

MIGRANT LABOUR, — S.A. — O.F.S

1975 — 1992

# Jobs for Blacks vital, says prof

**Staff Reporter**  
**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — The short-term prospects for the development of QwaQwa to the point where it could offer a refuge to more and more South Sotho inhabitants of Bloemfontein were extremely small, Professor P. C. Fourie, of the University of the Orange Free State, said yesterday.

Prof Fourie, head of the department of State and Municipal administration, was delivering a paper at a Bloemfontein symposium on the provision of

work for Africans in the Bloemfontein area.

There were responsible people who believed the development of Thaba Nchu would go a long way to relieving the Black labour pressure expected in Bloemfontein, he said.

But sight should not be lost of the fact that work opportunities had to be created for the present inhabitants of the area.

It would be realistic to accept that Black labour pressure in Bloemfontein would increase for at least the next 10 years.

He said urgent measures should be taken to encourage, by Government aid, the establishment of African labour-intensive

factories in Bloemfontein.

And the Bantu Affairs Administration Board should embark on a comprehensive housing programme for South Sotho in Bloemfontein, and the Government should be asked to make money available for this housing and other essential amenities, he said.

He also recommended that employer organisations in Bloemfontein should make representations for reclassification where there were not enough Whites to do jobs.

An industrial consultant, Dr Jan Lange, told the symposium that the accommodation of migratory labour Africans in Bloemfontein was essential in

the interests of healthy race relations.

"The provision of hostel facilities in which legal migratory workers can be housed, must be seen as a lightning conductor or alternative for the present large-scale arrests which make no positive contribution to detente," said Dr Lange.

He appealed to the Bloemfontein City Council to formulate a sound industrial policy and to indicate how it was proposed to implement the policy.

He said the council would neglect its duty to South Africa if it did not ensure industries of a suitable type were attracted to the city

12/5/3  
32 507 2-2-1937  
310 Mr P A MYBURGH asked the  
Minister of Co-operation and Development

- (1) How many citizens of Qwaqwa are employed (a) within and (b) outside its borders,
- (2) what is the (a) gross domestic product and (b) per capita income of Qwaqwa?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

- (1) (a) 6 372
- (b) Migrant Workers 35 000  
Commuters 2 500
- (2) (a) Gross Domestic Product  
R12 547 000  
Gross National Product  
R32 038 000
- (b) Gross Domestic Income per capita R109  
Gross National Income per capita R257

The above-mentioned figures have been furnished by BENSQ

Hans 10 Qwaqwa 203  
6/10/81 OC 638-9  
422 Mr A SAVAGE asked the Minister  
of Co-operation and Development

What is the estimated number of unem-

639

TUESDAY, 6 C

ployed (a) male and (b) female Qwaqwa citizens between the ages of 16 and 60 (i) within and (ii) outside the borders of this national state?

The MINISTER OF CO-OPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

The required particulars are not being kept in the form of a special register and particulars in respect of the number of workseekers within Qwaqwa are not readily available. The figures below reflect the number of registered workseekers outside Qwaqwa

Male	Female
7 508	3 158

(1) Premiums Treated as Business Expense

01, Jan 1: Insurance Expense	300	Bank
		being payment of premium

Dec 31:	300	Income Statement
		Insurance Expense
		being closing entry

Years 02 and 03 - same as 01

04, Jan 1: Insurance Expense	300	Bank
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Jan 2:	24 000	Debtor (Insurance Company)
		Income from Life Policy
		being accrual of proceeds receivable

Jan 2:	24 000	Income from Life Policy
		Income Statement
		being closing entry

Jan 2:	300	Income Statement
		Insurance
		being cl.

Jan 31:	24 000	Bank
		Debtor
		being re

(2) Premiums Treated as		
01, Jan 1: Life Po	300	Bank

Dec 31:	300	Income
		Life
		(surrend

Man shot as police open fire

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**By Joubert Malherbe**  
 A RESIDENT of the Merrispruit hostel at Virginia, in the Free State, is recovering in the town's hospital after a policeman opened fire on a crowd who were allegedly pelting police with stones. According to a police spokesman, members of the Virginia force were investigating a complaint that hostel dwellers were drinking in public when the incident occurred. The name of the victim, a man, who was struck by three pellets from a shotgun, has not been released. Five men were arrested on charges of drinking in public, the spokesman said.

300

300

24 000

300

24 000

24 000

300

300

300

300

Continued/.....

Jobs for 40 000

7677 23/9/82

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN —  
The Ciskei Manpower  
Component in Mdantsane  
has placed 40 000 Ciskeians  
in various jobs in the met-  
ropolitan areas of South  
Africa in 18 months from  
January, 1981 to July 1982,  
the Director of Manpower  
Component Mr C Meyers  
said this week

Mr Meyers said the cumula-  
tive earnings of the mi-  
grant workers from rural  
areas totalled R61 912 800  
Giving details of the 40 000  
workers placed in the 18  
months, he said workers  
sent to East London were  
not included in the figures  
as the East Cape Adminis-  
tration Board would not  
approve their placement  
It approved workers from  
Mdantsane only

The Western Cape had taken  
the largest complement of  
workers this year, account-  
ing for 7 566 by the end of  
July

This was followed by the  
Eastern Cape with 5 270,  
Transvaal with 1 954, Free  
State with 1 907 and Natal  
with 182 — Sapa



# 24-HOUR FARM GIRLS TALK TO

BY DERRICK LUTHAYI

WELKOM — On the outskirts of this sleepy town is a "women's farm" where sex is on sale 24 hours a day and the kids call visitors "daddy".

You'll find it in the middle of a meadow field on the main road to Theunissen. It is a motley cluster of houses and it is home to about 100 women and children.

Most of its residents are wives and girlfriends of migrant workers who stay on the mines. But some are local women who live there for strictly "business" reasons.

And business is brisk. A long tom can of beer costs R1,40 and "something else" goes between R2 and R10.

## Disappeared

We stopped for a drink there and had to contend with scores of kids clambering over us screaming "daddy, daddy".

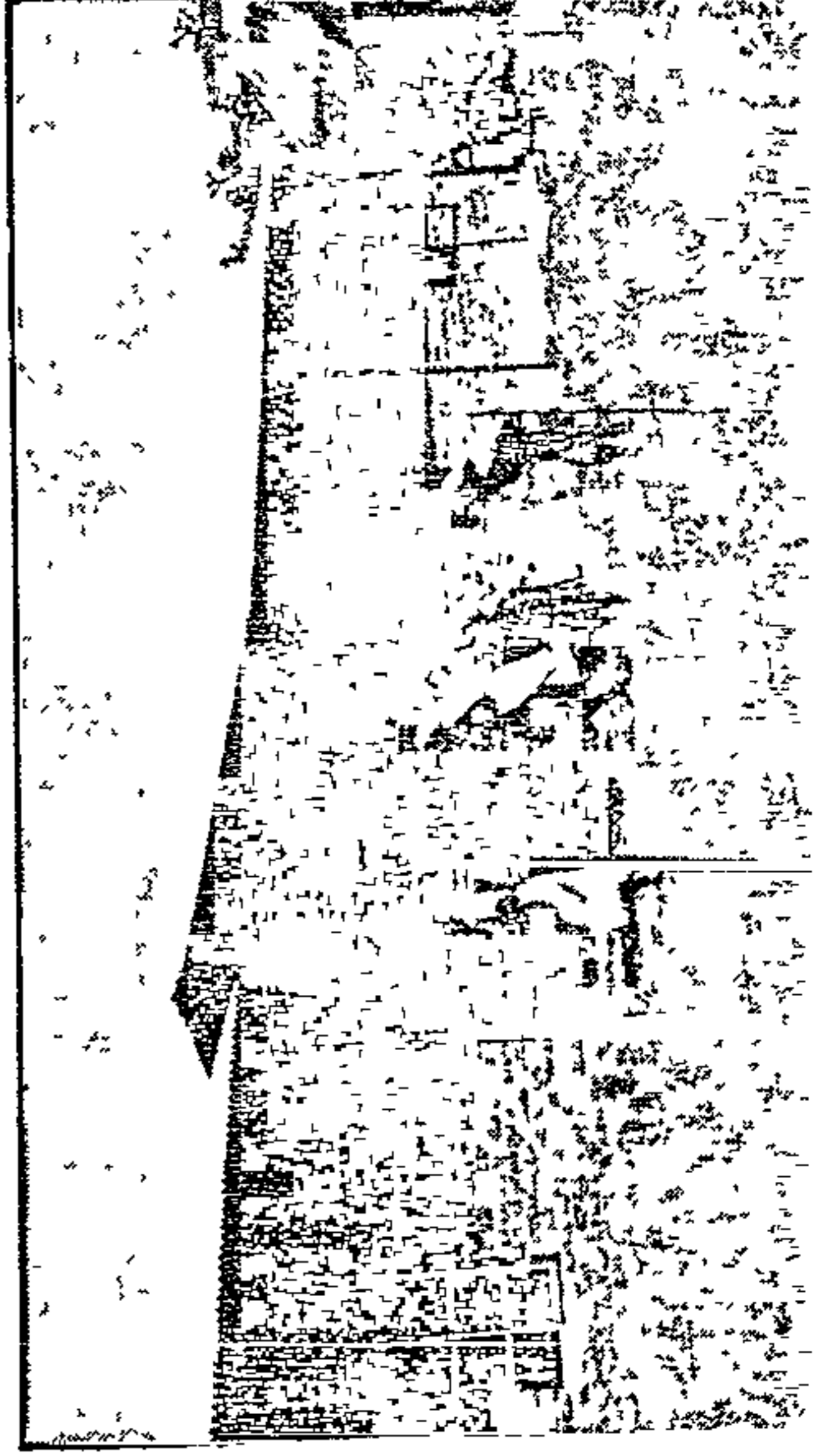
Our guide disappeared for about 20 minutes into one of the houses and came back with a wide grin on his face.

He was determined we too should go home satisfied, and behind him entered about 20 women. They winked and nudged and made all sorts of suggestions, calling us to join them outside.

We politely declined.

## Poverty

203  
 27/2/77  
 C. M. J.





# WOMEN AND GIRLS

# TALK TO CP

203  
City Press  
27/2/83

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## Poverty

Some of the women explained to us that poverty had forced them to sell sex.

"Our men here earn very little and we have to help out so we can send money back home," said a woman who was wearing her nightie at mudday. "Our customers are mainly migrant workers."

## Hard luck

Before we had finished our drinks we heard a lot of hard-luck stories.

But the moment we started taking pictures, the women took off in all directions.

We left without saying goodbye to our guide, who had disappeared for a second time into one of the houses, looking for more "something else".



● Sex-for-sale women run from Peter Setuke's camera (above). But not all of them were so coy; the woman below is one of the farm women who sell their bodies, 'because our men earn so little'!







13/2/84

# Unregistered workers are blitz target

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By Melody McDougall, Vereeniging Bureau

The police and inspectors of the Oranjevaal Administration Board are to join forces in an effort to clamp down on Vaal Triangle residents who employ unregistered domestic servants and gardeners

Action will also be taken against those who allow black employees to sleep on their premises in white residential areas without the necessary authorisation

According to a spokesman for the Oranjevaal Administration Board it is planning a massive blitz on homes in the Vaal Triangle area in the near future

"Our prime aim is to bring about a decrease in the number of serious crimes committed in the area," he said

He also said that the police and senior prosecutors of the various towns had already discussed the large number of cases reported to the police of unregistered employees stealing from their employers

"We have warned the public about the dangers of employing unregistered employees on several occasions, but in spite of this there has been no drop in this sort of offence. Police investigations into these cases are invariably hampered as there are very few clues and leads to work on"

Residents in the area were warned to have their employees registered as soon as possible, as spot checks on houses would be carried out shortly

## Jobless workers aliens in their own birthplace

# A LIFE OF MISERY ON FARM

BLACK farm labourers, laid off work by the thousands in the drought ravaged areas of the western Transvaal and north-western Free State, are fast becoming aliens in their own birthplace.

As they lose their jobs, they lose their right to be in white areas and are forced to return to the homelands

The loss of a job counts more heavily than the loss of pay and rations, and many farmhands are prepared to work on without the wages farmers can't afford to pay

Other destitute families are flocking to the urban areas and a vast socio-economic problem is developing

The exodus is considered so bad that Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development, has been asked to visit the areas

Farm labourers in white rural areas come under the Development Trust and Land Act which states that when they are no longer employed, they have to return to the homelands if the local commissioner is unable to find work for them.

There is little chance of working in the towns because of the Urban Labour Preference Policy

So, being unemployed, they do not qualify for rights to be in the town or seek work there, under the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act.

Mrs Sheena Duncan

SOWETAN  
Reporter

of the Black Sash in Johannesburg said "Black farm labourers have no option but to move as near as possible to the towns and cities

"They have often been on the farms for generations and feel no ties with the Bantustans and do not want to go there. In many cases they are far from where they have been working."

### Plight

Without Section 10 rights they will be unable to get work in the towns, but, says Mrs Duncan: "This lack of legal employment will not deter them as they have no alternative if they wish to survive"

Mrs Duncan described the plight of the farm labourers as acute, particularly where farmers were selling up and leaving because of the drought

"Obviously where the farmers are still on the land they are not going to sit and watch the blacks die, but workers on abandoned farms are in desperate straits

"They have been there for generations and normally they would just move to a neighbouring farm if their boss packed up, but now with the rough conditions other farms will be just as badly off"



The church frequently sidesteps the existence of an urban family of the migrant labourer.

This is the view of a multiracial national committee, representing three churches, that conducted a year-long investigation into the breakdown of family life in South Africa.

The churches are the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa.

The committee's task was to recommend to the church how it might respond to the breakdown of family life in this country.

The committee, noting that the system of migrant labour continued to "wreak havoc" with family life, pointed out that the church was in the "unique position of being able to link the migrant worker and his rural family."

#### COURAGE

It noted that the existence of an urban family was frequently sidestepped by the church, and asked, "will the church have the courage to minister to all sections of the migrant family?"

To enable the church to help the family in crisis, it was suggested there should be in-depth training of interested clergy and lay couples in running marriage enrichment courses, in marriage counselling, in parenting education (which would include child discipline and development and parental goals).

The committee emphasised the importance of training clergy and laity in youth ministry, and quoted a medical professor who told the commit-

# The role of the church in the migrant's family life

This is the second of two reports by SUE GRANT on a multiracial church committee investigation into the breakdown of family life in South Africa.

tee, "the church is saying very little about sexuality".

The training of clergy and laity in grief counselling was highlighted so that families affected by death, unemployment, loss of health or divorce could be helped.

The committee commented on the fact that many ministers seemed unable to attend training and listed possible causes for lack of attendance:

- A perception of ordination as the "end" of training.
- Overload and burnout at all levels of the ministry because there is so little honest feedback to clergy in an "itinerant" style of ministry.
- The clergy consider that once they have the "gospel" they have the answer to every situation and see no need to extend this into caring or relationship skills.

Self-help programmes were suggested which in-

cluded

- Single parent groups. The loneliness of the divorced, widowed, or unmarried would be counteracted by social meetings and seminars

- Young Mothers Since the decline of the extended family, they had become one of the most stressed sub-groups in society.

- Immigrant families For new immigrants there was an alarming sense of being uprooted and not knowing what local resources existed or where to find them

- The poor. Self-help projects needed the essential link of a market for their products and the church which exists in both the rural and urban area had hardly begun to co-operate effectively in this field.

The under-utilisation of church buildings was criticised by the committee and it suggested they could serve as recrea-

tional centres for all age groups ranging from babies to old people

The full potential of accepted rituals of the church was seldom recognised "How many congregations use baptism to run parenting seminars?" asked the committee

"How many use confirmation to prepare youth for life?"

The committee criticised:

- Black churches, for not doing more to listen to the pain experienced by families where parents had invested much in their children's education yet found they rejected traditional rituals and their parent's values and ideas

- The tendency within the church to split families up, for example in Sunday schools, and men's and women's fellowships. It suggested that education take place in family clusters, rather than in separated child and adult teaching and worshipping.

Some of the ideas presented to the committee of which it approved, included suggestions for the church to.

- Provide courses in financial education (covering budgeting and hire purchasing).

- Invite industrial relations personnel and trade unionists to address church groups

- Provide aid in training foster parents

- Build up a congregational resource bank for mutual aid where a central co-ordinator keeps a record of people who would provide plumbing, babysitting, nursing, or shop for a non-mobile person in exchange for use of land for growing vegetables or some other service.



# Poverty and despair in SA's tiniest homeland

SOL MAKGABUTLANE reports on the poverty and unemployment in Qwa Qwa, smallest and poorest of South Africa's homelands

SCORCHED, hilly ground, throngs of sad unemployed men and R12 a week for the lucky few that do hold jobs — that is life in the crowded territory of Qwaqwa the tiniest of South Africa's 10 tribal homelands, which is located on Lesotho's Northern borders, in the foothills of the Drakensberg

The homeland is bursting with thousands of tribesmen, both young and old, who are crying out for jobs. But, at the time when the private sector is working to improve the living standards of South Africa's blacks, employers in this homeland are paying labourers as little as R12 a week, with neither trade unions or a minimum wage in sight.

Workers in Qwaqwa's sprawling capital of Phuthaditjhaba say they are trapped in a cruel, insurmountable quagmire out of which there is no easy route. If they do not work, they will surely starve in this dry and rocky landscape. If they do, they are compelled to accept paltry wage packages.

Qwaqwa's Government officials are generally reluctant to comment on the wages being paid in the factories in the territory — which numbered 62 at the end of last year — but they confirmed growing dissatisfaction.

A spokesman for Qwaqwa's Department of Justice observed: "There is concern here. We know of workers who get as little as R10 a week. At the moment there is still preparation for the formation of a council which will stipulate a ruling about wages."

The problem, though, is that officials do not want to push

their luck too far, lest they scare off investors who, along with the homeland's government, are the biggest employers in Qwaqwa.

Workers caught in this human tragedy find little solace in official assurances that the situation is being remedied.

The Argus spoke to three factory workers in Phuthaditjhaba's industrial area, where about 6 000 of Qwaqwa's female population of 102 752 are holding jobs.

□ "Gladness" (not her real name), is a supervisor in a clothing factory. Having joined the concern 11 months ago after passing Standard 9, she ascended rapidly to her present position, where she is in charge of about 20 workers.

"I started at R14 a week," said the 21-year-old woman. "At present I get R20 a week."

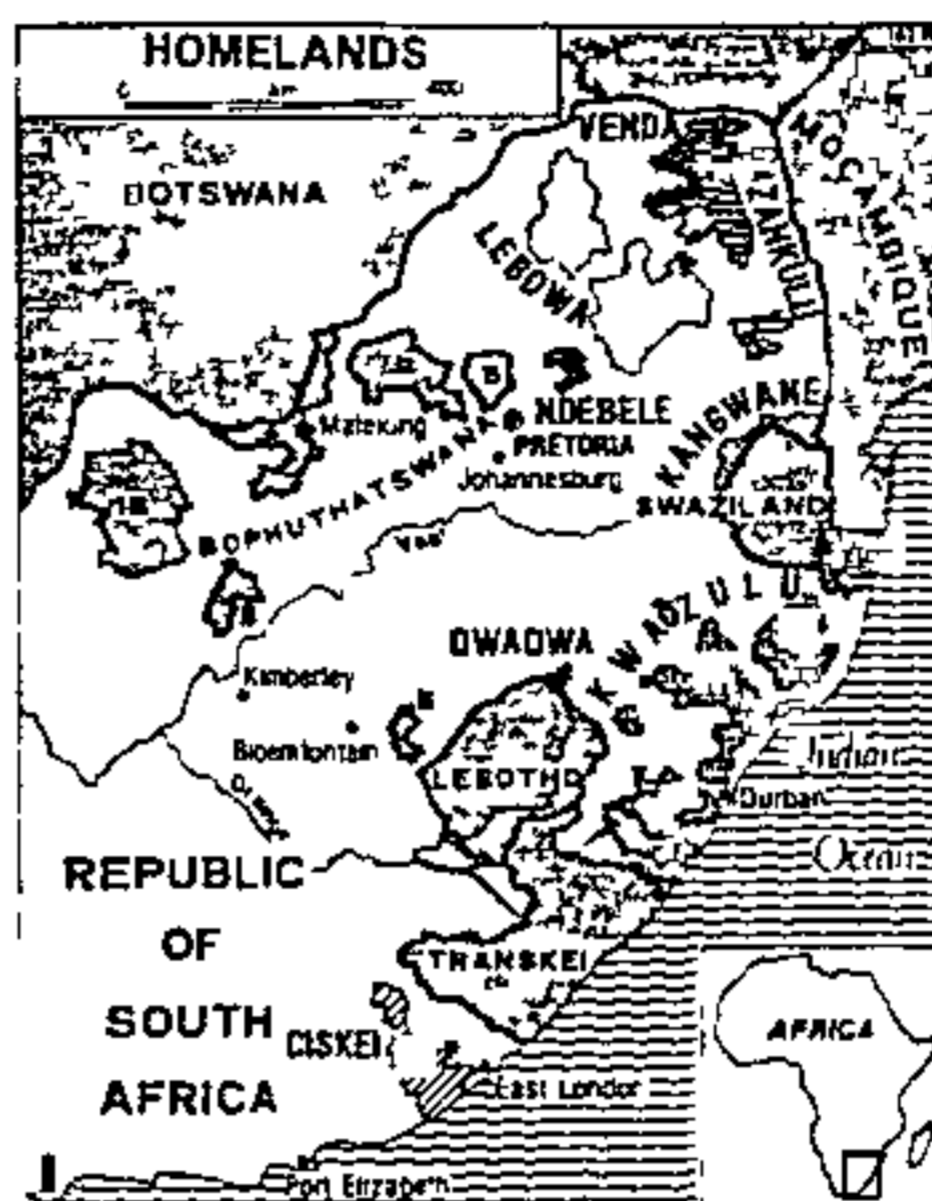
Some of her fellow workers are not as fortunate.

□ Twenty-two-year-old "Gertrude" (not her real name) from Tshesele village, who works in the same factory, joined the concern late last year and received R12 a week. "Right now I get R14."

Her weekly bus coupon costs R4,50.

□ "Stephen" (33) from Monontsha, near Phuthaditjhaba, is a worker in a locker factory. He has been there for five weeks, but is already thinking about quitting as "I can't go on working for R20 a week forever."

The incentive package, according to the Qwaqwa Development Corporation, for investing in the 62 000 ha mountain splendour homeland includes



The homelands

□ No capital outlay for industrial land or factory premises. These are supplied by the QDC at a rental which is a percentage of the erection cost less a 75 percent rental concession for 10 years.

□ A non-taxable cash refund of 95 percent of the average wages of all personnel involved in the manufacturing process up to a maximum of R110 per worker per month is paid each year for seven years.

□ Up to 50 percent of capital requirements in addition to premises is provided by the QDC at an interest rate 75 percent subsidised for the first 10 years. The entrepreneur is only required to put in a minimum of 35 percent of the capital.

□ Housing loans, with 40 percent of the interest rate subsidised, are given to key personnel of the investing company.

□ Up to R500 000 of the costs of a company moving to

Qwaqwa from overseas or from the PWV or Durban/Pinetown areas will be paid by the QDC.

In spite of all these efforts to create jobs, thousands of Qwaqwa citizens have registered in labour bureaux in the territory as workseekers.

About 9 000 have found employment in the nearby country towns of Harrismith and Bethlehem. Hundreds of others assemble daily at a labour office in Phuthaditjhaba, hoping to be recruited as migrant workers in distant cities.

"The registration of workseekers at this assembly centre is voluntary and therefore the figure of registered workseekers submitted by this centre cannot be regarded as the official unemployment figure in Qwaqwa," pointed out Mr J S Corneelse, manager of the labour bureau run by the Orange-Vaal Development Board in Phuthaditjhaba.

He said that since the bureau began operating in July, 1984, up to the end of last month, a total of 9 944 people, mostly males, registered as workseekers.

"Over the same period the centre managed to find employment for 4 540 workseekers," he added.

Out of Qwaqwa's population of 181 594, less than half — 78 842 — are males.

Last Monday and Tuesday were particularly good days for Mr Corneelse. He managed to find employment for 42 people.

"We can do better than this," he said delightedly. "The average is 400 a month."

# New deal for migrants

CAT 11/15 26/9/85  
102  
203

PRETORIA — Migrant labourers from the TBVC (Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei) states will no longer have to travel "home" to renew their contracts as of November 1. This is one of the results of high-level SA TBVC manpower ministers' discussions in Mmabatho on Tuesday, according to a statement released in Pretoria yesterday by the Secretariat for Multilateral Cooperation in Southern Africa (Secosaf).

## Streamline

The most significant aspect of the talks was a number of important decisions to streamline the administrative arrangements for the re-attestation of employment contracts of TBVC citizens working in South Africa. The requirement that migrant labourers must return to their home states to have their contracts stamped and renewed has been a controversial issue. "In terms of the multi-

lateral understanding reached by the five governments, consular representatives of the TBVC states accredited in South Africa will as from November 1 be able to renew the service contracts of their citizens employed in the Republic, provided that the individuals concerned are still working for the employers with whom their contracts were originally concluded.

## Amended

The existing labour agreements will be amended in due course to incorporate the new arrangements. "The first contract between an employer in South Africa and a citizen of one of the four states should still, as is presently the case, be attested in the employee's country of origin," Secosaf said. "These arrangements were intended to facilitate the participation of citizens of the TBVC states in the labour market of South Africa," Secosaf said — Sapa





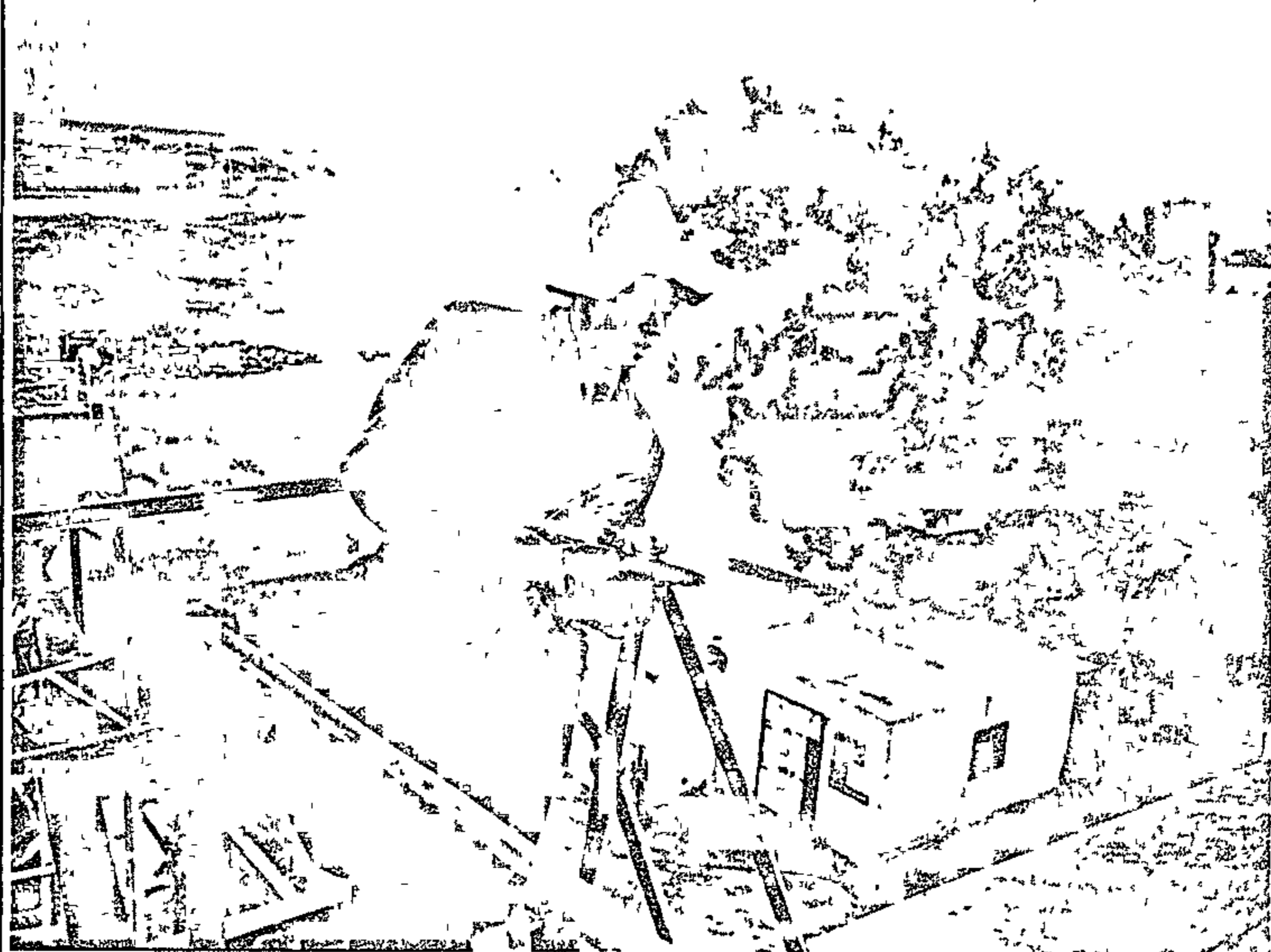
A strange ballet? Mineworkers dance around the soccerfield

# A view from the rockface: Images of another reality

203

W/C Mar 31/8 - 2/9/90

A beam of light in the darkness 'Gumboots' has been a mineworker since his youth



**F**ROM newspaper reports one might believe that life on the mines is an ongoing battle marked by labour conflict, racial tensions and violence

Life in the hostels as a migrant labourer, far away from home and family, offers few comforts. It is filled with frustration, loneliness — and anger.

Providing accommodation for families on the mines would go some way to solving their problems.

But has anyone asked the migrants what they want? And perhaps they do not want to leave their homes in faraway places. Yet they cannot earn a living in impoverished homelands.

But behind these facts lies another reality — that of the stubborn vitality of men who wring South Africa's wealth at the rockface.

They use it to forge another, more joyous, existence.

These images from the Free State gold fields were captured by Weekly Mail photographer JUSTIN SHOLK.

A pigeon trapped in machinery becomes a meal for a miner

Sta 29/10/90

# Nine killed in fights at OFS mine hostels

Staff Reporter

Nine workers were killed in fighting between hostel dwellers at Rand Mines' Harmony gold mine near Virginia at the weekend, a mine spokesman said today.

A special investigation committee would meet worker representatives today to determine the causes of the violence, which also left 37 in hospital — one critically injured.

The fighting had broken out late on Saturday night and continued sporadically into Sunday morning.

Racial tension raised its head at the mine earlier this year when a white employee, Steve Buitendag, was killed in fighting after a worker meeting.

Since then workers have gone on strikes over wages and the arrests of workers in connection with Mr. Buitendag's death.

# Bloody mine battle leaves 22 dead

S Times 10 11 91  
A BATTLE at Welkom's President Steyn gold mine left at least 22 dead this weekend.

The attack appeared to be in retaliation for an outbreak of violence last Sunday night which left 15 dead — mostly Xhosas — when a group of predominantly Xhosa-speaking miners supporting Cosatu's anti-VAT strike tried to stop Basotho miners from going to work.

By late yesterday the unofficial death toll for the week's clashes was 42.

At least 90 have been injured — 51 on Friday night, — and more injured men were making their

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

way to the Ernest Oppenheimer mine hospital yesterday, said hospital superintendent Dr Brian Brink.

Most injuries were caused by knives and pangas

Yesterday hundreds of terrified miners fled the compound of shaft No 4, seeking refuge in other hostels or Welkom's Thabong township.

Police and mine security personnel who searched the 16 blocks comprising shaft No 4 compound yesterday morning removed four truckloads of weapons — mostly

pangas and knives, but also some guns, sources said.

A number of bodies were found in the hostel block 203

Distraught Xhosa-speaking miners hiding in another hostel said they had been attacked by Basothos shortly after 10pm on Friday.

Many of the Basotho miners had gone home for the weekend, but the few Sotho speakers left on the mine yesterday said Xhosas armed with sticks and pangas had stormed into their hostel.

NUM general secretary Marcel Golding, called to the scene by Freegold South regional manager

Jan Rossouw, said no Inkatha supporters appeared to have been involved

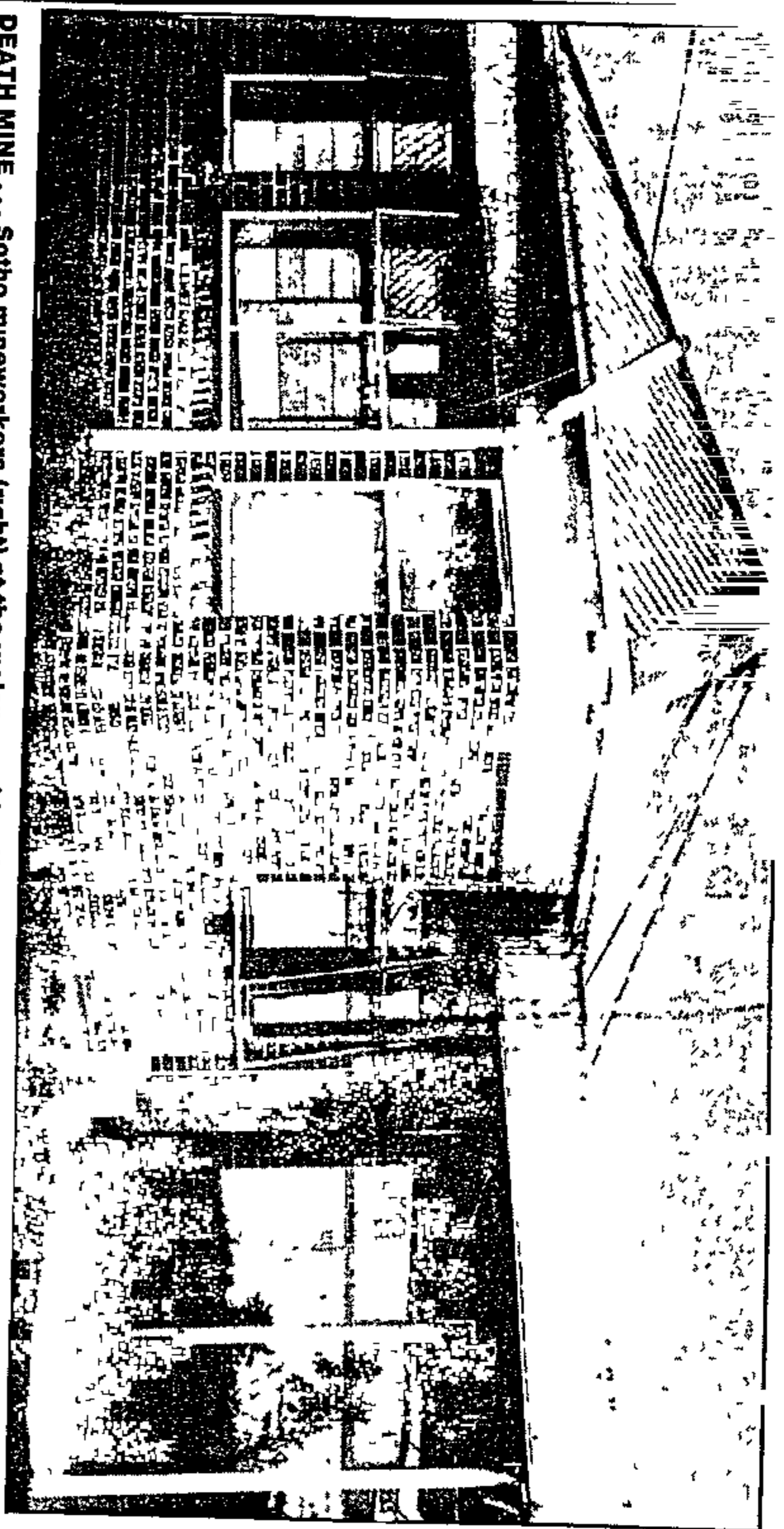
Only a few Zulu speakers are resident at No 4 shaft, sources said

Anglo American Gold and Uranium Division spokesman James Duncan said the standing commission on public violence and intimidation, headed by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, had been asked to investigate last Sunday's violence

It was possible that this weekend's violence would also fall within the ambit of the investigation, he said.

Late yesterday the mine had been sealed off.





DEATH MINE... Sotho muneworkers (right) at the violence-ridden No 4 shaft say they are living in fear of their lives. The NUM's damaged offices (above) at the President Steyn mine.



# Aftermath of bloody clashes

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

THE hated system of ethnic hostel segregation will be recon- sidered at Anglo Ameri- can's President Steyn mine in Welkom, the scene of violent clashes in the past two weeks, a mine spokesman said.

AAC spokesman Berry Ivory said this was the "only" option management was con- sidering to end the mine violence that has claimed the lives of 76 miners and left more than 150 injured.

However, Ivory could not explain how hostel dwellers living in separate hostels would stop any confrontation and conflict - and not

in fact promote it. He added that as a precautionary measure, the mine security as- sisted by the SAP would intensify their patrols and presence in the hostels.

The mine manage- ment has asked the Standing Commission on Violence and Intim- idation, headed by Jus- tice RJ Goldstone, to investigate the causes of the violence.

A war of words erupted this week with accusations and counter-accusations be- tween NUM/Cosatu the government and Anglo American President FW de Klerk, in a scathing at- tack while in Israel.

blamed the violence on a radical trade union that had unilaterally called a stayaway which had nothing to do with the employer-employee relations.

Cosatu and NUM said De Klerk's accusa- tions were "undigni- fied" and an insult to the miners and their families.

NUM and Cosatu said De Klerk should probe what two non- mine workers killed in the mine violence were doing on the mine.

However Ivory said the two men were visit- ing friends on the mine. He could not categori- cally state whom the men were visiting and where they come from.

There have also been allegations of Lesotho Government involve- ment in the violence.

It was alleged in re- ports that Basotho workers were instruct- ed to disregard the strike as it was a South African issue. Cosatu and NUM warned the Lesotho Government against poking its nose in South African affairs.

Last Monday, 6 000 miners were sent home from the violence-plagued No 4 shaft for a 'cooling-off period'.

Despite calls by the management for the miners to return to work there was no re- sponse as the hostel re- mained deserted when

City Press visited the mine yesterday.

The No 2 shaft re- mained tense as work- ers were changing their shifts.

Most of the workers at the No 4 shaft hos- tels were Xhosa speak- ing. Sothos interviewed near and in the hostel expressed fear against returning to the hostels immediately.

One miner, who re- fused to be named, said most Sothos were stay- ing in the nearby pre- dominantly Sotho- speaking Thabong loca- tion.

Hostels damaged ex- tensively in the violence were still being re- paired this week.



Patrick Laurence examines violence at President Steyn mine through a historical lens

# Miners followed a bloody trail

Spex 22/11/91



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**T**HE violence at President Steyn mine, in which 76 miners were killed in fighting of unprecedented ferocity, occurred in the context of a long history of tension between Sotho and Xhosa miners. Friction between Sotho miners from Lesotho and Xhosa workers from the Eastern Cape is, however, only one theme in the wider chronology of recurring conflict between black workers on South African mines.

These intertwining threads form part of the backdrop against which to place and comprehend the violence that convulsed President Steyn on the eve of the anti-VAT strike of November 4 and 5 and in the week after it. Anthropologist and labour consultant Kent McNamara has recorded a large part of the violence that makes up the blood-soaked tapestry between 1974 and 1988, 386 black miners were killed in 156 separate incidents.

and rivalry over township women was the flash point on Free State mines. Sotho miners enjoyed an advantage over their Xhosa counterparts because they tended to predominate in the ranks of better paid supervisory work.

The reasons for the relative predominance of Sothos among supervisory "team leaders" or — "boss boys", should be noted. They have a long history of association

with gold mining, particularly in the Free State, and have acquired a reputation for being disciplined and efficient workers. The establishment of border posts between South Africa and Lesotho in 1963 accentuated that pattern: they were declared aliens by Pretoria, the mining industry was one of the few avenues of employment open to them in South Africa, they had to succeed or face possible starvation.

which 13 men died. The next phase was after 1975 when South Africa's mining industry, anxious to reduce its dependency on foreign labour, started to recruit from particularly Transkei and Ciskei. The policy upset the numerical dominance of Sothos at Free State mines and further accentuated their minority status at Transvaal mines. The newcomers boosted the ranks of Xhosa-speakers.

After 1963 the number of Sotho miners in the Free State rose sharply, more than doubling between 1963 and 1977. The second-phase clashes came in 1975 when Prime Minister Leabua Jonathan introduced legislation for the compulsory demerit of 60 per cent of the wages of Sotho miners to the Bank of Lesotho. The move was unpopular with the Sotho miners, many of whom were members of, or sympathetic to, wards, Ntsu Mokhehle's Basutho-land Congress Party.

The Sotho miners mobilised to resist Jonathan's decree. At one mine they sought to enlist the support of Xhosa miners for a planned work stoppage, only to be rebuffed. The Sothos attacked Xhosas, triggering clashes in

workers were initially sympathetic to the NUM, seeing in it a bulwark against threats by President Botha to repatriate foreign workers. But then, encouraged by the new conservative military regime that toppled Jonathan in Lesotho in 1986, they started to withdraw into neutrality.

The next phase was characterised by the emergence of the National Union of Mineworkers in 1982 and its drive to recruit black mine workers to its ranks. Sotho

By the 1980s there was an oversupply of unskilled labour and — or trying to ensure — that it favoured the dominant group. Attempts to establish control were sometimes manifest physically. Dr McNamara writes of one attack: "(It) had been planned for several months, during which time the Pondo induna had been building up a cache of arms." A pattern of spiralling violence emerged, in which counter-attacks were made to avenge the death of kinsmen killed in earlier attacks.

A reversal of situations had occurred in the mid-1970s. Xhosa workers were reluctant to join Sothos in their fight against Jonathan, in the mid-1980s Sothos, fearful of repatriation and reluctant to risk their jobs, were anxious not to become embroiled in the NUM's increasingly political agenda.

Following Dr McNamara's analysis on violence since the early 1970s, several phases in which Sotho and Xhosa miners have clashed can be detected. In the first phase, competition for

The unification of black miners was associated with increased hostility against team leaders, who were often seen as informers or impimpus. In 1986 eight team leaders were killed

during violent clashes. Seven were Sothos. It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that conflict on the mines is simply tribal. There are too many complicating factors. Migrant labour is one, sexually segregated and congested hostels is another, class antagonism between manual and supervisory workers is a third, divide-and-rule strategies by mine managers is — according to union leaders — a fourth.

Dr McNamara thinks conflict between foreign nationals and South African black miners is of greater importance than tribalism. He shows that fighting between Xhosas and Sothos finds parallels in battles that have pitted South Africans against Malawians, Mozambicans and Zimbabwegans. Tribalism as a factor in mine violence cannot, however, be dismissed any more than it can be denied as a force in the political arena. □

● Footnote: There is a fine balance of power at President Steyn mine between Sotho speakers from Lesotho and Eastern Cape Xhosa 5 900 (in round figures) against 5 100

203  
**Miners**  
**quit hostel**  
**after 8 die**  
**in clashes**  
26/11/91  
Crime Staff

Miners have been moved from a hostel at the No 4 Shaft of the President Steyn Gold Mine near Welkom following weekend violence which claimed eight lives, management has confirmed.

Anglo American spokesman James Duncan said the 400 hostel residents were moved to a hostel at another mine to ensure their safety.

Eight people died and 17 were admitted to hospital after the latest unrest, which involved a number of isolated attacks on individuals by small groups.

Some of the victims were still in a critical condition last night.

Mr Duncan said an intensive investigation into the causes of the renewed violence was being conducted and the injured and other witnesses to the attacks were being interviewed.

Discussions between management, National Union of Mineworkers representatives and other employee representatives were in progress yesterday in an effort to find a permanent solution to the problems at the hostel.

### Returned

Earlier this month, clashes at the Free State gold mine claimed the lives of 76 workers and left at least 180 injured.

About 5 000 miners from the No 2 and No 4 shafts were sent home to Lesotho and Transkei to "cool off".

Mr Duncan said most of the inmates of the No 4 Shaft hostel had returned to the mine by yesterday.

Police said the earlier clashes were between Xhosa and Sotho factions.

Anglo refused to comment on the cause of the previous unrest, saying the matter was being investigated by the Standing Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Violence and Intimidation chaired by Mr Justice R J Goldstone.

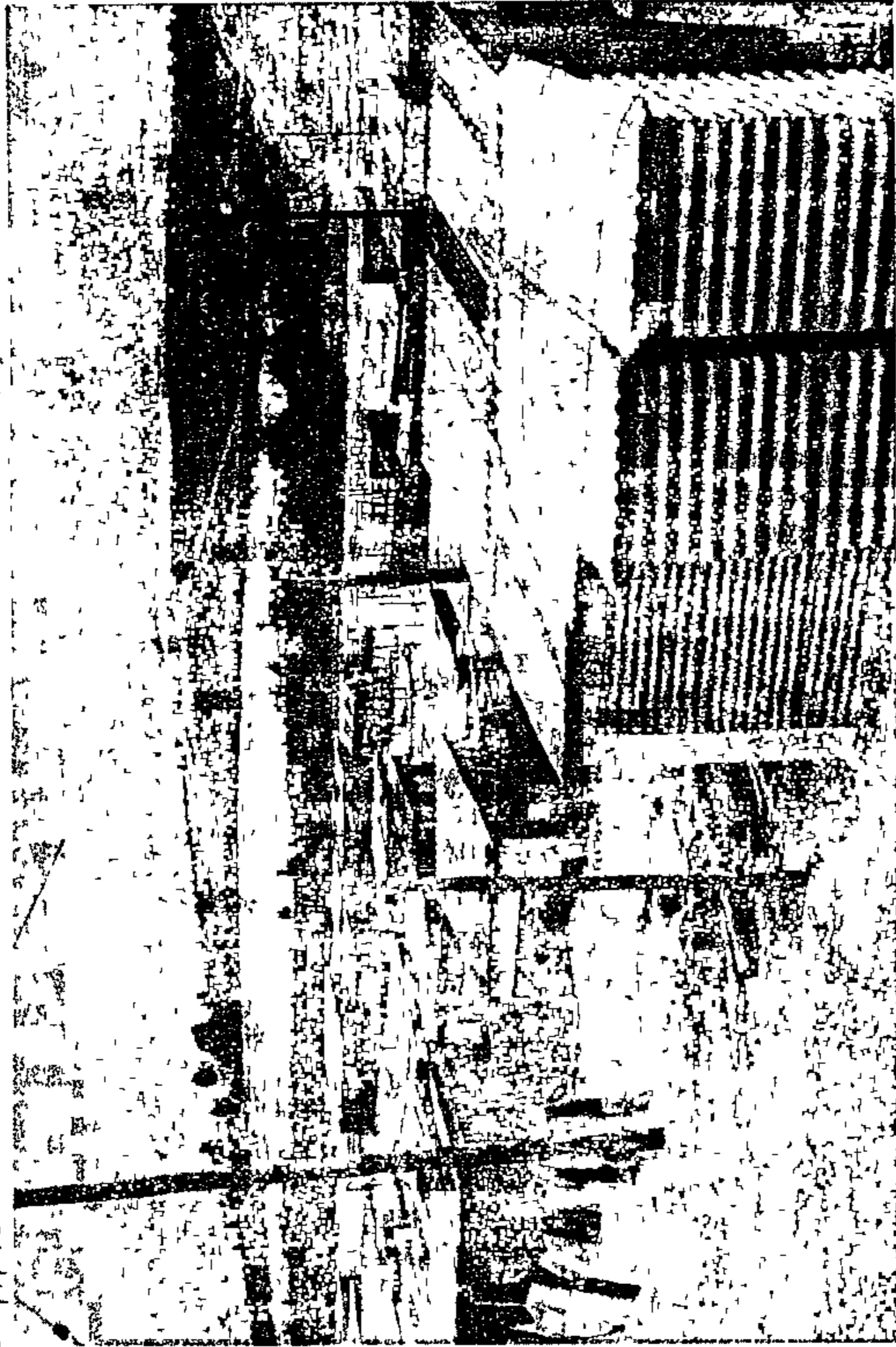


# Squatter town is recognised

South 16/11 - 22/1/92

African women in Villiersdorp will no longer have to spend their nights sleeping in bushes evading police hostel raids

**QUENTIN WILSON** reports that they are now free to live with their husbands in the newly recognised squatter community of Goniwe Park. 203



PICS QUENTIN WILSON

IN DECEMBER African residents of the Bolland town of Villiersdorp reaped the benefits of a lengthy, bitter struggle when they celebrated the opening of Goniwe Park. African squatters, under the leadership of their civic association forced the Villiersdorp municipality to recognise them after months of marches, sit-ins, pickets, negotiations, boycott threats and acts of defiance.

Previously, the municipality insisted that employed African men lived in compounds while wives, children and unemployed workers were forced to leave after regular police raids.

The compound system ensured residents were divided along racial lines.

In a day of festivities started by recently returned exile Mr Ben Baartman, the 150 squatting families chose to honour slain Cradock civic leader, Mathew Goniwe, by adopting his name for their community.

For the more than 400 residents of Goniwe Park, the celebrations were more of a recommitment to improve their difficult living conditions than to put themselves on the back

## GONIWE PARK 200 shacks in the background of Villiersdorp

Resident Mrs Margaret Vers said "It was great, but there are still many problems to be sorted out — only two of the four streets have toilets and the water runs very slowly from the taps."

Mr Thomas Jansen Villiersdorp Civic Association spokesperson said "We, the residents of Goniwe Park, feel very confident about the future."

"More and more people are being organised — even in the surrounding farms the ANC has recruited about

200 farmworkers. From Villiersdorp itself, the ANC has a branch of 530 signed-up members."

It has been a tough struggle in a town controlled by the Conservative Party — and there is no sign that it will ever be plain sailing as the white townspersons are still intent on driving wedges between coloured and African residents.

According to Jansen, 37 Africans were fired from work after last year's VAT stayaway even though Cosatu's

call was heeded by everyone.

He also claimed that certain churches, particularly the NG Sendingkerk, attempted to consolidate a coloureds-only following and often prayed against the "evils" of the Villiersdorp civic and the ANC.

Repression is still rife, with gun-toting AWB members harassing local residents who have also had to bear the brunt of heavy-handed police action on many occasions.

In November, when 500 people

marched through Villiersdorp demanding houses, toilets, sports facilities and a town hall, 49 were arrested. Jansen, who was among them, has also received threatening telephone calls.

● On Monday, the ANC chairperson of Villiersdorp, Mr Thomas Jansen, was detained by local police. About 10 policemen surrounded Jansen's house and took him and his four children to separate cells. The children's ages range from three to 13.

# news in brief

Sowetan 23/12/97  
**Illegal occupations**

203

THE MANGAUNG City Council is to take legal action against families who have occupied the Phahameng Hostel in the Bloemfontein township.

Mangaung town clerk Mr Lindelo Mkaza said yesterday that action was being taken against the families because "they cannot take what is not theirs". He said money had been set aside for the upgrading and conversion of the hostel into family units. "We don't know what to do now because if we proceed with the conversion of the hostel to family units, without the participation of the community-based associations like Mangaung Civic Association, people will accuse the council of not consulting them prior to our decisions."

# Municipality probed over sewage in river

Staff Reporter

THE Department of Water Affairs is to probe allegations that the Stellenbosch municipality has been responsible for contaminating the Eerste River with sewage effluent

Samples of the water have been given to the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) for testing

Farmers said the water near the town was pitch black and had a pungent odour. They feared an outbreak of disease as the river water pre-

sented a serious health hazard

Farmer Mr Kallie Kirsten lodged a complaint with the Department of Water Affairs and said the municipality was one of the main culprits responsible for the water contamination

Senior water contamination officer Mrs K J Carden said the municipality, subject to certain preconditions, is free to drain a certain quantity of effluent into the river throughout the year.

(SABS) (203) CT/16/3/93