

ing on court cases against the Anaconda Copper Company, Curtis reveals the industry's strategies for controlling land, water, and air resources and how the courts were complicit in redefining water rights favorably to industry. Riparian rights that fostered shared use of water based on the "social good" model were subverted in court rulings and reformulated as the prior-appropriation doctrine. The new creed clearly favored the rights of big mining over those of individuals to the precious liquid. Curtis could have broadened and refined his argument if he had examined corporate conservation strategies, which were almost always first focused on water. He also could have shown how industrial conservation had little to do with protecting the environment and was designed to maximize the extraction of as much ore of ever-decreasing grades as possible.

Curtis might also have considered examining, at least in passing, the nature of the mining industry after his concluding decade of the 1900s. Even a cursory discussion of the future would have revealed that eventually mining, rather than continuing in its unilateral, self-serving practices of creating uncertainties to protect corporate economic hegemony, reformed its practices to reduce the risks. Industry officials even began to make public disclosures about particular uncertainties, like the planned demise of towns that sat atop ore reserves, understanding the value of eliminating uncertainties acceptable in earlier generations. A comparison of mining engineers' conservation ethic and practices with those of foresters in the era of the gospel of efficiency would have revealed shared natural resource management strategies across industries. Lastly, miners and their "natures" are conspicuously missing from Curtis's narrative and surely they have been vital principals in the formation of the "mining society." An examination of these factors also would have revealed that the "controlled uncertainty" (198) that he hopes for has already been an industry-wide goal for generations, albeit with sometimes controversial results.

*Gambling on Ore* gives mining a more important place in history. It concludes, "The lesson I learned while researching this project is that we are all miners in the modern world, that mining made us possible" (xi-xii). Curtis' intellectual transformation dispatches his initial inclination as a graduate student to demonize mining, and the resulting book unveils a sensible understanding of the nature of the industry's history in Montana. This balanced approach should be valued and replicated by other environmental historians who venture into mining history. Despite some oversights, this volume should be very appealing to mining, western, business, and environmental historians with an interest in the industry and its impact in global history.

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Peter Alexander, et al. *Marikana: Voices from South Africa's Mining Massacre*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2013; 165 pp., 14 b&w photos, 5 maps, chap. notes, paper, \$22. ISBN: 9780821420713

On 16 August 2012, thirty-four black South African mineworkers were killed and seventy-eight wounded when police opened fire on strikers demanding living wages at the Lonmin Mines in Marikana. Less than a year after the massacre, Lonmin, the UK-owned, third-largest primary platinum producer in the world, reported a pretax profit of \$54 million. The transnational company pays its chief executives multimillion rand salaries. The struggles of black South African workers against exploitative, unjust, and violent capitalist and state structures form the basis of *Marikana: Voices from South Africa's Mining Massacre*.

In this collection of oral testimonies, interviews, speeches, maps of the area, and images of the strike and its aftermath, Johannesburg scholars, researchers, and activists Peter Alexander, Luke Sinwell, Thapelo Lekgowa, Botswana

Mmope, and Bongai Xezwi, painstakingly uncover the conditions and events that led to the fateful shootings. The massacre did not end the strike; in fact, it only strengthened the workers' movement and Lonmin eventually conceded to the workers' demand for higher wages. *Marikana* argues that the bloodshed could have been avoided if corporate greed did not take precedence over workers' rights. The authors state that *Marikana*, published within five months of the massacre, serves "as a starting point" for readers and scholars to understand the strike from the perspective of Marikana's strikers and community members (17).

The biographical details provided in the interviews expose the brutal realities of the lives of South Africa's black mineworkers, who are driven by poverty to take on one of the most dangerous jobs in the world. Arduous and long working hours, operating heavy and unwieldy machinery, pressure to achieve set targets, injuries from falling rocks, serious accidents, and exposure to dust and chemicals, are only a few of the difficult and hazardous challenges faced by the rock drill operators who led the strike. Although dissatisfaction over wages triggered the Lonmin strike, the salary increase from R4,000 to R12,500 that workers demanded and received cannot ameliorate the risks encountered by workers on a daily basis; a decent wage might merely improve living conditions.

The testimonies also call attention to the pay differential between black and white workers and growing class divisions between black South Africans. Despite only passing references in the interviews to migrant labor issues and gender disparities, the book does remind readers that most of the Lonmin strikers were migrant men from the Eastern Cape and that women also participated in the strike.

*Marikana* also reveals the betrayal by the National Union of Mineworkers' (NUM) leadership, which not only failed to address the concerns of workers, but also responded to the strike with violence. Platinum mineworkers no longer perceive NUM as a democratic organization that

represents the rights of workers. "NUM, truly speaking," said a mineworker who left NUM to join the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU), "always sides with the employer and not the workers" (113).

The fault lines between unions and workers and internal conflicts between South Africa's unions have made headlines in narratives about the Marikana tragedy, but as mineworkers point out, the strike had less to do with AMCU and NUM and more with workers' initiatives to strike. "Workers are the ones at war. . . . There are no parties fighting. . . . only workers. . . . fighting for their rights" (86). NUM and police killed workers for demanding decent wages; eye-witness accounts of the 2012 massacre reveal that police shot strikers while they were retreating.

Since apartheid ended, Peter Alexander says, Marikana is the first instance where so many protestors have been killed by security forces. Under South Africa's democratically elected governments, Alexander concludes in his analysis, "for a large part of the population little has changed. The economy is still structured around a minerals-energy complex, it is still focused on export-led growth, and foreign capitalists repatriate their profits virtually unhindered" (151). The collusion of the state and trade unions with capitalist interests highlighted in *Marikana* raises the question of whether South Africa is willing to evolve into a postcolonial nation and reimagine itself outside colonial and neocolonial structures.

While "a democratic socialist society controlled by the working class" (155) might provide protections for workers, in order to enter into a post-neocolonial phase South Africa might necessarily have to start with a discussion about the violent act of mining. As long as mining is perceived as the primary source of economic power, the human and environmental costs from blasting and drilling the earth will take a backseat in conversations about justice. *Marikana* suggests that the direction South Africa will take as a nation is evidenced in the courage displayed by the strik-

ers who dared to stand up for their rights and reminded the world that decolonization is an ongoing process of struggle against oppressive forces.

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Matthew L. Basso. *Meet Joe Copper: Masculinity and Race on Montana's World War II Home Front*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013; 372 pp., 29 b&w photos, 1 b&w illus., notes, ind., paper, \$30. ISBN: 9780226044194

Matthew Basso's *Meet Joe Copper: Masculinity and Race on Montana's World War II Home Front* is an impressively detailed labor history that engages with recent theory about whiteness and masculinity. Its importance to American mining history is clear; although women on the home front have gained much attention in popular narratives about WWII, seldom has anyone analyzed male production workers like Montana's "copper commandos." The federal government granted deferments for copper workers who produced this vital war material; indeed, only the Manhattan Project had a higher urgency rating than the region's copper facilities (130). By looking closely at federal and local materials, as well as oral histories, Basso is able to make surprising claims about home front workers in Montana's copper communities.

Basso begins by looking at the formation of local beliefs about race and gender in both Anaconda and Black Eagle, home to the Anaconda Copper Mining Company's ore-processing facilities, as well as Butte, home to the state's major copper mines. Black Eagle has seen little scholarly attention, so details about its early history, including Croatian and Italian workers' ouster of Indians from its smelter, were new to this reviewer.

The book's major contributions, however, come during its later two sections, which cover World War II. The war set forth a series of challenges to copper workers, who had long seen their

physically demanding labor and independent behavior as the pinnacle of working-class masculinity. Instead of promoting this form of masculinity, the federal government and Hollywood demanded that men make sacrifices, either by producing war materials without striking against employers, or by fighting overseas. The real challenge to Montana's men, however, came as the war dragged on and the state's copper communities experienced labor shortages. The government first proposed the use of disabled and older men in copper facilities, which workers begrudgingly accepted. Then the government argued for including women and workers of color, both ideas triggering intense debates and outrage.

Despite the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers' reputation as radical in its interracialism, Butte's eight thousand miners bucked their union's leadership by walking off of the job in 1942 in what Basso terms a "hate strike." They deemed unacceptable a federal government proposal to send thirty furloughed black soldiers to mines in Butte. Government officials, operating under FDR's Executive Order 8802 which prohibited discrimination in industries with federal contracts, still acceded to these local demands.

In contrast, Black Eagle's smeltermen were more welcoming to the women who joined their workforce in 1943, but only after they developed ways to segregate the women and to make them seem temporary. In the city of Anaconda, the Anaconda company threatened to let the government send Mexican or black workers to the smelter, a stance that it took to convince white smeltermen to instead admit white women into the workforce as an alternative. White workers eventually accepted a very small number of women into that smelter, but they spent a lot of time trying to make sure that their union privileges remained intact and that the boys overseas could regain their smelter jobs upon return.

None of the parties in these situations come out looking particularly good, whether they are