

VIV MCMEANAMIN] NOV RECORDERS
TONY → PAUL HATHORN] SEMINAR 1976

WE HAVE DIVIDED OUR TALK INTO TWO SECTIONS

(a) THE GROWTH OF RESISTANCE TO THE MILITARY

B8 318

(b) THE SHIFT IN TERRAIN OF STRUGGLE

THROUGH THE TALK WE ATTEMPT TO SHOW NOW ON CAMPUS THE MILITARY ISSUE HAS GROWN IN SIGNIFICANCE — BOTH IN THE WAY WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE ISSUE AND THE WAY WE HAVE UNDERSTOOD THE ISSUE AND THE WAY WE HAVE TAKEN IT UP

TODAY CLEARLY THERE IS A MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE TO THE MILITARY

* THERE ARE AT PRESENT AT LEAST 8 CO'S AND 1000'S CONTINUE TO FAIL TO REPORT.

* THERE IS CONDEMNATION OF THE SADF AND ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY ALL MAJOR CHURCHES

* MOST IMPORTANTLY WITH THE NO. 100 CONSCRIPTION THE MILITARY ISSUE HAS BEEN OPENED UP TO THE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY

BUT ITS ONLY WHEN WE LOOK BACK JUST TWO YEARS THAT WE SEE NOW FAR THE MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE AGAINST THE MILITARY HAS PROGRESSED

IN THE POST-1976 PERIOD, FOLLOWING THE REPEATED CRACKING OF THE STUDENT SUPPLIERS, MANY CONSCRIPTIBLES CHOSE TO SUP QUIETLY

OUT OF THE COUNTRY, RATHER THAN JOIN THE SADF. SINCE 1978 OVER 1600 MEMBERS OF RECOGNISED PEACE CHURCHES HAVE CONSCIENTIOUSLY OBJECTED TO MILITARY SERVICE AND RECEIVE AN AUTOMATIC 8 YEAR SENTENCE IN DB — BUT IT IS THE GROUP OF OBJECTORS OUTSIDE THE PEACE CHURCHES WHO CONSTITUTE THE MAIN THREAT TO THE STATE AND AROUND WHOM — THE COSY GROUPS WERE FORMED.

BETWEEN 1977 — 1981 4 PEOPLE CHOSE TO GO TO JAIL. THEY STOOD OUT AS ISOLATED INDIVIDUALS — AS PIONEERS IN THIS NEW AREA OF RESISTANCE, LAYING THE GROUNDWORK FOR WHAT WAS TO COME.

THEIR STANDS RANGED FROM A MUTED EXPRESSION OF OPPOSITION TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE (E.G. GUNLES YEARS) TO A MORE ACTIVE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE AFRICAN SOCIETY AND THE ROLE OF THE SADF (E.G. PETER MOLL)

QUOTE 7/8 V4 QUOTE 8

HOWEVER THERE WERE LIMITATIONS TO THE FOCUS OF RESISTANCE — WITH THE EMPHASIS BEING ON INDIVIDUAL SUPPORT WORK, AND ON THE DEMAND FOR ACCEPTABLE FORMS OF ALTERNATIVE

SERVICE

TO THE COURSE RESISTANCE WAS TAKING. IT WAS VERY MUCH CONFINED TO THE CHURCHES AND PEOPLE WORKING ~~OUTSIDE~~ WITHIN THE CHURCHES. THERE WAS A HESITANCY IN THE COMMITMENT OF THOSE ~~OF SA~~ WORKING OUTSIDE THE PROTECTION WHICH THE CHURCH PROVIDED.

SO FOR EXAMPLE ON CAMPUS, MILITARY ISSUES HAD A VERY LOW PROFILE. AT THE 1978 NUSAS CONGRESS, MILKOMM WAS SET UP TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS SURROUNDING NATIONAL SERVICE. THERE WAS HOWEVER A LOT OF TEMERITY AND NERVOUSNESS, POSSIBLY AS A RESULT OF THE 1974 INTRODUCTION OF CLAUSE 121C INTO THE DEFENSE AMENDMENT BILL, WHICH IMPOSED HEAVY PENALTIES ON ANYONE CONVICTED FOR PERSUADING PEOPLE TO OBJECT. MILKOMM EVENTUALLY ^y DISBANDED IN '79.

AN INTERESTING DEVELOPMENT THOUGH, AROUND THIS TIME, WAS THE ATTEMPT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO ESTABLISH MILITARY UNITS ON ENGLISH CAMPUSES. (BY 1981 COMMANDO UNITS CONSISTING OF STUDENTS AND LECTURERS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED AT MOST AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND TECHNICALS) ALL THE ENGLISH CAMPUSES HAVE BEEN APPROACHED BY THE SADF

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ABOUT THE SETTING UP OF MILITARY UNITS
— BUT ONLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
DID THIS COME CLOSE TO REALISATION. IN
MARCH 1981 THE PLAN WAS ANNOUNCED
THAT ALL STUDENTS WHO HAD COMPLETED
THEIR NATIONAL SERVICE WOULD REGISTER
WITH THE UNIT AND WOULD RECEIVE
TRAINING DURING THE HOLIDAYS — THIS
WOULD INCLUDE 3 MONTHS OPERATIONAL
DUTY DURING THE DEC VACATION. →

STUDENTS AND MANY STAFF STRONGLY
RESISTED THIS IDEA GIVING SEVERAL
REASONS. A GREAT DEAL OF SIGNIFICANCE
WAS GIVEN TO THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS
OF SADF INTERVENTION: THE CAMPUS
MILITARY UNITS WOULD ALLOW A DIRECT
FLOW OF SADF PROPAGANDA, IT COULD
INTERFERE IN THE EVENT OF STUDENT
PROTEST AND HAVE A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON STUDENT POLITICAL
INVOLVEMENT. (y)

AS A RESULT OF STUDENT PRESSURE,
BOTH IN NATAL AND NATIONALLY; AS
WELL AS PRESSURE FROM PROGRESSIVE
ACADEMICS — THE PRINCIPAL AGREED
TO DROP THE PROPOSALS, DESPITE SUPPORT
FROM LOCAL PAPERS AND MP'S.

THE TURNING POINT WAS THE 1980 DEFENCE AMENDMENT ACT — THE ACT WHICH EXTENDED THE LENGTH OF TIME PEOPLE WERE TO SERVE DOING CAMPS FROM 240 DAYS TO 720 DAYS, TO BE SERVED OVER 8 YEARS; AND INITIATED THE NOTORIOUS "DADS ARMY"

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE BILL WAS IMMEDIATE FOLLOWED BY A MASS MEETING AT UCT, ORGANISED JOINTLY BY NUSAS AND CHRISTIAN ORGANISATIONS. IT WAS NOT SO MUCH THE CONTEXT OF THE MEETING, AS THE LESSONS THAT EMERGED, THAT WERE SIGNIFICANT: FIRSTLY, THE EXTENT OF COMMON GROUND ON THE MILITARY ISSUE BECAME VERY APPARENT — IN PARTICULAR CHRISTIANS AND NON-CHRISTIANS BEGAN REALISING THE NECESSITY OF WORKING TOGETHER.

SECONDLY IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THERE WAS POTENTIAL TO TAKE UP THE MILITARY ISSUE IN A MORE EFFECTIVE AND FAR REACHING WAY.

THIS MEETING WAS FOLLOWED BY AN EXTENSIVE EDUCATION FOCUS WEEK ON MILITARIZATION, WHICH WAS VERY WELL ATTENDED.

SUBSEQUENTLY, THE STANDS OF SOME INDIVIDUAL

6.
OBJECTORS WERE USED AS A MEDIUM TO EXPOSE THE SADF AND THE INCREASING MILITARIZATION OF OUR SOCIETY.

P: QUOTE 9

IN JULY 1982 BILLY PADDOCK OBJECTED AND FOCUSED ON THE STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. HE SAW THE SADF AS MAINTAINING THIS SYSTEM OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE.

A SUPPORT MEETING WAS HELD ON CAMPUS AND A LOT OF INTEREST WAS GENERATED AROUND BILLY'S STAND AS THE FIRST OVERTLY POLITICAL OBJECTOR. BILLY'S CONCEPT OF STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE HELPED MAKE CLEAR THE LINK BETWEEN ISSUES LIKE KTC AND THE ROLE OF THE SADF IN MAINTAINING THIS STRUCTURE — & IT EXPOSES THE MYTH OF THE SADF BEING A NEUTRAL SHIELD BEHIND WHICH THIS COUNTRY CONTINUES ITS 'PEACEFUL'

'BUSINESS'

P: QUOTE 10

THEN IN JANUARY 1983 PETER HATHORN OBJECTED — THE FIRST PURELY POLITICAL OBJECTOR. ONCE AGAIN WE PICKED UP THE ISSUE ON CAMPUS AND A SOLIDARITY MEETING WAS HELD. PETE DREW OUT THREE MAIN REASONS FOR HIS OBJECTION: FIRSTLY — HE SAW THE CONFLICT IN SA AS A CIVIL RATHER THAN AN EXTERNAL WAR. THUS SEEING ENTRANCE INTO THE ARMY AS

TAKING SIDES IN A CONFLICT - AND SIDING WITH THE OPPRESSORS

SECONDLY - HE STATED THAT THE GUERRILLAS CANNOT BE DISMISSED AS TERRORISTS - THEY HAVE BEHIND THEM A LONG HISTORY OF NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE AND APPEAR TO ENJOY THE SUPPORT OF THE MAJORITY OF SOUTH AFRICANS.

THIRDLY, PETE SKETCHED THE EXTENSIVE OFFENSIVE AND DESTABILISING ACTIVITIES OF THE SADF IN NEIGHBOURING STATES.

PETE RECEIVED A TWO YEAR JAIL SENTENCE WHICH WAS REDUCED TO 1 YEAR ON REVIEW; HE SERVED PART OF THIS SENTENCE IN PRETORIA CENTRAL WITH BILLY PADDOCK

VIN QUOTE II.

A PARTICULARLY INTERESTING STAND WAS THE STANCE TAKEN BY PAUL DORSON, WHO OBJECTED HAVING SERVED 18 MONTHS OF HIS NATIONAL SERVICE IN A NON-COMBATANT POSITION. PAUL STATED CLEARLY THAT HE FELT THAT WHATEVER POSITION HE OCCUPIED IN THE SADF, HE WOULD REMAIN ASSOCIATED WITH AND SUPPORTIVE OF AN INSTITUTION WHICH SERVES TO PROTECT AND REPRODUCE AN UNJUST SOCIETY. IT ALSO ALLOWED US TO FOCUS OUR ATTENTION OF THE CIVIL ACTION PROGRAM, A PART OF THE SADF'S HEARTS AND MINDS STRATEGY. SERVICEMEN ARE SECONDED TO GOVERNMENT

8.

DEPARTMENTS AND BANTUSTANS TO WORK
AS DOCTORS, TEACHERS, LAWYERS, ENGINEERS
AND EVEN AGRICULTURAL ADVISORS.

THE IDEA BEHIND THIS IS QUOTE 12.
"TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF A SOLDIER AS A
MAN OF ACTION BUT WHO NONETHELESS
IS A FRIEND OF THE BLACK MAN, AND WHO
IS PREPARED TO DEFEND HIM."

THERE HAS BEEN WIDESPREAD RESISTANCE
TO THESE INITIATIVES — IN SOWETO, IN QUAMATHA
IN THE WESTERN CAPE THE PROGRAM WAS
BEEN WIDELY CONDEMNED.

CAMPUS USED SUPPORT MEETINGS AND
PAMPHLETS AROUND INDIVIDUAL OBJECTORS
TO EXPOSE VARIOUS FACETS OF THE SADF.

AT THE SAME TIME THE RESISTANCE
MOVEMENT WAS DEVELOPING IN OTHER,
FAIRLY DIVERGENT WAYS:

— THE ROLE OF THE SADF WAS BEING
INCREASINGLY ~~AND~~ THOROUGHLY EXPOSED,
ESPECIALLY THROUGH THE CATHOLIC AND
ANGLICAN REPORTS ON NAMIBIA.

QUOTE 13

— THE QUESTION OF MILITARY CHAPLAINCY
BEGAN RECEIVING INCREASING ATTENTION IN
THE CHURCH.

— NEW WAYS WERE DEVELOPED TO RAISE THE
ISSUE — THROUGH EXTENSIVE MEDIA AND

AND CULTURAL ACTIVITY — EG: NATIONAL MADNESS
 — AND EQUALLY IMPORTANTLY, PEOPLES
 THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE ROLE
 OF THE SADF GREW.

SO WHEN ~~WE~~ EARLY THIS YEAR WE
 LOOKED BACK AT THE PAST YEAR WE
 SAW WHAT HAD BEGUN AS ATOMISED
 SUPPORT WORK HAD DEVELOPED INTO A
 MOVEMENT OF RESISTANCE.

Underlying all this there has been a growing awareness of the struggle around the military as one aspect of a broader national democratic struggle. Where previously the military had been seen too autonomously from other areas of organisation, it has now become clear that all areas of organisation are interrelated with the same broad goals

I think we saw this development quite clearly on campus where for the 1st time, towards the end of this year, conscientious objection was on the platform at a UDF meeting, along with speeches around the USC, crossroads and the suspension of the University of Durban-Westville SRC

Brett Wigdal spoke at this meeting and the support for him - he was applauded with a standing ovation - showed an interest and support for military resistance that has not previously been seen on campus.

Brett contextualised his stand fair and square within the national democratic struggle

ste 14 me quote: " My ideals have led me to strive with many other South Africans for a new South Africa free from the hatred of apartheid. The Freedom Charter, drawn up in 1955 by the representatives of millions of South Africans from all walks of life, best reflects these ideals of a non-racial & democratic South Africa in which the people shall govern."

me Because of the contribution of objection to the

(2)
onal democratic struggle, and recognition of that,
he becomes aware of the important ideological
gains which can be made through objection

- firstly, resisters are objecting from within the ranks of the conscripted and thus represent dissent from within the white privileged group - a crack which helps to develop organised white opposition
- Secondly, the objectors are adding their voices to the chorus of opposition to the SADF, and stand together with the other South Africans struggling for political change, & through this participation they help forge a non racial future.

- This section deals with the shift in terrain of struggle regarding resistance to the military.

Although it could be seen, as has just been outlined, that ideological gains could be made through CO, things were not all rosy. In 1983 the Defence Amendment Act jolted us into an awareness of that. A law was passed ostensibly providing for the alternative service requested by some churches and previous objectors.

NOTE 15 quote Pete " I stress at the ~~start~~ onset that it is military not national service to which I object. I would have no qualms about doing non-military national service that did not contribute to the efforts of the SADF and that was open to all who have genuine

(3)

convictions that it is wrong to serve in the military"

However the 1983 Defence Amendment Act did not failed to adequately meet these demands. Alternative service is not open to all "who have genuine convictions that it is wrong to serve in the military", but only for those who object to military service on Universal Religious Pacifist grounds.

This distinction is an attempt to divide religious from sectarian objectors. Those objectors who do not qualify for alternative service are "liable for" imprisonment of $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the length of their period left to serve, or 18 months, whichever is the greater - that is byis if the person has not undergone any period of military service. A religious pacifist would spend the same period of time doing alternative service. The possibility of a byis in prison is a drastic increase from the previous maximum ^{sentence} of 2yrs.

This is why the dropping of charges against Brett, and all the other objectors who had not yet been tried, is seen as an extremely harsh measure: the charges they face next year for the same offence are far heavier than they would be now.

And the Defence Amendment Act is not isolated
... under which

scription is likely to be extended to "coloureds" and "Indians".

NOTE 16 F.W. de Klerk. T.V. Nat. Party leader.

me "You can't ask a man to fight for his country if he can't vote. Among the terms of the new dispensation is the guarantee that coloureds and Indians will get voting rights. It follows that their responsibilities will increase accordingly which means they will hold obligations to defend these rights."

iv And as conscription is extended so will resistance to serving in the SADF increase and hence part of the explanation for the harsher sentences for CO is introduced with the Defence Amendment Act.

me What the CO movement soon realised from the introduction of this legislation was that it had, in a sense, been putting too many eggs in one basket. The focus of attention in education around the military had been heavily dependent on CO's, through publicising their reasons for refusing to serve in the SADF. The situation on campus has been the same, where largely the solidarity around individual objectors has led to exposure of the military issue.

and this stage it was becoming clear that many people were considering CO as a viable option -

(5)

alongside the possibilities of attempting to evade or leaving SA altogether; 1 to 2 years in prison seemed a preferable choice. But now, a 6 yr sentence puts a different complexion on things. Individuals felt caught between 2 contradictory forces: on the one hand the increasingly repressive role of the SADF, + the possibility of widespread "coloured" + "Indian" resistance to conscription led many to decide not to go into the SADF; on the other hand the sentence for resistance had been drastically increased.

So previously where we had been secure in the knowledge that there were resisters who would opt for a prison sentence, now those people are placed into a far greater dilemma, and the outcome of their decisions is not easily predictable. We became aware of a need not to be reliant on objections for exposure around the military.

It was in this context that the Black Sash made a call for the end of conscription

The call: QUOTE IT

"SA is illegally occupying Namibia and this is cause for many in conscience to refuse military service. When South Africa withdraws from Namibia there should be no need for a massive military establishment unless there has been a political failure to respond

a conscripted army is necessary it will be because of the failure political failure to respond to the desires of the citizens, and that army will be engaged in a civil war, which is good cause for many to refuse military service. In such a civil war, if the state has to rely on conscription to man its army the war is already lost.

Therefore the Black Sash demands that the SA government abolish all conscription for military service. We maintain that there is no total onslaught against the people of SA, the total strategy demanded of us is not the military defence of a minority govt, but the total all-out effort of all South Africa's people to bring about democratic govt and the relief of the poverty and deprivation suffered by the majority. "

me The COSC groups discussed this call and decided to take it up for a number of reasons

- it eliminated the problem of reliance on objections for exposure of the military issue
- it was ^{an} initiative, rather than a response to the state
- it is a legal call in that it evades 121
- It can be given a lot of educative content
- It has the possibility of making significant gains amongst the white community because it is not a threat to individuals in

the way that objection is; and it affects people at a gut-level - conscriptees, as well as mothers, lovers etc.

- It is also a call which responds to the inevitable extension of conscription to "coloureds" and "indians"

However the demands of the call can't be hoped to be met.

For The reasons outlined above that the COSG groups decided to initiate a campaign calling for an end to conscription, and have started setting up committees in most of the major centres to coordinate such a campaign. UCT SRC and NUSAS are represented on the committee which has been formed in Cape Town.

As well as this initiative by the COSGs, UDF has set up a commission to look into conscription, and it seems likely that UDF will be taking up the issue of extension of conscription next year.

So what can we expect/anticipate for 1984?

It seems clear that there will be a particular focus on the military issue particularly with the expected extension of conscr. to coloureds & indians.

How are we ~~now~~ ^{what} ~~think~~ ^{are} ~~about~~ ^{going} ~~how~~ ^{to} ~~we~~ ^{raise} ~~an~~ ^{up} ~~are~~ ^{to} ~~going~~ ^{to} ~~to~~ ^{respond} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~this~~ ^{to} ~~issue~~ ^{to} ~~.~~

QUOTES.

2

"I was on the border for about a year, and all the time we geared up for contacts and ambushes. We didn't have to think, the army did it for us. It was as if people had split personalities. A guy who went to church every Sunday would almost become like an animal in that kind of situation."

3

"We were small kids in the middle of the jungle. We woke up at every sound and didn't know what we were fighting for and supposed to do. Seven years later I'm still thrown into the most horrible depressions at the slightest reminder of Angola."

4

Sometimes, especially at university, I was particularly embarrassed that I had ever gone to the army. You couldn't answer 'hey, what a waste, it was only 18 when I went in.'

11
14 June.

"The weather has been cold and wintry and I have been thinking of everyone enrolled in exams. It gives me great pleasure to think that, for the next couple of weeks at least, life will probably be far more more pleasant for me than for you. Things have been going really well and I could almost say that I am enjoying it. It was really exciting to get a letter last week. The scarcity of supply definitely heightens the utility derived from epistles. (Trite economics). It's been great to have Billy around and several other really good people. Am feeling stimulated, both socially and intellectually (to an extent) again. After a mere 2 weeks service in the hall, I managed to gain promotion to the carpentry shop (i.e. sand-papering.) Life there is very relaxed (it's very easy to forget one is in prison) and I work with 2 really leather guys - a bank-robber and a murderer, but very decent ones."

13. EXTRACT FROM STATEMENT OF THE SYNDICATE OF BISHOPS ON NAMIBIA: APRIL 1983

THEREFORE IN THE NAME OF THE LORD, WE
CALL FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL MILITARY PRESENCE FROM
NAMIBIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE ... FOR IT BECAME CLEAR TO THOSE
WHO TRAVELLED TO OVAMBOLAND (CONTAINS 51% NAMIBIA'S POPUL.)
THAT THE LARGE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE THERE NEITHER WANT THE SADF
THEIR NAME REGARD THE SADF GOVERNMENT AS REPRESENTING THEIR
BEST INTERESTS, WELFARE OR PROTECTION.

1) From Catholic Bishops report on Namibia

Reports of what occurs in the operational area indicate that it is commonly accepted that in searching out SWAPO guerrillas the security forces stop at nothing to force information out of people. They break into homes, beat up residents, shoot people, steal + kill cattle + often pillage shops + food stores. When the tracks of the SWAPO guerrillas are discovered by the security forces the local people are in danger. Such measures are interdicted. People are kidnapped, taken from their homes + left beaten up and even dead by the roadside. Women are often raped. It is not unknown for a detachment to break into a home + force black soldiers keep watch over the family, + force soldiers search the house, looking, girls + take them into the room to rape them. There is no redress because reporting irregularities + atrocities to command is considered a dangerous or fruitless exercise.

3) When a guy spends weeks on patrol, walking by day, ambushing by night, when one follows tracks for kilometres + gets nothing, or ~~even~~ worse, then walks into an ambush, he changes. He is no longer leading a normal existence. To catch the enemy he must become like the enemy, + in such a way many old values vanish + night becomes a night. You are under a subconscious stress all the time - you may not be able to see the enemy, but that does not mean he isn't there, + anything can happen at any time. One minute you can be driving down a dirt road. A perfectly nice scene, trees alongside the road, + then - you hit

When I got back I couldn't communicate with
even my family

⑥ Peter Mall "The vast inequalities in wealth, land, power & educ.
the system of migrant labor & the pass laws designed to
keep the whole structure intact... is a situation of fundamental
injustice. Until it is the government's express intention
to remove it, I will be unable to defend it."

"My objection is to participate in the military structure
of this country because... in my opinion the war the SADF
is fighting at this moment in history is not ~~for~~ for
a just cause, is not the last resort & does not
have a reasonable chance of success

⑨ P.W. Botha "But in recent times there have been cunning
attempts to discredit the SADF. One of the arguments
advanced is the following one: 'How can you expect
people to fight for an unjust society like SA?' However
when we examine the matter closely, the question
arises: Where in the world is there a more just society
today than SA?"

⑩ Pete - letter from DB. "I have decided that my strategy
for counteracting times of feeling down here will be to turn
to KTC for 2 reasons - (a) so that I realize that I am still in
a ~~poor~~ situation of comparative privilege - if looked
i.t.o. total life prospects, I am just someone going through
a bad patch, whereas for them their situation is their
entire reality; + (b) that I realize that they are #
I am here for very similar reasons. Once I start thinking
along these lines, I find it difficult to feel bad about
himself..."

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