

WHY THE U.S. FEARS CUBA

LAST week's diplomatic breach between the United States and Cuba is the culmination of steadily deteriorating relations between the two countries — and is very dangerous.

The immediate cause of the breach is comparatively unimportant. Castro reduced the number of U.S. Embassy employees allowed in Cuba to 11 — and ordered the rest to leave within 48 hours. He told a Havana rally that the reason for this was that the U.S. only allowed Cuba to have 11 employees in the U.S. — and what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander.

Moreover, he said, the remainder of the 300 U.S. employees in Cuba were acting as spies and he didn't want them anyway.

LAST STRAW

For Eisenhower this was the last straw. Castro's action was designed to render impossible the conduct of normal diplomatic relations between two countries, he said.

"There is a limit to what the United States, in self respect, can endure. That limit has now been reached".

Senor Roa, Cuban Foreign Minister, told the United Nations Security Council, specially called to



Fidel Castro.

consider a Cuban charge of U.S. aggression, that "most of the U.S. Embassy staff is involved in criminal espionage, subversion and terrorist activities". He accused the U.S. of preparing "the groundwork for direct aggression".

These charges, the U.S. representative retorted, were "ridiculous and hysterical".

THE GIANT HURT

But are they? Off-hand it would seem that Cuba (population 6.4 million; area 44,206 sq. miles) was no match for the big United States (population 178 million; area 3,628,130 sq. miles). But it is obvious "the giant of the West" has suffered great hurt at the hands of little Cuba and wants to get her own back.

Just how true the Cuban accusations are, and just how much the giant has been hurt, may be ascertained straight from the horse's mouth.

Earl Smith a former U.S. ambassador to Cuba, testifying before the Senate Internal Security Sub-committee in August, 1960, stated:

"Let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly in-

fluent in Cuba, that the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President. That is because of the reason of the position that the U.S. played in Cuba. Now, today, his importance is not very great".

ECONOMIC GAINS

The "position that the U.S. played in Cuba" was explained in a report by the United States Department of Commerce in 1956:

"The only foreign investments of importance (in Cuba) are those of the United States. American participation exceeds 90 per cent in the telephones and electric services, about 50 per cent in public service,

WORLD STAGE By SPECTATOR

railways, and roughly 40 per cent in raw sugar production. The Cuban branches of United States banks are entrusted with almost one fourth of all bank deposits. . . . Cuba ranked third in Latin America in the value of United States direct investments in 1953, outranked only by Venezuela and Brazil."

It was the United States' powerful economic interest in Cuba, according to Leland Jakes, a prominent social scientist who made a study of Cuban-American relations, that "has made it possible for irrevocable decisions vitally affecting most of the Cuban population to be taken in Wall Street".

Today all that has changed as Castro leads his country towards real political and economic independence. But the U.S. is trying to hold on to its ill-gotten gains and win back what it has already lost. And Uncle Sam is prepared to use almost any methods, however dirty. The Wall Street Journal, organ of American Big Business, wrote in July, 1960:

"U.S. diplomats are certain that really rough measures, such as military intervention in Cuba, aren't the answer now, though few rule out the possibility completely.

" . . . in hush-hush deliberations there are government officials already engaged in considering just how Mr. Castro's downfall might be hastened by promoting and discreetly backing opposition to him within Cuba . . .

"Such undercover stuff, to be sure, is unacknowledged and no responsible official would be likely to admit it. But the US has taken a hand in just such situations before . . ."

U.S. AIM

The aim of U.S. policy is to overthrow a government that is not acceptable to Washington and replace it with a regime that will be subservient to U.S. economic interests.

Once more the Wall Street Journal: "The major move just ahead: A big U.S. drive chopping off the Cuban strongman's political and diplomatic connections with others lands".

Military intervention might then be possible, if not directly, at least on the pattern which was used to oust the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954, with the aid of an emigre army.

INVASION COMING?

The fact that the U.S. has chosen this moment to break off all diplomatic relations with Cuba may mean that a counter-revolutionary invasion of Cuba, financed and armed by the U.S., may be in the offing.

There have been signs of a strong emigre build-up in Guatemala for some time.

But if such an invasion does take place, the aggressors will not find Castro napping. He has been preparing for just such an emergency for some time. And he has powerful weapons up his sleeve:

● The fervent support of 95% of the Cuban people, and an army based solidly on the people, the workers and the peasantry.

● Great sympathy amongst the mass of the people throughout Latin America.

● The solidarity of the Socialist world and the support of anti-imperialists everywhere.

By far the greatest hurt to American interests in Cuba has been the nationalisation by the Cuban revolutionary government, of the U.S. capital, big business and banks. When this took place last October, together with widespread land reforms, the Cuban revolution entered a new stage sounding the death-knell of American imperialism on that island.

It would be surprising, therefore, if the US did not do everything to regain her influence, and her profits, in Cuba.

LATIN AMERICA

But there is another reason why the U.S. is determined to smash the Cuban revolution as soon as possible — and that is because it is an example to the whole of Latin America that a people's revolution can succeed in the face of total U.S. opposition.

It has become more and more obvious that to support or to oppose Cuba has become the distinguishing mark between progress and reaction and revolution and counter-revolution in Latin America. The re-sounding slogan of "Cuba yes, Yankees no!" echoing throughout the continent of Central and South America concretely explained the line of struggle which is a clear expression of the feelings of the Latin American people.

Last year, tidal waves of struggle in support of the Cuban revolution and in opposition to U.S. aggression followed one after another.

Millions of Latin American people then held numerous meetings, conferences and demonstrations with the clarion call of "Hands off Cuba!"

SOVIET AID

Latin American countries can resist the efforts of the Eisenhower Administration to whip them into an anti-Cuban platoon, but being weak themselves they are hardly in a position to give Cuba much assistance against economic sanctions and military threats.

That is where the Socialist world is of vital significance.

It was possible, for example, for the Soviet Union to announce promptly that it would purchase the 700,000 tons of sugar lopped off the Cuban quota by President Eisenhower. And this on top of the five year trade agreement committing the Soviet Union to buy a million tons of Cuban sugar annually.

The \$40 million loan extended by the USSR and \$21 million by China are also enabling the Cuban government to proceed with the beginnings of industrialization and diversification of agriculture.

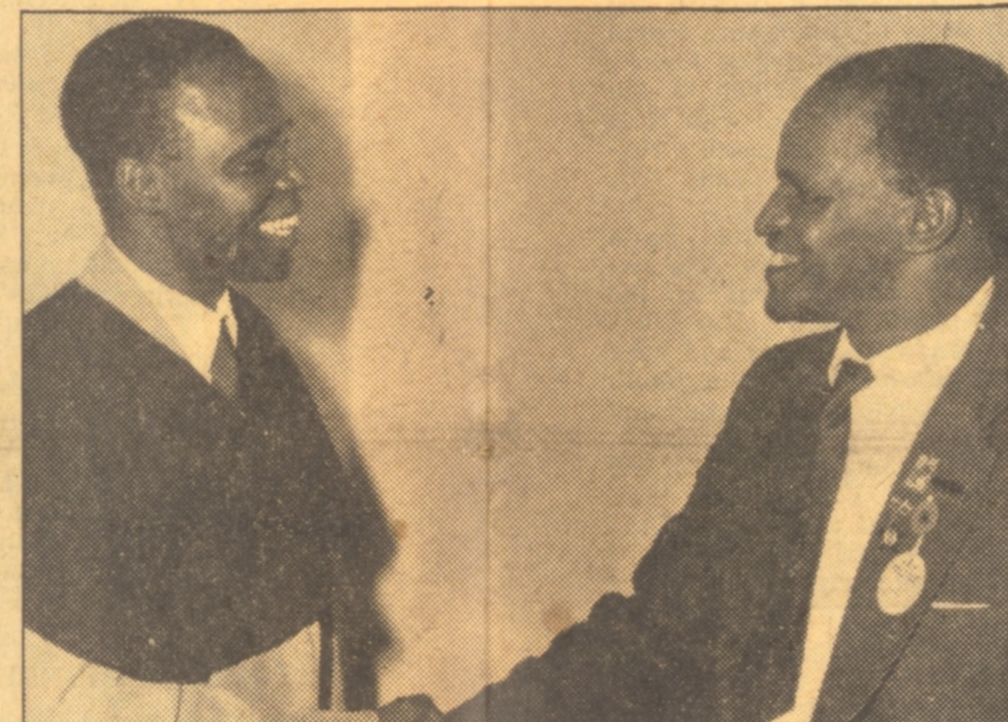
There is also no doubt that Russia's threat of reprisals should Cuba become the victim of foreign aggression has prevented the United States from taking open action



The Union's escapee from exile, Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, who evaded the order deporting her by crossing the border into Basutoland with her young baby, is now a celebrity in Basutoland. Here she is leading the delegates to the BCP conference in song outside the conference hall.



Mrs. M. L. Maphate, national treasurer of the Basutoland Congress Party, reported to the conference on the women's conferences in Warsaw that she attended, and her visits to Moscow and Peking as a guest of Soviet and Chinese women's organisations. "People who speak ill of communism are either stupid or imperialist agents," she told the conference.



Basutoland Congress Party President Mr. Ntsu Mokhehle (right) greets Northern Rhodesia's Mr. Solomon Kalulu at the BCP national conference held in Maseru over the Christmas week-end. Mr. Kalulu, national chairman of the United National Independence Party, is wearing the black cape symbolic of Northern Rhodesia's freedom struggle.



Dr. A. P. Zwane, secretary-general of the Swaziland People's Party, was a guest speaker at the conference of the Basutoland Congress Party. Here he is reading to the conference Jomo Kenyatta's animal fable of how the African people had their freedom taken from them.

Have you sent your donation this week

PORT ELIZABETH.

THE three-day conference of the Coloured Peoples' National Union which took place here last week is remarkable in two respects.

Its organisers called it a National Convention of the Coloured People, but although conference discussed matters of a national character, the representation covered only certain areas in the Cape. Of the twelve branches of the CPNU represented by a delegation of 51 members, P.E. accounted for six branches, Uitenhage one, Transkei four, Cape Town one, and Knysna one. And of the P.E. branches one was a Church Organisation — the Independent Congregational Branch. Coloureds in the other provinces were not represented at all.

All-In African Convention To Be Held In March

JOHANNESBURG. An all-in African Convention will be held by the first week in March, decided the African Leaders' steering committee last Sunday.

The conference will register the African people's rejection of constitutional changes in South Africa without consultation of the majority of the people, and demand that the government call a National Convention to represent all South Africans, regardless of colour.

The Convention will discuss a line of action should the government ignore the demand of the people for a National Convention.

The Convention will be open to all African organisations, personalities and representatives of African political, cultural, sporting, religious and other walks of life.

"Britain Has Broken Treaty with Moshesh"

Lekhotla la Bafo Wants U.N. Intervention

MASERU.

A statement by Lekhotla la Bafo to New Age also said that people from Witzieshoek Native Reserve had been invited to the conference. It had been intended to hand to Mr. Mpheteng of Witzieshoek a letter for him in Basutoland from Professor Potekhin of the Academy of Science, Moscow.

"So as to avoid it being misconstrued as a conspiracy by the enemies of Basutoland", the letter was to be handed to Mr. Mpheteng in public, and the authorities of both Witzieshoek and Basutoland had been invited to attend.

TO APPEAR IN COURT

Mr. Mpheteng, however, it was learned, had to appear in court in connection with letters he had written "against the Administration".

The conference was well attended and the spirit of the delegates was high, the statement added.

GOLDING'S CONFERENCE WAS A FARCE

But Who Will Reply To Him?

Secondly, the conference was remarkable for the ease with which the delegates, after deliberating for two full days, found themselves able to praise the Nationalist Government policies they had come to condemn. When they disagreed it was in a most apologetic manner, as the resolutions show . . . "Conference respectfully requests . . ."

We Are White

Mr. George Golding set the tone of the conference in his presidential address. "In view of the critical stage which we have reached in our history" he said "it is necessary for us to ensure that our deliberations are made in as calm an atmosphere as possible and that nothing should be done at this conference which might militate against the interests of our people".

So much of what transpired by way of resolutions at the end of the conference depended on the Presidential Address that it would not be incorrect to say the delegates assembled to confirm his ideas about the way the Coloureds should go about things politically in this country.

The CPNU leaders claim that the Coloureds are part of the white population of South Africa. It is this underlying desire not to upset the present scheme of things into which they hope to fit when the whites change their hearts, that makes the CPNU leaders attempt to walk simultaneously on both sides

From GOVAN MBEKI

of the road, and in doing so lean heavily on the side of the Nationalist Government.

Mr. C. L. R. Fortein made this very plain when he spoke in support of the Presidential address, and at a later stage Mr. le Roux, parliamentary representative also dishied out this soothing syrup. He told conference that apartheid should apply between the "Bantoe en anders" only.

Emergency Role

Speaker after speaker referred approvingly to the role the Coloureds played during the recent State of Emergency. This was summed up in the Presidential address: "When plans were laid to involve our people in an uprising and to exemplify disloyalty to the government of the day, the Coloured people, with their traditional sense of responsibility and loyalty, refused to be party to the spreading of unrest. And if the time were to come when we are to decide where our place would be in any attack on South Africa, I make bold to say our loyalty will be here".

The attitude of the delegates to a real struggle for rights is again summed up in the President's address: "We have great faith that in God's good time, the leaders (Nationalist) of this country will rectify what obviously is not right."

In God's good time . . . in the Lord's good time . . . the CPNU leaders hope that the Nationalist Government "will rectify" a situation it has created deliberately to produce the results which the CPNU men glibly describe as "obviously not correct."

No Direct Representation

In fairness, however, to Mr. Fortein, it must be said that he made it clear that he disagreed with Mr.

Golding on the question of direct representation. Mr. Golding had laid the responsibility for the agitation for direct representation on the "Afrikaner intellectuals and leading Churchmen".

"The Coloured people have not clamoured for direct representation", he said, because "direct representation at this stage when the voters roll has been sorely depleted could only result in extreme leftist elements being returned to parliament as our representatives and who could by no stretch of imagination be regarded as the true representatives of our people".

Goodness knows what number of registered voters must be on the roll before Mr. Golding can be assured that no "extreme leftist element" will be returned to Parliament.

On the morning of the third day of conference a stir was created when delegates read in the press the reply of Dr. van der Ross and Mr. Karels to Mr. Golding's "No direct representation" declaration. Mr. Bob Braak, whose role seems to be that of godfather, bewailed the fact that there should still be no unity amongst the Coloureds in spite of the fact that he had got the CPNU leaders and Dr. van der Ross together at his house at one time. This also gave an opportunity for Mr. Golding to dig up the past and show how straight his political path had always been compared to Dr. van der Ross, to whom he referred as the founder of the SACPO which is now "klaar en kapot".

Mr. Fortein's remarks at this stage were significant. He claimed that the feeling of the Coloureds was for direct representation, and refuted Mr. Golding's remarks that they were not ready to participate directly in parliamentary representation. People in Ghana, who had had less education, were enjoying self-government, he said.

Although at the end a resolution referring to direct representation was passed, Mr. Golding's line prevailed, and Mr. Fortein's viewpoint was lost in a forest of words which merely served to conceal the fact that the conference did not approve of direct representation.

Not even the fact that this conference could not by any standards be called a National Convention is a sufficient reply to it. The fact is that Mr. George Golding has convened a conference of some sorts and got together some people to speak on behalf of the Coloured people on the most burning issues that affect them as a people.

He has done what nobody else even seems to be thinking of doing, and the record of the decisions of this conference will stand as representative of organised Coloured opinion until a more representative assembly of the Coloured people has met and made a declaration that reflects the aspirations for which they are determined to fight.

Sing Praises

After praising the Deputy Minister of the Interior, Mr. P. W. Botha, and certain officials connected with the Department of Coloured Affairs in glowing terms and singling out for special commendation two Parliamentary rep-

resentatives — Mr. A. Bloomberg and Mr. "Tot" le Roux — Mr. Golding made the following points:

● He welcomed the announcement that a Minister of Coloured Affairs was to be appointed. He further suggested that if Coloured Affairs were entrusted to Mr. Botha as the new Minister, he was sure "such an appointment would receive the approbation of the vast majority of our people".

● Of the Department of Coloured Affairs Mr. Golding said: "In our opinion it is the answer to many of our problems . . . This Department, which I visualise will be placed under the Minister of Coloured Affairs, will have added status when this important change comes about and there is no doubt in my mind that from here will come the inspiration for us to rise politically again".

● As for educational development amongst the Coloured people, Mr. Golding said he must emphasise that no past Government in South Africa had done what the present Government had achieved during the past 12 years . . . In this field we are making the most outstanding progress".

Significant Fact

During the last 15 years no Coloured leader has met with as much criticism from sections of his people as Mr. Golding. But now, at the most critical period in the history of the Coloureds, at a time when their rights are being destroyed at a much faster rate than it has taken several Governments since Union to wipe out those of the Africans, Golding's former critics have left the field to him to exhort the Coloureds not to fight for their rights, but to wait for "God's good time".

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AND SERGEANT, CAN YOU KILL IDEAS WITH IT?

Pondoland Killings

Police Want Information From New Age

S.A. UNITED FRONT WARNS DAG

The following cable was sent to Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld, Secretary-General of the United Nations, by the South African United Front abroad:

"The South Africa United Front representing the interests of the major non-white organisations in the Union and South West Africa and expressing the aspirations of the voteless 80% of the South African population against Apartheid tyranny and for democratic rights, submits that your visit to South Africa in pursuance of the Security Council resolution can be of little effect unless you meet and consult recognised leaders of the non-white people including those now imprisoned and banished.

"There is no doubt that purposeful action by the United Nations is urgently required if calamities far greater than Sharpeville and more explosive than Algeria are to be averted, especially in view of the military and police operations now being conducted by the South African Government in Pondoland.

"We therefore submit that for the proper assessment of the situation consultation with non-white leaders is imperative and a failure to do so would constitute a betrayal of the hopes of millions of people who still retain faith in the United Nations as an instrument of Peace."

The statement is signed by Mr. Nana Mahomo and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo.

From M. P. Naicker
DURBAN.

A MEMBER of the Special Branch and a South African Police sergeant from Pondoland, who informed me that he had specially flown down to Durban to see me, interviewed me last week with a request that I make a statement in regard to a report headed: "Peasants United Against Bantu Authorities" which appeared in the New Age on December 1, 1960.

I was told that the assassination of Chief Vukayibambe Sigcau was being investigated and that the only information that was required was the reference in the report to eye-witnesses who had informed New Age that Chief Sigcau and his indunas were seen attacking people with assegais when a meeting was being dispersed by the police at Ngqingilili Hill, where two people died of gunshot wounds and four were injured, two with assegai wounds.

The dispersal of the meeting, it will be recalled, was followed by the killing of Chief Sigcau.

DETERMINED

The police made it clear that I need not make a statement, but that they were determined to get a statement from me and if I refused I would be brought before a Magistrate. They left when I told them that I wanted to consult my lawyers before deciding what I was going to do.

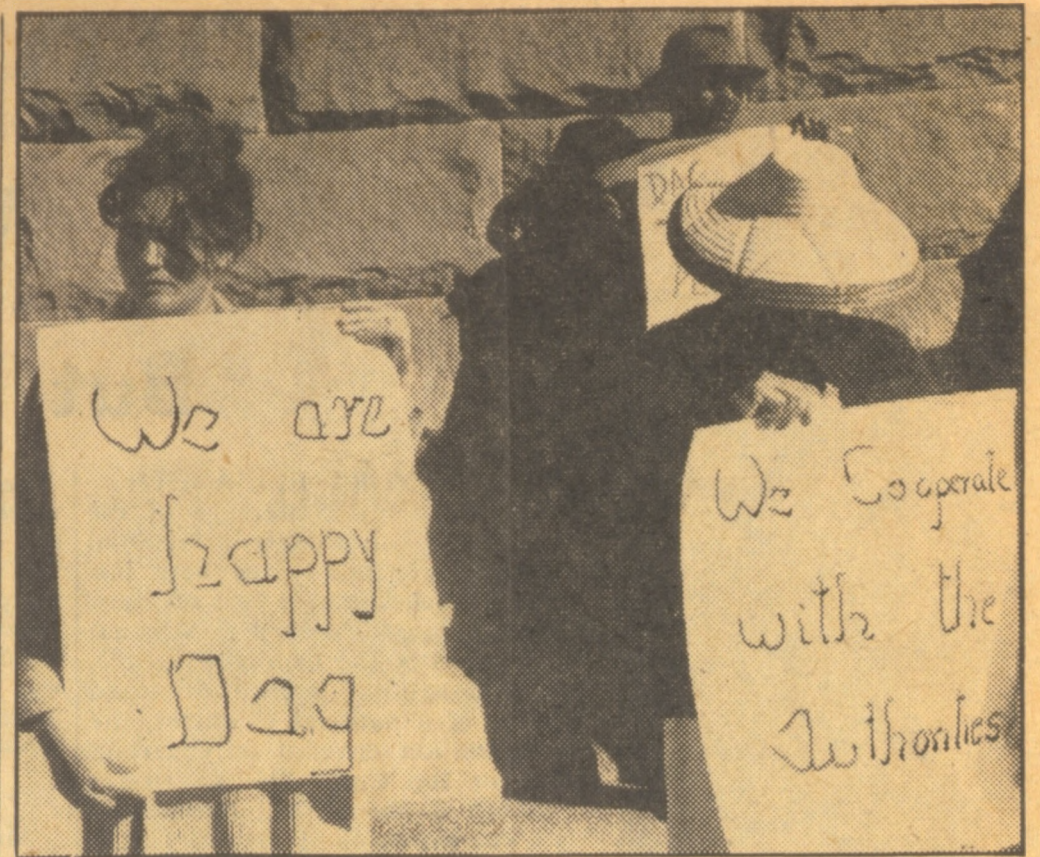
The following day, after consulting my lawyers, I made a factual statement informing the police that I did not keep any names and addresses of people who assist New Age and that my reason for doing so was to protect them from intimidation by the Special Branch.

About an hour after the police

left me I received a peculiar telephone call. First I was asked to hold on as Bizana wanted me. After a while a male voice, trying very hard to speak like an African but with an obvious Afrikaans accent, told me that there would be a meeting the following day at Bizana and would I inform Port Elizabeth and East London.

The voice said that I should contact "Jimmy" who would be available that evening after six p.m. Throughout the call I could clearly hear a ticking sound as if a tape recorder was on.

Obviously those responsible have been reading a lot of Peter Cheyney paper backs!



A handful of Coloured supporters of the Government demonstrated when Mr. Hammarskjöld arrived in Cape Town. "We are happy Dag," said one poster. But the lady on the right didn't look it.

VICIOUS NEW RESTRICTION ORDERS

J.B. Marks and Wolfie Kodesh Banned

JOHANNESBURG.

VICIOUS new banning and confinement notices under the Suppression of Communism Act are being dished out by the Minister of Justice and his Special Branch.

Veteran African leader J. B. Marks has been issued with a ban prohibiting him for the next five years from being anywhere but in his tiny home township of Newclare and the centre of Johannesburg.

New Age director Wolfie Kodesh is confined to the white suburbs of Johannesburg. He may not enter any African township, location or hostel. He is also specifically ordered never to enter Alexandra Township.

A number of Congress leaders have in the past been confined to their home towns, but this is the first time they are permitted to enter only certain portions of a city.

HOLIDAY SPIRIT

Mr. Kodesh's banning notice was signed by Minister Erasmus on December 28—that is, between Xmas and New Year.

The notice states that the Minister is "satisfied" that Mr. Kodesh is "advocating, advising, defending or encouraging the achievement of the objects of communism within the Union."

Mr. J. B. Marks is one of the best known leaders of the now banned African National Congress, leader of the African Mineworkers' Union at the time of the great 1946 strike, and prominent since the 'twenties as a leader of the Communist Party, which was outlawed in 1950. A ban prohibiting him from attending meetings anywhere in South Africa is due to expire only in 1962.

Mr. Marks told New Age "I am confident that long before the end of this newest and most vicious ban, all these bans will have been swept aside by the forces for freedom in our country."

Still, while the ban lasts, its cuts short Mr. Marks' means of earning a living. He has for a number of

Age offices.

"As an ex-soldier it disgusts me to get an order of this nature signed by a person, the Minister of Justice, whose party backed Hitler to the hilt when we were locked with Nazi Germany in a life and death struggle during the war," said Mr. Kodesh.

The ban, he said, would be a serious hindrance to New Age circulation and management in the Transvaal—but "New Age has suffered even worse blows and been able to withstand them. Bans don't stop the freedom struggle and never will."

Mr. Kodesh was named under the Suppression of Communism Act. Until 1950 he was a member of the Cape Town district committee of the Communist Party.

Midnight Round-ups In Pondoland

(Continued from page 1)

states that a wedding party of 13 were arrested by a raiding party of armed police on December 18 "for failing to produce their passes." According to the letter, the pick-up van overturned on the way to the police station and all but two prisoners and the two policemen who were also in the van were seriously injured.

Those arrested were: Mageleya, Nkamangane, Ntyolo, Zahlupu, Ndaliso, Dungudela, Siwayi, Mbi-zenki, Tondo, Madone, Zibekela, Gamntu and Mdala.

ANOTHER LETTER

Peace has been restored to Pondoland, say the Nats, and the BAD. There is again law and order.

But not according to a letter written from Pondoland by the wife of one of the men detained under the Emergency Regulations.

Written to a relative, the letter describes how this woman's husband simply disappeared from work one day. The wife went to the police station to ask to see her husband, or take him food, but was turned away.

"Please pray for us, for we do not know how long this will take or how we are to feed our children," said the letter.

"We wonder whether 'to be or not to be.'

"Things are bad this end.

SLEEP OUTDOORS

"Men sleep outdoors running

away from the vans (police vans). The disastrous soldiers call out 'dom pass, and tax'. Different kinds of aeroplanes and vans visit us now and then. Lawyers, preachers, teachers and what not are in for the high jump, especially the 'learneds.'

"We are afraid to say more. We are going to suffer a lot.

"The men who were arrested were taken away to the 'fairlyland'—we do not know where. I call it 'fairlyland' because nobody knows where it is, and no one was allowed to see or speak to these men."

OPPOSITION CONTINUES

News received from various sources indicates that opposition to Bantu Authorities is as great as ever.

The general feeling can be summed up by what another correspondent stated in a letter which was received last week:

"We would like Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld to visit Pondoland and if he does he will hear for himself our feelings. He must, however, see to it that the army and the police are first withdrawn," states the letter.

BREAD BOYCOTT

A call by Pondos at Margate to boycott bread following the recent increase in price was 100 per cent successful during the Christmas week-end, New Age is informed.

Thousands of loaves of bread went to waste as a result of the boycott.

UP MY ALLEY

NOW I've heard everything! The Yanks who specialise in Red boggy stories have given us hair-raisers about Soviet spy-rings, sabotage, subversion, Commies running around with cloaks and daggers and bearded men carrying bombs.

And along comes a Perfesser Ivy out of Illinois University and says give an African liquor and you introduce "wholesale communism" to South Africa.

This is the first time I've heard of Marxism-Leninism turning up in bottles, and wholesale at that.

All I can say is that if there's somebody with brains anywhere near Professor Ivy the next time he opens his mouth, I hope that person puts a cork in it.

AND the magazine "Time" seemed a little embarrassed about another friend of the Yanks. He is Boun Oum (I can never remember these darned names) who ousted the legal Laotian government with their help.

Time described him as "a plump sybarite who in quieter times is fond of repairing to the French Riviera . . . at lunch in his headquarters (in Laos) his favourite companions turned out to be not candidates for the cabinet but girls from the Vientiane dance-halls."

Well, that sounds like the American way of life, doesn't it?

AND I hear that there are reports that Gary Powers, the U2 pilot now imprisoned in the Soviet Union, might make headlines again.

● They say he may be freed.

HERE at home Uncle George, G. J. Golding to you, has been panting and perspiring in Port Elizabeth in attempts to eat the polony at both ends at the same time.

No Coloured MPs—the brown folks will vote Commie—he said. But Herr Doktor Verwoerd shouldn't have repeated it so loud so soon. Give us a chance to grow

By ALEX
LA GUMA



up first before we get our own MPs, says Golding, but put us back on the common roll, and the Group Areas Act is okay, except you ought to administer it carefully, and job reservation is lousy.

After this Christmas pudding, no doubt the fruits of moral rearmament, it is little wonder that Uncle George is becoming less and less digestible with the Coloured community.

● And even that didn't rate him an invite to meet Dag, along with other pro-Government flunkies and ja-baas-boys.

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