

Rev. L.H. Pearson; ex Army Chaplain.

J.B. Robertson; Doctor of Chemistry, Chairman of the Left Club.

Mrs. J.K. Robertson; President, National Council of Women.

Cecil Williams; Ex Naval Lieutenant and O.C. U.D.F. School of Education in Florence, Editor of 'Fighting Talk'.

From the Star: Friday, August 16th.

"The strike of native mine workers on the Rand has ended..... In all 17 mines were involved in varying degrees in the stoppage Only Robinson Deep was affected throughout the whole period.....

"It is estimated that at least 1,000,000 man hours were lost in the strike. the Deputy Commissioner of Police for the Rand, Colonel Mickdal, had at his disposal 1,600 men to deal with the situation arising from the strike..... he had had 1,000 men available in Johannesburg. On the East Rand there had been about 600 men on special duty "The men have done a grand job under the most trying circumstances" he said.

"In an interview, the Director of Native Labour and Chief Native Commissioner for the Witwatersrand, Mr. J.M. Brink said "My chaps were on the spot from the word go. to advise those who had stopped work to go back to work.

"Our line was to point out that any stoppage was illegal and a breach of contract; that the affair was instigated by agitators; that they could not possibly expect 10s. a day and that it was in their interests to return to work."

"In many cases the officials succeeded in getting natives to resume work peaceably, thus avoiding the necessity for police action. police action was taken only as a last resort.

"Wherever police action was finally taken it was only after repeated attempts to get the workers back in terms of their contracts by other means."

"There was trouble at New Pioneer gold mine this morning, when all the natives there refused to work.... about 450 natives being involved.

Finally about 70 police

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" Finally about 70 police arrived and tried to arrest the ring-leaders..... There was an intense struggle for about an hour, during which time 20 natives were injured..... the worst elements scattered into neighbouring dumps, and the rest of the natives started work.

From a letter to the Editor:

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"At this juncture it would not be untimely if the Government or the Chamber of Mines were to present to the public a concise review of the native wages question, if only to all^{ca}y the suspicion that exists in some minds that this apparently prosperous country may be heading for a disaster of the first magnitude.

C.O. Ormerod."

The press had reported that the miners were back at work. There was no way of checking the accuracy of their reports, or of discovering the real facts. It was decided that no leaflet should be ~~prepared~~ ^{issued to} ~~for~~ the miners for that night. But after business houses and factories closed, work started again on the preparation of leaflets, calling the workers to come to the Market Square on Sunday morning and to stay at home on Monday. At a different centre, leaflets to the miners were prepared and roneod till the early hours of the morning, calling the miners also to the Market Square, and telling them of the preparations for a general strike in support of their demands.

SATURDAY, August 17th:

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From the Rand Daily Mail:

"There were two short lived strikes yesterday..... At 5 a.m. the police were informed that the 2,000 natives at Village Main had refused to go underground. Some of the strikers adopted a defiant attitude as the police marched in to the compound, but hurried to work when the police entered their rooms.

"Later a substantial force of policemen was sent to the New Pioneer Mine to deal with 450 strikers there. Some of the agitators had assembled on an adjoining mine dump.

"A detachment of police was sent round the dump to intercept them, but they had already fled. The police chased them over mine dumps and through the veld for two miles before they could be rounded up and driven back to the compound. When they got there they all volunteered for duty.

Headline: "Police Protect Native Workers After Threats of Violence."

"A general strike of native commercial and industrial workers, which agitators threatened would take place yesterday, again failed to materialise.

"There had been threats that natives coming to work would be prevented from boarding trams and buses. Strong detachments of police were therefore posted before dawn at 13 strategic points in and around the city.

".....native bus drivers at the locations.....were afraid to drive in, as they had been threatened with violence. Workers were afraid to go to the buses for the same reason. When the presence of the police became known, they swarmed into the transports and arrived at their work a little late, but happy that they had not been prevented from coming.

".....agitators seem to have been more active in Alexandra Township..... Agitators boarded the buses from the southern suburbs and told the passengers that the presence of so many police rendered the strike pointless, but that all workers would be expected to strike on Monday, when 10,000 in Pretoria have threatened to cease work.

"The police are aware of these possibilities, and strategic points will continue to be picketed until after the weekend.

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Headline: "It was a tough job, and they did it."

"Yesterday writes a 'Rand Daily Mail' reporter, I went to the Police Barracks to chat with the men who have been handling the emergency.....

".... not a single man talked big. No tales of bloodshed and violence, no swanking about deeds of heroism, As one young man.... said to me: "..... Very few men really like using physical violence, but if there is no alternative we use it to the best of our ability. "

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"We had the whip-hand" I was told, "and we had to show that we held it. What we were up against was a direct threat to law and order - some of the weapons we picked up or took away from strikers showed that this was not an ordinary strike. Some of the poor blighters did not know what it was all about."

Editorial: "TOTAL DEFEAT".

"The native strike has ended just as it was bound to do. Quite a number of strikers have sore heads; a few are dead; and not a single one of the points for which they struck had been gained.

".....those who organised, formented and supported the movement... led ignorant and barbarous people to ask for the impossible, and it is in no way due to them that Johannesburg was not turned into a scene of riot and bloodshed. Because the strike was so well handled by the police the natives have lost less by it than was first feared. We can see no marked growth of resentment amongst the European population, as would undoubtedly have occurred if columns of strikers armed with weapons of various sorts, had been allowed to come into the centre of the towns.

" The Labour Party acted amusingly as usual..... and was even bold enough to send a deputation to protest to Dr. Colin Steyn..... This fatuous body, headed by the Mayor of Johannesburg, complained first of "the brutal methods which the Government was adopting in dealing with the native strikers." Two conclusions are possible. One is that the Mayor of Johannesburg would not have objected to the irruption of four thousand armed natives into the centre of her city; The other is that the police should have confined themselves

to politely requesting the strikers to be good enough to put down the crowbars, choppers or knives that they were carrying.....

"The people who came best out of the affair, are the police.... The measure of their success can be judged by the relative smallness of the casualty list. Anyone could have suppressed the outbreak with heavy bloodshed; it took good policemen to protect the public at so small a cost in life and injury to the primitive tribesmen who have come under the "guidance" of a western-model trade union...."

Bob Connolly's cartoon, titled "Getting rid of the Debris" shows the corpse of an agitator, still dangling a ten-shilling note from the end of a fishing rod, while being pushed along in a cocopan into a black cavern.

Saturday, August 17th:

~~Throughout the afternoon, little groups of African men and women called at a central depot in town for leaflets for their townships. All types of precautions were taken. Leaflets went into the townships under the noses of the police, in bundles of washing, under shopping bags of groceries, in shirt-fronts, and under blankets. Throughout the hours of Saturday and Sunday, little groups of volunteers in all the townships called from house to house leaving leaflets.~~

~~At the same time, groups of miners and of volunteers were taking bundles of leaflets from the centre of town and climbing on the trains which ran from the East to the West Rand. At each mine station, they climbed out, looked around for a mineworker not under the observation of the police, handed him a little batch of leaflets with instructions to pass them on in the compound, and climbed back on the train to repeat the performance at the next station.~~

From the Star: Saturday, August 17th:

"Rand Market Hesitant".

"Effect of Natives' Mine Strike".

"In continuing the spirited fashion in which the Market closed last week, Johannesburg dealers were caught on the wrong foot on Monday, Early through High 'Change news was received of the incipient native labour strike on several mines. There was an immediate withdrawal of buying orders, which enabled sellers to dominate the market, and led to an easier trend. Little fresh

selling orders appeared, but prices declined

"Despite the spread of the troubles, the tone steadied on Tuesday morning, Caution nevertheless continued to prevail, pending developments in the situation. As the natives returned to work, sentiment improved and was reflected in more active conditions, with rallying prices."

Spirits had been ebbing, confidence oozing away from all the organisers of the general strike! The arrests, the unbelievable brutality of the police; the bludgeoning of the miners back to work; the police determination not to allow a leaflet to be distributed or a picket-line to form; all helped to discourage them. But there was no mood of black pessimism, no feeling yet that the struggle was over.

Throughout Saturday morning and afternoon, the leaflets went out to the townships, calling the people to a meeting at the Market Square on Sunday morning. And as the little batches of men and women with leaflets under their blankets, leaflets concealed in bundles of washing, leaflets tucked down the front of their clothes, made their way into the townships, distributed their leaflets and came back for more, reports started to come in. 'The general strike will be on on Monday. The people are determined to fight now for the miners and 10/- a day. They are talking about the strike, they are ready, organised'.

All Saturday afternoon, mine-workers who had made their way to town, African men and women volunteers took little batches of leaflets in their clothing, and boarded the trains from Johannesburg which run East and West along the Reef. At nine stations - Cleveland, Tooronga, Luipaardsvlei and a score more, they got off, evaded the watchful eye of the hordes of police, handed a number of leaflets to passing miners, and rode on to the next stop. The leaflets called on the miners to keep courage, told them of the meeting at the Market Square, told them that the general strike was coming to their aid.

But the courage was ebbing out. And the confidence and fearlessness which had inspired the moving spirits in the organising of the strike. The strike committee, incapacitated by the arrest of its Chairman and several members, met in Orlando, without aim and without

a clear vision of where to go next.

Daniel Koza, who had called for action at the meeting in Rosenberg Arcade several days before, who had castigated the Executive of the Non-European Trades Council for their failure to act boldly, turned tail, afraid. He called for the strike committee to dissolve, and give up the fight. Gana Makabeni supported. The motion was lost, and the two left the Committee never to return. The Committee, now the rump of a strike committee, adjourned with no decisions taken.

The Newtown Market Square is bare, deserted on a Sunday morning. A cold wind whipped across it. At 9.30 ~~the~~ first stragglers began arriving - a few African workers; a few ~~xxxxxxxx~~ newspaper reporters and photographers; two car-loads of plain-clothes detectives; a few car-loads of senior police officers. By ten o'clock, when the meeting was scheduled to start, a group of about thirty people stood in the centre of the square - ^{African}workers and a few European and Indian Communists. The reporters and the detectives chatted in cars on the edge of the square. At the corner of Bree Street, a group of twenty miners, wrapped in coloured blankets, stood and waited, afraid to come closer in so forlorn a spot, with memories of police brutality fresh in their minds.

Some of the leaders, prepared to speak at the meeting, still had the courage to come; James Philips, released from gaol the day before; Josie Palmer, who had inspired all the work in the Western Areas, and had driven and cajoled everywhere throughout the week; David Bopape, Secretary of the Anti-Pass Committee, in from Benoni. But the ranks of the leaders were as thin on that morning as the ranks of the followers.

No meeting was held. Everyone present was told to go home, to spend the rest of the day preparing the people for the great stay-at-home on Monday. By 11 a.m. the square was as empty and as bleak as it always is, on a bleak August Sunday, with the wind whipping ~~xxxxxx~~ across it.

The confidence and spark of fire reached its lowest point that morning. Despite the glowing and confident reports coming in all day from the Townships, all those who had been at the meeting felt heavy, spent. For all practical purposes, the General Strike was over. The people had been cowed into submission; the strike committee could not be called together to decide what to do; the air was heavy with defeat. There was nothing more to do than to wait and see - wait for Monday to bring what it would.

From the "Sunday Express", August 18th:

Editorial: "The Strike was a Warning".

"Last week's strike...was a salutary reminder of the kind of trouble which South Africa may expect, if the present policy of drift in the matter of non-European labour continues....there is, of course, an inevitable legacy of bad blood.....

"To the great majority of native workers, a strike just means an opportunity to go out and stone the nearest policeman. The native is at the mercy of agitators, who do nothing to educate him in the proper conduct of the strike weapon.....

"Yet there is very little sign that anyone proposes to undertake the immense task of teaching the native worker the ~~elements~~ elements of trade union principles.

"....As things stand at the moment, our policy, if it can be called a policy - is to treat him rough and tell him nothing. This attitude will not prevent strikes; it will merely ensure that every strike that occurs is automatically a riot. Native industrial workers must eventually be trade unionists, whether Europeans like this prospect or not....."

Headline: "Lawrence Praises Police".

"The South African Police Force was complimented by the Minister of Justice, Mr. H.G. Lawrence, yesterday, for the way it acted during the strike of mine natives last week.

"Mr. Lawrence said.... 'Not only have they succeeded in maintaining law and order with commendable discipline and restraint, but they are responsible for saving from potential danger thousands of citizens along the Reef Towns.

"....In preventing what might have developed into ugly situations, force was inevitable, and both natives and police were injured. But the fact that not a single native lost his life at the hands of the police, is the best possible commentary on the admirable restraint displayed.....

"Only 12 rounds of ammunition were fired by the police during the native strike disturbances on the Witwatersrand last week. Eight natives were wounded, but no deaths from the firing have been

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reported.

"It is unofficially estimated however, that about 900 natives were injured, few of them seriously, in baton charges and other clashes.

"So far five deaths have been reported. Four strikers were trampled to death by their companions at Sub Nigel during a stampede, and one native ~~xxxxx~~ who jumped from a mine dump at Robinson Deep broke his neck and died.

"...Reports that the police used excessive force in handling the strike were denied by Mr. J.M. Brink, Director of Native Labour. yesterday.

"It is regrettable that force had to be used, but after repeated attempts by Department of Labour inspectors to persuade the natives to return to work had failed, it became inevitable", he said. ..."Many of the natives are still bewildered about the outcome of the strike, and feel that they were led up the garden path by agitators, in their claim for 10/- a day."

Stock Exchange Report: Headline: "Prices Rally with End of Native Strike."

"....Price movements closely followed the strike news, with quotations rallying smartly in the latter part of the week....."

Illogically enough, non-producing Orange Free State issues were most affected by the strike news, although there is not a native miner within miles of their properties....."

From the "Sunday Times: August 18th:"

Editorial: "A Timely Warning".

"The strike of native mineworkers has been broken - and also a few heads. Rand people...will join in the congratulations to the police on their firm action without losing sympathy for the victims of their efficiency. The natives who were struck down were technically violating the law, but they were the dupes of agitators who persuaded them to make impossible demands on the mines, and to strike and make threatening demonstrations when their pay was not increased to 10/- a day. Many of the natives would not have joined

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joined the strikers if their more determined compatriots had not intimidated them.

"....there are many factors that are not so reassuring. The first is that a few agitators were able to influence such a large number of native workers. In this country, where any attempt to incite the native is not only a crime but a most unpopular offence, it is astonishing that secret agitation could have such a wide-spread result. The authorities are now conducting a searching investigation into this agitation and the culpability of certain alleged agitators. They will also investigate the ramifications of the Communists, who were active before and during the strike.

"....We have seen the serious consequences of immature and mischievous trade unionism. It should be a timely warning. The country may not yet be ready to adopt the liberal solution of full trade unionism for the native worker, but it is equally true that....we cannot afford to leave him to be exploited and misled."

Stock Exchange Report: From London:

"...The mining market has been dominated by the strike position. ...London observers are inclined to regard the trouble as having been driven underground, but with a likelihood that it will raise its head again before long.....An impression therefore remains that the past week's troubles are merely a harbinger of the persistent trend towards higher wages demands by native workers.

By The Mining Editor:

....."The native strike has been quelled but it would strain the limits of optimism to suggest that any satisfactory final settlement has been achieved...."

From "Die Weekblad", Sunday August 18th(Translated from Afrikaans)

Editorial: AGITATORS:

".....There is not the slightest doubt that the case for striking was spread by agitators, and the natives were..... seriously misled....These people possibly realised the danger that threatens white South Africa when they learned of the

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ITAL. } thousands of natives who were on the road to Johannesburg, and whose attack upon the city was only foiled by the timely intervention of the police."

"Die Weekblad" publishes a cartoon titled "Victims of Communist Agitation". It shows a score of African miners, some armed with ~~stixkxx~~ sickles, some with hammers, in a hand to hand fight with the police. Two Europeans labelled 'Communist', one with long flowing hair like an artist, and the other with beard, side-whiskers and moustache, stand aside from the fight, shouting 'Attack!' (Storm!)

Sunday was heavy with the foreboding of the end.

Sunday nights on the City Hall steps are a Johannesburg institution. The Communist Party, week in and week out through the years, has kept up its meetings there in the dark. Week after week the crowd gathers there in the dim street lights around eight o'clock, three or four hundred in the bitter days of midwinter, one to two thousand in summer when an event of some importance has taken place. This is the place where the people of Johannesburg come after any big event at home or abroad, to hear what the Communists have to say.

They were there about two thousand strong on that Sunday night, waiting to hear the Communists' version of the great strike. Hilda Watts opened the meeting, and called on Michael Harmel to speak. As Harmel spoke about ~~stix~~ the miners and the conditions of their life, about the strike and the brutal assaults of the pllice, about the tobacco workers and about the general strike, a silence descended on the crowd. The gossiping died away, and only the boom of the loudspeaker went on in the silence. Harmel spoke of the dead, and called for the audience to stand in two minutes silence in their memory. Only the whispers and giggles of the policemen standing in groups around the crowd broke the dead silence.

Then he appealed for funds for the strikers, for the families of the victims of the police terror, for the workers victimised by the Chamber of Mihe. Girls with hats went in and out amongst

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the crowd, and the silver and the notes poured in.

Hilda Watts closed the meeting. In a fiery and rousing speech, she castigated 'the great fat policeman over there, bursting out of his uniform, who stood and grinned on his great fat face, whenever mention was made of the brutal assaults made by the police on defenceless strikers...' and "...the group of policemen and their officers behind me here, who are so depraved and devoid of any human decency, that they giggle like schoolgirls while decent people are standing in silence to the memory of those done to death at their hands, and the hands of their colleagues...."

When the collection was counted, there was over £75 in the hats. The usual collection on a Sunday evening is about £2. Johannesburg had not entirely lost its sense of decency, and its sympathy for the workers, despite the ravings of the press.

The Daily Mail during this week suppressed three letters.

One was from Senator S.J. Smith, a leading member of the Labour Party, and one of the most prominent of Durban's public representatives:

"..... The testing time of the liberals is now at hand. There is a strike of the natives on the Gold Mines - they are using the only weapon they have to raise their standards of life. This is ~~the~~ the key contest. The Gold Mines set the average economic level of natives throughout the country - if the Mine natives are liberally treated, a liberal wage policy will spread rapidly to

the national benefit. At this vital turning point for the Native workers, I declare myself to be on the side of the strikers in their struggle."

Uys Krige, poet, author, war correspondent, also ^{failed} ~~couldn't~~ ~~manage~~ to pass the exacting eye of the Editor. He wrote: "At the beginning of this war, when the youth of South Africa were being exhorted by our country's leaders for a better world, General Smuts said 'Our Government .. will be known as the Government that sets about seeing that there was social Justice and decent living for the underdog...' On another occasion he said 'South Africa will be more democratic after the war, and there will be equality and justice as well as more freedom, not only in the political sphere but in the economic sphere. These improvements will also apply to ~~the~~ Non-Europeans...'

"From my casual reading of the local press... I remember a few interesting items..... Mr. Norbert Erleigh chartered a flying boat the other day, to go and watch the Aga Khan being weighed in diamonds at Dar-Es-Salaam... ... The Rand Daily Mail told us that the Grand National Hotel changed hands for £240,000. Yesterday I read that the Turf Club will probably be sold for a half a million. At the beginning of the week you informed that Mr. Harry Oppenheimer has paid £20,000 for a horse - 'the highest recorded price for a racehorse imported into South Africa.'

"I have chosen these names at random There are others in South Africa who have not had the good fortune to 'come out of this war as poor as the rest' - wished them by General Smuts six years ago.

"During the past few days, eight men have been killed and hundreds wounded as a result of asserting one of mankind's fundamental rights - that of withholding labour - and asking in Johannesburg, one of the richest cities in the world, 10/- a day.

"Must we conclude that after a world war in which millions of people laid down their lives to gain for us the several freedoms so eloquently advocated by General Smuts, Churchill, and President Roosevelt, South Africa has become a paradise for plutocrats, and

a place which is not (in a temper to tolerate' the poor?"

Senator Basner wrote. And got suppressed. "As far as I can judge the strike of African miners and the Government handling of the situation has left the African section torn between feelings of rage and frustration, and has filled the European section with a sense of uneasiness and foreboding about the future.

The only redeeming feature in the sad events of the strike has been the universal condemnation which met the Rand Daily Mail's immoderate editorials and its methods of reporting the events. Even in quarters least favourable to the strikers your attitude was deplored and your sentiments repudiated.

I can only express my disgust at such open partisanship and your open hostility to the cause of the African mine workers. Your two editorials on the strike will go down in the history of South African journalism as examples of the evils of a press committed to the interests of a financial group and not to the interests of the community."

Only one letter critical of the Daily Mail and attempting to think sanely of the miners case was allowed to reach the columns of the Mail. It appeared in the week after the strike. Perhaps it was professional clanishness amongst professional journalists that saved this letter from suppression. It was written by Rene de Villiers, Managing Editor of the ^{United Party} weekly 'Forum'.

"Now that the tumult and shouting over the native mine-workers strike have died down, perhaps you will allow me to ^{comment} on one aspect of a week of tragic happenings. Because the Rand Daily Mail's attitude to the natives has in the past generally been ^{so} lonsighted and tolerant, the hystera and panic it displayed last week, in its news as well as its editorial columns, came as a painful surprise.

.....Even if your leading article "More than a Strike", published last Tuesday, was not intended as such, it was mischievous as well as malicious, Nothing was better calculated to create public panic and alarm and whip up passions, unless perchance, it was the emphasis your news stories placed on the 'evil and

aggressive' intentions of strikers' marches ~~wikk~~ armed with stones and sticks, and in some cases, choppers.

What excuse have you to offer for the total absence of fair and balanced comment in your leading article on Saturday? After all, the emergency had passed by then. The good white citizens of Johannesburg were no longer in peril.

* Why did the Rand Daily Mail not bother to tell its readers that the mineworkers have grievances, that they have no adequate channels through which to express their grievances; that workers organisations are not allowed among mineworkers (as the Lansdown Commission pointed out) and that, as a result, strikes are the only means of drawing attention to grievances, legitimate or otherwise; and finally, why did you not bother to tell them that the recommendation of the Lansdown Commission have been implemented only in ~~two~~^{two} respects?

I submit that by ignoring the case of the natives, you presented that portion of the Johannesburg public which looks to you for guidance, with a completely false and ~~distorted~~ picture of the strike and its causes, and by implication you supported the fascist approach to labour disputes.

.....If last week was a black one for our much vaunted European 'civilisation' it was indeed black for the Rand Daily Mail. I have seldom got as near feeling ashamed of my South Africanism as I did last week. I trust the time will come when you will experience similar emotions." *Commented the Daily Mail. "Who's panicking now?"*

Not without reason, the "Illustrated Bulletin" ran a two page article about the Rand Daily Mail in its edition of August 31st., headed "HOW NOT TO REPORT A STRIKE." Said the Bulletin..... "From the word 'go' the R.D.M. set out to create as unfavourable an impression as it possibly could. It reports and comments were partial. It sought to excite public hostility against the miners' strike, and create a general feeling of insecurity which the circumstances certainly did not warrant.

....Consider its report of August 12. In a straight news report, the word 'agitator' is used four times in four paragraphs..... It is quite clear from the report that the word

'agitator' was used to describe any striker who tried to promote the interests of the strike... Typical.... is this paragraph: 'At Nourse Mines 4,600 workers refused to go on shift. Trouble started when 300 willing workers marched out of the compound and were stoned by agitators...' Was anybody who refused to work an agitator?

..... But the worst was still to come. On August 14th citizens were confronted with this headline: '4,000 STRIKERS TRY TO MARCH ON JOHANNESBURG. NATIVES ARMED WITH KNIVES, IRON BARS, CHOPPERS. POLICE USE BATONS TO FORCE THEM BACK. MANY HURT.' The four column introduction to the story reads: 'Armed with choppers iron bars, knives and an assortment of other dangerous weapons, 4,000 strikers forming a six mile long procession, attempted to march on Johannesburg..... With few exceptions the strikers armed themselves with sticks, iron bars, choppers, knives and other dangerous weapons.'

.....How is it humanly possible for any reporter or reporters to determine how many of 4,000 dangerous, blanketed marching natives stretching over six miles were armed? Pictures of the incident show no arms. The police answer is that the arms were secreted under blankets. But the R.D.M. says that 'with few exceptions' the strikers armed themselves. We find lower down how this great threat was dealt with. It appears that some 40 policemen intercepted the natives, who were ordered to stop and return to the compound. They ignored the order and, we are told, 'adopting a threatening attitude, forced their way forward. The police placed cordons on either side of the road.....the strikers SAT DOWN and there were catcalls and threats. Then acting on instructions from Pretoria the police drew their batons and charged.'

Three facts emerge.... Firstly, that it took a mere handful of police to stop the 'dangerous march'. Secondly, the natives 'having adopted a threatening attitude forced their way forward' and in the next sentence are found to have 'sat down' and from this sitting position were indulging in 'catcalls and threats'. The second point is even more disturbing. It shows that a telephone call from Pretoria - some thirty miles from the scene - gave orders

to launch the attack on the strikers, who,

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3 a.m. In the townships, little groups began to gather at bus stops, tram stops, and railway stations. It was cold in the dark unlighted streets. Lorry loads of police stood around in huddles.

The remaining enthusiasts, making a last attempt to call the general strike and keep the people in their homes, felt something of the dis-spiritⁱedness which had affected everyone at the Market Square twenty hours before. As the little trickle of people on their way to work started, half hearted attempts were made to persuade them to turn around and go home, few responded. The lack of enthusiasm amongst the people organising the strike affected those on the way to work. Their lack of interest affected the organisers themselves. Gradually the heart trickled out of the movement. At 6 a.m. three women were arrested for distributing leaflets at the Alexandra bus queue. By 7 o'clock, the organisers had gone home, knowing the strike ^{was} ~~to be~~ over before it really began.

The miners were back at work. The General Strike which had been called in sympathy with them had died out. Johannesburg and the Reef were back to normal on the surface at least.

10 a.m. Plain clothes detectives, armed with a warrant, came to the offices of the Communist Party in Progress Buildings, and arrested the Secretary, Danie du Plessis. He was taken to Marshall Square and locked up.

It had been a week which no one in or near the strike movement would ever forget. The press had grown ⁱⁿ hysteria throughout the week. The mine compounds, under armed guard from the start of the strike were cut off from each other, cut off from the Union office, cut off from the outside world ~~completely~~ by a blanket of silence. No one knew what was really happening. Monday had passed off almost without incident, save for a demonstration at the Benoni Police Station. The the Union Cabinet met. The following six days of police violence, such as the Rand had never seen, started with an attempt by the press to explain the violence as necessary to protect life and property. The pretence could not be long maintained. Before the strike was over, it was publicly admitted that the object of the police was to drive the men back to work, whether it was legal or illegal to do so. The press

whipped up a panic amongst the European citizens of the Reef, calling a procession of 4,000 people spread over four miles - that is one person every ten feet - if they walk in single file - a march on Johannesburg. "Die Weekblad" by Sunday, was already referring to the 'attack on Johannesburg which was narrowly averted by the timely intervention of the Police'. Mine after mine saw the same scenes. Strikers were sitting quietly in their compounds. Police were ordered to clear the rooms. The strikers were driven out by baton charges rushes. When outside, they were given the alternative - either return to work, or be struck down. Those who refused to return to work were driven back by more baton charges to their rooms. The process was repeated the next day. And the next. By Friday, the mine strike was over.

^{FEW HAD COURAGE} / ~~No one~~ during this week / ^{to} challenged the right of the police to drive men to work. ^{FEW} / ~~No one~~ suggested that an African miner has a right to stop work if he wishes, and to face trial in the courts for his breach of the Masters and Servants Act. / ^{Few} / ~~No one~~ suggested that miners who grew tired of being driven from compound to shafthead and from shafthead to compound by baton charges were entitled to walk to the office of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, or the Native Recruiting Corporation in Johannesburg, to ask ~~if~~ that the contracts which they had undertaken with the agents of these bodies should be torn up and the men allowed to return home. During the entire week, the press, which writes purely and solely for the European population, regarded the African miners as slaves of the gold-mining system, looked on their strike as unfair interference with the gambling and speculation on the Stock Exchange, which is the white South Africa's national pastime. Never before had the sharp division between the African people on the one hand, and the bulk of the European population on the other, been revealed in such sharp and glaring light.

From Monday, August 19th, the scene shifted. The workers had been driven back to work, but in the offices of the Mining Companies, in the offices of the Government and the Police, who had fought the mine-owners' battle through the week, there was fear. All

their long-cherished illusions about the backwardness of the African worker, about the inability to understand trade union struggle, about the possibility of maintaining the workers for ever divided on tribal lines, so that the Chamber could rule undisputed, had crashed to the ground. In their fear, in their certain knowledge that the miners had been driven back but had not given up their demand for 10/- a day, they sought for means of smashing finally and forever the organisation and people who had helped the miners throughout the week, kept their spirits up and maintained the strike~~d~~ feeling throughout the African workers on the Reef.

Scapegoats had to be found.

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