

ANOTHER DEFEAT FOR THE WAR-MAKERS

ONCE again the United States, hell-bent for war, has been turned back on the very brink of disaster. For the third time in the space of one year pressure of public opinion both inside and outside the United States has forced President Eisenhower to veto plans to launch atomic war.

It happened the first time in Indo-China last April. U.S. warships armed with atomic weapons were already steaming for the battle-zone—the Geneva Conference had just started—when Eisenhower, bombarded with protests from Eden and Nehru, reluctantly said "No."

It happened again last September, when the island of Quemoy first loomed up on the international horizon.

It happened again last week. Admiral Radford and Assistant Secretary of State Robertson were already in Formosa to alert the Nationalists for atomic war when the master-diplomacy of Chinese Premier Chou En-lai at the Bandung conference spiked their guns.

Wrong Expectations

The U.S. had all along been nervous of the Bandung conference; but for the wrong reasons. They had expected Chou En-lai to use Bandung as a "platform for Communist propaganda," to play on the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Asian Governments in order to win them to his side in the Formosa dispute.

Nothing of the sort happened. The London Times' special correspondent at the conference reported on April 20 that "the guns which had been trained ready to oppose the expected Communist manoeuvres have somewhat misfired against the bland refusal of Mr. Chou En-lai to invoke any Communist line as such. He had come . . .

WORLD STAGE BY SPECTATOR

only to seek common ground, and in this company at least he has posed as more neutralist even than Mr. Nehru."

Patience and Tolerance

The same correspondent added the next day: "It is generally agreed that the Chinese are showing great patience and tolerance. . . . The Chinese are fully sharing the general wish to be compromising and agreeable; they appear at times to be accepting Mr. Nehru's advice, and they are happy to meet everybody."

Formosa itself was not formally discussed at the conference, but behind the scenes Chou and the other Asian delegates thrashed the matter out in an atmosphere of complete frankness. The outcome of it all was Chou's offer, issued on the eve of the final session of the conference:

"The Chinese people are friendly to the American people. The Chinese people do not want to have a war with the United States. The Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the U.S. Government to discuss the question of relaxing tension in the Far East and especially the question of relaxing tension in the Formosa area."

"Not an Inch"

Earlier Chou had assured the conference that China would not transgress against the territorial integrity of any country—"not by one inch."

Compare Chou's approach with that of U.S. Admiral Carney, reported in this column last week: "I think we should try to bloody the Chinese nose on a local basis."

Not surprisingly, Chou's offer found an echo in the hearts of peace-loving people throughout the world.

But what was the American response? An immediate attempt to ridicule the offer and make peaceful negotiations impossible.

A statement issued by the U.S. State Department demanded "evidence of China's good intentions" on the basis of the following conditions:

1. A cease-fire in the Formosa area (where the U.S. is the aggressor);
2. The release of the U.S. airmen imprisoned in China for spying (this has nothing to do with the dispute over Formosa);
3. China to accept the Security Council invitation to attend a discussion on Formosa (this when China is not even allowed to become a member of the United Nations!);

4. Admission of Chiang Kai-shek to the talks (Chiang himself stated he was not prepared to have talks with the Communists).

Shocked Them

The United States reply—understood by the whole world as a rejection of Chou's offer—shocked not only the delegates to the Bandung conference, but America's allies everywhere.

The Manchester Guardian's Washington correspondent reported on April 26: "American reporters at the Bandung conference have been sending critical dispatches about its impact."

Mr. Keyes Beech, the Chicago "Daily News" correspondent, cabled from Bandung that the State Department's announcement was considered "inept, ill-natured and ill-timed" and had "left a sour taste in the mouths of practically everybody."

Disgusted Them

America's own stooges at the Bandung conference were disgusted. The Pakistan Premier, Mr. Mohammed Ali, said he thought Mr. Chou En-lai had proposed a "quite reasonable solution" of the Formosa question. The Ceylon Premier Sir John Kotelawala said he thought the U.S. reaction had been "too hasty" and had made things more difficult.

In Ottawa on April 22 Mr. Lester Pearson, the Minister of External Affairs, told the House of Commons that Canada would not automatically support the United States in any war, in China or anywhere else. His statement was applauded.

Divided Them

Inside the United States, the reaction was divided. The right-wing Republicans like Senators Knowland and Hickenlooper issued statements insisting that the presence of Chiang Kai-shek should be a precondition for any talks.

But Senator Walter George, Democratic Party Chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said the U.S. should be "big enough and great enough" to accept Chou's offer, even if Chiang Kai-shek shunned the conference. He said each side could reserve its rights in the dispute, but it was important to find out whether there was any chance of settling matters peacefully.

Adlai Stevenson, former Democratic candidate for President, who was in Uganda at the time, said Chou's statement was "very heartening."

And the Democrats are the majority party in the United States Congress.

The Cape Argus reported on April 27 that "President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles are under intense newspaper pressure to accept the new Formosa proposal of Mr. Chou En-lai. Even the Right-wing Hearst group swung round to say: 'A great deal might be gained in direct talks, and they ought seriously to be considered.'"

"The Wall Street Journal states: 'Mr. Chou's statement could be the first big break in this deadly and heretofore seemingly unbreakable deadlock.'"

A Retreat

Thus once again the United States Government, finding itself isolated at home and abroad, was compelled to beat a retreat. On April 26 Secretary of State Dulles announced that the United States was ready to negotiate a cease-fire in the Formosa area with People's China, directly or through the United Nations or by other means, even if Nationalist China stood aloof from the negotiations. He had to admit that the U.S. Government and Chiang Kai-shek no longer saw eye to eye on this matter, but said the U.S. "had no alternative but to explore the sincerity of Communist China's present offer and to work for an abatement of tension in the Far East."

No wonder it was reported from Formosa that day that Admiral Radford, the chief architect of the "war with China now" policy, was "indisposed" and unable to talk to reporters.

Diplomatic Defeats

Diplomatically, the Americans have been completely outmanoeuvred in the post-war period. They have suffered diplomatic defeats over the Korea and Indo-China armistice agreements. They have lost the initiative over Austria. They are well on the way to a further diplomatic defeat over Formosa, where their position is steadily becoming untenable.

On the one hand this series of defeats can lead the Americans to ever more serious adventures in the hope of rescuing their sagging prestige.

On the other hand, if the Americans seriously want to achieve a solution, let them abandon the path of war and follow the example of Mr. Chou En-lai in waging an all-out struggle for peace.



(N.Y. Herald Tribune) "Yalta schmalta, Potsdam schmotsdam . . . the question is—what do we do now?"

SUCCESSFUL MAY DAY RALLIES

THE largest number of people to celebrate May Day in Cape Town during recent years gathered on the Grand Parade last Sunday afternoon to greet workers throughout the world.

"We salute those workers who have won the fight for freedom in their countries and we pledge solidarity in the struggle to those workers who are still oppressed," leads a resolution adopted amidst applause.

"We look forward to the working class of South Africa leading us in our struggle for equal rights, a better life and friendship between all peoples."

In another resolution, the people ratified the stand taken "by our representatives Moses Kotane and Maulvi Cachalia at Bandung."

"We stand for world peace and condemn the warmongering of the American imperialists," said the resolution.

SCHOOLS BOYCOTT

Condemning the Bantu Education Act, the meeting called on all African parents to hold themselves ready for the complete boycott of schools.

Johannesburg's enthusiastic and lively May Day meeting pledged support to the A.N.C. and its leaders

in the fight against pernicious Bantu Education and for free education for all children.

"We salute the struggle of the parents and children who carried out the boycott recently in the face of mass arrests and police intimidation," resolved the meeting. It further pledged itself to stand behind the Congress of the People and help make it a great success. "We pledge to stand firm in the fight for peace and freedom in our time."

"CHINESE PRODUCTS are up to British standards and specifications," said Bo Min-Gaug, the Burmese Minister of Public Works, who led the Burmese delegation in negotiations with China for the exchange of Burmese rice for Chinese industrial products. A barter agreement for £6,000,000 was announced.

THE GOLD COAST, the first all-African government, will spend £63 million in its first year. The sum of £13 million comes from export duties on cocoa.



"Afrika!" shout these enthusiastic Alexandria Township children at the announcement that their parents are building them their own school to protect them from Bantu Education poison. (See front page.)

USE ELECTIONS TO PUBLICISE CONGRESS OF PEOPLE!

JOHANNESBURG.—Election meetings now being called for the Congress of the People should be used to the greatest extent to advertise the Congress and the Freedom Charter, said C.O.P. headquarters this week.

DELEGATES SHOULD BE ELECTED AT EVERY MEETING WHICH IS HELD, BIG OR SMALL.

C.O.P. meeting organisers are urged to intensify the drive to collect freedom demands. Here are some demands recently sent in:

- TIMBER WORKERS IN BENONI:** We want a multi-racial government; high wages and equal pay for the workers. There must be tea intervals for the workers; also better homes, better, paved streets, and more schools. Workers should be treated decently at work. We want to see where our tax money goes. Apartheid should be a crime, and all permits abolished. All should have the right to organise in trade unions.
- A KOELENHOF WORKER:** When I got married the law of the Government told me to look after my wife like a piece of gold. Now they tell me I must send her away. I demand that I be allowed to look after and protect my wife like the Government said that I should when I married her.
- CHURCH MEETING IN WILLOWFONTEIN, NATAL:** We demand civic and political rights. We want basic human rights.
- MEETING IN THE PIETER-MARITZBURG DISTRICT:** We demand water sanitation and storm water drains. We want a school in our area. We pay rates and taxes but have no civic amenities. Our area is threatened under the Group Areas Act.

Dangerous Criminal at Large!

JOHANNESBURG. THERE was a commotion outside the Central Indian High School in Lillian Road, Fordsburg, one school break last week when two European policemen and an African constable tried to arrest one of the school pupils.

The boy was being held by the shoulder by one of the European constables while the African prepared to handcuff him when the principal of the school arrived on the scene.

He asked for an explanation. The boy was being arrested, said one of the constables, because he was playing with a ball in the street. That was an offence in terms of the municipal bye-laws.

The principal suggested that even if that was so, it was hardly necessary to take the boy to the police station. "You can take his name and address and serve a summons on him," he suggested.

The European constable seemed inclined to let the matter drop at that stage, but the African started putting handcuffs on the youngster. The school children standing there immediately started a loud protest, but the African constable took no notice and started marching his prisoner off to the police station.

The European constable finally agreed to discuss the matter in the principal's office. The handcuffs were removed and later, in the office, the police agreed to call the arrest off. The parading shot of the constable, as he left the school, was to say to the boy: "The principal will give you a hiding!"

REPORT TO OUR READERS

Have you ever written a short story? Something from your own life—some incident in the struggle for freedom in South Africa which you have witnessed—would probably make good material for a short story.

WATCH FOR OUR ANNOUNCEMENT NEXT WEEK OF THE NEW AGE SHORT STORY COMPETITION, AND BEGIN

PREPARING YOUR STORY NOW! (Length 2,000 to 3,000 words.)

Last week was a fairly good week—a number of old friends let us have their contributions to the New Age Freedom Fund.

We need that regular donation, so KEEP IT UP!

MANNIE MONEY.

COLOUREDS ANGERED BY ARROGANT GROUP AREAS "PROPOSALS"

CAPE TOWN.—The proposals by the Land Tenure Board and the representations made to it last week regarding the racial zoning of Woodstock, Brooklyn, Maitland and Kensington have angered Non-Europeans all over the Peninsula," Mr. R. September, secretary of the South African Coloured People's Organisation, said in an interview with New Age this week.

In these proposals, which were first advertised on the 11th August, 1954, Brooklyn, Woodstock and Maitland are set down as white areas.

In these three areas, according to a report by the City Engineer, there are altogether 25,505 Europeans. The 12,110 Coloureds and 1,021 Africans in the area will have to move if the proposals become law.

In Kensington, which is proposed as a Coloured area, there are 14,151 Coloured people. Those who will have to move, if this proposal is accepted, include 842 Europeans, 772 Malays, 538 Asiatics and 7,532 Africans.

NOT SATISFIED

Representations made to the Board last week show that the generous allotment to the Europeans has still not satisfied many of them.

Thus Dr. J. C. G. Kotze of the Dutch Reformed Church, Woodstock, wants the entire area from the Waal Drive to the railway line in Woodstock to be declared a white area. This includes Walmer Estate, a predominantly Coloured suburb.

Also wrangling for bits and pieces before the Board were a number of City Councillors who were ticked off by the chairman for "coming late," since the Cape Town City Council had in the past refused to have anything to do with the Group Areas Act. Councillor G. E. Ferry wants Albert Road to be the dividing line between the Europeans and Non-Europeans of Woodstock, leaving the Non-Europeans with little more than the railway line between themselves and the sea. Councillor W. H. Ross admitted that there was no comparison between the number of Europeans and Coloureds who would have to be moved.

A WARNING

"The proceedings at the hearings of the Land Tenure Board during the past week are a warning to people all over the Peninsula," said Mr. September.

THE STUFFY ROOM

In his book "Beware of Africans," based on his travels in Egypt and the Sudan, Uganda, Tanganyika, Kenya, the Central African Federation and the Union of South Africa, the British author, Reginald Reynolds, tells the following story: A certain man came into a room where a number of people had been sitting for a number of hours, and remarked that the atmosphere was stuffy.

The people sitting there were very annoyed at this remark. "How can you presume to judge," asked one man, "when you have only this minute come in?"

Another said: "It is always these people from outside who make this ill-informed criticism. Only those who have sat here for hours can possibly know whether the air is fresh or foul."

"It is just to keep out ignorant critics like you," said a third, "that we keep all the doors and windows shut."

So they threw the intruder out and bolted the door.

Reasons For Breaking Off Talks With India 'Trifling' — Says Dr. Moosa

JOHANNESBURG.—The reason advanced by the Union Government for breaking off the negotiations for Round-Table discussions between India and South Africa are trifling ones indeed, Dr. H. Moosa, joint secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, commented to New Age in an exclusive interview.

The Union Government has obviously all along looked for an excuse to avoid the Round-Table discussions. Attempts to hold these talks, in terms of the United Nations resolutions, have now been going on for over five years.

"The Government has been very quick to place the blame for the breakdown in the negotiations on the shoulders of Mr. Nehru," said Dr. Moosa. The charge is that he outraged the rules of diplomacy by attacking the Union in public speeches. But, continued Dr. Moosa, the Union is guilty of far more serious obstruction in these negotiations. When they were already under way the Union Government

insisted on pushing through Parliament and promulgating the Group Areas Act, despite requests to stay the passage of this measure, as it would prejudice the discussions. "This was obstruction of the most extreme kind, and strong provocation into the bargain." The request not to proceed with the Group Areas Act in the interests of reaching a solution in the dispute was totally ignored.

"This latest decision of the Union Government confirms suspicions that the Union Government was never genuine about trying to reach agreement through these talks and that it has jumped at this trifling excuse to call the discussions off."

T.U.C. LETS DOWN WORKERS AND BURIES ITS HEAD IN THE SAND

BY RAY ALEXANDER



THE S.A. Trade Union Council—Colour-bar trade union centre, led by cautious and respectable trade union officials who have adopted a policy of appeasement of the Nationalists, holds its first annual conference this week.

Few workers or members of the public have reason to know of the existence of the S.A. Trade Union Council (S.A.T.U.C.), although they were formed six months ago.

Their much-advertised "opposition" to Ben Schoeman's Industrial Conciliation Bill (Trade Union Destruction Bill) amounted to nothing more than the submission of two memorandas to the Select Committee on the Bill. Hardly an attempt was made to inform the workers and the general public of this grave threat to the very existence of the trade union movement.

REMAINED DUMB

They have failed completely to give a lead to the workers either on the economic front or in defence against the continuous attacks on workers' rights. Inflation has been going on all the time, reducing the value of the workers' pay packet, but the T.U.C. leadership has remained dumb as regards either the question of an increased cost-of-living allowance or a general forward movement in wages.

It is a feature of the present situation that in one industry after another wage agreements are extended without any improvement in wage rates. Contrast with this retrogression, the forward movement of workers in other countries like Great Britain and the United States of America where dockers, railway, engineering, electricians and typewriter workers have in the past few months improved their position, in some cases after lengthy strikes.

NO PROTEST

What could be more futile than a trade union movement which allows organisers and secretaries to be muzzled by Minister Swart without a protest by the trade union leadership?

The truth is that the leaders have now at last got their way and are "keeping politics out of the trade union movement." (That, of course, means keeping progressive working class politics out, and keeping apartheid politics in.)

THEIR AGENDA

The effect can be seen in the report and the agenda for this week's first Annual Conference of the S.A. Trade Union Council.

One is gratified to see resolutions calling for an increase in the cost-of-living allowance and for the repeal of the Native Labour Settlement of Disputes Act.

There is nothing else, though, which could be said to constitute a policy for the working class.

There is no assessment of the position of the trade union and the working class generally in terms that would give a perspective of their problem and of the tasks that lie ahead.

NOT A WORD

Not a word is said about the Group Areas Act, the packing of the courts, the attack on the Coloured Vote, the Passports (Denial) Bill, the Bantu (Deprivation of) Education Act, or any of the other monstrous invasions of the peoples' rights and liberties.

Not a word about the long-con-

tinued campaign of the Nationalist Government against the independent trade union movement. There is not a word said about the expulsion of veteran trade union leaders, colleagues of these people that are sitting in leadership.

There is no reference at all to the dominating issue of war and the threat of extermination by atomic and hydrogen bombs.

BURIES HEAD

The S.A.T.U.C. prefers to bury its head in a mass of files. But these are the real issues, they concern the homes, the freedom, the living standards and the future of hundreds of thousands of workers, members of unions affiliated to the T.U.C.

THE TIME IS SURE TO COME WHEN THESE WORKERS WILL REPUDIATE SO SPINELESS AND INEFFECTUAL A LEADERSHIP.

It should be clear that this policy of "keeping politics out of trade unions" means that the trade unions become ineffective and feeble instruments of petty officials who are not defending nor advancing the workers' interests.

TIME TO WAKE UP!

It is time that the rank and file wake up and realise what is happening to their organisations which they built up with much suffering and great sacrifice.

The recent conference of the S.A. Council of Transport Workers held last week in Cape Town was an indication of the way things are going.

COLOURED DELEGATE INSULTED

Let those Indian and Coloured workers who supported the expulsion of African trade unions from the S.A.T.U.C. take note of what happened to Mr. Manho, Secretary of the Trawlermen's and Line Fishermen's Union, the only Coloured delegate at the conference. Objection was taken to his presence by Mr. van Wyk, from the Pretoria Transport Workers' Union, and a fervent supporter of Ben Schoeman.

Mr. Manho withdrew from the conference leaving the field clear for the racialists.

Clearly, as was predicted, attempts are being made to exclude every Non-European from attending a conference with Europeans.

It is important to note that the transport industry is a field of employment in which the number of Non-European workers is considerable and increasing.

WOULD MEAN DISASTER

The splitting of the workers into separate racial camps would bring disaster to the working class.

The Transport Workers' Council's Conference further showed that the Nationalist section is now much stronger than before.

Van Wyk succeeded in getting the transport workers to agree to take their problems to the Minister of Transport, Ben Schoeman, the very man who created their problems in the first place. No politics really means accepting the politics of the party in power.

The policy of the T.U.C. and racialists can only mean disaster. They must be fought within and without.

FUTURE WITH CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS

The struggle for real working-class unity has to be carried on.

Only through a united working-class movement free of racialism will the workers in South Africa be in a position not only to defend but advance their living standards, win freedom, rights to build a life in which the workers will be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour.

THEREFORE, THE FUTURE

LIES NOT WITH THE S.A.T.U.C. BUT WITH THE S.A. CONGRESS OF TRADE UNIONS, THE NATIONAL TRADE UNION BODY THAT UNITES ALL WORKERS, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE AND COLOUR. LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF THE WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE!!

FOOD AND CANNING WORKERS AFFILIATE AT FULL STRENGTH

CAPE TOWN.—Thirty-five representatives of branches of the Food and Canning Workers' Union, from the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces, West Coast and the Transvaal, who attended the union's National Executive Council meeting in Cape Town last week, unanimously resolved to affiliate to the South African Congress of Trade Unions at full strength.

The union greeted the establishment of S.A.C.T.U. with applause and pledged its full support to the building of a truly united and independent trade union movement, free of racialism; "a trade union movement which will be capable of defending the workers and people of South Africa against the persistent attacks by the Nationalist Government upon their civil liberties and rights to advance the interests of the workers."

In another resolution the union reaffirmed its full confidence in its officials and condemned the Government's attack on the union by the banning of eight of its officials. Six officials have been ordered to resign from the union and two have been prohibited from attending gatherings.

The union resolved to rally its members in the defence of the union and to appeal to all workers to unite in demanding the withdrawal of the Suppression of Communism Act.

The union viewed with great enthusiasm the preparation throughout the country for the Congress of the People as an arena for the voicing of people's demands for rights and civil liberties.

Reaffirming its condemnation of the vicious principle underlying the Bantu Education Act, the union declared it regarded the boycott of the schools as a sincere expression of the deep-seated repugnance with which the Africans view the Act.

Demanding the withdrawal of the Bantu Education Act, the union also demanded the withdrawal of all threats and penalties directed against children, teachers and parents "who have demonstrated their sense of duty towards their people and South Africa as a whole by refusing to be a party to the Act of discrimination and oppression."

Railway Dissatisfaction

JOHANNESBURG.

In the change-over in the railway's pay system this month the wage envelopes of both African and European workers were short. European drivers at Kazerne staged a brief protest strike, but later returned to work when the administration explained the new system.

African workers were indignant that the new pay system was not properly explained to them. The railway administration refuses to recognise the Non-European Railway Workers' Union, but works instead through a company union set up for the Africans.

"This difficulty, for one, could have been avoided if the workers' real union were recognised and involved in direct negotiations," commented an official of the union.

2,176 BANKRUPTCIES occurred in Britain last year, compared with 1,816 in 1953.

"I Put My Hand Out"



Mr. McDermott.

CAPE TOWN.

I AM not concerned with the colour of a delegate's skin. If he is a worker, to me he is a brother, and I am prepared to put my hand out and say, "Welcome, brother," Mr. T. McDermott, president of the Durban Municipal Transport Workers' Union, said at the annual conference of the South African Council of Transport Workers in Cape Town last week.

Mr. McDermott was replying to Mr. J. A. van Wyk, Pretoria delegate, who demanded that Mr. A. Manho, of the Trawler and Line Fishermen's Union, be removed from the conference because he is Coloured.

Supporting Mr. McDermott was Mr. B. Ratner of Cape Town who said: "Our membership is 40% Non-European. We cannot discriminate."

The controversy ended, however, when Mr. Manho himself volunteered to withdraw from the conference.

In an interview with New Age subsequently, Mr. McDermott said: "As a fully accredited delegate, Mr. Manho had a perfect right to be at the conference. In fact, there was no justification at all for him not attending. However, on the challenge being raised, he volunteered to leave the conference, and there was very little we could do at that stage."

Mr. McDermott said he hoped that Mr. Manho and his union would not allow this "small but tragic incident" to affect their affiliation to the trade union movement generally, "particularly having regard to the struggle we are facing to maintain not only trade union unity, but the democratic stand that has taken so many years of struggle to build up, not only in this but in other countries."

No policy has been laid down as a result of this incident to prevent a Coloured delegate from attending future conferences, Mr. McDermott said, but no one could speak for the future.

Asked if he considered it a pity that Mr. Manho withdrew, Mr. McDermott said: "It is a pity when any delegate walks out of any conference."

THE U.S. BAN on the circulation in the U.S.A. of the Soviet newspapers Pravda and Izvestia has led to this query by the former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow, Mr. George F. Keenan—"Is our own political philosophy so unconvincing and the other side's so logical that we must shield our people physically from every confrontation with Communist thought?"

Collection Number: AG2887

Collection Name: Publications, New Age, 1954-1962

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: Historical Papers Research Archive, University of the Witwatersrand

Location: Johannesburg

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