

WORLD STAGE

By Spectator

AMERICA ON THE WAY OUT OF LEBANON

THE picture painted by Western journalists of the struggle in the Lebanon between the neutralist insurgents and the pro-American forces under President Chamoun, is a strange one. Apparently these correspondents find their news in the cabarets of Lebanon's capital, Beirut (the "Little Paris" of the Middle East), and the first spate of reports left one with the impression that the main aim of the Lebanese rebels was to stop the Westerners partaking of the joys of cafe life.

Now, alas, even the chorus girls seem to be affected by the civil war which has developed, hiding guns in their garters and generally making it necessary for the intrepid newsmen to go out into the streets to find out what is happening.

Apparently the thing to do is to step over the sandbags barricading a street and then to proceed to a little cellar round the corner for an interview with one of the rebel leaders. Then a report is written about the furniture in the little room, complete with picture of Colonel Nasser, and the reporter is able to step back over the sandbags and repeat the process with an interview in more palatial surroundings with President Chamoun.

Planes zoom overhead, and jeeps rush through the streets, but when all is said and done, very little actual fighting takes place. The situation is ever explosive, but the explosion never occurs.

Now, even allowing for the tendency of the majority of Western journalists to represent any major popular movement as a comic opera, the fact still remains that for a country embroiled in a large-scale civil war, remarkably little fighting has, until the time of writing, taken place.

RIGGED ELECTIONS

The reason for this may well be found in the motives which drove the rebels to arms in the first place. The Lebanese Government has never been able to establish a complete dictatorship over the country, and Parliamentary elections, contested by a large number of parties, have been held from time to time.

The Government has, however, become increasingly unpopular over the years for its slavishly pro-Western policy, and in order to maintain its majority in Parliament, has found it necessary to clamp down on the opposition and to rig elections.

The last elections held last year were so heavily rigged that a host of opposition candidates, ranging from Socialists to Nasserites to clerical leaders, found that their common hatred of Chamoun was stronger than their differences.

They realised too that they would never be allowed to make their voices heard through parliamentary channels, and thus felt driven to extra-parliamentary action. The final touch came when Chamoun announced that he was contemplating violating the Lebanese constitution by continuing to act as President after his six-year term was up later this year.

ASSASSINATION

The crisis was sparked off by the assassination of a left-wing journalist, which suggested that Chamoun was stepping over from election-rigging to terror as a means of silencing his opponents.

The opposition forces felt compelled to take to arms to prevent Chamoun from establishing a complete dictatorship over the country. The original call to arms was more of a defensive measure than an attempt to drive the Government out of office by means of armed struggle.

The aim of the rebels was to force Chamoun from office when his term expired by the threat of armed force rather than by its actual application, but their popular support snowballed so quickly that they are no longer content with this limited demand.

UNWILLING TROOPS

As for the government forces, it is clear that Chamoun would dearly love to send his well-equipped troops into action in a major offensive against the rebels. Unfortunately for him, his troops are not prepared to do his bidding.

This applies not only to the rank and file of his forces, who at the best of times would not be willing to blast American shells into their countrymen, but even to his commander-in-chief, who apparently has presidential ambitions



himself and is not prepared to lead such a highly unpopular and risky venture.

Chamoun is finding that he is caught in a trap of his own making. For years he has ruled the country with the aid of the almighty dollar. Instead of trying to win popular support for his regime by undertaking progressive measures inside the country and pursuing a neutralist foreign policy, he has preferred to rule by means of a corrupt, power-seeking bureaucracy.

ANOTHER "KOREA?"

With so little support, how is it that Chamoun has remained in power for so long? The answer seems quite clear—the American State Department is backing him to the hilt, providing the external support to make up for the lack of internal support.

That the Americans realise that Chamoun is completely discredited, is shown by the fact that they are making plans for Anglo-American intervention in the Lebanon. They see clearly that Chamoun cannot survive by the use of his internal forces, however heavily they may be armed with U.S. military equipment (much of which is sold to the rebels anyway).

The seriousness of the Anglo-American intervention threat can be gauged from the fact that detailed military planning of the sort that preceded the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt, has been undertaken.

Realising how unpopular such intervention would be, these two great powers first sought to prevent the downfall of Chamoun by getting the United Nations to intervene on the pattern of Korea.

The balance of forces in UNO has, however, changed considerably since the days of Korea, and all that was forthcoming from Lake Success was a resolution to send a small task force of UN observers to watch the Lebanese border.

WILL U.S. SEND TROOPS?

Another possible solution which, according to the American magazine 'Time,' has presented itself to Washington, is the sending into the Lebanon of Iraqi and Jordanian troops. There is the question, "whether they would relish fighting other Arabs." And it might have added, these troops are urgently needed at home to keep their unpopular pro-American Governments in power.

Thus the Americans and the British find themselves left as the only source from which outside intervention might come to the Lebanon.

The U.S. Sixth Fleet, with 3,000 combat-equipped marines aboard, cruises at the ready in the Eastern Mediterranean, while 37,000 British troops are now stationed in Cyprus.

Like the Lebanese rebels, the Americans hoped no doubt, to succeed by the threat of force rather than the use of force, as they managed in Jordan last year.

Far from producing the desired result, however, the threat of Anglo-American intervention has even further weakened the Chamoun regime. The Speaker of the Lebanese Parliament, C.F., summoned the American Ambassador in Beirut and informed him on behalf of the Parliament that "the battle in Lebanon is an internal one and that any foreign intervention, even if it is on the request of the Lebanese Government, will be considered by the Lebanese people as aggression against them."

The leader of the rebels has also stated that he would not hesitate to call for volunteers from abroad in the event of an Anglo-American landing in his country.

Though intervention cannot be ruled out, it seems that the Americans must realise that it would be disastrous. They are left, then, with the alternative to save what they can from the wreckage, and this they can be expected to do by means of ditching Chamoun in favour of a less blatantly pro-American man.

Ironically enough, it is their very threat of intervention which may have so turned the scales against them that they might be unable to find a candidate for the post. Where the dollar and the gun has failed imperialism, even cunning will not help for long.



This picture was printed in Reynold's News recently to demonstrate the popularity of the South African kwela dance which is sweeping London at the moment. The caption read: "My photographer was invited to a kwela party in London last night. He found no penny-whistles . . . but the dance and wiggle were there just the same—demonstrated here by Jean Hart."

Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland

250 ARE STILL IN JAIL

JOHANNESBURG. The sealing off of Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland by the martial law proclamations has meant that little news filters out from these Reserves and on the surface all is quiet on these fronts.

But as an ever present reminder of the bitterness of the struggles there is the fact that about 250 Africans are languishing in jails from these two areas alone.

More than 100 waiting to be tried arising out of troubles in the Zeerust areas last December now enter their seventh month in jail. One man, Mr. Ishmael Elokane, died in Zeerust prison just over a week ago.

Four of the five Zeerust cases are expected to come to trial on

July 7 when the Circuit Court opens at Rustenburg. The largest case of all, arising from Witkeigat incidents, in which there are about 60 accused and even more Crown witnesses, is not expected to start until September. By then the 60, of whom eleven are women in the Zeerust jail, will have been awaiting trial in jail for nine months.

FIVE MURDER TRIALS

About 150 Africans from Sekhukhuneland are in prison awaiting the opening of five murder trials arising out of the people's struggle against Bantu Authorities and the deposal of the Paramount Chief. All are detained in Lydenburg jail. None of these cases has yet started. The date for which they have been set down is not known.

In both Zeerust and Sekhukhuneland legal costs and amounts needed for bail have crippled these tribal communities financially.

WOMEN MARCH ON TOWN HALL

Paarl's June 26 Pass Protest

CAPE TOWN. More than 100 African women marched on the Paarl mayor's office last Thursday afternoon, June 26, to protest against the issuing of passes to women.

ALTHOUGH THEY HAD MADE NO PREVIOUS APPOINTMENT WITH THE MAYOR THEY WERE RECEIVED BY HIS SECRETARY WHO TOLD THEM THAT THE MAYOR'S OFFICE HAD BEEN INFORMED OF THE DEMONSTRATION BY THE CAPE TOWN POLICE.

The women elected a deputation to speak to the Mayor's secretary. The members were: Mesdames Elizabeth Mafeking, Nodi Claasen, Elizabeth Matlakatha, and Violet Poulos.

18 ARRESTED

The deputation said that the women of Paarl had been given until June 30 to prove that the term of their residence in the area did not warrant their expulsion. 18 women had been arrested immedi-

A HUNDRED CROWN WITNESSES IN '£ A DAY' CASE

Defence Wants to Know: 'With Whom did We Conspire?'

JOHANNESBURG.

The incitement case against 23 Congressmen and women has now entered its fourth week. It is now evident that the trial is going to drag on for several weeks more and will last much longer than had been expected. The crown still intends to call some ninety to a hundred more witnesses.

The main feature of last week's proceedings was that the prosecution insisted on leading evidence of actions of people who are unknown to the crown witnesses. One instance of this type of evidence was the allegation by certain African municipal employees who said that they had been assaulted on their way home during the "stay-

at-home" but they did not know who had assaulted them.

The crown has led similar evidence of unknown persons who made speeches or distributed leaflets in connection with the stay-at-home campaign. Such evidence the crown regards as admissible against the accused.

The defence has already protested vigorously against such evidence, claiming that actions of police agents could very well be used against the accused.

For the fourth time the defence applied through the court that the crown should submit further particulars if any relationship between the evidence now led and the actual charge facing the accused were to be established.

NO NAMES

Whilst the crown alleges conspiracy between the accused and the members of the Congresses, not a single name of any single Congressite has been given with whom the accused are supposed to have

conspired, said the defence.

The crown led evidence on the raid of the offices of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the seizure of minutes of committee meetings, but it still could not state with whom, where and when such conspiracy took place, the defence added.

Evidence was given of the raid on the Johannesburg offices of *New Age* where some documents and articles were seized in the presence of the Johannesburg editor Miss Ruth First.

OBJECTION

Dr. Lowen, for the defence, objected to this type of evidence on the grounds that Ruth First was not one of the persons the accused are supposed to have conspired with. He also objected to the handing in of notes which had been drafted for newspaper articles.

The evidence of speeches made at meetings by the accused has now been completed and evidence was led on their arrest.

One detective constable, Grove, admitted that his evidence had been untrue when he testified about the arrest of three of the Indian accused, the Bhana Brothers and Vawda.

NOT THERE

He said that he had seen them putting up the protest week and the "stay-at-home" posters in Fordsburg and he had made a note in his notebook on the wording of the posters. When he refreshed his memory from the note book he read that the poster he saw put up said "stay-at-home April 14th, 15th and 16th."

But when the defence went through his notebook and told him that there were no words to that effect, he agreed that his evidence was not correct.

The police also admitted that photographs of the posters, supposed to have been taken by them at the place where the three accused were putting them up, showed a different place altogether, and not the place where they were arrested.



MOKONE COMES HOME

STEVE "Kalamazoo" Mokone, South Africa's best black ambassador is back home. He landed at the Jan Smuts Airport last Thursday from Holland where he was playing professional football.

More than fifty enthusiastic soccer fans gave this great son of Africa a rousing welcome.

There were wild cheers when Mokone appeared and, wearing a broad and happy smile stood on the balcony and waved to the fans.

Mokone is the first Non-European to go overseas to play professional soccer. He left the Union in 1956 to play for Coventry City in England but later got a transfer to Holland where he played for the popular Heracles.

It was when he played for Heracles that Mokone showed his true colours. Not only did he become the star of his club but was the idol of Holland.

In Mokone we have a good soccer ambassador in countries where it is the merit not the colour of the skin that counts.

Mokone is now in search of pastures new. He is waiting for transfer to Spain. He intends playing for one of Spain's popular clubs—Valencia. During his stay in South Africa he will play in a number of matches.

KEEP NEW AGE ALIVE! SEND YOUR DONATION TODAY

CAPE TOWN ACCUSED ACQUITTED ON THREE COUNTS, FINED £2 ON FOURTH

THERE was laughter in the Wynberg Regional Court, Cape Town on Monday when an African policeman giving evidence for the crown gravely sang one of the ANC songs from the witness box. He was giving evidence against 23 Africans of Langa location who had been brought to trial on charges arising out of the April 14 Stay-at-Home campaign.

The accused originally faced four charges. Two of these incitement to strike and incitement to strike by way of protest against the pass laws were withdrawn by the prosecutor after argument.

Nineteen of the accused were eventually found guilty of contravening the Government Notice ban-

ning meetings of more than ten Africans, and were fined £2 or 10 days each by the Magistrate. The charges against the other three accused were withdrawn.

The Crown evidence was that the accused and others had marched in procession through the streets of Langa on the eve of April 14 singing Congress songs and calling upon the people of Langa not to go to work. At about 3 a.m. the accused were found sitting round a burning tyre, still singing Congress songs.

'AFRIKA!'

Asked by the Magistrate to repeat what the accused had said, a portly African policeman giving evidence drew himself up and startled

the Court by giving two vociferous cries of "Afrika!"

Then, to the delight of the accused and their friends sitting in the back of the Court, he suddenly serenaded the Magistrate with two finely sung verses of one of the Congress songs he had heard that night.

NO VIOLENCE

In his reasons for sentence the Magistrate said that he agreed with the defence that it had not been proved that the accused used any violence on the night in question.

The accused were represented by advocates H. Bloom, A. Sachs, W. Getz and L. Forman, all of whom were instructed by S. Kahn and Co.

HISTORY OF THE LIBERATORY MOVEMENT *By L. Forman*

THE WORKING CLASS IS BORN

THE liberation movement, whose leaders are today charged with treason, is a fusion of two streams into a mighty river.

The one stream is that of the oppressed 'non-white' national groups against the oppression of the dominant whites.

The second stream is the struggle of the working people against the bosses common to all industrial countries.

The purely national struggle has its source deep in the earliest history of modern South Africa beginning with the first futile battle in 1659 of the Khoi-Khoi (known to the whites as 'Hottentots'), led by Chief Autshumayo, against the seizure by Van Riebeck of the best pasture lands in their Cape Peninsula.

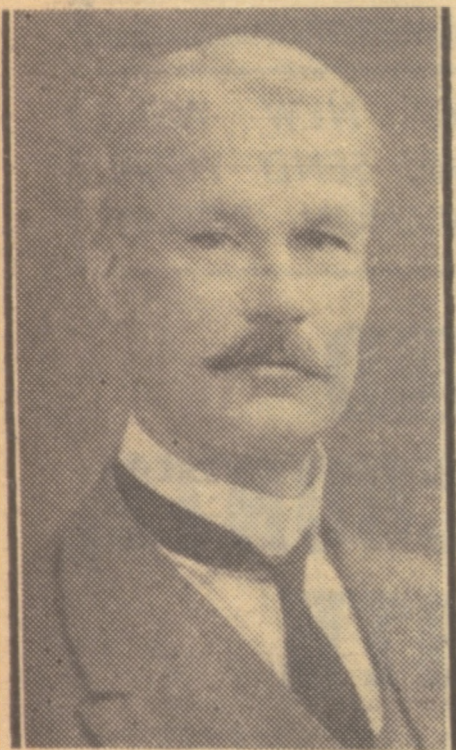
Until 1870 the basic conflict in South African society was this conflict between different national entities. And the root of that conflict was the struggle for control of the land.

Some of the names which stand out as landmarks in this struggle are Makana and Mosheshoe, Dingaan and Moselekatze, who fought back at the head of their people.

The whites, whenever they were strong enough to do so, seized all the good land. The Africans who had been there before were killed, driven away, or allowed to remain as servants or self-like squatters. Only areas which could not be seized or which were not worth seizing remained for the Africans. These later became the reserves.

By the third quarter of the 19th century this process of land seizure by the whites was almost complete.

What is now South Africa was little more than a collection of poor farming communities, and the country was of interest to the outside world only as a stopping place for merchant and military ships.



Bill Andrews—like a beacon.

In the 1870's the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley led to the transformation of the entire economy. Money and machinery poured into the country. Great railway and road projects began.

While it is not correct to say that South African history only started in 1870—for the nature of the national oppression of modern times was greatly influenced by the 200 years of struggle that had gone before—it is certainly correct to say that an entirely new epoch in our history began; that

there was a qualitative change from one form of society to another; that there was an economic revolution.

Capitalism

Until then almost everyone had made his living at work connected with farming and marketing farm produce. Now the industrial revolution began. Farming ceased to be the basis of the country's livelihood. Mining became that basis. A capitalist economy came into being.

With capitalism, a new class was born—the proletariat, that body of men who possess no way of earning their food except by selling their power to work in return for wages.

Kimberley in the 1870's was the source, beginning as a tiny trickle, of the second stream of struggle, running beside that of the struggle between the "non-white" and the white—the struggle of the working-class (irrespective of nationality) against the bosses (irrespective of nationality).

The mines needed men to dig and build and carry; the railways needed men, the ports needed men. The cry went out for black labour.

African Proletariat

At Kimberley the African proletariat was born. It was a most difficult birth. As if aware of the misery of the future the infant fought against those who would wrest him forth.

Previously it had been the struggle for land which had determined state policy, and the question of African labour was secondary.

With the industrial revolution the struggle for cheap African labour determined state policy and African land now became secondary. The land was no longer an end in itself but a means of driving the African out to work on mines, railways, docks and farms.

As long as the African was able to eke out an existence from his soil he saw no reason to go out and be the white man's labourer. He may well have argued that there was as much reason for the white man to come and work as his herdboy as there was for him to go and work as the white man's herdboy.

The life of the cheap black labourer was not very attractive. Wage rates—£6 a month plus lodgings on the diamond field, in 1882; 15/- to 25/- on Transkei farms in 1896; and about £3 per month at the Cape Town docks in the same year, were not sufficient to bring in the steady flow of labour required.

It was necessary to drive the African out to work—to create an African proletariat.

By definition a proletarian is a man who owns nothing but his power to work. The need of the rulers of South Africa then was to strip the African of all but his labour power, to take from him all rights to the land from which he could gain food or graze cattle.

This was done principally by ruinous taxation, laws against squatters; the introduction of individual tenure of land in the place of tribal tenure, and the abolition of freehold tenure.

Measures such as these could not easily be enforced by the relatively weak government of the Boer republics and Natal in the face of the African resistance that would arise. Because of this the Natal whites had to import cheap Indian labour thousands of miles across the seas and the Rand mine magnates to bring workers from China.

This was obviously an economic absurdity. A strong state machine

was required to drive out African labour. This was one of the main reasons for the move towards the merger of the separate South African states into the Union—one of whose first Acts was the Land Act, which, at the expense of immense suffering, deprived the African of all rights to the land and turned the Reserves into labour reservoirs.

The rulers of South Africa battled to drive the Africans out to become the labourers in industry. Such is the drama of history—the ruling class struggled so hard precisely in order to create the African working-class, the class which would inevitably one day challenge and take over from its creators.

White Workers

Ironically, while the white owners of the mines and industries were so eager to welcome the African workers—who were potentially their greatest class-foes, the white workers—who were brother proletarians—came to regard them with fear and hostility.

The diamond rush had led to a huge immigration of white workers from Europe hopeful of making a quick fortune.

The white immigrants, with their education and training, became, naturally, the skilled labour on the mines. Large numbers of Africans were recruited but they were, at first, merely fetchers and carriers for the white men. They were men who walked straight from a primitive tribal society into the industrial age. Completely illiterate, they had no comprehension at all of machinery, nor any tradition of industrial discipline. In tribal society, the tasks of the men had been milking the cows, erecting and defending the kraals, and sometimes hunting. The women had done all the farming, and it was only at about this time, when the plough was replacing the hoe that the African division of labour was altered and the men became active farmers.

First Trade Unions

The white workers—imbued with their strong British trade union tradition—began to form themselves into unions almost as soon as they settled into their jobs. A branch of England's Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners was established in Cape Town in 1881 and in Durban in 1882.

But it did not even enter the heads of the white workers to bring in the Africans as well.

At first this was not because the white workers saw the Africans as dangerous competitors—an approach which was to dominate their actions a few years later—but because they did not see the Africans as workers like themselves at all. They were like pack-horses, and their function was to carry burdens where the white man told them.

In the beginning, at Kimberley, there were thousands of little white and a few Coloured capitalists. Each one staked his claim, and, sometimes on a plot as small as seven square yards, each was a mine-owner and employer of African labour.

As the surface scratching gave way to deeper digging, the need for machinery and capital grew, and the process of amalgamation began.

By 1884 almost a whole capitalist cycle had been completed. The thousands of small white employers of labour had been pushed out of the capitalist class into the class which owned nothing but its power to work. The white proletariat had been born, and econo-

mically it was the brother of the black proletariat which it, in its small way, had exploited before.

If economics were a mechanical determiner of destinies, white and black worker would have stood together in class solidarity against the mine-owner. But it is not.

White Worker vs. Black

The white worker saw—and saw correctly—that as far as he was concerned the biggest potential danger was that the bosses would reduce him to the position of the black man. The black man received a pittance, and if he could do the white man's work for a pittance, the boss would surely employ black labour.

And while that would certainly benefit the black man it would equally certainly bring down the wages received by the white man.

It was the white workers' view that anybody who talked to them about the solidarity of all labour should have his head examined. For the short-term interests of the white and the black workers were sharply opposed, although their long-term interests were, and are, identical.

Most people concern themselves with their immediate interests and leave the distant future to look after itself. The white workers were no exception. They were willing to listen to the voice of those who, speaking of the solidarity of all workers, meant by that all white workers, and meant by it too, solidarity against anything which would strengthen the opportunity of the black worker to compete with the white and thus improve his lot.

The pattern was set for the hostility towards African advancement which has been the hallmark of the majority of white trade unionists—against which stand out like beacons the names of many advanced white workers' leaders.

most famous of them, Bill Andrews, who have fought against all odds for the recognition of the fact that the white and black workers are brothers.

Symbolically, the very first strike recorded in South African history was a strike by the white workers against the very first attempt by the employers to reduce them to the level of the Africans.

The First Strike

After each shift the mine-owners required the black workers to strip naked and submit to a search for stolen diamonds. When, in 1883, the mine-owners announced their intention to extend this system to include the European and Coloured diggers as well, the men went on strike, on October 15, 1883.

After over a year of sporadic labour stoppages, riots, and, on one occasion, a bloody affray in which eight workers were shot dead and forty others wounded by mine police guards, the owners finally abandoned the proposal.

The white working-class made a very great contribution to the progressive movement. It brought to South Africa the experience of trade union solidarity and struggle which had been gained at the cost of immense suffering and heroism in Britain. Its militant strikes and bloody wage-battles set an example from which the African workers were quick to learn.

The white workers brought with them the techniques of class struggle, techniques which the Africans were quickly to add to those which they themselves had learnt in the course of their national struggle.

Thus at Kimberley was seen the first bubbling of the little river of working-class struggle, running beside the little river of national struggle and beginning the course along which they were together to become a mighty torrent.

**NEXT WEEK:
THE FIRST NON-EUROPEAN
POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS.**

UP MY ALLEY

● PYJAMA GAME

OH, those naughty window displays!

A "realist" in P.E. has been complaining, a Les Undesirables, about the nighties seen displayed in shop windows. "Feminine night apparel of a very intimate nature."

Such displays must have a "very undesirable effect on our vast Native population" chirps this bird.

YOU, WOLF, YOU. I BET YOU SIMPLY ENJOY YOUR WINDOW SHOPPING.

● HOT TIP

SAW a picture of a top hat in the local daily the other day. Nice grey one, too. Not that I fancy top hats.

But who do you think was under the hat?

NONE OTHER THAN "ONSE" ABIE BLOOMBERG, POSING FOR THE CAMERA AT THE ASCOT RACE-TRACK IN ENGLAND.

Well, well, the Coloured people's "rep" taking time off to hand out tips for the sport of kings.

I WONDER WHAT THOSE POOR, KICKED-ABOUT, HARD-WORKING, BELOW THE BREADLINE VOTERS THINK ABOUT IT.

● STALE NEWS

TALKING about bread, figures tell me that the old cost of living is going higher and higher. Was higher at the end of May than it ever was before, with retail prices climbing from 209.5 last year to 218.6 this year.

I suppose the speech from the throne on July 4 will use up a

By ALEX
LA GUMA



whole hour in order to tell us simply: "Tighten your belts, people."

ME, I'M LOOKING FORWARD TO THE TIME WHEN PEOPLE START TAKING OFF THOSE BELTS AND GIVE SOMEBODY A GOOD LAMBASTING.

● FOREIGN AID

OO! I could hardly believe my ears.

Imagine workers toddling along to the Special Branch and asking their advice in the choice of a trade-union secretary.

Well, believe it or not, it happened in Port Elizabeth.

They even had the race and sex of the secretary worked out, too—European female.

THEY DIDN'T GET WHAT THEY WANTED, BUT IF THE OTHER WORKERS S()AT ON THEM, WELL, THEY ASKED FOR IT.

● ISM

POLITICAL language appears to have adopted another word. A French politician the other day spoke about "Fascists and parachutists."

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