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BANS AND DEPORTATIONS .

You will recall that soon after that memorable conference which we had at Uitenhage , the government of this country through its appropriate ministers took , against some of our most prominent members , certain steps designed to cripple the work of our organisation . In the first place two of our most trusted leaders , namely Dr. J. L. Z. Njongwe - our Vice-President - and Mr. R. M. Matji , our Provincial Secretary, were banned and were called upon to resign from the A.N.C. and a number of other organisations apparently chosen at random by the powers that be. It is not necessary for me to remind you about the valuable services which these Sons of Africa had rendered to our organisation in the Cape. One day when the story of the freedom movement in South Africa is fully told, as it must and will be , their names will rank high among those who by their selfless devotion and their undoubted gift for leadership advanced our cause by an appreciable amount . No tribute that we can pay them can be too high . It is of course impossible for any Minister to ban anybody from the A.N.C. ^{in any real sense.} As far as the A.N.C. is concerned these Sons of Africa are still members of our organisation with their names written indelibly not on bits of paper which can be confiscated but in the hearts of their people where they are beyond the reach of governmental interference . Their enforced inactivity speaks louder to the members of the A.N.C. than any actions of their own . The banning of these Sons of Africa was followed by the deportation from East London of Mr. A.S. Gwentshe and Mr. S.M. Lengisi , without bringing any charge founded or unfounded against them the Governor-General exercising the powers granted to him under that notorious law - the Native Administration Act 38 of 1927 - "to remove any Native from any place to any other place " , decided to remove them to different parts of the Northern Transvaal , there to live among people among whom they would presumably be unable to exercise any influence in favour of the principles for which the A.N.C.

stands . Deportation is one of the severest penalties which can be imposed on an individual because he is separated from the members of his family and is deprived of his ~~normal means of livelihood~~ It is a form of punishment which is designed to break the spirit of the individual concerned and to convert him into a sort of spineless individual . But African heroes who have had this treatment meted out to them have not reacted as they were expected to . They have proved themselves true Sons of Africa able to adapt themselves to any area to which they have been sent and to preach the gospel of freedom wherever they have gone . Set down among people whose languages and customs were strange to them , they have found that the language of freedom is intelligible to oppressed people's everywhere . The result is that our colleague A.S. Gwentshe has had to be removed from the area to which he was originally sent to another where it is hoped his message will be less effective . There can be no doubt as to what will happen there . While I am on this subject I want to remind you about the duty we owe to those members . As you know efforts are being made by the A.N.C. to secure the rescission by the Supreme Court of these deportation orders which we believe to be of doubtful legality . The response of our branches to our appeal for contributions towards the cost of these applications has been very gratifying but we must not lose sight of the fact that provision ~~must~~ also be made for maintenance and support of our deported friends and any donations specially earmarked for this purpose will be appreciated and will be forwarded to them without delay . Finally on the subject of bans and deportations I want to refer to the confinement of our President-General , Chief A.J. Luthuli to the district of Lower Tugela and to the ban imposed on our Secretary-General W.M. Sisulu . It has been said that ^{it is} the tallest trees that have to bear the force of the strongest blasts of the winds . In the wilderness which comprises the South Africa in which we live today the A.N.C. has had more than its fair share of tall trees which have had to bear the blasts of this stormy period *in our history* .

But not only has the hand of the government of the Whites rested heavily upon the leaders to whom I have referred and upon others to whom I could refer - our hats go off to all of them - but the ordinary common people have also felt the slings ^{and arrows} of the outrageous fortune which is theirs in the land of their birth . Need I remind you about what has happened in the Western Areas of Johannesburg - the City of Gold which would have been nothing but a mudheap but for the blood ,sweat and toil of thousands upon thousands of Africans . For generations the flower of African youth have gone down into the bowels of the earth there to run the gauntlet of industrial diseases , mutilating accidents and cruel masters in order to bring to the surface the wealth which has made Johannesburg the richest city on the African continent . There in that City for which thousands of them have made the supreme sacrifice , the Africans found themselves both wanted and unwanted ,with no place in which they can have a secure and a permanent home . From the Western Areas in which they have lived under indescribable conditions of filth and squalor for reasons beyond their control they are now being bundled out at the point of the gun to Meadowlands with ^{greater} no prospect of security . As sure as the sun rises in the East and in a few years time some new pretext will be conjured up for removing them from Meadowlands to some other area . Not even in the sky is the African safe from the designs of those who will not rest as long as there is some African who has some place in which he can lay his head. ~~in rest~~ Africans who had no more respectable place in which they could be housed than the roofs of flats have become guilty of the offence of creating "locations in the sky" and they are to be bundled out of those roofs into the "site and service" nigger-heavens which are being created in different parts of the country .

Not only in the Western areas of Johannesburg but everywhere where Africans have settled down ,acquired properties at great cost to themselves and built themselves such homes as their meagre resources permitted , they are confronted with the spectre of compulsory removal . ^{Laterly} It is not only Africans who are being subjected to this sense of insecurity .

We in the A.N.C. have ~~always~~ maintained that the type of treatment meted out to Africans constitutes the yardstick for the rights of other sections of the population. In the past other sections of the population enjoyed better rights than the Africans and some of them were inclined to adopt an air of superiority towards Africans. They appeared to believe that what happened to Africans could never happen to them. Instead of helping Africans to protect and defend their meagre rights as they were systematically whittled down by legislation year after year, they left them to their own devices and acquiesced in the gradual diminution of their rights. When Africans lost their land rights in 1913, it looked as if only Africans could be treated in that way. When Africans lost their franchise rights in 1936 many of the people who in 1955 are busy organising protest meetings about the entrenched clauses of the constitution were only too glad to give the government of the day the necessary two-thirds majority to deprive Africans of their rights. After all only African rights were involved. It never occurred to them then that the entrenched clauses represented a pledge of honour to defenceless and voiceless people. Depriving mere "Kaffirs" of their rights was not such a bad thing after all and some of their so-called friends spared no effort in an attempt to persuade Africans then that the system of separate representation introduced in 1936 was better than the franchise of the Common roll which they had enjoyed before. In 1955 it is not only the Coloureds who are faced with the prospect of being given "something better" than they have had hitherto. Other sections of the population will be given a taste of "something better". The Appellate Division Quorum Bill and the Senate Bill and others still to come constitute a "writing on the wall" which needs no Daniel to interpret. The mills of Justice like those of God grind slowly but they grind exceeding fine. The white people in the Transkei who for generations have lived in perfect safety among millions of Africans and have been treated like princes on every hand — did they ever speak when their African friends were being deprived of one right after another? No, every deprivation which the Africans suffered only served to widen the

the gulf between them and the Africans until the Transkei became as apartheid-ridden as any other part of our so-called sovereign state . Today for them also the writing is on the wall . For their comfort they have been assured that for them there will be no compulsory removal , but a gradual diminution or elimination of white interests in the Transkei .

There will no doubt be some Africans who will be taken in by this move to the extent of believing that it represents some sort of gain for the Africans ; there will be a few extra trading licences here and there , a post here or a post there for some African , but on balance this action will do nothing more than pile one wrong upon another . The A.N.C. representing a people who have had more than their fair share of wrongs in this country has no hesitation in saying that a few doubtful "rights" in the Transkei can never make up for what Africans have lost and are losing in the country as a whole . Our claims are not a few miserable privileges in a corner of South Africa but for full citizenship rights in South Africa as a whole . Our opposition to the Transkei proposal is not based on any doubt regarding the ability of the African to govern himself , on the contrary it is because we believe that the Africans together with freedom loving persons from other groups can and should govern the whole country , that we are not prepared to accept this geographical circumscription of his right to share in the government of the country .

Other disabilities which hitherto seemed reserved for Africans but which are gradually being extended to other sections of the population include the pass system , euphemistically called population registration in the case of non-Africans ; the regulation of departure from the Union ; the grant to the police of the right of entry to all , not only African , public meetings ; the banning from attendance at gatherings and from membership of certain organisations ; the denial to teachers of the right to take part in public affairs ; the surveillance of the activities of certain individuals by members of the Special Branch of the C.I.D. including tampering with correspondence

and the tapping of telephone conversations . These are everyday occurrences to which the Africans have become , in a sense , accustomed , and , whether these are evidences of a Police State or not they are certainly the marks of what someone has called the prison house which was once our country .

But easily the biggest thing that has happened to Africans since last we met has been the transfer of African schools to the control of the Bantu Education Division of the Native Affairs Department since April 1, 1955 . It is common knowledge that the object of this transfer is to make Bantu Education the handmaiden of the policy of white supremacy . We have been reminded ad nauseam that permanent white baaskap is to be the keynote of the Union Native policy . That policy cannot of course , become permanent unless it is accepted by the people on whom it is imposed . Some method must therefore be devised of conditioning the African to make baaskap acceptable to him . On the principle that the child is father to the man the apostles of baaskap believe that if they can condition the African ^{child} through a special system of education prepared for him , if they can give him the right environmental and other studies , he will grow up into a man who will willingly accept the status accorded to him by his white masters . Now a systematic process of conditioning to control the minds of people in such a way as to make them react the way they are expected to is quite a possible thing . A process of conditioning combined with a systematic control of the mass media of communication such as the Press , the wireless , literature , the cinema etc. plus the rigid stamping out of all those who deviate from the official policy can produce the necessary servility in the population for which it is intended . It has been done before with highly civilised and educated nations . It was done in Nazi Germany . It was done in Fascist Italy and Fascist Spain . Even in the so-called free countries , it is common knowledge that the mass media of communication and propaganda are widely used to destroy freedom of opinion, speech and action . Independent thinking has always been regarded by rulers as a dangerous thing to encourage among the common people . I

In other words looked at from the point of view of the believers in baaskap it is logical for them to take the African schools from the voluntary agencies such as churches and other organisations which are not

necessarily amenable to the dictates of the baaskap school of thought and to place them in the care of handpicked Africans who are prepared to play ball with their masters. ~~and~~ The officers of the government have been at pains to explain that "Bantu" education will in no way be inferior to the education previously given to Africans. In fact they go so far as to say that no system of education could be worse than the system that has hitherto existed in African schools. Be that as it may. What no officer has dared to contradict is that the new system is intended to do better what the previous system had not been able to do well enough for the liking of the apostles of Apartheid, namely to produce a race of docile Africans willing to accept the status accorded to them by the laws of the white man.

Now the African National Congress does not and never will accept the concept of white supremacy. The white man can go on believing that he is a superior being if he is content to subscribe to illusions which fly in the face of reality. But when he wants the Africans themselves to accept these illusions, it is necessary for us to remind him, that we have lived long enough with him in this country to know that he is just an ordinary mortal no better and no worse than the ordinary run of men. The African National Congress is opposed to the system of Bantu Education because of the principles and policies underlying it. It is not going to be misled by the elaborate facade of so-called "history making" Bantu School Boards, School committees, Secretaries, sub-inspectorships etc. Nor is it impressed by the glowing reports regarding the ready co-operation of Africans of all grades in the new system of education. Every scheme designed to deprive Africans of their rights has always been accompanied by similar fanfares of trumpets, but with the passage of time its real nature has come to light and the propaganda has turned out to be sound and fury signifying nothing but misery. The South Africa Act, the Natives Land Act of 1913, the Native Affairs Act 1920, The Natives Urban Areas Act 1923, The Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925, the Natives Representation Act of 1936,

the Natives Land and Trust Act, 1936 , the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 -- and all were supposed to usher in the millenium , but the Africans who have to live under these laws alone know what they have meant and have done to African society .

The African National Congress is quite unrepentant in its attitude towards all these laws and will continue to fight against them . The same applies to the Bantu Education Act . But in our campaign against these laws we must remember that we are engaged in a long struggle . Any idea that victory will be obtained overnight is wishful thinking of the worst type . We are dealing with a well organised powerful and relentless group which will stop at nothing to achieve its aims . We have deliberately chosen non-violence as the basis of our method of struggle , a method which requires a high degree of discipline and a highly developed sense of responsibility .

Various methods have been suggested for dealing with the situation created by the Bantu Education Act .

In the first place Africans throughout the country whether they belong to the A.N.C. or not are unanimous in condemning the principles and the policies underlying "Bantu" Education . There are no Africans who believe in the idea that their children should be sent to school in order that they should become better servants of the white man . For them as for all parents their object in sending their children to school is to enable them to prepare themselves for a wider not a narrower sphere of life, for an enhanced not a lower status , for greater freedom and not for more subservience . How then are Africans going to prevent their children from suffering the fate that is prescribed for them ?

There are those who say that Bantu Education should be fought against from within . In other words what is suggested here is that African parents , teachers and children should, while appearing to accept Bantu Education , engage in a widespread

campaign of sabotage of the system . The members of the school committees and school boards should discharge their duties in such a way as to make the system unworkable . The teachers should expose every untruth contained in the syllabus they are supposed to follow and ~~insure~~^{insure} the children they teach with the spirit of freedom and opposition to the conception of white supremacy . In this way it is believed the whole superstructure of Bantu Education would eventually crumble like the walls of Jericho . To those who intend to fight Bantu Education in this way we can only say that we do not envy them the chameleon-like role which they have chosen to play . We can only wait and see how they will preserve their will to fight from within .

Then we have the cynical school of thought which consists of individuals who intend to make the most of any benefits , material or otherwise, that happen to be associated with the new system of Bantu Education . For them it does not really matter what the content of Bantu Education is . They are concerned with making the most of it while they can by feathering their own nests and clearing out as soon as they have to . Such individuals , of course , make no pretence of fighting against Bantu Education but want to exploit it to the full for their personal benefit . Any African who can gain any advantage out of the whiteman is welcome to it , but when he does so at the expense of his fellow Africans , he must remember that the sufferings of his people will be on his head . So members of school committees and school boards, make the most of such opportunities as are to be had . Teachers and supervisors, take the promotions which are available under the new system but remember that man does not live by bread alone and beware of selling the birthright of your children for a mess of apartheid pottage .

Then there are others who look upon the new system of education as providing the African people with an opportunity of capturing the whole school system by getting into all the ~~big~~ key positions in school committees, boards, staffs etc. and once having done that turning the whole system into a powerful arm of the liberation movement. This will I suppose call for the creation of a kind of Broederbond to direct this necessarily underground movement.

The African National Congress has adopted the total withdrawal of African children from Bantu Schools as a method of fighting against the Bantu Education Act. The A.N.C. has, as usual not indulged in any condemnation of those who have decided on the different ways of fighting Bantu Education mentioned above, but has rather put forward its own programme. This is to embark on a campaign of persuading African parents to withdraw their children from schools under the control of Dr. Verwoerd and the establishment of alternative cultural, recreational and social activities for such children. In doing this the A.N.C. has as usual chosen the hard road. That this road is not an easy one has been realised by those who, understandably impatient to be rid of Bantu Education as soon as possible, decided to embark upon spontaneous local campaigns. The experience gained from the campaigns conducted in Benoni and other areas have made it plain that a mighty organisational effort is required if the A.N.C. is to achieve success in this campaign. We shall have to close our ranks, get rid of mutual recriminations among ourselves, beware of the activities of agents-provocateurs whose aim is to produce division and confusion, and to intensify our propaganda efforts and follow the directives of our National Executive. It will be for this conference to consider ways and means of making this campaign the effective blow for freedom which it ought to be.

For its success this campaign will naturally depend upon the co-operation of African parents . If we fail to persuade them that withdrawal is the right road to take , we shall have to consider alternative methods of defeating the Bantu Education Act , but defeat it we must .

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that the A.N.C. stands for full educational opportunities for African children . The A.N.C. has always been in the forefront of the battle for better educational facilities for African children , better terms and conditions of service for African teachers and a greater share of responsibility for African parents as far as management and control of schools for their children is concerned . The A.N.C. stands for free, compulsory education and the assumption of ~~state~~ financial responsibility by the state for the education of African children in the same way as is done in the case of children of other sections of the population . Under the Bantu Education as you know , the Union government has not accepted responsibility for the financing of the education of African children but has limited its responsibility to an amount of 6 and a half Million pounds . The government has given itself the right of 100% control of African schools . Nobody will be allowed to run a school as defined in the Act for African children unless he has the permission of the Minister of Native Affairs to do so . The right of any group of parents to establish a school for their children and to raise funds for this purpose has been taken away from them . Many an African child has begun his education in a private school of this type . With a population such as ours where the majority of children of school going age (60%) have no school facilities the right of people to be free to add to the meagre facilities for their children is of great importance .

The status of the teachers under the Bantu Education Act

is worse than that of any group of unskilled workers . From being a respectable profession teaching in African schools has become almost menial . Teachers have been converted into yes-men to all and sundry , who must look over their shoulders everytime they wish to express an opinion on public affairs . These men and women who by their devotion to duty and self-sacrificing service are largely responsible for ^{the} progress which has to date been made in African education are in the future to be treated as if they constitute a potentially "subversive" element . We have full confidence that the majority of African teachers will ignore the ridiculous regulations framed for them under the Bantu Education Act and get on with the business of educating the African child for a free society and not for a slave society as contemplated by the Act . Although they will have to keep their mouths shut, nobody except themselves can keep their hearts closed as far as ^{concerns} the welfare of their people , who will not be unaware of which teachers are with them and which against them .

Dr. Verwoerd , who has confidence in his own word has threatened that every African child withdrawn from school as a result of boycott opposition ~~with~~ to the Bantu Education will be refused all further educational opportunities or rather will be denied such opportunities as he has to offer .

As you know in the Transvaal over 7,000 children in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{EAST} Rand have been placed in this position and in spite of tearful pleas by deputations of so-called "leaders" who find pride themselves ~~in~~ having lost the will to fight for their rights which they say they once had , Dr. Verwoerd has turned a deaf ear to all their appeals and advised them to go to the A.N.C. and ask the A.N.C. to withdraw its boycott resolution which is hanging like a sword of Damocles over African schools . These emissaries of Dr. Verwoerd have not yet approached the A.N.C. but they had better be prepared for the reception they will receive . The

A.N.C. is not in the habit of allowing its policy to be dictated by ministerial threats . The withdrawal resolution was adopted by the National Conference of the A.N.C. , our supreme legislative body and only that body can decide whether or not to abandon that resolution , and my suspicion is that the activities and threats of the Minister of Native Affairs will strengthen rather than weaken the determination of the A.N.C. to go on with its campaign . 60% of the African children of school-going age are without educational facilities of any sort , and we are not impressed by Dr. Verwoerd's decision to deny a further 7,000 children all further educational opportunity . As the years pass under the ~~new~~ dispensation even our deputation friends will come to realise that education for ignorance ~~is~~ and for inferiority in Verwoerd's schools is ~~much~~ worse than no education at all . It is the future of the African child , not the present , which must be safeguarded . The African fight for the education of the children has been a long and painful one . That fight has been concerned not only with the erection of school buildings which have largely been provided out of the meagre resources of the people . For many years African parents had to provide the money for the payment of teachers' salaries and for the provision of equipment by means of school fees and contributions to concerts and other fund-raising efforts organised by the teachers . It is only recently that Africans have been relieved of the burden of paying school-fees and other charges . African parents have also had to fight to see that ~~that~~ their children are not fobbed off with an inferior system of education . They have had to be vigilant and to examine every new scheme introduced into African educational system to satisfy themselves whether it was a forward or a backward step . Every move which they have regarded as backward move has in the long run been defeated by the people . Attempts have been made in the past to give us medical aids instead of medical doctors ; agricultural demonstrators instead of agricultural officers ; school farms instead of schools ; native teachers certificates instead

teachers certificates . Some of these specially adapted courses have been successfully imposed on the African , others have had to be abandoned . But in every case the African has had to put up a fight for his education . The position which has been created by the Bantu Education Act is nothing new . It is simply a more comprehensive and ruthless ^{more} attack on the African educational system which will set the clock back for many years but which will not deter us from our main purpose , namely to fight for the placing of the education of the African child on a sound basis . That basis will be determined by the African people themselves who will co-operate with schemes which are for their benefit but will withhold their co-operation from schemes which are designed to make them into tools ~~for~~ the ends of others . Some people are of course overwhelmed by the fact that the government possessed the funds necessary to enable ^{it} to carry out their schemes and the people themselves have not got the money to enable them to fight ~~back~~ . But money is not everything . People in different parts of the world , not excluding South Africa , have shown before now that financial resources and the instruments of force are not sufficient to overcome a people's will to resist what they believe is not in their interest . For that reason we are not afraid of the Bantu Education Act ; we know that in the long run it will be defeated by the will of the people to resist the evil doctrine of white supremacy .

The African National Congress stands for a free South Africa for a free people who enjoy equal rights whatever their colour , race or creed . It is for that reason that we are opposed to the narrow nationalism which would seek to create a caste society in South Africa with an apex of a minority of so-called rational-minded whites ~~through~~ with various grades of

underlings ranging from so-called un-national minded whites through Coloureds , ,Indians, and down to Africans below them . That kind of South Africa has no future in the modern world . Slowly but surely the people of South Africa will come to realise that they have been led up a blind alley far too long and that they must make a right-about-turn and march out of this separationist blind alley into the larger freedom which is the destiny of man . The mighty Congress of the People to be held in Johannesburg this month is a step in that direction . There a vast concourse of peoples drawn from every racial group and from every part of the country will gather and will speak freely to South Africa and to the world about the kind of South Africa they would like to see established in this country . The Freedom Charter which they will draw up will sound a dream to the reactionary elements which have been in the ascendancy for too long in this country , but the vision which the Congress of the People will set before the people of South Africa will with the passage of time become clearer and clearer and will set before all goals for which to strive in the years that lie ahead . We congratulate all those who have worked hard to bring this campaign to a successful culmination and wish the Congress of the People the success their efforts deserve . Unlike the exclusively white Parliament which is just about to conclude a session in which it has as usual broadcast dragons teeth from which this unhappy land will reap an ever more doleful crop , this Parliament of the People will we have no doubt send a message of hope to every home in South Africa .

The present session of parliament has been remarkable for the manner in which the ruling party has exposed the nakedness of the policies of the opposition parties and especially that of the United Party , which has not yet learnt the lesson

that they will never return to power by trying to out-Nationalist the Nationalists . Only a party with a policy diametrically opposed to that of the Nationalists party will ever remove them from office . No such party has yet emerged from among the people who enjoy ^{the} franchise in South Africa . Such a party when it eventually does emerge will probably be in the wilderness for some time , but it will be the only party with a future in S.A. and will constitute a genuine alternative government to that of the Nationalist party . It is such a party and such a party alone which will be able to preserve South Africa not for white civilisation , but for civilisation as such .

In conclusion I should like to say a word of thanks to the members and officials of all branches of the African National Congress as well as to the members of the Provincial Executive for the manner in which they have performed their duties throughout the year . They have laboured under great difficulties . In many centres public authorities have done all they could to hamper the work of the organisation through the prohibition of public meetings , through police interference with our meetings , by removing our members and officials through bannings and deportations and by involving our members in litigation over trivial offences , all of which actions might have intimidated a less determined people . But our organisation has gone from strength to strength . Our membership continues to increase and the message of freedom which we preach continues to win adherents even beyond the ranks of our paid-up membership . We know that those who are not against us are for us but we are out to save them even those who are against us, from the bondage in which they would like to keep all of us - the bondage of mutual fear and insecurity in the land of our birth . I would be failing in my duty if I did not conclude with a personal word of thanks for the loyalty and confidence which you have reposed in me during my term of office and my colleagues in the

provincial executive will agree with me when I say that as we lay down our offices we hope you will show the same loyalty to the new executive which is to be elected at this Conference and thus maintain the proud record of the A.N.C. (Cape Province) in the fight for the liberation of South Africa . This does not ~~mean~~ ^{mean} that we can afford to rest on our laurels . There are many things which require to be put right in our organisation so as to make it a more effective fighting force . We must examine and re-examine our machinery with a view to removing from it all the things that clog the wheels of progress . You have shown in the past that this can be done and we appeal to you for greater efforts in the future . Mayibuye .

[Faint, illegible handwritten notes and stamps, possibly including a date and a signature.]

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RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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