

OUT OF STEP

PUBLICATION OF THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN CAPE TOWN

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Lt. Toms faces jail for refusing to serve camp

On 12 November Ivan Toms will refuse to serve a one month camp at 3 Medical Battalion. If charged and convicted under the Defence Act he will be jailed for between 18 and 30 months according to lawyers. At present he works as a doctor with the South African Christian Leadership Assembly Health Project, which is setting up a network of primary health workers amongst the black community of Cape Town.

Ivan, a lieutenant in the SADF, has on two previous occasions had camp call-ups withdrawn at the last moment after publicly indicating that he would refuse to serve them.

He says that his Christian commitment together with his experience of serving in the SADF, and after that his work in Crossroads have led to him refusing to serve in the SADF. While in Crossroads he saw the SADF play a crucial role in destroying the community and then occupy the clinic where he worked.

He has been a longstanding opponent of the system of conscription. In 1985 he fasted for three weeks in support of the ECC's call for the troops to leave the townships and in support of a just peace in South Africa. He has also been active in the ECC, as well as in the Anglican Church.



Ivan Toms working in a Cape Town squatter camp clinic

Through 6 years of work at the Crossroads clinic and in his present job Ivan has shown a deep commitment to working with and for

South Africans. "I really do believe that I have been doing true national service in my work in the poorest

squatter areas of Greater Cape Town. This is the kind of service that I believe will help to build a South Africa we can all be proud of," he says.

He says that although he faces

going to jail he identifies with conscripts who make other "very difficult choices".

"I stand with all conscripts who call for constructive alternative national service. I hope that my

stand will contribute to the pressure on the government to introduce such a change in the law."

"I am committed to South Africa and believe that the truly patriotic action for me is to go to prison rather than deny my faith and beliefs," said Ivan.

New proposal for SADF lawyers

The Cape Law Society has proposed the creation of an "Office of the Public Defender" to be staffed by national servicemen in an attempt to redress the failure of the present legal aid system to provide defence in 80 percent of criminal cases.

The current president of the Cape Law Society, Mr Mervyn

Smith, mooted hopes that a form of alternative service was being proposed.

He said the office would be staffed by young lawyers after completion of their basic training who would work there as part of their national service. However, he said the office would be "legally independent" and the lawyers

would "not appear uniformed in court."

This initiative co-incides with that of an ad-hoc grouping of conscripted Cape Town-based lawyers which is insisting that the proposed office be completely independent of military structures. They envisage a situation where staff would be employed for four years

at army pay rates as an alternative to serving in the SADF.

Mr Smith said he doubted this idea was workable: "Then we're getting into the deep issue of who is or isn't acceptable for alternative service. Then why not doctors, architects, engineers, etc," he said.

He thought young lawyers

who were forced to join the SADF would find it "more acceptable" to work as public defenders than elsewhere in the SADF.

The proposal for the office has been made to the Statutory Law Society which may be considering the matter in the near future.

From Parliament

SADF patrols townships in plainclothes

The SADF conducts patrols in black townships in plainclothes and use unmarked vehicles "to be as inconspicuous as possible" the Deputy Minister of Defence, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, said in parliament last month.

The plainclothes patrols were conducted in "any township where the need may arise" and their purpose was "collection of information", he said in reply to a question tabled by Mr Peter Soal, PFP Johannesburg North.

SADF's lost image

Mr Peter Gastrow, MP Durban Central, said that the SADF had lost its image of being a body which was above internal conflict. This was due to the three years it had spent in the townships.

Concern for morale of boys on the border

In answer to why PFP MP Peter Gastrow had been omitted from the MPs' tour of the SA border, Deputy Defence Minister Breytenbach said that the SADF could not be expected to invite a man who had talked to the ANC to military bases where he could receive information at briefing sessions.

According to Gastrow, Breytenbach told him later that night on the telephone that it had actually had nothing to do with his standing as an MP nor because he could not be trusted with sensitive information. The decision had been made rather because their presence would have affected the morale of the soldiers.

SADF link to ANC booklet

Police have contacted an officer in the Defence Force about the publication of an anonymously produced anti-ANC booklet, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Vlok, said in parliament on October 6.

Asked by Mr Peter Soal, PFP Johannesburg North, what the results of the contact were, he said the matter was still being investigated and Mr Soal would have a reply "as soon as possible".

The expensively-produced booklet, "Face to face with the ANC", was reported to have been printed by a Cape Town firm, Derek Butcher and Co. In September, Mr Vlok said the publication may have contravened the Publications Act.

Mr Soal had suggested he could help put the police in contact with those involved in the publication and said it was clear there was one law for right-wing and pro-government organisations and another for anti-apartheid organisations.

Soldiers to defend, not clean up

Conservative Party defence spokesperson, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said that national servicemen were conscripted to defend South Africa and not clean up black "locations". He was referring to the recent visit by the State President, P W Botha, to the black township of Lekoa, in the Vaal Triangle.

35 die at border electrified fences

A total of 35 people have died after coming into contact with electrified fences on SA's northern and eastern border, said Magnus Malan in response to a question by Peter Soal, PFP Johannesburg North.

Cadets not curtailed

Deputy Defence Minister, Mr Wynand Breytenbach, rejected the contents of the Cape Times report exposing the Cape Education Department's secret manual for cadet instructors "with all the contempt it deserves".

The secret manual certainly does contain sections on intelligence-gathering and reporting information about citizens, though Breytenbach dismissed this as "utter rubbish".

"... our youth must be prepared, particularly in regard to their post-school training in the defence force."

"Therefore we will not allow the cadet system to be curtailed. Indeed, we must develop it further and enlarge the system." People should not pay attention to the stories spread by the End Conscription Campaign, he said.

Investigating the ECC?

Mr Daniel Van Gend, National Party, called on General Magnus Malan to investigate the activities of the End Conscription Campaign. He said that if one looks at its aims, one would realise it was a direct enemy of the SADF. The organisation operated full-time offices with personnel who went on overseas trips to bring the country into disrepute.

MNR: a trail of terror

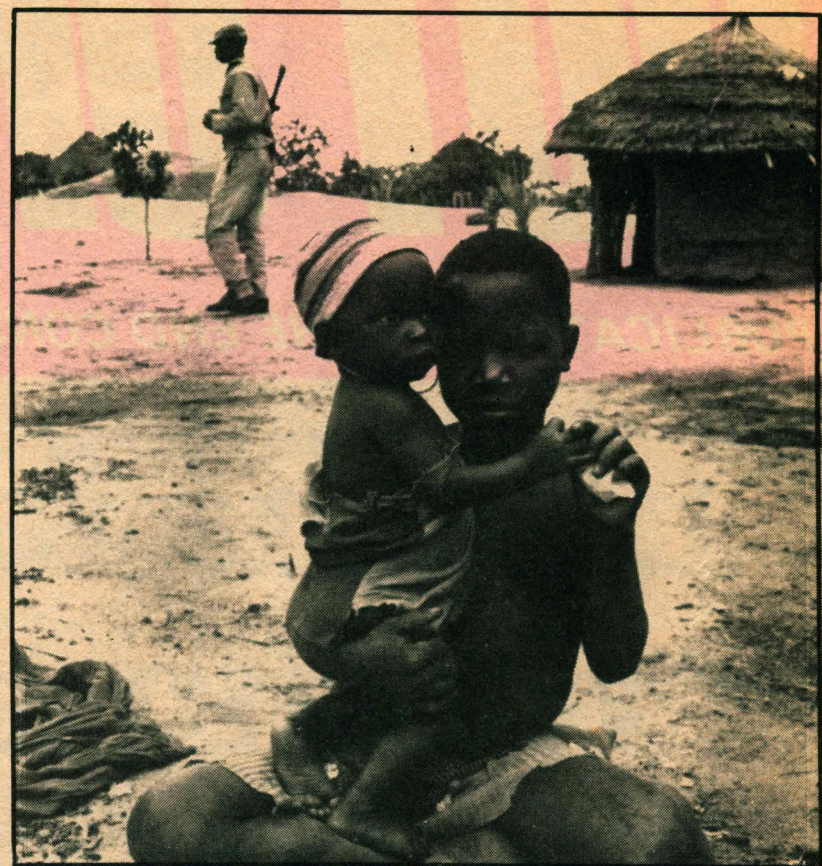
The ECC recently held a series of lectures on Southern Africa. At the first one, Dr Patrick Harries of the UCT History Department described the recent history of Mozambique.

After independence in 1975 things had looked hopeful, with literacy and health care expanding and the economy recovering from the colonial war. But FRELIMO's political and economic mistakes made it enemies whom Rhodesia, then waging undeclared war on Mozambique, tried to exploit. The result was the Mozambican National Resistance (MNR), uniting former settlers, dissidents and ex-colonial soldiers, meant to wreck Mozambique's ability to fight.

But in 1980 Rhodesia became Zimbabwe. The new-formed Southern African Development Co-ordination Council saw Mozambique as a vital alternative transport route to South Africa. Mozambique seemed saved - until South Africa saw its economic rule over the subcontinent threatened and, to eliminate that threat, put its might behind the MNR.

Massive destabilization followed, often with direct SADF involvement. By 1984 damages to villages, schools, clinics and shops came to over 3.8 billion US dollars. The MNR might have beaten FRELIMO that year - but instead South Africa used this pressure to make FRELIMO sign the Nkomati Accords in March. The ANC was almost expelled from Mozambique, which fell under South African dominance - and Pretoria appeared as a peacemaker.

But MNR attacks continued, and the much-hailed peace collapsed in August 1985 when the MNR headquarters near Gorongosa Mountain was captured by FRELIMO. The seized notebooks of MNR leader Afonso Dhlakama showed that the SADF had supplied the MNR with arms, equipment and advice all the



Frelimo soldier guarding a rural Mozambican village against MNR attacks

time. Nearly the whole SADF command had visited Gorongosa since Nkomati.

This had probably happened because Nkomati had not wholly neutralised Mozambique. The SADF wanted to achieve this by bringing the MNR into the Mozambican government; they covertly supplied the MNR through agents in the Middle East, the Comoro Islands and Malawi. President Botha must have known of this. Harries feels that he originally backed the diplomatic style of Pik Botha (whom the SADF detested, according to Dhlakama's diaries) but ultimately came out in support of the military.

In September 1986 the war suddenly escalated. The SADF massed troops on Mozambique's border, drawing FRELIMO soldiers south, whereupon the MNR poured out of Malawi and seized many towns.

A month later President Machel was killed in a mysterious air crash. FRELIMO replied by drawing Zimbabwean, Tanzanian and even Malawian troops into the war. With this aid they recaptured most of the lost territory. Economic conditions improved; rail links reopened; industrial production rose by 17 percent in the first half of 1987 - due to better security and better economic policies.

But the MNR had not been beaten, and it adopted characteristic tactics to terrorise the rural population into fleeing to the overcrowded cities (80 000 fled to Beira in two years) which can then be starved into submission. It hopes thus to gain power by massacre and mutilation, as happened at Homoine and Manjacase, with the support of the South African authorities, without regard for normal mercy. "The bayoneted baby," says Harries, "is not the symbol of a psychopath. It is part of a definite and clear-cut strategy."

Zimbabwe's agony

Almost weekly our newspapers report on groups of Zimbabweans being murdered by guerrilla gangs. In the South-West, the notorious "Gwasela" operate. In the East MNR parties slip across the border to kill the inhabitants of undefended villages.

Guerrillas first appeared in large numbers in the South-East in 1982 when they murdered a group of tourists. The discovery of a band of South African troops in Zimbabwe in 1982, and of another such group in North-West Botswana in 1983, points to possible South African links. The Zimbabweans crushed the incipient rising with massive military force, and since then, "banditry" has been sporadic. Now it seems to be on the increase again.

Zimbabwe's security forces divide the bandits into two groups. The

first would be former ZAPU guerrillas who have taken to the bush because of genuine political grievances. The second is a small South African-trained group, called "Super-ZAPU" by the security forces, who often clash with the real ZAPU fighters because their South African links are distrusted.

This latter group is the one which indigenous banditry has been virtually wiped out, but the efficient, well-armed forces of Super-ZAPU remain.

What most worries the Zimbabweans is co-operation between Zimbabwean bandits and the Mozambican National Resistance. On the 17th of August 1986, the MNR signed a pact with the Zimbabwe Democratic Freedom movement. This movement is based mainly in the US and is headed by Ndabonginyi Sithole, a former Zimbabwe-Rhodesian official with links to South African security

forces, who fled Zimbabwe in 1985. In December 1986, Minister of State Security Munangagwa said that Sithole was recruiting youths for military training to fight against the Zimbabwean government. The pact with the MNR and existence of Sithole's Zimbabwe Freedom Army gives substance to Munangagwa's claim.

Sithole has many links to South Africa. His organisation includes many South African businessmen. Among them is Garth Barrett, former head of the Rhodesian Special Air Service, who tired to assassinate Robert Mugabe before the 1980 elections. Sithole's Washington address is reportedly used as a maildrop by Radio Truth, the South African propaganda station. This implies direct links with the South African government. Links which Sithole would need if he were to attack Zimbabwe from South African territory.

Botha's blushing brides

Traditional antipathy on the part of white South African males to women adopting the "unfeminine" role of soldiering makes the whole issue of women in the SADF an intriguing one. Admitting women into an institution as male-dominated as the SADF raises all sorts of questions. How are such women viewed and what kind of role are they going to be called upon to play in the SADF?

Copies of Paratus show that although the Women's College at George isn't featured as often as the women's organisations that support the SADF, it often becomes the leading article or makes the front cover when it is featured. The women's College provides a valuable showpiece of women wanting to join the SADF.

What sort of training do women undergo at George? The College has been in operation since 1971 and it offers a two year course which qualifies women to join the Permanent Force. In addition, it operates certain supporting services.

Recruits receive initial practical military training of 12 weeks, with a theoretical background included. After this they receive advanced training in areas such as administration and telecommunication, enabling those women who join the PF to assume clerical positions. National and international affairs are discussed and a lecture course in revolutionary warfare is offered. The training is geared towards making the women "alert and prepared citizens". A great deal of the women return to civilian life after their two years at George, so it seems that there is

more of an emphasis on training women for a specific role in the community than in the army.

At the passing-out parade at the College on 22 November 1985, Major General M J du Plessis, the first commanding officer of the College, stated that the spiritual strength of a folk comes from the women of that folk. He encouraged the students to make it their duty to obtain that spiritual strength, develop and preserve it.

It can be seen that there are close parallels between women's organisations that support the SADF and the nature of the training at the

Women's College. In both cases, the emphasis is on support work — backing up the men. If spiritual strength rather than physical strength is emphasised, this provides a clear indication of how much of the real work women are going to be expected to do. As a result, articles in Paratus that

place considerable emphasis on the femininity of the women there — the frilly white bedspreads, pretty ornaments and woolly toys in the bedrooms are dwelt upon. Courses offered include domestic science, fashion, beauty care and charm.

Readers of Paratus can be further reassured by the photograph of a recruit applying makeup, which apparently is done every day.

It is certainly appropriate that the unit flash of the college should be the Blushing Bride.



A trainee making-up at the George College



Physical training at George

Namibian COs await verdict

Resistance to conscription in Namibia is hotting up in courts in the territory, as well as in South Africa.

Conscientious objector Eric Binga's appeal, to be decided shortly by the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, is expected to influence the outcome of two important conscription cases in the Namibian Supreme Court.

In the first case, the two applicants, SWAPO supporting Alfons Kotjipati and Edward Amporo, appeared in the Windhoek Supreme Court in August requesting that their call-up instructions be declared null and void.

The second case, involving Rashid Rooinaisie, an Islamic youth worker who failed to report for military service in 1986, is expected to resume shortly in the Windhoek Supreme Court after having been transferred from the Magistrates Court in January this year.

The result of Binga's application to set aside his call-up instructions is expected to influence judgements in the three other cases.

Since January 1981, military service has been compulsory for all Namibians aged between 16 and 25, except for Ovambos. It is believed that Ovambo-speaking people were exempted because of their overwhelming support for SWAPO.

Alfons Kotjipati informed SWAFT in May 1986 that he would be unable to serve. His lawyers instructed SWAFT in October 1986, that in the event of being called-up, an urgent application for relief would be brought to the Supreme Court. But in December 1986 he was issued with call-up instructions.

In his affidavit, submitted to the Supreme Court, Kotjipati said he believed that the extension of the Defence Act to "Native inhabitants" of Namibia by Proclamation AG 198 of 1980 was "inconsistent with the Mandate for South West Africa and therefore of no force and effect".

"The prospect of having to render military service and to engage in active combat against fellow Namibians, whom I regard as patriots, causes me grave concern and anxiety," he said.

"I am not only a Christian, and as such vehemently opposed to violence, but am also a supporter of SWAPO — which organisation I regard as the only effective liberation movement challenging the continued illegal occupation of South Africa of my country."

Kogjipati said himself, his friends and fellow Namibians believed that the SADF and SWAFT were "actively engaged in efforts to jeopardise and to delay the implementation" of the peace plan.

He regarded the armed struggle of SWAPO as "unavoidable and just in the circumstances" and that he found it "inhuman and inconceivable to be forced to fight my fellow Namibians in SWAPO."

Appearing together with Kotjipati was SWAPO member Edward Amporo. He had received his call-up papers in October last year.

Soon after he received the call-up, he wrote to the Registering Officer stating that he had reservations about doing national service in the SADF on the grounds that he was a SWAPO member.

But Amporo's deferment was not approved and he applied, together with Kotjipati, to the Windhoek Supreme Court for an urgent application for relief.

In Amporo's affidavit, he said he regarded the SADF and SWAFT as the principle instrument by which the South African government is maintaining its illegal occupation of Namibia.

"If I were conscripted and forced to fight South Africa's cause, and to actually fight Namibian patriots . . . I would be fighting the very ideals and values I believe in, namely the termination of South Africa's occupation of Namibia and my country's independence and self-determination," said Amporo.

"At the same time I would actively uphold an ideology promoting ethnicity and undemocratic government practises which I deeply resent."

While judgement was reserved in the Kotjipati and Amporo case, there was speculation that a judgement against the Minister of Defence, one of the respondents in the trial, would set a precedent that would enable a great many objectors to avoid the call-up.

This, however, was ruled out and every objector at present will have to apply individually for a Supreme Court interdict.

Rashid Rooinaisie, a full-time worker with the Namibian Islamic Movement, was summonsed to the Windhoek Magistrate's Court on January 29, 1987, after failing to report for a call-up in January 1986.

In a speech delivered to the Muslim Students' Association in Cape Town in July this year, he said he refused to serve in SWAFT on the basis of his Islamic beliefs.

"My objection to conscription arises from my conviction based on the Qur'an and Hadith which clearly states the role of a Muslim in a society under a repressive government," Rooinaisie said.

At his court appearance his lawyer argued that only the Supreme Court had jurisdiction to test the validity of laws which made the Defence Act applicable to Namibians. Furthermore, it was contended that the State President, Parliament, the Administrator General and the Ministry of Defence had exceeded their powers in making the Defence Act applicable to Namibians.

Rooinaisie's case was referred to the Attorney General and was expected to resume in the Supreme Court in August, but to date an indictment has not been served.

Judgement on the Amporo and Kotjipati case was expected to be delivered by September, but informed sources suggest that the judgement may not be delivered until the Binga case is heard in the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein.

In a Supreme Court application similar to that of Kotjipati and Amporo, Eric Binga applied to set aside his call-up instructions in 1986. His case has gone on appeal and is expected to go ahead shortly in Bloemfontein.

The judgement that is delivered in the Binga case, is expected to have implications not only for Kogjipati, Amporo and Rooinaisie, but for all Namibian conscientious objectors and war resisters.

comment

IVAN IS ONE OF THOUSANDS

Our thoughts are with Ivan Toms as he faces the prospect of more than two lonely years in a prison cell. For this is the price he may be forced to pay for following the dictates of his conscience. In a country as divided by conflict as ours, his stand becomes all the more courageous.

And yet while he fights his personal battle, his concerns are with the community of conscripts whose choice of how best to serve South Africa is severely limited by the harsh provisions of the Defence Act.

Ivan has stated that while he has chosen the possibility of going to prison he respects the fact that other conscripts have chosen exile, to become religious objectors or even to live as fugitives. Still others have, in his words, found "it impossible to do anything but go into the SADF reluctantly angry that they are not given any realistic alternatives". We endorse his view.

The SADF, despite its rhetoric, operates in the interests of a small group of our total population. Rather than national service, SADF service is better called Nationalist service. A true national service would be closer to the work Ivan has been doing over the past seven years as a doctor amongst the poor and oppressed of Cape Town's squatter camps.

We can only agree with Ivan when he says, "I stand with all conscripts who support the ECC's call for constructive alternative service. This service should be the same length as military service and be available to us in church, welfare and community organisations."

It is a travesty that Ivan be punished for wishing to serve his country constructively. It is tragic that Ivan is just one of thousands who are placed in the same position by a law which, if there is to be justice, must be changed.

Angolan war: No

The people of Angola have been involved in war for over 25 years. First against the Portuguese colonialists and now against South Africa and the rebel UNITA. The war continues with no respite and no resolution in view.

The recent involvement of the SADF in Angola is not a new occurrence. In fact, conflict in Angola is not new either.

The Angolan people have not had a respite from war since the beginning of armed struggle against the Portuguese colonial power in 1961.

The nature of the war now, over 25 years later, is quite different. Instead of the Portuguese holding political power it is the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola - Workers' Party (MPLA-PT) which is in control of most of the country, including the capital, Luanda.

And the opposition to the government comes not from a radical national liberation movement, as the MPLA was in relation to the Portuguese, but rather an anti-communist rebel movement, equipped and supported by both the CIA and the SADF.

Many questions surround the present conflict in Angola. Is UNITA the same as the MNR in Mozambique? If independence came to Angola in 1975, why is there still a war there? And what about the Cubans - are they really responsible for the continued conflict in Angola?

There are significant differences between the opposition movements in Angola and in Mozambique. The Mozambican National Resistance (MNR) is a group of rebels set up and organised first by the Rhodesian Security Forces (before Zimbabwean independence) and later by the SADF.

The Vietnam veteran: a p

"I am 34 now. Vietnam is 14 years ago for me chronologically, but right here and now on any given day. Right here and now when the rage comes up and a car backfires and my belly turns over, right here and now when I awake yelling in the night. I even have flashback smells now and then: "C" rations, napalm, spent arms."

Today Timothy Sims is a Navy chaplain on the USS Aerie. At 19 he went to Vietnam. He saw major fighting at Con Thien and survived the siege of Khe San in 1968.

"Most days I'm OK. I have a good marriage and a good ministry. I have refused to let the 'delayed stress' from which I suffer beat me. Many others are not so blessed."

A decade and a half after the last US military personnel withdrew from Vietnam, American veterans are still fighting the psychological battles. The governmental Veterans Administration believes that over 60 000 are in need of direct psychiatric aid. More vets have killed themselves since going home than died in combat (57 000).

In 1980 the American Psychiatric Association defined the veterans' disturbance as Post Traumatic Stress Syndrome (PTSD). Rick Ritter, a Vet Centre counsellor in Indiana, explains that "PTSD is 'delayed stress' that cannot be experienced during the stressful

situation, such as a manmade or natural catastrophe. The nature of the catastrophe demands that the person does whatever is necessary to survive. Emotions are delayed and emerge only after the stressful situation has passed."

Post traumatic stress is not unique to soldiers who fought in Vietnam, yet something about that war left scars exceptionally deep.

The average age of soldiers in WW II was 26. The average age in Vietnam, 19. The psychological brutalisation of these young men began in their basic training. The army deprived them of sleep and food, harassed them beyond endurance and isolated them from the outside world. It stripped them of their individuality and ability to think. The enemy - "gooks", "Charlies", were portrayed as having even less humanity. Victor Demattei, army paratrooper: "I have never met anyone with a burning desire to go out and kill a total stranger. Basic training was designed to dehumanise the soldier to the point where he would obey his superiors automatically and kill on command."

alienation

The US army developed this approach to training in the early 1960s to equip the soldier mentally for the war against a skilled guerilla army, supported by large sections of the indigenous people. Yet the training did not prepare him for the hostility of the Vietnamese people and terrain. He was in a strange country, knowing nothing about its history, language

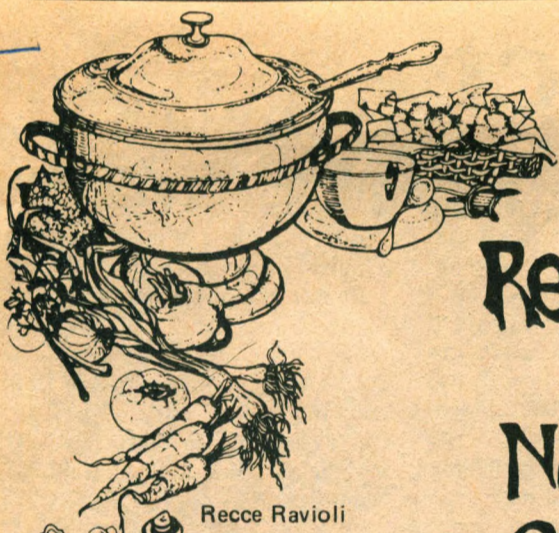
and culture. He was the alien. Even in the quiet periods between bursts of chaotic combat, he was only a moment - a peasant woman carrying a concealed grenade - away from death.

Vietnam veterans show high levels of anxiety, guilt, isolation, despair and inferiority, and have difficulty running their lives. Many have flashbacks and nightmares that provoke sudden deep rage and loss of control.

survival instincts

If the veteran feels threatened, whether real or imagined, he may revert to the survival instincts he learnt in Vietnam. The wife of such a vet describes what happens: "When he hears a jet or sees planes he still ducks and tries to get away. Then he'll start talking about dead bodies he used to see . . . There are times when he loses control. Our daughter is five and she tells him that he shouldn't hit monny and then he feels guilty for a while."

The veterans' 'delayed stress' can have a profound affect on his family. "I didn't go to Vietnam," a woman writes to her husband through a vet newsletter, "it came to me. I don't know how you can say 'you don't know what it was like unless you were there'. I was there, I live it and breathe it everyday I am with you. It's in our living room, it's in our bedroom. Everytime I look in the mirror I



Recipes for National Security

Recce Ravioli

You will need:

Truth
Integrity
Civic Decency
Riaan Eksteen

Take one soldier freed from captivity. Take the fact that he tried to destroy a civilian oil depot in a neutral country, cut it to pieces and throw it out.

Take his confession to have helped terrorism in South Africa's neighbours, mince it up and hide it in a banana republic bread.

Then make a hot, propaganda sauce, dip the soldier and his family in it until they are unrecognizable, wrap the whole parcel in the South African flag and cook it up under floodlights.

Chop up some newspaper men with pride and greed in equal proportions - this doesn't help the ravioli but will make you feel better while you cut out the soldier's story and stir it into a Bureau of Information bredie.

Finally take the whole sorry sodden mess, return it to the pot, seal the lid on tight with press clamps and run away hoping that the thing doesn't blow up in your face.

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