

APPENDIX 2

CONSCRIPTION AND CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION - A CHRONOLOGY

1914: There is no conscription when the Botha-Smuts government decides to go to war against Germany. Boer generals like De Wet, De la Rey and Beyers lead an unsuccessful rebellion against the South African government.

1939: The Smuts government goes to war against Germany and Italy. There is no conscription and military service outside of South Africa during the war is voluntary. Those members of the forces who agreed to fight outside South Africa wore orange flashes. Most members of the current National Party (the government party), including several prominent members of the government today, were openly pro-Nazi. 40 years later those who stood on their democratic right to dissent from going to war with Hitler refuse a similar right to dissenters in the 1980s.

1961 - 1964: Conscription is introduced on a ballot basis in 1961. 7000 men are conscripted for nine months service. There was no allowance made for conscientious objection in law, but non-combatant status was granted to members of "peace" (pacifist) churches (Jehova's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists, Plymouth Bretheren, Quakers and Christadelphians).

- Before the introduction of conscription the Defence budget was R44 million.

1964 - 1967: In 1964 the number of conscripts increased to 16 500 and the Defence budget increased to R210 million.

- A number of Jehova's Witnesses go into military Detention Barracks for refusing to serve at all because they did not recognise state authority. At this stage sentences are for 3 months in DB and could be repeated.

- A trickle of politically motivated Conscientious Objectors (CO's) went into exile.

1967: Universal military conscription is introduced for all white males of 17 years old for 9 months service

1970: The maximum sentence for Conscientious Objectors is increased to 15 months, with limited accommodation for "Peace church" COs (if their sentence was for 12 months or more then they could not be called up again and they were allowed to wear blue overalls instead of military uniform).

1972: National service is extended to 12 months, plus annual 19 day camps for five years.

- Defence budget increases to R 300 million.
- First serious recruitment of blacks into the SADF.

1974: The SADF takes over from the South African Police in Northern Namibia.

- the non-"Peace churches" begin taking up the issue of conscientious objection. The South African Council of Churches makes the following policy statement:

"The National Conference of the SACC points out that the military forces of our society are being prepared to defend an unjust and discriminatory society, and that the threat of military force is already used to defend the status quo ... The conference calls on its member churches to challenge all their members to consider whether Christ's call to take up the cross and follow him in identifying with the oppressed does not in our situation, involve being conscientious objectors".

- The government responds by introducing Section 121 C of the Defence Act making it a crime to encourage anyone not to serve in the SADF.

1975: South Africa launches a "secret" invasion of Angola in support of Unita and the FNLA. The government denies its presence in Angola for several months before admitting it. The SADF troops are repulsed by the combined MPLA and Cuban forces.

1976: Soweto uprising. Within a year between 600 and 1000 black people are killed and thousands more are injured - mainly by the police. Thousands of black youth flee the country to join the ANC. Troops are mobilised throughout the country and according to some reports are used in the black townships.

- Official Defence expenditure increases to R1,3 billion (over 20 percent of the budget and 5,5 percent of the Gross National Product).
- Three month operational camps are introduced.

1977: Conscription is extended to two years plus annual thirty day camps for eight years.

- The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference makes the following policy statement:

"In this matter of conscientious objection we defend the right of every individual to follow their own conscience; the right therefore to conscientious objection on the grounds of universal pacifism and on the grounds that the person seriously believes the war to be unjust".

- The SACC and SACBC stands were followed by statement supporting the right to conscientiously object from the Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches.

- In December 1977 Anton Eberhard, a Presbyterian and a pacifist, becomes the first non-peace church CO. He is sentenced to 12 months in DB, with 10 months suspended for refusing a three month camp.

1978: The law is changed making peace church COs liable for up to 36 months in DB (with no further call-ups after the sentence is served). For other objectors it was two years or a fine of R2 000 or both. Non-peace church COs could be called up again and were not granted CO status. Since then nearly 1000 COs a year from the peace churches (mainly Jehova's Witnesses) have been charged.

- Since then about 1000 conscripts a year have gone into exile.

1979: The ANC begins to attack military and police targets and steps up its guerilla campaign in South Africa.

- The SADF annual intake rises to 30 000.
- The Defence budget passes the two billion rand mark.

Peter Moll, a university academic and a Baptist, conscientiously objects on religious and political grounds using the argument that the

SADF is engaged in an unjust war. He is sentenced to 18 months in DB, reduced to 12 months, for refusing a three month camp.

- Conscientious Objector Support Groups are formed in Cane Town, Durban and Johannesburg. COSGs are later formed in Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth.

1980: Widespread uprisings herald the emergence of a broad-based non-racial movement of resistance. Troops are used in townships to assist the police.

- The SADF begins establishing "homeland" armies.
- Richard Steel, a Baptist and universal pacifist, objects on religious and politically-related grounds. He is sentenced to 18 months in DB, with six months suspended, for refusing to do his initial service.

1981: In January the SADF launches a raid into Maputo, killing a soldier, a civilian and several ANC guerillas.

- In May Charles Yeats, an Anglican and universal pacifist, is sentenced to a year in DB for refusing to do his initial service and then in December to a second year for refusing to wear a regulation uniform.

1982: Conscription is extended to two years service plus 720 days camps over the next 12 years plus 12 days camps a year up to the age of 55, after which the conscript is placed on the national reserve - a possible total of four years and nine months military service.

- The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) begins taking up the issues of militarisation and conscientious objection as a major focus of their activity and on some campuses forms broad-based Conscription Action Groups.

- In February Mike Vivieros, a Baptist teacher and a universal pacifist, objects on religious and political grounds. He is sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for refusing his initial national service.

- In July, Neil Mitchell, a teacher and a Roman Catholic pacifist is sentenced to one year in DB for refusing to do his initial service and then to another six months for refusing to wear regulation uniform.

- In October 1982 Billy Paddock, an Anglican who is an engineer and a journalist, objects on political and religious grounds using the Just War argument. He is sentenced to one year in prison for refusing his initial service.

- In December the SADF launches the Maseru raid killing 42 people,

mainly civilians.

1983: The United Democratic Front is formed uniting over 600 community organisations in a campaign against apartheid laws. Among other things the UDF campaigns for an end to conscription.

- The ANC carries out 56 guerilla attacks, according to the Institute of Strategic Studies in Pretoria.
- In May the SADF again raids Mozambique, killing 17 people and injuring over 200 in Maputo.
- In October 1983 the SADF again raids Maputo, injuring 4 people in the ANC offices.

In January 1983 Etienne Essory, a journalist, becomes the first person to object with no religious affiliations. He is sentenced to four months in jail for refusing to do his third camp.

- In February 1983 Adrian Paterson, a scientist and an Anglican pacifist, objects and is sentenced to four months imprisonment for refusing to do his initial service.

- In March 1983 Peter Hathorn objects on just war political grounds. He is sentenced to two years imprisonment reduced to one year for refusing to do his initial service.

- In September 1983 Paul Dobson, a teacher, objects on political grounds. He is sentenced to one year in prison for refusing to continue with his initial service after having served for 14 months.

- In November 1983 Brett Myrdal, a student and Nusas leader, objects on political grounds in a high profile campaign. On the morning of his trial a postponement is announced to allow for the introduction of a new law.

- In November 1983 a new law is introduced providing for up to six years alternative service for religious pacifists and for up to six years in prison for all other objectors.

- In December 1983 the first ECC branches are set up following a call from the Black Sash calling for an end to conscription.

1984: The 1984/5 Defence budget increases by 21 percent from the previous year to R3,755 billion.

- Coloured and Indian elections for the new tri-cameral parliament are boycotted by 83 percent of potential voters. The government's announcements that it intends to conscript coloureds and Indians contributes to the low poll and the UDF campaigns vigorously around the issue.
- Conscription is extended to all immigrant males over the age of 25 who

have been in the country for more than three years.

- In September 1984 high rents and corrupt black town councillor spark off the "Vaal uprising". By the end of the year about 200 people had been killed by the police and army after the "unrest" spreads throughout the country.

- In October 1984 7000 troops and police occupy the township of Sebokeng and later other townships in the Transvaal. Among other things they carry out mass raids and conduct house-to-house searches.

- The SADF conducts a major offensive into Angola ("Operation Askari").

- 1596 conscripts fail to report for national service.

- 16 421 people emigrate from South Africa, many to avoid military service.

- The End Conscription Campaign experienced rapid growth and carries out several successful national campaigns.

1985: SADF troops occupy at least 30 townships throughout the country and assist police and other apartheid officials with forced removals, squatter camp demolitions, mass raids, road blocks and house-to-house searches as well as with suppressing "unrest".

- Two SADF troops are killed and one captured in Cabinda in Angola at a time when South Africa said its troops had left this area. The captured soldier, Captain Du Toit, confirms the Angolan government's version that the troops were attempting to blow up the American-owned Cabinda oil refinery.

- In September SADF troops penetrate 250 kilometers into Angola in an attempt to protect Unita from the Angolan army, FAPLA.

- In July SADF troops raid Gabarone in Botswana killing 13 people including several civilians.

In December 9 people are killed in Maseru, in Lesotho - allegedly by SADF troops.

- In May the SADF admits to having killed 6 people and injured 30 in the township conflict.

- The official Defence budget rises to R4,274 billion with real defence spending (including the mini Defence budget, military spending in Namibia, "homelands" Defence spending, SADF housing, secret Defence accounts) being over R5,5 billion.

- No Africans ("blacks" in government terminology) volunteered for military service in 1985.

- The "Vaz diaries" are captured clearly revealing that the SADF was continuing to support the MNR in Mozambique, despite the Nkomati Accord. Shortly afterwards the Head of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen, resigns.

The ECC establishes branches in six centres with three more being in the process of formation.

- In January 1985 7539 conscripts (including 6 000 students who were automatically deferred) fail to turn up for their national service.
- Approximately 25 percent of people fail to turn up for their SADF camps.
- An estimated 7 000 objectors are living overseas.
- Between July 1984 and December 1985 758 people apply to the Board for Religious Objection. 421 are granted full objector status and 11 are refused.
- In November 1985 ECC member Harald Winkler is refused by the Board for Religious Objection because they find he is not a "universal religious pacifist".
- In August 1985 Alan Dodson, a Pietermaritzburg law graduate, is fined R600 for refusing to enter a township while on an SADF camp.
- 26 895 people emigrate from South Africa between January and November 1985. - an increase of over 40% from 1984.
- New powers of arbitrary detention given to SADF members.
- By the end of 1985 an estimated 1 000 people have died in the township conflict - most through the actions of the security forces.
- The ANC increases its attacks by 309 percent during 1985.

1986: The blockade of Lesotho leads to the downfall of the Maseru government in a military coup.

- Philip Wilkenson, a Port Elizabeth butcher, becomes the 12th objector to be refused by the Board for Religious Objection and announces his intention of objecting on political grounds.
- The government refuses to release the figures of how many troops are in the townships or how many conscripts failed to report for duty.
- The government decides to keep the findings of the Geldenhuys Commission secret.
- ECC continues to grow, sets up a national and two regional offices and plans a national campaign around the issue of alternative service.
- Official Defence Budget goes up by 20% to R5 .23 billion plus R323 million for Special Defence Account. Police budget rises by over 12% to R1.02 billion. But this does not include Namibian defence expenditure, "Homelands" defence expenditure, Defence buildings etc - real expenditure on security forces +/- R8,7billion. (23.5% of the budget).

THE END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN - A CHRONOLOGY

1974: The South African Council of Churches calls on the members of its churches to consider becoming conscientious objectors. The government responds by making it a criminal offence to encourage conscientious objection.

1977: The Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference supports the right to object to military service on religious or political grounds. Later the Methodist, Anglican, Presbyterian and Congregational churches also take up the issue.

- In December 1977 Anton Eberhard becomes the first conscientious objector outside of the recognised peace churches to be tried for refusing to do military service.

1979: Conscientious Objector Support Groups are set up in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and later in Grahamstown, Pietermaritzburg and Port Elizabeth.

- The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) sets up Militarisation Committees on its campuses.

1980 - 1983: The conscientious objector campaign draws increasing support. By the end of 1983 12 people have been charged with refusing to render military service (outside of those in the peace churches). In each case the stands taken by the objectors were politically related. By the end of 1983 the campaign has developed a high profile - particularly on the campuses and in the churches.

- In 1982 students at the University of Cape Town set up a Conscription Action Group drawing in a wide range of student societies to campaign against militarisation and conscription. Students on other Nusas campuses follow suit.

- In March 1983 a bill comes before parliament lengthening the maximum prison sentence for conscientious objection from two to six years, but also sets up a Board for Religious Objection allowing "bona-fide religious pacifists" to do one-and-a-half times their military service in non-military forms of community service. Bill is enacted at the end of 1983.

- In April 1983 the Black Sash National Conference calls for an end to conscription.

- In July 1983 the Conscientious Objector Support Group National Conference decides to initiate a national end conscription campaign.

1980 - 1983 ctd: In November 1983 12 organisations are represented at the inaugural meeting of the End Conscription Campaign in Cape Town. End Conscription Committees are also set up in Johannesburg and Durban.

1984: In March an ECC national workshop decides on drawing up a policy declaration and to collect endorsements from organisations and individuals.

- A survey on conscription conducted at the University of Cape Town, the University of the Witwatersrand and Rhodes University - in which over 6000 students responded - shows that over 70 percent of English speaking white students are opposed to compulsory conscription.
- In May 1984 ECC organises focus campaigns on Namibia in Cape Town and Johannesburg with public meetings, extensive media, church vigils picketing, concerts and press conferences.
- In October 1983 ECC is launched nationally, a national steering committee is established and "Towards a Just Peace in our Land", the ECC declaration, is launched publically.. Over 1 500 people attend the Cape Town launch addressed by Dr Alan Boesak, Mrs Sheena Duncan and Dr Ivan Toms.
- ECC protests against the "Invasion of Sebokeng" of October 1984, when 7000 troops and police occupied several townships in the Vaal and later the Eastern Cape. Concerts, public meetings and press conferences held to protest against this action.
- November 1984 - the Progressive Federal Party federal congress passes a motion calling for an end to compulsory conscription.

1985: National pamphlet distribution in protest against the January call-up. Pamphlet is banned by the Publications Control Board.

- In January 1985 ECC's first National Council meeting is held in Durban. Laurie Nathan is elected ECC National Organiser. Security Police raid the conference.
 - - In April 1985 ECC is launched in Port Elizabeth.
 - In Johannesburg ECC debate with Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Mrs Sheena Duncan and Dr David Webster is attended by 600 people.
 - In May 1985 ECC is launched in Pietermaritzburg.
- In June 1985 ECC committee is established in Grahamstown with a sub-branch at Rhodes University.
- In June 1985 ECC "Stop the Call-Up" national festival is held in Johannesburg and is attended by about 5000 delegates and observers. Cardinal Paulo Arns, Archbishop of San Paulo in Brazil, has his visa withdrawn at the last moment. Speakers include Carol Tongue, a European

ECC "Stop the Call-Up" festival continued:

- Parliament MP and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament member, Bishop Desmond Tutu, Molly Blachburn, MPC, Di Bishop, MPC, Murphy Morobe and Cheryl Carollus of the UDF, Mokganedi Thlabane of Swapo, Dr Beyers Naude, Nadine Gordimer, Sir Richard Luyt and many others. Workshops, seminars, plays, concerts, art and poster displays, cultural events and vigils held during the course of the festival.
- Janet Cherry, ECC Port Elizabeth chairperson, is detained on the eve of the festival and held in solitary confinement for 18 days before being released without trial.
- ECC National Conference held in Johannesburg and decides to launch a "Troops Out of Townships" campaign involving a three week national fast.
- On July 21 the State of Emergency is declared. ECC leaders Richard Steele, Anita Kromberg, Sue Brittan, Gavin Evans and Michael Evans are detained and held in solitary confinement for between one and three weeks. All are interrogated by the security police about ECC. About twenty members of ECC member organisations are also detained. About 30 houses of ECC members are raided by the security police, many ECC members questioned about their activities, several ECC meetings broken up by the security police, publications, pamphlets, t-shirts banned, sand castle ECC protest on Clifton Beach in Cape Town ordered to be an illegal gathering and ECC members arrested for illegally entering a black township without a permit - during the course of the emergency.
- Early in 1985 the PFP National Youth Conference calls for the immediate end to conscription and expresses support for the ECC. In Durban, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg the PFP Youth join ECC. In July 1985 the PFP National Federal Conference calls for the rapid phasing out of conscription.
- August 1985 ECC submits evidence to the Geldenhuys Committee on the SADF. ECC makes interim proposals that a volunteer army would be preferable to a conscripted one, that all objectors be recognised and allowed to do alternative service - not only religious pacifists, that the maximum length of community service be reduced from six years to four years, that those doing community service be permitted to do it in non-state organisations, and that individual conscripts be permitted to refuse to enter the townships, Namibia or other southern African countries. All these proposals were made within the context of ECC's call for an immediate end to conscription.
- Cape Town ECC conduct "Cadets Out" campaign in white schools. Two Catholic schools abolish cadets and one Anglican school gives students the option of alternatives.

1985 continued: In September 1985 Dr Ivan Toms (Cape Town), Richard Steele (Durban) and Harald Winkler (Johannesburg) fast for three weeks in protest against the presence of troops in the townships. They are joined by over a thousand others who fast for shorter periods during the ECC's "Troops Out" campaign. Pickets, vigils, mass rallies, mothers meetings, discussion forums, media displays, pamphlet drops, art exhibitions and church services held as part of the campaign. In Cape Town over 4000 people attend a public rally in the City Hall.

- In November ECC broke new ground internationally through a tour by ECC national organiser Laurie Nathan and conscientious objector Peter Hathorn organised by the War Resisters International and the Catholic Institute for International Relations. They visited nine European countries and India.

- ECC sets up media, culture, churches, contact and other committees in each of its regions to allow people who are not members of ECC member organisations to participate in the campaign in an on-going way. Hundreds of people join ECC nationally.

1986: In January the second annual ECC National Council is attended by 100 delegates from each of the regions. Laurie Nathan is re-elected National Organiser, David Shandler is elected National Secretary, Paula Hathorn is elected Cape Town regional secretary, a national office is set up in Johannesburg and regional offices are set up in Cape Town and Natal. ECC decides to launch a national "Working for a Just Peace" campaign.

- By the beginning of the year ECC has 45 member organisations.

- ECC branches in the process of being set up in East London, Pretoria, Stellenbosch, Bloemfontein and the Karoo.

- Students at the Rand Afrikaans University and Stellenbosch University become active in the campaign.

- In January 1986 a "Stop the call-up" day held to draw attention to compulsory conscription. Public meetings, pamphlet drops and candlelight vigils held on call-up day. Cape Town peace run and sand castle protests banned.

- March 1986 - the build-up phase of the "Working for a just Peace" campaign begins. Public forums, the public painting of a half kilometer peace ribbon, concerts, fetes and workshops held to publicise the campaign and attract volunteers. Over 100 000 items of media distributed. A national questionnaire on conscription with a target of 50 000 responses is distributed. Hundreds of people volunteer throughout the country to participate in the campaign.

"Working for a Just Peace" campaign continued:

- Some of the campaign activities planned for April are:

Johannesburg:

- * April 1 - 5: Childrens holiday week in Western Coloured township. The holiday programme, organised in close cooperation with community groups working in the area, will involve five days of peace-related holiday activities for children who would not otherwise have access to recreation facilities and programmes. 500 children expected to attend.
- * April 12: Public painting of the Peace Ribbon involving prominent artists.
- * April 17 and 18: The building of a park at a home for mentally handicapped children in the "coloured" area of El Dorado Park.
- * April 27: Non-racial picnic involving black and white adults, youth and children in various activities. Parents and children will discuss their perspectives of troops in the townships.

Cape Town:

Some of the projects decided on in Cape Town are;

- * Renovating a community art centre, a children's home and an old age home.
- * Running a driving school for people in the black townships.
- * Building a playground for children in Crossroads squatter camp.
- * Cleaning up Table Mountain, some of Cape Town's beaches and other polluted areas.

Durban:

- * Painting two children's wards at a black hospital.
- * Cleaning up a site to build a playground in Wentworth Coloured township.
- * A non-racial picnic

Pietermaritzburg:

- * Planting trees at the Compensation resettlement camp.
- * Planting sage (for local residents to use for weaving) along a local river.
- * Cleaning up a woodlot.
- * Painting a peace wall at a Child Welfare Home

"Working for a Just Peace" campaign continued:

Port Elizabeth:

- * Renovating two old age homes.
- * Helping renovate two creches.

The campaign will end with public rallies in each of the regions on April 30.

The main aims of the campaign are:

- * To protest against the presence of troops in the townships and draw attention to the activities of the SADF.
- * To pose viable alternatives to compulsory military service and show that patriotism does not require one to wear an SADF uniform.
- * To publicise the current lack of alternatives for young men facing conscription into the SADF.
- * To promote the ECC campaign generally and draw more volunteers into active forms of participation.

APPENDIX 4ECC MEMBER ORGANISATIONSA. NATIONAL

- 1) Black Sash
- 2) Catholic Justice and Peace Commission
- 3) Catholic War and Peace Group
- 4) Conscientious Objector Support Group (COSG)
- 5) Methodist Christian Citizenship Department
- 6) National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA)
- 7) National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)
- 8) Student Union for Christian Action (SUCA)

B. LOCALi) Cape Town

- 9) Anglican Board of Social Responsibility
- 10) Civil Rights League
- 11) Koeberg Alert
- 12) The Ecumenical Action Movement
- 13) United Democratic Front Claremont Area Committee
- 14) United Democratic Front Gardens Area Committee
- 15) United Democratic Front Observatory Area Committee
- 16) United Womens Organisation
- 17) University of Cape Town Students' Representative Council
- 18) Western Province Council of Churches
- 19) Womens Movement for Peace

ii) Durban

- 20) Detainees Support Committee
- 21) Diakonia
- 22) Durban University Conscription Action Group
- 23) International Fellowship of Reconciliation
- 24) Methodist Church Christian Education and Youth Department
- 25) Natal Organisation of Women
- 26) Natal Youth Forum
- 27) National Youth Leadership Training Programme
- 28) Religious Society of Friends
- 29) Southern Africa Catholic Bishops Conference Youth Department
- 30) Women for Peaceful Change Now

iii) Johannesburg

- 31) Human Awareness Programmes
- 32) Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee
- 33) Presbyterian Church
- 34) South African Council of Churches
- 35) Wits University Catholic Society
- 36) Young Christian Students
- 37) Young Progressives (Southern Transvaal Region)
- 38) Organisation of Appropriate Social Scientists of South Africa (OASSSA)
- 39) Catholic War and Peace Group (WAP)

iv) Pietermaritzburg

- 40) Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Action and Awareness
- 41) Progressive Federal Party Youth Branch
- 42) St Mary's Social Concern Group

v) Port Elizabeth

- 43) Grahamstown Advice Centre on National Service
- 44) Progressive Federal Party Youth Branch
- 45) United Democratic Front Port Elizabeth Area Committee

APPENDIX 5A SELECTION OF THE ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE ENDORSED THE ECC DECLARATION

1. Anglican Bishops Conference
2. Anglican Students' Federation
3. Black Sash
4. Congress of South African Students
5. Detainees Parents Support Committee
6. Evangelical Lutheran Church
7. Joint Academic Staff Association of Durban and Pietermaritzburg
8. Methodist Synods, Cape Town and Grahamstown
9. National Catholic Federation of Students
10. National Medical and Dental Association
11. South African Council of Churches
12. South African Institute of Race Relations (Western Cape)
13. Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference
14. United Congregational Church of Southern Africa
15. United Democratic Front

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