historical context. All we have tried to do is to situate the incidents in the most useful context and to suggest that they should be seen as resistance to working and living conditions in the specific situation of the compound.

We have also tried to refute the crude racist interpretation of 'faction fights' as irrational tribal violence. It is noticeable that workers from different regions have shown solidarity on particular issues, notably wages. The point is that it is in the interests of management to suppress forms of class consciousness in the work force and rather to encourage forms of national or tribal consciousness. This has been a largely successful device in dividing the work force and preventing strikes from spreading to affect whole mines, or whole mining areas, but it can backfire, as for example when Basotho workers were able to use national consciousness to develop worker solidarity on the deferred pay issue.

Whatever remains obscure about the causes of the confrontations, there is little that is obscure about the response of the mine-owners and the state. Riots are to be prevented through conciliation and more extensive social controls, and where they nevertheless erupt, they are to be ruthlessly suppressed. Here it is interesting that many of the forms of social control described by van Onselen in Rhodesian compounds in the first three decades of the century are still being explicitly used in South African mining in 1979.

FOOTNOTES

1. Van Onselen, Charles, Chibaro, especially chapters 2, 5 and 6. See also Van Onselen, Charles, Sex and social control on the Rhodesian gold mines, pp.17-30; and Moroney, Sean, The development of the compound as a mechanism of worker control 1900-1912, pp.29-49.
2. Phimister, I.R., African worker consciousness : origins and aspects to 1953, p.23.
3. Van Onselen, Charles, Worker consciousness in black miners: Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920, p.12.
4. Van Onselen, Charles, Chibaro, p.227.
5. See Van Onselen, Charles, The 1912 Wankie Colliery strike, and Phimister, I.R., An emerging African proletariat : the Shamva mine strike of 1927.
6. Republic of South Africa, Department of Statistics, Statistical News Release P.8, 27 July 1979.
7. Republic of South Africa, House of Assembly Debates, Q. cols. 59-60, 14 February 1979.
8. Wilson, Francis, Migrant Labour in South Africa, pp.9-13.
9. Ibid.
10. Plaut, Martin, Report on the Anglo American gold mines, p.41; Prior, Andrew, Managerial ideology : a case study : an incident in a South African gold mine, pp.67-71.
11. Van Onselen, Charles, Chibaro, chapter 8; Worker consciousness in black miners, Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920; Phimister, I.R., African worker consciousness : origins and aspects to 1953.
12. University of Eduardo Mondlane, Centre for African Studies, The Mozambican Miner : a study in the export of labour, p.50.
13. Van Onselen, Charles, Worker consciousness in black miners: Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920; Chibaro, chapter 8; Phimister, I.R., African worker consciousness : origins and aspects to 1953.
14. Moorsom, Richard, Underdevelopment, contract labour and worker consciousness in Namibia, 1915-1972, p.84.
15. Republic of South Africa, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Riots on Mines in the Republic of South Africa, pp.9-10.

16. Horrell, Muriel et al., A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974, pp.285 and 286 and Gordon, Loraine, A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1977, p.258.
17. Republic of South Africa, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, p.7.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., p.8.
20. Phimister, I.R., The political economy of tribal animosity : a case study of the 1929 Bulawayo location 'faction fight'.
21. Ranger, Terence, Faction fighting, race consciousness and worker consciousness : a note on the Jagersfontein riots of 1914.
22. Republic of South Africa, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, p.12.
23. Ibid., pp.18-19.
24. Ibid., p.18.
25. Ibid., p.19.
26. Ibid., pp.14-15.
27. Ibid., p.46, emphasis added.
28. Ibid., p.11.
29. Ibid., p.45.
30. Ibid., pp.37-38.
31. Ibid., p.45.
32. Ibid., p.46.
33. Ibid., p.46.
34. Ibid., pp.20-21.
35. Ibid., p.21, emphasis added.
36. Ibid., p.20.
37. Rand Daily Mail, 6 March 1975.
38. Republic of South Africa, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, p.43.
39. Ibid., pp.42-43.

40. Ibid., p.33.
41. University of Eduardo Mondlane, *op.cit.*, p.52.
42. Republic of South Africa, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee, pp.34-35.
43. Ibid., p.9.
44. Ibid., p.19.
45. Ibid., p.24.
46. Ibid., p.21, pp.24-28 and 30-31.
47. Ibid., pp.39-49.
48. Ibid., p.41.
49. Ibid., p.42.
50. Ibid., p.47.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. AGENCY FOR INDUSTRIAL MISSION. South Africa Today : A Good Host Country for Migrant Workers? (Roodepoort, A.I.M., 1976).
2. BOZZOLI, Belinda. Managerialism and the mode of production in South Africa, South African Labour Bulletin, 3 (8) October 1977.
3. CLARKE, Duncan. Contract Labour from Rhodesia to the South African Gold Mines : a Study in the International Division of a Labour Reserve (Cape Town, Saldru Working Paper 6, 1976).
4. CLARKE, Duncan. International Labour Supply Trends and Economic Structure in Southern Rhodesia/Zimbabwe in the 1970s (Geneva, I.L.O. World Employment Programme Working Paper, 1978).
5. CLARKE, Duncan. State Policy on Foreign African Labour in South Africa : Statutory, Administrative and Contractual Forms (Durban, Development Studies Research Group, 1977).
6. CLARKE, Duncan. The South African Chamber of Mines : Policy and Strategy with Reference to Foreign African Labour Supply (Durban, Development Studies Research Group, 1977).
7. DOUWES DEKKER, L.C.G. Principles of negotiation and grievance procedure, South African Labour Bulletin, 2 (3) August 1975.
8. GORDON, Robert J. Mines, Masters and Migrants : Life in a Namibian Mining Compound (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1977).
9. HORRELL, Muriel et al. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., various years).
10. JOHNSTONE, Frederick A. Class, Race and Gold (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976).
11. KIRKWOOD, Mike. Conflict on the mines : 1974, South African Labour Bulletin, 1(7) November/December 1974.
12. KIRKWOOD, Mike. The mine workers' struggle, South African Labour Bulletin, 1 (8) January/February 1975.
13. MOODIE, Dunbar. The Perceptions and Behaviour Patterns of Black Mineworkers on a Group Gold Mine (Johannesburg, Anglo American Corporation, 1976).
14. MOORSOM, Richard. Underdevelopment, contract labour and worker consciousness in Namibia, 1915-1972, Journal of Southern African Studies, 4 (1) October 1977.
15. MORONEY, Sean. The development of the compound as a mechanism of worker control 1900-1912, South African Labour Bulletin, 4 (3) May 1978.
16. PERRINGS, Charles. Consciousness, conflict and proletarianization : an assessment of the 1933 mineworkers' strike on the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt, Journal of Southern African Studies, 4 (1) October 1977.

17. PHIMISTER, I.R. African labour conditions and health in the Southern Rhodesian mining industry, 1898-1953, in Phimister and van Onselen, Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
18. PHIMISTER, I.R. African worker consciousness : origins and aspects to 1953, in Phimister and van Onselen, Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
19. PHIMISTER, I.R. An emerging African proletariat : the Shamva mine strike of 1927, in Phimister and van Onselen, Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
20. PHIMISTER, I.R. and VAN ONSELEN, Charles. The Political economy of tribal animosity : a case study of the 1929 Bulawayo location 'faction fight', Journal of Southern African Studies, 6 (1) October 1979.
21. PLAUT, Martin. Report on the Anglo American gold mines, South African Labour Bulletin, 2 (8) April 1976.
22. PRIOR, Andrew. Managerial ideology : a case study of an incident in a South African gold mine, 13th August 1975, South African Labour Bulletin, 3 (8) October 1977.
23. RANGER, Terence. Faction fighting, race consciousness and worker consciousness : a note on the Jagersfontein riots of 1914, South African Labour Bulletin, 4 (5) September 1978.
24. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, Department of Mines. Annual Reports, various.
25. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, Department of Mines. Mining Statistics, various.
26. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee of Inquiry into Riots on Mines in the Republic of South Africa.
27. REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA, South African Police, Annual Reports of the Commissioner, various.
28. REX, John. The compound, the reserve and the urban location: the essential institutions of Southern African labour exploitation, South African Labour Bulletin, 1 (4) July 1974.
29. UNIVERSITY OF EDUARDO MONDLANE, Centre for African Studies. The Mozambican Miner : a Study in the Export of Labour (Maputo, University of Eduardo Mondlane, 1977).

30. VAN ONSELEN, Charles. Black workers in central African industry : a critical essay on the historiography and sociology of Rhodesia, in Phimister and van Onselen, *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
31. VAN ONSELEN, Charles. *Chibaro* (London, Pluto Press, 1976).
32. VAN ONSELEN, Charles. Sex and social control in the Rhodesian mine compounds 1900-1933, South African Labour Bulletin, 1 (7) November/December 1974.
33. VAN ONSELEN, Charles. The 1912 Wankie Colliery strike, in Phimister and van Onselen, *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
34. VAN ONSELEN, Charles. Worker consciousness in black miners, Southern Rhodesia, 1900-1920, in Phimister and van Onselen, *Studies in the History of African Mine Labour in Colonial Zimbabwe* (Gwelo, Mambo Press, 1978).
35. WEBSTER, Eddie. Background to the supply and control of labour in the gold mines, South African Labour Bulletin, 1 (7) November/December 1974.
36. WILSON, Francis. *Migrant Labour in South Africa* (Johannesburg, S.A.C.C. and Spro-cas, 1972).
37. WILSON, Francis. *Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911-1969* (Cambridge University Press, 1972).

TABLE 1.

DEATHS AND INJURIES IN MINE CONFLICT 1972 - 1979

Y E A R	Number of Incidents	Gold Mines		Coal Mines		Other Mines		Total	
		Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed	Injured	Killed
1972	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1973	3	57	12	93	10	0	0	150	22
1974	26	418 ⁽¹⁾	63	1	1	133	12	552 ⁽¹⁾	76
1975	26	214	36	37	33	0	0	251	69
1976	11	130	25	?	?	55	9	185	34
1977	10	2	4	0	0	15	0	17	4
1978	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	13	0
1979	2	?	0	0	0	0	0	?	0
TOTAL	82	834	140	131	44	203	21	1 168 ⁽¹⁾	205

SOURCES

As for Diary of Events

NOTE

1. See Note 2. to Table No. 2. If the report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. is correct, injuries on gold mines in 1974 would be in the region of 601 giving total injuries of 735 in that year and an overall total of 1 226 injuries. These numbers also include seven Mozambican workers who were killed and six who were injured in a dispute about deferred pay upon their return to Mozambique.

TABLE 2.

CONFLICT ON THE GOLD MINES, 1973 - 1979

MAIN GROUP	MINE	DATE	NO. INVOLVED	INJURED	KILLED	AFRICANS ¹ EMPLOYED	
Anglo American Corporation	Free State Geduld ²	16-23 Feb. 1974	?	87 ²	15 ²	9 316	
	Free State Saaiplaas	1-2 Jan. 1975	3 500	0	0	3 534	
	Free State Saaiplaas	28 Nov. 1975	?	2	0	3 799	
	President Brand	14 Jan. 1975	2 400	5	0	11 312	
	President Brand	8 June 1976	?	?	0	11 560	
	President Steyn	21 May 1978	1 000	13	0	16 138	
	Vaal Reefs	5-9 Jan. 1975	11 800	34	10	29 421	
	Welkom ²	9 Feb. 1974	?	100 ²	9 ²	9 630	
	Welkom	5-8 April 1974	?	10	1	9 630	
	Western Deep Levels	11 Sept. 1973	?	27	12	15 494	
	Western Deep Levels	14 April 1974	?	30 ³	3 ³	15 494	
	Western Deep Levels	16 April 1974	?	33 ³	7 ³	15 494	
	Western Deep Levels	21-31 Oct. 1974	1 400	?	1	12 310	
	Western Deep Levels	17 Nov. 1974	100	15	1	12 310	
	Western Deep Levels	3 Jan. 1975	1 700	0	0	12 310	
	Western Deep Levels	2-3 March 1975	5 000	7	2	12 310	
	Western Holdings ²	16-23 Feb. 1974	?	?	?	10 710	
	Western Holdings	31 Aug. 1974	?	60	7	9 976	
	Western Holdings	2-3 June 1976	2 600	?	0	9 278	
	Elandsrand	8-9 April 1979	up to 4 400	?	0	4 500 ⁴	
				Sub-total	423	68	
	Anglovaal Consolidated	Hartebeesfontein	22-26 Oct. 1974	2 750	7	2	15 569
		Lorraine	28 May 1974	?	6	2	7 214
Lorraine		16 Nov. 1975	?	0	0	7 097	
Lorraine		22-23 Feb. 1976	1 000	20	5	7 097	
Lorraine		8 Feb. 1977	100	0	0	5 872	
Lorraine		27 March 1977	?	1	0	5 872	
	Lorraine	10-11 Dec. 1977	?	0	3	8 537	

MAIN GROUP	MINE	DATE	NO. INVOLVED	INJURED	KILLED	AFRICANS EMPLOYED
Anglovaal Consolidated	Loraine Village Main	13 Dec. 1977	?	0	1	8 537
		22 Dec. 1974	?	3	0	?
		Sub-total		37	13	
General Mining and Finance	Buffelsfontein Buffelsfontein Stilfontein West Rand Consolidated West Rand Consolidated	19 Oct. 1975	780 +	14	2	12 012
		18-22 April 1976	2 500	25	6	12 012
		26 July 1975	?	7	2	11 075
		Sept. 1973	?	30	0	10 050
		12-20 Nov. 1974	2 000	0	0	8 090
Sub-total		76	10			
Goldfields of South Africa	Doornfontein East Driefontein	24 Jan. 1977	?	0	0	7 426
		14 Dec. 1974	?	?	2	5 797
		Sub-total		?	2	
Johannesburg Consolidated Investments	Randfontein Estates Western Areas	13 Aug. 1975	200	0	0	3 062
		29 Nov. 1975	?	24	1	7 132
		Sub-total		24	1	
Rand Mines	Blyvooruitzicht Blyvooruitzicht Blyvooruitzicht Crown Mines	15 April 1975	300	7	1	7 900
		22-24 Aug. 1975	?	19	4	8 498
		7 April 1978	9 000	0	0	11 238
		22-23 Dec. 1974	?	0	0	3 145

MAIN GROUP	MINE	DATE	NO. INVOLVED	INJURED	KILLED	AFRICANS EMPLOYED
	Durban Deep	18 Nov. 1974	?	1	0	7 910
	Durban Deep	16-17 Feb. 1976	?	45	0	8 010
	ERPM	3 Feb. 1974	?	0	0	16 341
	ERPM	13-23 Oct. 1974	2 500	23	1	8 431
	ERPM	19 Nov. 1974	3 000	0	0	8 431
	ERPM	6-7 Sept. 1975	?	15	0	12 560
	ERPM	16 Sept. 1975	?	12	1	12 560
	ERPM	4 Nov. 1975	?	2	3	12 560
	ERPM	16 Nov. 1975	3 500	0	0	12 560
	ERPM	26 June 1977	?	1	0	13 839
	Harmony	9-10 June 1974	?	19	4	20 251
	Merriespruit	11-12 June 1974	?	18	1	?
	Virginia	7 Nov. 1975	500	18	1	?
			Sub-total	180	16	
Union Corporation	Bracken	7 Jan. 1975	?	0	0	2 932
	Kinross	18 July 1976	1 000	?	6	4 164
	St. Helena	11 July 1976	?	2	0	6 754
	St. Helena	12 July 1976	?	38	8	6 754
			Sub-total	40	14	
	Witwaters- rand Nigel	22-26 Nov. 1975	400	48	9	1 800 ⁵
			Sub-total	48	9	
	Balmoral Gold Mine	14 Sept. 1979	300	0	0	?
			TOTAL	828	133	

SOURCES

As for Diary of Events.

NOTES

- (1) Employment figures are drawn from the December year-end closest to the date of the incident, except for incidents in the second half of 1977, where the 1978 year-end figure has been used. The numbers are those for labourers employed given in the annual reports of The Employment Bureau of Africa Limited (TEBA), formerly Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited, for the calendar years 1973 to 1976 and 1978.
 - (2) Press reports on the outbreak of violence on these three Free State mines were very confusing. Numbers reported killed and injured did not tally with numbers given by the Commissioner of the S.A.P. in his report No. R.P. 36/75. The latter reported 25 deaths and 370 injuries during the whole period on the three mines, Welkom, Western Holdings and Free State Geduld, compared with press reports of 24 deaths and 187 injuries.
 - (3) Here again press reports of 10 deaths and 63 injuries did not tally with Police reports of 9 deaths and 62 injuries.
 - (4) The Star, 9 April 1979; Rand Daily Mail, 10 April 1979.
 - (5) The only source for numbers employed was The Star, 28th November 1975.
-

TABLE 3

CONFLICT ON THE COAL MINES, 1973 - 1979

MAIN GROUP	MINE	DATE	NO. INVOLVED	INJURED	KILLED	AFRICANS EMPLOYED
Abercom Investments	Spitzkop Colliery	25 Dec. 1974	?	1	1	?
			Sub-total	1	1	
Anglo-American Corporation ²	Blesbok Colliery	7-8 Jan. 1975	500	0	0	1 447
	Cornelia Colliery	1 June 1977	300	0	0	?
	Indumeni Coal Mine	12-14 Sept. 1978	800	0	0	1 100 ³
	New Largo Colliery	7 Jan. 1975	220	0	0	1 300
	S.A. Coal Estates	18 May 1975	?	20	1	1 483
	Springbok Colliery	4-5 Sept. 1976	?	?	?	3 096
	Sub-total			20	1	
General Mining and Finance	Hlobane Colliery Northfield Colliery	2 March 1975	75	4	1	?
		1-2 March 1975	1 200	13	31	1 500 ⁴
		Sub-total		17	32	
S.A. Iron and Steel Industrial Corporation	Durnacol Colliery	20-23 Oct. 1973	?	93 ⁵	10	?
			Sub-total	93	10	
			TOTAL	131	44	

See Sources overleaf

SOURCES

As for Diary of Events.

NOTES

- (1) Employment is drawn from the December year-end closest to the date of the incident. The numbers are those for labourers employed given in the annual reports of the Employment Bureau of Africa Limited (TEBA), formerly Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited, for the calendar years 1973-1976 and 1978.
- (2) According to Hansard 3, question columns 205-210 of 21 February 1975, police intervention was sought at a strike at Balgray Collieries, Utrecht in the second half of 1974. No workers were arrested or charged. The incident does not appear to have been reported by the press.
- (3) Natal Mercury, 14 September, 1975
- (4) Die Burger, 4 March 1975.
- (5) Press reports of the numbers injured did not tally with those given by the Police. The latter has been preferred as a source.

TABLE 4.

CONFLICT ON OTHER MINES, 1972 - 1977

MAIN GROUP	MINE	DATE	NO. INVOLVED	INJURED	KILLED	AFRICANS EMPLOYED ¹
?	Soyer Mine, ² Windsorton	27 Oct. 1972	140	0	0	?
Johannesburg Consolidated Investments	Rustenburg Platinum	8 Aug. 1974	?	16	3	?
Anglovaal Consolidated	Blackrock Manganese Mine, ⁴ Kuruman	2nd half of 1974	?	?	?	?
	Blackrock Manganese Mine	11 Aug. 1977	800-1000	15	0	?
	Prieska Copper Mine	29 Dec. 1974 to 3 Jan. 1975	700	35	3	3 200 ³
Union Corpo- ration	Impala Platinum Mine	16-28 Dec. 1974	4 000	78	4	26 412
	Impala Plati- num Mine	14-18 Nov. 1976	up to 2 800	'at least 55'	9	27 252
?	Copperton Mine, De Aar ⁴	2nd half of 1974	?	?	?	?
?	Loxton Diamond Mine, Boshof ⁴	2nd half 1974	?	?	?	?
General Mining	Coretsi Mine, Kuruman (as- bestos)	20 April 1975	?	0	0	?
	Kroondal Chrome Mine, Rusten- berg	24 Jan. 1977	+1 000	0	0	+1 000 ⁵

Anglo American	Koegas Mine, Prieska (as- bestos)	5 March 1977	+1 000	0	0	?
Lonrho	Western Plati- num Mine	29 Sept. 1974	400	4	2	3 437
	Western Plati- num Mine	2-4 Feb. 1976	230	0	0	3 714
			TOTAL	203	21	

SOURCES

As for Diary of Events.

NOTES

- (1) Employment figures, where available, are drawn from the December year-end closest to the date of the incident. The numbers are those for labourers employed given in the annual reports of The Employment Bureau of Africa Limited (TEBA), formerly Mine Labour Organisations (Wenela) Limited, for 1973-76.
- (2) The only source for this strike was a report in the Sunday Tribune, 29th October 1974.
- (3) Rand Daily Mail, 31 December 1974.
- (4) The only source for these incidents is Hansard 3, Q. col. 205-210, 21 February 1975.
- (5) Rand Daily Mail, 26 January 1977.

TABLE 5

IMPROVEMENTS IN THE MINIMUM WAGES FOR AFRICANS ON
THE MINES

YEAR	DESCRIPTION
1948	Progressive service increment of 2 cents per shift introduced.
1949	Minimum rate increased from 24 to <u>27</u> cents shift underground.
1951	Minimum rate increased from 27 to <u>30</u> cents per shift underground.
1955	Minimum rate for 'boss-boys' underground increased from 36 to <u>40</u> cents per shift.
1964	Minimum rates increased from 30 to <u>34</u> cents per shift, underground.
1969	Minimum rates increased from 34 to <u>40</u> cents per shift, underground.
1971	Minimum rates increased from 40 to <u>42</u> cents per shift, underground.
1972	Minimum rates increased from 42 to <u>50</u> cents per shift, underground.
1973	Minimum rates increased in two steps, in May and December, from 50 to <u>72</u> cents per shift, underground.
1974	Minimum rates increased in two steps, in June and December, from 72 cents to R1,60 underground.
1975	Minimum rates increased from R1,60 to <u>R2,20</u> per shift, underground.
1976	Minimum rates increased from R2,20 to <u>R2,50</u> per shift, underground.
1977	Minimum rates increased from R2,50 to R2,65 per shift, underground.
1978	Minimum rates increased from R2,65 to R2,95 per shift, underground.
1979	Minimum rates increased from R2,95 to R3,34 per shift, underground.

SOURCES

- a) Francis Wilson. . Labour in the South African Gold Mines 1911 - 1969. pp. 178-9.
- b) Muriel Horrell et al. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1971, 1972, 1973, 1974, 1975, 1976, 1977 and 1978.
- c) Financial Mail, 6 June 1979.

DIARY OF EVENTS

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
<u>1972</u>				
Oct. 27	<u>Sover Mine</u> <u>Windsorton,</u> <u>Cape</u>	0	0	About 140 African miners went on strike, demanding higher wages. Twenty Mozambicans were arrested on charges of staging an illegal strike. ^{1.}
<u>1973</u>				
Sept. 11	<u>Western Deep</u> <u>Levels,</u> <u>Carletonville</u>	12	27	Discontent arising from new wage scales and changed differential rates of remuneration led to a confrontation between African miners and management. Violence occurred and 32 policemen were called in during the evening. Police used firearms after teargas and a baton charge had failed to disperse the crowd. Twelve miners were shot dead, 11 by the police. The death of the twelfth has not yet been fully explained. Thirteen policemen were injured. Police were only withdrawn on 18 September. ^{2.}
Sept. (?)	<u>West Rand</u> <u>Consolidated</u> <u>Randfontein</u>	0	30	According to a single report in the <u>Rand Daily Mail</u> , a year later, a quarrel between two African miners led to a fight in which more than thirty African miners were injured. Flares and teargas were used to quell the riot. ^{3.}
Oct. 20 - 23	<u>Durnacol</u> <u>Colliery,</u> <u>near</u> <u>Dannhauser</u>	10	93	A clash between Basotho and Xhosa miners occurred. About 450 Basotho workers were repatriated to Lesotho. ^{4.}
<u>1974</u>				
Feb. 3	<u>East Rand</u> <u>Proprietary</u> <u>Mines,</u> <u>Boksburg</u>	0	0	A riot involving coloured people and Africans occurred at a soccer match at E.R.P.M. Police used teargas, batons and dogs to restore order. ^{5.}

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Feb. 9	<u>Welkom Gold Mine</u>	9	100	Clashes claiming nine lives occurred between Basotho and Xhosa miners. Repatriation of 3 650 Basotho workers to Lesotho resulted. 6.
Feb. 16-23	<u>Western Holdings, Free State Geduld, near Welkom</u>	15	87	There were further clashes between Basotho and Xhosa miners. As a result 4 500 Basotho and 500 Xhosa workers were repatriated. 7.
April 5-8	<u>Welkom Gold Mine</u>	1	10	A further outbreak of violence involving Basotho and Xhosa miners occurred at No. 2. Hostel and claimed yet another life. 8.
April 14	<u>Western Deep Levels, Carletonville</u>	3	30	Police were called in to restore order after another clash between Basotho and Xhosa miners. More Basotho were repatriated. 9.
April 16	<u>Western Deep Levels</u>	7	33	A further Basotho/Xhosa clash with Basotho being repatriated and Malawian workers asking to be repatriated. 10.
May 28	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine, near Odendaalsrus</u>	2	6	Discontent arising from new wage scales led to an outbreak of violence apparently directed at mine property. The police were called in to restore order with one African worker being killed by a police bullet and another apparently being killed by fellow-workers. 11.
June 9-10	<u>Harmony Gold Mine, Virginia</u>	4	19	Wage grievances provoked an outbreak of violence apparently directed at mine property. Police were called in to restore order. Four workers died in the riot, one possibly shot by the police and 8 policemen were hurt. 12.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
June 11-12	<u>Merriespruit</u> <u>Gold Mine,</u> <u>Virginia</u>	1	18	Disturbances similar to those at Harmony Gold Mine. 13.
June 25	<u>Ressano</u> <u>Garcia,</u> <u>Mozambique</u>	7	6	At the Mozambique border post 600 returning Mozambican miners were involved in a violent incident with border guards over money matters including the rand/escudo exchange rate. 14.
Aug. 8	<u>Rustenburg</u> <u>Platinum</u> <u>Mine</u>	3	16	Violent clash between different groups of workers at Jabula Hostel. 15.
Aug. 31	<u>Western</u> <u>Holdings,</u> <u>near Welkom</u>	7	60	Violent clash between different groups of workers in hostel at No. 3. shaft. 16.
Sept. 29	<u>Western</u> <u>Platinum</u> <u>Mine,</u> <u>Rustenburg</u>	2	4	Two African miners were shot dead and four wounded when police opened fire on about 400 rioting African miners. 17.
Oct. 13-23	<u>East Rand</u> <u>Proprietary</u> <u>Mines,</u> <u>Boksburg</u>	1	23	About 150 policeman used teargas to control a riot at the E.R.P.M. mine after a Tswana miner had been killed on 13 October. Some 1 500 Malawian miners refused to start work the following day claiming that they feared attacks from Basotho and asking to be sent home. Striking continued for a week some Malawian workers being repatriated and the rest returning to work later. During the night of 20 October mine security forces used teargas and dogs to disperse a crowd of 1 000 Mozambican miners at E.R.P.M. Police who had been on stand-by all weekend were called in. About 140 Mozambicans were repatriated and the situation returned to normal by 24 October. 18.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Oct. 21-31	<u>Western Deep Levels,</u> <u>Carletonville</u>	1	?	A Malawian miner was stabbed and killed in a fight at a mine hostel cinema on 21 October, sparking off a demonstration by about 100 men. Sixty armed policemen were called in to quell the demonstration. On the following day while about 300 Malawian miners worked, between 900 and 1 200 struck demanding to be sent home. By 23 October 1 400 Malawians were on strike. By the end of the month, after negotiations with management, about 1 050 Malawian miners had returned to work but 350 were still insisting on repatriation. Some 400 Malawians were subsequently repatriated. ¹⁹
Oct. 22-26	<u>Hartebeesfontein,</u> <u>Klerksdorp,</u> <u>(Stilfontein)</u>	2	7	The night-shift of 800 refused to go underground on 22 October because of discontent over wage increases. In the disturbances which followed two miners were killed and another wounded. On the 23rd, police were called in and used teargas, dogs and batons to disperse rioting workers. Six miners and three policemen were injured. By 24 October 2 000 workers were on strike and were joined by another 750 on the 25th. Seven miners were arrested, of whom two were charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act, and the other eight with public violence. By the 26th the situation had returned to normal. ²⁰
Nov. 12-20	<u>West Rand Consolidated,</u> <u>Randfontein</u>	0	0	On 12 November twenty Malawian miners refused to go underground and asked to be repatriated. By the 14th of the month at least 1 500 miners were on strike but 500 indicated that they were willing to return to work. It seems that at one time about 2 000 miners were on strike and some 100 policemen with dogs were on stand-by but by the 20th of the month all but 230 had returned to work. ²¹

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Nov. 17	<u>Western Deep Levels, Carletonville</u>	1	15	After a Mozambican miner had been stabbed about 100 workers rioted, one of whom was killed while 15 were injured. About 15 policemen dispersed the crowd with teargas and dogs. One Hundred Mozambican miners were repatriated. ²²
Nov. 18	<u>Durban Deep Mine, Roodepoort</u>	0	1	A riot erupted after a Mozambican miner had been stabbed. ²³
Nov. 19	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mine, Boksburg</u>	0	0	About 3 000 Malawian miners stopped work and demanded repatriation. Twenty-eight were repatriated with the rest returning to work. By the end of the year nearly all 3 000 had been repatriated. ²⁴
Dec. 14	<u>East Driefontein, Carletonville</u>	2	?	Two Mozambican miners were killed during intergroup fighting. ²⁵
Dec. 16-28	<u>Impala Platinum Mine, Bafokeng</u>	4	78	A Pondo induna tried to arrest a Malawian miner and fighting erupted at about 5.00 p.m. on 16 December. Mine security forces quelled the riot with dogs and teargas. Police were called in later. Two thousand Malawians refused to work and demanded repatriation. The strikers initially refused management's request to appoint spokesmen but by 18 December they had elected representatives who were negotiating with mine officials. By 19 December 300 miners were prepared to return to work but about 1 700 were still on strike and camped on a field near the No. 2 Hostel facing armed policemen. Tension mounted on 20 December when the strikers refused to obey police orders to take their belongings back to the dormitories and resume work. It seems that there was also a dispute about rations with the striking miners refusing provisions and/or management withholding them, as well as a dispute about water

and/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				and sanitary facilities at the 'makeshift' shelters which the miners had erected in the veld. At some stage during the two weeks the number of strikers apparently reached 4 000 but by about 28 December some 1 500 had returned to work in small groups. After heavy rains had destroyed their shelters it appears that the remainder also returned to their hostels. ^{26.}
Dec. 22-23	<u>Crown Mines,</u> <u>Johannesburg</u>	0	0	On 22 December a group of Malawian workers refused to go underground and demanded to be repatriated. In the evening the strikers threatened night-shift workers coming on duty. At about 9.00 p.m. rioting broke out at the C compound. After mine security forces had failed to contain the rioting, 150 policemen armed with guns, batons and teargas were called in to disperse the crowd. The next day about 450 miners were still on strike. Some 650 Malawian miners were later repatriated. ^{27.}
Dec. 22	<u>Village Main,</u> <u>Johannesburg</u>	0	3	A small group of workers refused to go underground and demanded repatriation. A fight broke out. ^{28.}
Dec. 25	<u>Spitzkop</u> <u>Colliery,</u> <u>Ermelo</u>	1	1	A fight occurred between Mg ^{29.} zambican and Xhosa miners.
Dec. 29 to Jan. 3'75	<u>Prieska</u> <u>Copper</u> <u>Mine,</u> <u>Northern</u> <u>Cape</u>	3	35	A fight between Xhosa and Tswana miners which began in a hostel but spread to the surrounding veld was brought under control by mine security forces using dogs and teargas. By 30 December 700 Tswana miners were on strike, of whom 600 apparently left mine property with the intention of returning to their homes. Later almost all strikers had agreed to resume work but about 300 miners failed to report for duty on 2 January 1975. Management began re-cruiting/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
		<u>76</u>	<u>552</u>	cruiting to fill the places vacated by about 400 Tswana miners who had broken their contracts and were making their own way home. ³⁰
<u>1975</u>				
Jan. 1-2	<u>Free State</u> <u>Saaiplaas</u> <u>Gold Mine,</u> <u>Ventersburg</u>	0	0	About 3 500 African miners struck for two days in protest against the deferred pay-scheme introduced by the Lesotho Government. The strike terminated after an address by Lesotho Government representatives. ³¹
Jan. 3	<u>Western Deep</u> <u>Levels,</u> <u>Carleton-</u> <u>ville</u>	0	0	About 1 700 Basotho miners struck for a day in protest against the Lesotho Government's deferred pay-scheme. They returned to work after being addressed by representatives of the Lesotho Department of Labour. ³²
Jan 5-9	<u>Vaal Reefs</u> <u>Gold Mine,</u> <u>Klerksdorp</u>	10	34	Vaal Reefs was employing 21 500 African miners underground. Of these, about 28 per cent were Basotho, 22 per cent Xhosa, 15 per cent Mozambicans and 11 per cent from Botswana. It appeared that the Lesotho Government's deferred pay-scheme was the initial cause of discontent. A strike was threatened for 5 January and in the afternoon African miners broke into a bar at Vaal Reefs South. Police from the Western Transvaal and from Welkom were called in. During the night the trouble spread to No. 1 and 2 shaft hostels at Vaal Reefs North, where there was rioting and police units used teargas to restore order. On the 6 January while 1 700 Basotho workers at the South shaft went underground, 2 300 refused to do so. At Vaal Reefs North the entire African labour force of 9 500 struck.

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				Unrest continued until about 15 January but the main thrust of the violence appears to have ended by the 9th with most of the police being withdrawn on the 10th, and two thirds of workers back at work. During the outbreak there were clashes between groups of African miners, and mine management moved swiftly to repatriate about 8 000 African miners of whom 6 000 to 7 000 were Basotho. ³³ .
Jan. 7	<u>Bracken Gold Mine, Kinross</u>	0	0	About 60 Basotho miners refused to work and allegedly attempted to prevent other workers from working. ³⁴ .
Jan. 7-8	<u>Blesbok Colliery, near Middelburg</u>	0	0	Two Lesotho Government representatives were assaulted while addressing a meeting of 500 Basotho miners. Some miners refused to work on the following day and 80 asked to be repatriated. ³⁵ .
Jan. 7	<u>New Largo Colliery, Witbank</u>	0	0	About 220 Basotho miners protested about the deferred pay-scheme and were repatriated. ³⁶ .
Jan. 14	<u>President Brand Gold Mine, Welkom</u>	0	5	About 2 400 Basotho miners at the No. 2 hostel struck over the deferred pay scheme and prevented the night-shift from going underground. A riot occurred and a heavily-armed police contingent from seven O.F.S. towns was called in. Five miners and five African policemen were injured. The next day arrangements were made to repatriate 2 200 Basotho miners. ³⁷ .
Mar.1-2	<u>Northfield Colliery, near Dundee</u>	31	13	A severe clash between Basotho and Xhosa miners occurred with fighting continuing during the night. The riot was eventually subdued by police. About 400 Basotho miners asked for their contracts to be/....

terminated/....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				terminated and were repatriated. By 5 March only 500 of the normal complement of 1 555 were working. ^{38.}
March 2	<u>Hlobane Colliery, Glencoe</u>	1	4	A clash between Xhosa and Basotho miners. Teargas was released in the hostel and twenty-two policemen were on standby. About 800 Basotho and Malawian miners were repatriated at their own request as were about 40 Mozambicans. ^{39.}
Mar. 2-3	<u>Western Deep Levels, Carletonville</u>	2	7	A strong force of police used teargas to disperse a tense crowd of 5 000 on the evening of the 2nd. Renewed fighting broke out on the 3rd and was quelled by police who remained on standby during the night. On the 4th 1 100 miners were still on strike. ^{40.}
April 15	<u>Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine, Carletonville</u>	1	7	There was a clash between 300 Xhosa and Basotho miners which was contained by mine security forces with dogs. On the next day about 30 African miners struck. ^{41.}
April 20	<u>Coretsi Mine, Kuruman</u>	0	0	There was a brief clash between African miners and police restored order without any injuries. On the next day Malawian miners moved out of the hostel, refused to work and demanded that they be sent home. Some of the miners returned to work after talks with mine management and Malawi representatives but 250 were later repatriated. ^{42.}
May 18	<u>S.A. Coal Estates, Witbank</u>	1	20	One hundred Basotho miners were involved in a riot during which a hostel was set on fire. One man died apparently overcome by fumes. Police from Witbank were called in and a white mine employee was injured after

warning/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				warning shots had been fired. Police remained on duty during the night. Most of the miners moved out of the hostel when the riot started and on the 19th an unspecified number refused to work. That night about a third of the labour force, 244 Basotho, 158 Xhosa and 5 others were sent home on special trains. On the 20th all those still on the mine returned to work. ⁴³
July 26	<u>Stilfontein Gold Mine</u>	2	7	There was a violent clash between Xhosa and Basotho miners. Obstacles were put in the path of the mine riot van but the disturbance was quelled by mine security forces using teargas. Police were called in and remained on standby. About 220 workers were held by the police at Stilfontein Police Station but some 200 were released on the 28th after an identification parade. ⁴⁴
Aug. 13	<u>Randfontein Estates</u>	0	0	Two hundred African miners protesting at a delay in being hoisted to the surface damaged mine property and were dispersed by teargas. ⁴⁵
Aug. 22-24	<u>Blyvooruit- zicht Gold Mine, Carletonville</u>	4	19	A knife fight underground between a Pondo and a Rhodesian miner was followed by violent fighting which was quickly contained by mine security police. Tswana miners became restless and demanded that they be repatriated. Two hundred Rhodesian miners were removed to the Wenela compound in Johannesburg. ⁴⁵
Sept. 6-7	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mines, Boksburg</u>	0	15	Police were called in to quell a fight. ⁴⁶
Sept. 16	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mines, Boksburg</u>	1	12	There was a violent intergroup clash. ⁴⁷

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Oct. 19	<u>Buffels- fontein Gold Mine,</u> near Klerksdorp	2	14	After confrontation between Xhosa and Mozambican miners at the Pioneer Shaft Hostel, the dead bodies of a Xhosa and a Mozambican were found. A second clash between Xhosa and Basotho miners occurred at the South Shaft Hostel later and was brought under control by mine security policemen using teargas. One hundred and thirty miners failed to report for duty on night-shift. On the 20th about 780 Basotho miners refused to work, demanded repatriation and although they were addressed by mine management and an official from Lesotho, 600 were determined on repatriation. ^{48.}
Nov. 4	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mines,</u> Boksburg	3	2	A Xhosa, a Zulu and a Basotho were killed during a fight which was quelled by police with teargas and dogs. ^{49.}
Nov. 7	<u>Virginia Gold Mine</u>	1	18	Wage grievances led to a riot of about 500 African miners at the No. 1 Hostel. Police used teargas and dogs to restore order when rioters set fire to buildings. Eighteen miners were injured and an alleged arsonist was shot dead after a one-kilometre chase by police. ^{50.}
Nov. 16	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine,</u> near Oden- daalsrus	0	0	About 170 Mozambican trainee miners were repatriated after refusing to take part in the five day acclimatization programme. ^{51.}
Nov. 16	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mines, Boks- burg</u>	0	0	Workers aggrieved by a proposed new pay procedure gathered at the central compound. The police were called in but there were no incidents. On the following day 3 500 Mozambican miners refused to work. After talks, management agreed not to introduce the new scheme and the workers returned to work in the afternoon. ^{52.}

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Nov. 22-26	<u>Witwaters- rand Nigel Gold Mine, Heidelberg</u>	9	48+	There was a violent clash between Xhosa and Mozambican miners on Saturday night (22 November) at the mine's 1 800 -man hostel.. Police used teargas to restore order and about 50 people were injured but none of them seriously. On Monday the 24th some 400 Mozambican miners refused to work and demanded repatriation. Minor assaults and reprisals led to a further violent clash among 400 Xhosa, Basotho and Mozambican miners resulting in 9 deaths on the evening of Wednesday the 26th. Police used teargas to part the combatants and remained at the mine on the 27th but there were no further incidents and by the 28th all the men were back at work. ⁵³
Nov. 28	<u>Free State Saaiplaas Gold Mine, Ventersburg</u>	0	2	Two African miners were shot and wounded in an attack on police during a raid on a shebeen. Angry workers refused to go underground for the night-shift and police were called in to restore order, but on the next day the situation had returned to normal. ⁵⁴
Nov. 29	<u>Western Areas 1 Gold Mine, Randfontein</u>	1	24	A Tswana miner stabbed and killed a Basotho miner. Mine security forces used teargas to quell the riot which followed. ⁵⁵
		69	251	
<u>1976</u>				
Feb. 2-4	<u>Western Plati-0 num Mine, near Rustenburg</u>	0	0	Wage grievances led to a two-day strike by 230 Basotho and Mozambican miners. Mine police were called in on the 2nd. The miners returned to work after the new wage system had been explained. ⁵⁶
Feb. 16-17	<u>Durban Deep 0 Mine, Roodepoort</u>	0	45	A fight between Xhosa and Rhodesian miners led to sporadic outbursts of violence in which 23 workers were injured/....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				injured. Police were called in to restore order. A number of Rhodesian miners were removed from their compound. On the 17th police were again called to the mine and used dogs to quell fighting between angry Xhosa and Mozambican miners. Twenty-two workers were injured. Police remained on standby until the 18th. ^{57.}
Feb. 22-23	Lorraine <u>Gold Mine</u> near Odendaalsrus	5	20	Clashes occurred between Rhodesian and Mozambican miners at the No. 2 and No. 3 Hostel. Four of the five killed were Rhodesian. Police were called in but no action was taken because the fighting had stopped. On the next day about 1 000 Rhodsian miners refused to go underground, apparently fearing reprisals. Police remained on standby and by the 24th more than 600 Rhodesians still refused to go underground and asked to be sent home. Some 575 Rhodesian miners were repatriated by train and the situation returned to normal. ^{58.}
Apr. 18-22	Buffels <u>fontein</u> <u>Gold Mine,</u> KTerksdorp	6	25	On the 18th an argument between Basotho and Xhosa miners underground turned into a fight involving hundreds. Police and mine security officials dispersed the fighters with teargas. During the disturbance two miners were killed. Police remained on standby. Fighting flared again on the 20th after an argument between two 'indunas'. Four men, three of them Basotho, were killed. The next day two-thirds of the 3 800 men at the mine's South Compound refused to go underground. Police with automatic rifles stood guard to 'protect those who went to work.' On the 22nd 700 men were still on strike and management announced that they would be sent home. ^{59.}

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
June 2-3	<u>Western Holdings</u> near Welkom	0	?	Disturbances caused by wage grievances were quelled by mine security officials assisted by police from Welkom. An unspecified number of men were injured. About 2 600 miners refused to go underground on the next day. ⁶⁰
June 8	<u>President Brand Gold Mine,</u> Welkom	0	?	Half of the shift-workers refused to go underground and others were prevented from doing so. Crowds of workers chanting "money, money, we want money" were dispersed by police and mine security forces with teargas and dogs. A policeman was injured. By the 10th about 400 workers had been discharged after asking to be repatriated. ⁶¹
July 11	<u>St. Helena Gold Mine,</u> Welkom	0	2	Two small groups of Baca and Pondo miners were 'involved in an altercation' at No. 2 shaft hostel. Two men were injured and four arrested. The following day the shift started as usual except for a higher number of absentees; 80 Xhosa miners and 80 Pondo miners 'asked for repatriation'. ⁶² Police were withdrawn.
July 12	<u>St. Helena Gold Mine,</u> Welkom	8	38	Two large groups who had not been involved in the previous fighting 'suddenly opposed one another'. Hundreds of Xhosa and Basotho miners were involved and allegedly Xhosa miners threatened Basotho miners and told them not to go to work. Attempts were made to set mine buildings alight. Eleven miners were arrested. The following day 550 Xhosa miners were sent home and police were withdrawn. ⁶³
July 18	<u>Kinross Gold Mine</u>	6	?	'A fight broke out' between Xhosa and Basotho miners and later spread to other mines. Fourteen were admitted to hospital and an unknown number/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				number had minor injuries. Mine police quelled the riot with police standing by. A quarter of the mine's 4 000 workforce stayed away from work the next day. ⁶⁴ .
Sept. 4-5	<u>Springbok Colliery,</u> <u>Witbank</u>	?	?	Police were called in to quell fighting between Xhosa and Basotho miners. About 200 Basotho miners were sent home. ⁶⁵ .
Nov. 14	<u>Impala Platinum Mine,</u> <u>Bafokeng</u>	9-10	'at least 55'	Fighting broke out in a shebeen near the hostels, and spread to the compounds, with Xhosa and Pondo miners fighting Tswana and Basotho. Nine miners were killed (one newspaper reports 10 killed), four of them Tswana, and 'at least' 55 were injured, of whom some 20 needed hospital treatment. Police and later reinforcements were called in. Miners had been off duty on Saturday and Sunday under a system in which the work force on each of the three Impala mines gets a five-day week every third week. The mine was reported quiet by 11 a.m. the next day but the turnout at work was said to be 'poor' and the following day 1 000 men stayed away. On the night of November 16 fighting broke out again among 800 miners and police used tear-gas to quell the riot. On November 17 only 1 200 miners in a shift of 4 000 went underground and about 1 000 workers had broken their contracts and were going home. By November 18 conditions were said to be 'returning to normal' and 2 500 miners reported for the morning shift. At least 300 Tswana miners had walked more than 200km. to the Botswana border by November 19. ⁶⁶ .
		<hr/> 34 <hr/>		<hr/> 185 <hr/>

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
<u>1977</u>				
Jan. 24	<u>Doornfontein Gold Mine,</u> near Carletonville	0	0	Police were called to quell fighting between 'small groups' of Basotho and Xhosa miners. There were no serious injuries. ⁶⁷
Jan. 24	<u>Kroondal Chrome Mine</u> near Rustenburg	0	0	The entire African work force of more than 1 000 went on strike over pay grievances. The workers complained that they had not received promised 4 per cent rises after completing 6 months of their contracts and the whole work force then struck for higher pay. Police stood by outside the mine property. The following day the miners met in the compound and listed several complaints about working and living conditions. General Mining officials 'settled legitimate grievances about delays in pay rises' and other miners were told that they had not yet completed the required number of shifts in a 6 month period. A general demand for higher wages was rejected. The strike ended after 30 hours with an undertaking by management to investigate a range of miners' complaints. ⁶⁸
Feb. 8	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine,</u> near Oden-daalsrus	0	0	More than 100 Rhodesian miners refused to go underground, saying that they feared Xhosa miners would attack them. This followed a fight between Xhosa and Rhodesian miners the previous week in which a Rhodesian was said to have been killed. By February 9 most of the miners were back at work. ⁶⁹
March 5	<u>Koegas Mine,</u> near Prieska	0	0	A Xhosa induna tried to silence a group of Pondo miners having a party. The miners threatened him and the induna contacted mine management and was taken to a police station by mine police. In the meantime other indunas/....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				indunas and mine policemen left the mine. About 1 000 miners then set fire to eight administration buildings, stoned the compound kitchen and roasted and ate the meat supply. Fifty riot policemen from Kimberley and surrounding police stations quelled the riot; but when mine officials tried to address a crowd of about 1 000 miners they were jeered at and pelted with stones. Police dispersed the crowd with tear-gas. About 150 miners were detained for questioning and on 9 March 4 men had been arrested and charged. ⁷⁰ .
March 27	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine</u> near Oden-daalsrus	0	1	An unknown number of workers prevented others from going underground on the evening shift after a 'disturbance' at No. 3 shaft hostel in which one miner was slightly injured. Cars and a hostel bar were damaged. Only half of the morning shift reported for work the next day. ⁷¹ .
June 1	<u>Cornelia Colliery</u> near Sasol-burg	0	0	About 300 miners refused to work the morning shift after the announcement of a delay in wage reviews. The miners stoned buildings, smashing windows and furniture in a beer hall. Numbers were swelled by more miners coming up from underground and about 100 policemen used teargas and dogs to disperse the crowd. An Anglo-American spokesman said wages were normally reviewed in June but the workers had been told the process would be delayed; some might have thought, he said, that there would be no reviews in 1977. The next day the spokesman said that after the position had been fully explained the workers had returned to their rooms and 'everything was quiet'. ⁷² .
June 26	<u>East Rand Proprietary Mines,</u> <u>Boksburg</u>	0	1	Police were called to the mine's Cinderella shaft compound to prevent a possible fight/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				fight between Basotho and Rhodesian miners following the injury of one miner. A number of assaults involving miners had been reported in the previous three days. The next day a 'small' group of miners refused to go underground. ⁷³
Aug. 11	<u>Black Roek Manganese Mine, near Kuruman</u>	0	15	An office block, sleeping quarters and a kitchen were burned down during riots involving 800 to 1 000 miners. Mine police and police from nearby towns were called in and several miners were arrested. A mine official attributed the riot to 'agitators from Francistown' who had tried, he said, 'to do the same thing here as has been happening in Soweto and Guguletu.' ⁷⁴
Dec. 10-11	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine, near Oden-daalsrus</u>	3	0	Three died in fighting between Xhosa and Basotho miners. ⁷⁵
Dec. 13	<u>Lorraine Gold Mine, near Odendaalsrus</u>	1	0	Another miner died in further fighting. ⁷⁶
		4	17	
<u>1978</u>				
Apr. 7	<u>Blyvooruitzicht Gold Mine, Carletonville</u>	0	0	About 2 000 surface workers stopped work demanding higher pay. Half returned to work the following morning and the others were due to go on shift the following Sunday night (9 April) after management had told the workers they would 'look into the matter'. The stoppage followed a work stoppage the previous week by about 7 000 miners who returned to work after being granted a pay increase. ⁷⁷
May 21	<u>President Steyn Gold Mine, Welkom</u>	0	13-14	Rioting involving more than 1 000 miners started after a miner had complained about a meat ration. Three dining rooms, a liquor outlet and three changing rooms containing underground clothing and equipment were burned down, eight

other/.....

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
Sept. 12-14	<u>Indumeni</u> <u>Coal Mine</u> near Dundee	0	0	<p>other rooms were damaged and hundreds of windows were broken. Police were called in and used teargas and dogs to disperse the crowd. Fourteen miners were injured and 23 were arrested. Damage to the buildings and equipment, described by a mine spokesman as some of the most modern in the country, was estimated at R1 -million. The morning shift did not go down the following day and management told the miners either to return to work or to go back to their 'homelands'. A total of 640 miners of the 7 000 at No. 4 shaft hostel cancelled their contracts and returned home. By 23 May police had left the mine and all shifts were working as usual. 78.</p> <p>Workers from No. 2 shaft, about 800 of the mine's workforce of 1 100 - refused to go on shift on the afternoon of 12 September and demanded to see the manager. He returned from Johannesburg the following morning and sent two mine policemen 'to arrange a meeting'. The policemen were allegedly assaulted and reported to management that the strikers 'no longer wanted to talk'. The miners then went to No. 2 shaft and allegedly tried to intimidate other workers. Police were called and mine management met the workers for discussions. According to a mine spokesman the miners had stopped work over a misunderstanding about bonuses being paid to certain categories of workers. He said the problem had been cleared up by 14 September and most of the workers had agreed to return to work although 'a small minority' had demanded to be sent home. However a senior police spokesman said most of the workers had decided to leave the mine. 79.</p>
		<hr/> 0 <hr/>	<hr/> 13 <hr/>	

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
1979				
Apr. 8-9	<u>Elands rand Gold Mine, Carleton- ville</u>	0	?	<p>Riots involving about 700 miners broke out at Anglo-American Corporation's newest gold mine two days before it was to be officially opened by a president of the Deutsche Bank and the Corporation's chairman. A change house, shopping area, dining hall, medical centre, a small beer garden, time-keeping equipment and several small buildings in the 'model' mine village for single men were damaged. Damage was estimated by a Corporation spokesman at about R750 000. The rioting started at 9 p.m. and continued for two hours while mine security men and police from nearby towns, assisted by a mine helicopter, tried to control the crowd. 'A few' men were slightly injured and one was taken to hospital. Two miners were arrested on charges of public violence. The following day only about 100 of the mine's 4 500 black workers went underground. About 800 miners demonstrated for several hours on the soccer field near the hostels while a loudspeaker from a circling helicopter appealed to them to 'air their grievances' and go back to work. As the day got hotter most of the men left the soccer field for the shade of the hostel buildings. Groups of miners sitting on the surrounding hills were driven back to the hostels by the helicopter and mine security guards with dogs. That evening the full night shift went underground but 800 miners were paid off. A meeting between mine management and spokesmen for the miners had failed to produce a reason for the rioting or the work stoppage, mine management said. The men had simply accepted their discharge papers, boarded the buses and left. A senior/...</p>

<u>DATE</u>	<u>PLACE</u>	<u>DEAD</u>	<u>INJURED</u>	<u>NOTES</u>
				senior police officer told reporters that the disturbances were over a bonus disagreement. The Press was refused access to the striking miners but other employees told reporters the main grievances were over pay and an inadequate quantity of meat at meals. The official opening of the mine went ahead as scheduled on April 10, with a police contingent standing by. ⁸⁰
Sept, 14	Balmoral Gold Mine, Germiston	0	0	About 300 miners struck, demanding an increase from R2,65 to R5 a day. Riot police were on standby and officials from the Department of Co-operation and Development were called in to talk to the miners. Mine officials rejected the miners' demands and by the 17 September most of the workers had returned to work. About 20 who refused had been dismissed. ⁸¹
		<u>0</u>	<u>?</u>	

SOURCES:

1. Sunday Tribune, 29 October 1972.
2. Muriel Horrell and Dudley Horner. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1973. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R. 1974; pp. 242-6; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the South African Police for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p.12.
3. Rand Daily Mail, 14 November 1974.
4. Sunday Tribune, 9 March 1975; J.A. Grobbelaar. Some Views, Impressions and Conclusions on the Riots and the Labour Unrest which has taken place in the Mining Industry Recently. Johannesburg, TUCSA, 1975; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p.12.
5. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974. Johannesburg, S.A.I.R.R., 1975. p. 289.
6. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit. p. 289; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p. 12.
7. Ibid.
8. Daily News, 9 April 1974 cited in S.A. Labour Bulletin v 1 (7) p.38; J.A. Grobbelaar. Op. cit.
9. Star, 15 April 1974; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p.12.
10. Star, 17 and 18 April 1974 and Rand Daily Mail, 18 April 1974; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p. 12.
11. S.A. Labour Bulletin v 1 (7). pp. 39.
12. Ibid. p. 39; Sunday Tribune, 9 March 1975; Annual Report of the Commissioner of the S.A.P. for the year ended June 1974. R.P. 36/1975. p. 12.
13. Ibid.
14. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit., pp 287-8.
15. J.A. Grobbelaar, Op. cit.
16. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit., p. 290; Rand Daily Mail, 17 July 1975.
17. Rand Daily Mail, 1 October 1974.
18. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson, Op. cit. p. 290; Cape Times, 21 and 24 October 1974.
19. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit. pp 290-1; Star, 22 October and 15 November 1974; Burger, 24 October 1974.

20. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit., p. 291; Star, 23, 25 and 28 October 1974; Burger 24 October 1974.
21. Muriel Horrell, Dudley Horner and Jane Hudson. Op. cit., p.291; Rand Daily Mail, 14 and 15 November 1974; Star, 15 November 1974; Argus, 20 November 1974.
22. Rand Daily Mail, 18 November 1974; Star, 18 November 1974; Argus, 20 November 1974.
23. Argus, 20 November 1974.
24. Argus, 20 November 1974; Star, 26 November 1974; Rand Daily Mail, 20 December 1974.
25. Star, 18 December 1974.
26. Rand Daily Mail, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 28 December 1974; Daily Dispatch 18 December; Star, 17, 18, 20, 21 and 27 December 1974; Sunday Express, 29 December 1974.
27. Rand Daily Mail, 23 and 24 December 1974; Star, 23 December 1974; and J.A. Grobbelaar. Op. cit., p.8
28. Rand Daily Mail, 23 December 1974; Star, 23 December 1974.
29. Rand Daily Mail, 17 September 1975.
30. Rand Daily Mail, 31 December 1974 and Star, 2 and 3 January 1975.
31. Rand Daily Mail, and Star, 3 January 1975.
32. Star, 3 January 1975 and Rand Daily Mail 4 January 1975.
33. Star, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 and 14 January 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 15 January 1975; Financial Mail, 10 January 1975; Beeld, 10 January 1975; and Sunday Tribune, 12 January 1975.
34. Rand Daily Mail, 8 and 9 January 1975.
35. Star, 8 January 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 9 January 1975.
36. Star, 8 January 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 9 January 1975.
37. Star, 15 January 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 16 January 1975.
38. Burger, 3 March 1975; Cape Times, 3 March 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 5 and 6 March 1975; and Hansard 5. (Q. cols.) 415-6, 7 March 1975.
39. Cape Times, 3 March 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 4 and 5 March 1975; Argus, 4 March 1975; Sunday Tribune 9 March 1975.
40. Cape Times, 3 March 1975; Burger, 4 March 1975; Argus, 4 March 1975; Rand Daily Mail, 5 March 1975; Sunday Tribune 9 March 1975.
41. Rand Daily Mail and Star, 17 April 1975.

42. Rand Daily Mail, 26 April 1975.
43. Star, 19 and 20 May 1975; Daily Dispatch, 20 May 1975; and Financial Mail 30 May 1975.
44. Rand Daily Mail, 28 and 29 July 1975, 25 September and 3 October 1975.
45. Cape Times, 25 August 1975; Natal Mercury, 26 August 1975; Financial Mail, 29 August 1975; and Rand Daily Mail, 15 August 1975.
46. Rand Daily Mail, 9 September 1975.
47. Cape Times, 17 September 1975.
48. Star, 20 October 1975; Natal Mercury, 21 October 1975.
49. Star, 5 November 1975.
50. Rapport, 9 November 1975; Star, and Argus, 10 November 1975.
51. Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1975.
52. Rand Daily Mail, 19 November 1975.
53. Star, 25 and 28 November 1975; Cape Times, 28 November 1975; and Rand Daily Mail, 28 November 1975.
54. Weekend Argus, 29 November 1975.
55. Natal Mercury, 1 December 1975; Cape Times, 2 December 1975; and Daily Dispatch, 2 December 1975.
56. Natal Mercury, 5 February 1976.
57. Natal Mercury, 18 and 19 February 1976.
58. Argus, 23 and 25 February 1976; Rand Daily Mail, 24 and 25 February 1976; Cape Times, 26 February 1976.
59. Rand Daily Mail, 19 April 1976; Star, 21 and 22 April 1976;
60. Star, 3 and 9 June 1976.
61. Rand Daily Mail, 10 June 1976; Star, 9 June 1976.
62. Cape Times, 14 July 1976.
63. Cape Times, 14 July 1976; Star, 14 July 1976.
64. Cape Times, 20 July 1976.
65. Argus, 7 September 1976.
66. Star, 16, 17 and 18 November 1976; Daily Dispatch, 18 and 19 November 1976; Cape Times, 16 and 18 November 1976; Natal Mercury, 16 November 1976.
67. Rand Daily Mail, 25 January 1977.

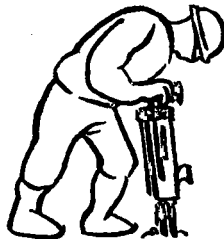
68. Star, 25 January 1977; Rand Daily Mail, 26 January 1977; Daily Dispatch, 26 January 1977.
69. Rand Daily Mail, 9 February 1977.
70. Argus, 8 March 1977; Star, 8 March 1977; Rand Daily Mail 9 March 1977.
71. Star, 28 March 1977; Natal Mercury, 29 March 1977.
72. Argus, 1 and 2 June 1977; Natal Mercury, 2 June 1977; Daily Dispatch, 2 June 1977.
73. Rand Daily Mail, 28 June 1977.
74. Natal Mercury, 10 August 1977; Argus, 16 August 1977.
75. Star, 13 December 1977.
76. Star, 13 December 1977.
77. Rand Daily Mail, 10 April 1977.
78. Cape Times, 23 and 24 May 1978; Rand Daily Mail, 23 and 24 May 1978; Natal Mercury, 25 May 1978; Argus, 22 and 23 May 1978; Burger, 23 May 1978; Financial Mail, 26 May 1978.
79. Natal Mercury, 14 September 1978.
80. Argus, 9 April 1979; Star, 9 and 10 April 1979; Rand Daily Mail, 10 April 1979; Financial Mail, 13 April 1979.
81. Star, 14 and 17 September 1979; Rand Daily Mail 15 September 1979.

SOUTHERN AFRICA LABOUR & DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH UNIT

To anybody interested in what is happening in Southern Africa at the present time, it is clear that an understanding of changes taking place in the field of labour is crucial. The whole debate about the political implications of economic growth, for example, revolves very largely around different assessments of the role of black workers in the mines and factories of the Republic. Many of the questions with which people involved in Southern Africa are now concerned relate, in one way or another, to the field generally set aside for labour economists to cultivate. The impact of trade unions; the causes of unemployment; the economic consequences of different educational policies; the determination of wage structures; the economics of discrimination; all these and more are matters with which labour economists have been wrestling over the years in various parts of the world.

At the same time there are many who would argue that these issues are far wider than can be contained within the narrow context of 'labour economics'. These issues, it is pointed out, go to the heart of the whole nature of development. In recent studies, commissioned by the International Labour Office, of development problems in Columbia, Sri Lanka, and Kenya, for example, leading scholars have identified the three crucial issues facing these countries as being poverty, unemployment, and the distribution of income. Thus the distinction between labour and development studies is becoming more blurred as economists come face to face with problems of real life in the Third World.

It is here too that an increasing number of people are coming to see that study of the political economy of South Africa must not be done on the assumption that the problems there are absolutely different from those facing other parts of the world. Indeed it can be argued that far from being an isolated, special case, South Africa is a model of the whole world containing within it all the divisions and tensions (black/white; rich/poor; migrant/nonmigrant; capitalist west/third-world; etc.) that may be seen in global perspective. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the economy of Southern Africa (for the political and economic boundaries are singularly out of line with each other) is one of the most fascinating in the world. It is one on which far more research work needs to be done, and about which further understanding of the forces at work is urgently required. It is in order to attempt to contribute to such an understanding that SALDRU is issuing these working papers.



SALDRU

SALDRU

Division of Research

School of Economics

University of Cape Town

7700 Rondebosch