

MAYIBUYE I - AFRIKA.CONTENTS.

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FOREWORD.

As it is with other nations and racial groups, which is just as well applicable to Africans, it is necessary that when a people is oppressed, they should find an organ whereby they can freely discuss the situation and make known throughout the country. Hence the demand for such an organ which has all along been pressing on us, has been fulfilled by this bulletin. In this introduction, we congratulate all those who gave a hand in supporting this paper and we are really impressed by this mark of your goodwill. Here in Natal there are more than 10 Newspapers and periodicals; but most of them are owned by Indians and Europeans. Here therefore is a periodical owned by Africans which is in fact the very marrow of the African's desires.

EDITORIAL.

CONGRATULATIONS.

We congratulate all those who gave us their unvaluable support in the production of our first issue of this bulletin in the Natal province. We thank those who helped in the printing of the paper in our offices by means of a hand machine. I should, therefore, mention the names of the two gentlemen who gave a great hand in the production of this bulletin namely, P. H. Simelane and Billy Khoza, and many of their assistants.

Neither do we neglect to thank all those who bought the first issue of this bulletin in such a great hurry nor do we fail to forecast that in future the Africans are going to respond more than ever in the call which we from time to time make to them for the support of this paper.

Presently the government is propagating its ideology through its journal "Bantu/Bantoe" and other publications that had hitherto pretended to be benefactors of the African people by discouraging the militant spirit of the people towards their liberation; but we have for ourselves seen that these periodicals are getting no support from the Africans.

In the reserves in compounds and in the towns the government has its propagandists who keep on visiting people and telling them to receive with thanks and praises the notorious legislation which the government is passing for the Africans. But, however, foolish, we might be fellow - Africans,

do you think that we could praise pure oppression which would ultimately exterminate our very entity and identity as a people?

Even if we could have the power to liberate ourselves now, could we still be blind to the outrageous injuries which are perpetrated on us by this White Government? This bulletin of the African National Congress in Natal is published in order to open the eyes of the people in Natal against the actions of this Government. It endeavours to advise the Africans to understand the aims of the Government that in meting out this policy of subservience on the African people it tries to establish the ideology of White supremacy for ever.

THROUGH CONGRESS LET US TRY TO BUILD A POWERFUL AFRICA!

The year 1955 is ended. During its last days it was characterised by two conferences, namely the Natal A.N.C. Provincial Conference in October 1955 and the National Conference in December 1955. What is greatly appreciated in the conduct of these two Conferences was the growth in the number of those who are prepared to fight and die for their freedom. Even through this Government keep on proscribing the peoples leaders, it is quite evident that this weapon does not in the least discourage the people from pushing the freedom chariot forward.

The growth of our National organisation brings forth new knots and problems within its ranks which should be untied and solved so that in future internal friction and commotion within the rank and file of membership should be avoided.

These Conferences have done more than good by returning Chief A.J. Luthuli as President General and as President of the Natal Province of the African National Congress. This was a clear proof of the peoples confidence in their leader who refused to be a Governments chief and offered himself to be the chief of his people who were oppressed by the White camp. We thank you on behalf of Chief Luthuli and we thank you on behalf of the African National Congress that Almighty God should save him from the somewhat dangerous illness from which he suffered and allow him to come back to serve the nation.

One of the things which took place during 1955 was the Conference of the Congress of the People, at Kliptown which drew up the Freedom Charter. This Charter is the path and the torchlight of our National freedom volunteers and soldiers. Its contents are the highlights of the way in which the people of this country will be governed when they achieve their freedom. It is to be regretted that after such a great discussion in the press and amongst the congressites and non-congressites, there was no time for the organisational preaching of this great Kliptown Freedom Charter. It is not a secret however, that there are groups of Congressites who fear that most of the sections of the Freedom Charter are rather going too far in mentioning the aspirations of the African people as a whole. They have a partial understanding of only the fact that as regards the franchise rights and general human equality but not as far as equality in economic and commercial

too! We mean the transfer of such concern as industries and Mining Companies from private ownership into state ownership. Perhaps most of the followers of Congress are of opinion that it is their only salvation if the Government could own every enterprise in the country. Yet that should be no change in our mode of living otherwise the whole business could breed a spirit of suspicion amongst our people. It is not wrong to be silent on this issue because we are apt to say that we cannot co-operate with a group which does not agree with us in this point. This is more similar to the question of forming one body of all the Congresses of the various racial groups in this country. This in itself is not at all altogether impossible nor can we gainsay the fact that it will ultimately happen; but before we take any step towards its enactment, let us first of all organise our people and lead them to one understanding and be perfectly clear of our objective. The trouble is that most of our people will take time to understand policy which advocates racial unity in this country, hence our perseverance in instilling in their minds the doctrine of racial equality and unity before we can actually unite as one people - The People of South Africa. If in our organisational activity we place work and security and equal wages as heads of paramount importance to our people we are likely to succeed even through those with whom we differ in the respect of equality of remuneration are going

*Distrust +*

to depart from us in the long run. In all this we do not in the least say that we should fight for better rights and better wages for workers. We should not worry about matters which have little or no bearing on our struggle, or rather let us not travel on a narrow path of correcting little *ways*. Ours should be a wide road which is far reaching and a policy which has no limits at all until our objective is achieved.

During this Conference too was the adoption of a New Congress Constitution. This proposal to amend Congress policy and Constitution was raised by Natal delegation during a National Conference which was held in Johannesburg in 1952. The Natal delegation gave its reasons for this move that it was quite evident that the old Constitution was too shallow as regards the fact that all racial groups in the Union are freedom loving peoples and all are participating in the struggle for liberation. Differences in political aspirations could not therefore affect the election of the leaders of the people as far as the African National Congress was concerned. Because of the reasons enumerated here therefore we moved that every group should be represented in every branch of Congress. It is stark madness to find that most of the members of Congress are in the Transvaal or in the Cape, or in Natal or in the O.F.S. We can only be contented when Congress is strengthened through branches and not through Provincial Executives, so that when a particular division of Congress seems to be quite

strong it should be treated as a cradle for the training of the peoples leaders.

Even in the elections of the National Executive Committee the Congress Constitution has no electoral rules for uniform elections and as a consequence we find that after the elections some divisions are not represented in the National Executive Committee. It may of course happen that there are no candidates in a particular division who desire election owing to some disunity therein but yet a branch region or province should enjoy a standing privilege. This weakness in our Constitution was revealed during the 1949 elections when Dr. Moroka became President. During this time there was not a single member of the National Executive Committee from the Natal Province. During the 1952 elections again the Cape had a very insignificant representation in the National Executive Committee once more. In the 1955 elections no one was elected from Natal except the President-General Chief A.J. Luthuli.

There is a spirit that if we could make a standing rule regarding the equal representations of the regions in the National Executive Committee such a move might just as well imply the introduction of tribalism, such as Zulu, Xosa and so on. We do not believe in such a thing because the President-Generals are elected from any region. We have not heard of such a thing as one group not accepting his presidency because he does not belong to their particular region, province or group. Yet we see that there might be some <sup>f</sup>fiction if the election of our officials is going to be left in the hands of the ordinary membership who will surely vote only <sup>for</sup>

the people they know best whether or not such voting is to the detriment of the whole house.

Finally let us ask ourselves this question:-  
What is our ultimate aim in all this we are endeavouring to achieve in Natal? This question will bring us only to the answer that we should propagate within Congress ~~and~~ spirit of goodwill unity and good discipline from our own Province to the National Conference. This means to say that we are lacking in a broad knowledge of the policy of Congress in our Province. There should be not one region which will not have a branch of Congress. *Go* ye therefore militia of Congress and work more than ever before during this year 1956.

EXPLANATORY NOTES:-

This issue of the Bulletin "Mayibuye I. Africa" we can designate as the "Witness and Propagator" of events accompanying important Conferences and meetings which took place during the last half of 1955, namely (a) Provincial Conference of the African National Congress Natal held during the last days of September 1955. (b) National Conference of the African National Congress held in Bloemfontein during December, 1955.

We believe that by making known all Congress decisions, attitudes and general policy in its reports will reveal to the people the attempts by the Government to oppress the African people.

There is a rumour going on among the enemies of Congress that not<sup>h</sup>ing is being done now by the African National Congress. But on examining the reports of these Conferences one will always find that Congress is really awake. We do not aver unreasonably that even those who blacklist our National Organisation speak badly of its possessor of the fear of joining the liberatory forces towards our liberation.

There is not a single nation from the very dawn of history which achieved its freedom without having struggled for it. Ever since creation Freedom is achieved by any nation by arousing the feelings against the repression and subjugation of body and soul and the struggle characterising the idea results in shedding of blood and tears. So we invite all of you to read with interest and comprehend the captions and meanings within the reports which were produced at the afore-mentioned Conferences.

MAYIBUYE I - AFRICA!

COMMENTARIES ON THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS NATAL PROVIN-  
CIAL CONFERENCE HELD IN DURBAN IN OCTOBER  
1956.

RESUME OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS BY CHIEF

A.J. LUTHULI, who was not present at the Provincial Conference owing to his being prohibited by the Government.

After the introductory compliments and congratulations of the whole Province for their

sympathy during his period of illness, Chief Luthuli wrote:-

I wish to thank the Acting President of the Natal Provincial A.N.C. for the part he played in leading the people of Natal during my recent illness. I also congratulate those who co-operated with the Acting President Dr. W.Z. Conco in the discharge of his duties, especially the general members of Congress! The success achieved by Dr. Conco and other office-bearers in the Congress movement readily rebuffs the accusations of those who always condemn Congress to be a virtually defunct organisation in Natal and who are of opinion that Luthuli is working with youngsters.

The success are by Dr. Conco and his assistance proves the true meaning of our folk that, "Rome was not built in a day". It is a fact that the youth are the people who should participate more actively in the liberatory struggle so that they should know how to pave the way to their future and so that they should inherit the fruits of their endeavours. Those who accuse Luthuli of working with youngsters should just remember this. They should remember that even during the strife with the English when the oldest men of Zululand retreated in the face of British aggression the younger men cried out with one voice:- "SIR GIVE THEM TO US!"

Let me conclude by these words:- "Although the path towards our freedom might be tedious we should really encourage the forces of liberation so that we should achieve our objective of Freedom in our lifetime!"

COMMENTARY BY M.B. YENGUSA (Provincial

African National Congress Secretary for Natal who is also proscribed by the Government), sent his complimentary messages to the Conference and said:-

It gives me a pleasure to have the opportunity of sending this message identifying myself with the forces of liberation and volunteering myself to fight for the freedom of our beloved motherland Africa! I find it quite appropriate for our generation that we should liberate our country not at any other time but this and that through our power and mutual love we should be possessed of the spirit of patriotism which is a necessary prerequisite for our courageous non-violence struggle towards the liberation of our land from slavery.

When I say that this is our only golden opportunity to liberate our oppressed people I say from the examination of the political situation in this country which brings one to the conclusion that the forces of Strijdom, Swart and Verwoerd have been victorious in gaining the upper hand in Parliament and their party is so strong that it is quite impossible for any other political clique to achieve any success which they do not endorse.

*Truly* speaking therefore the only force which will surely stop this hooliganism of Nationalist *Herrenvolkism* and apartheid is the force of Chief Luthuli under the banner of the African National Congress together with the other liberatory forces of other National groups which are opposed to the apartheid doctrine namely, the South African Indian Congress,

The South African Congress of Democrats and the  
South African <sup>Closed</sup> Peoples Organisation.

Therefore, when we are part and parcel of this mighty force we should prepare ourselves for the battle of liberating the whole South Africa. What does the liberation of South Africa signify to us? It implies the fulfillment of the covenant which we drew up at Kliptown in Johannesburg. It means the eradication of all apartheid practices. It means the ending of all hatred activated by colour prejudice and racial disharmony. Our strength in fighting against Nationalist malpractices cannot depend solely on the vote of the two representatives in Parliament; it is not on the advisory boards; it is not in the school boards and it is not in the Headmen and Bantu Authorities in the reserves, Our strength lies in our great national organisation the African National Congress and in our brothers and sisters in the townships, locations, reserves and rural areas who have no vote but who are desirous of liberating their country from reaction.

This mighty force of Africans is waiting for us to come and educate them to unite so that they should say in one voice:- "We want our Freedom, Malan!" I have not the slightest hesitation in avering that it will be difficult to get to all these people owing to the legislation affecting us on influx regulations control. Yet we are in a period of anguish and we should try to give ourselves the experience of adopting ourselves to the environment

of such impossible situations by manipulating ways and formulating ideas of avoiding any unnecessary accidents and getting out of the most difficult of situations.

The Annual Conference is looked upon by the Nation as a whole as to what directives we should take because you are the people who led the people during the Anti-Rass campaign of 1950, the workers strike of June, 1950, the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and you were also instrumental in drafting the Freedom Charter at Kliptown in June, 1955. The Nation now looks upon you to take the initiative because they have seen the government changing the education of the African people into a ridiculous system in the whole world of civilization; they have made up their minds to give our African womenfolk passes; they have made a new legislation for the administration of the reserves which is aiming at abolishing the traditional chieftaincy of the African people; they are proscribing and deporting our leaders and they are removing our African people from their rightful homes and deprived them of their freehold titles .... I cherish no doubt that at this Annual Conference you are going to lay down the lines and ways against the evils which arise from our being oppressed. Further, I do not doubt as to who will be successful in this great struggle for freedom because when we look back as from the very dawn of history we can still find that there has never been a single nation that was oppressed forever! What is more important

to you is to find a way whereby to show our people more effectively that there is no other time when we should struggle for our liberation but now in our lifetime.

I hope that this Annual Conference will make a success of all its aims and objects and that the Congress leaders will survive all hardships to lead the masses of Africa and do all the work given them by the noble leader of Africa.

"Freedom in our lifetime!"

COMMENTARY ON THE SPEECH OF THE VICE  
PRESIDENT OF NATAL: DR. W.Z. CONCO.  
ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS NATAL, DURBAN ON THE  
8TH, 9TH & 10TH OCTOBER, 1955.

Mr. Chairman, sons and daughters of Africa!

Africa! Africa! Mayibuye - (Let it come back).

I greet you in the name of our National organisation in the province of Natal. Your presence here shows clearly that we are determined to achieve our freedom through thick and thin in our own lifetime! To this end this will ultimately show up the views of the President of Natal Chief Luthuli who was confined by Swart to the district of the lower Tugela. Before I proceed with my speech I want to ask Mr. Speaker to give this Conference a small chance that we should all stand up to the memory of the men who are banned:-

A.N.C. Chief A.J. Luthuli Provincial  
President. Mr. M.B. Yengwa.

We should also remember these men of the  
*Natal*  
~~National~~ Indian Congress:-

Dr. G. Naicker.

J.N. Singh.

M.P. Naicker.

Debi Singh.

Ismail Meer.

S.V. Reddy.

F. Meer.

Cassim Amra.

These Freedom Volunteers co-operated in the struggle for liberation. We hope that Almighty will give them all the strength never to lose courage in *bearing* ~~learning~~ the Freedom Cross.

Yes, fellow - Africans, we remember such men like Chief Luthuli and Yengwa and we wish that God should give us the courage to carry our work in a way that will also please them to rest assured that in fact Africa has more and more soldiers.

The place which Congress occupies politically today is not a matter of ridicule and pride but signifies wisdom and wide knowledge! The leader of the African National Congress is today *being* ~~learning~~ the Freedom Cross like Jesus and bears 10,000,000 times for the African people. What then causes this? There are two reasons:-

- (1) It is by way of fighting for Freedom which demands that the people should fight for their freedom not to ask for it by means of deputation.
- (11) We are lucky to have such a true leader Chief Luthuli amongst us.

Freedom is not begged for but fought for. Hence our song, "Heavy is this burden; It is unbearable for even men!" (Let us just sing it whilst we are sitting down).

Today those who speak the truth are proscribed and pegged! Today men seek refuge behind the accusation that Congress does nothing good; they say Congress has joined hands with the Indians; they say Congress is Communistic. These are the ways of avoiding to bear the burden of this struggle for a just cause - the non-violent movement. Today Congress demands for men who are brave enough to die in the struggle for freedom; Our people are determined to achieve their freedom.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA:-

(1) POLITICAL SITUATION AMONGST WHITES:-

During this year many things happen in relation to the government and its legislation over the African people. Amongst whites we can already foresee some disunity. There are so many Political parties belonging to the Whites and yet they are a very small minority. There is the Nationalist Party

of Afrikaners which is the party in power. This group of Dutch people is the only party which can be said to be united. Within its <sup>ranks</sup> rescue there is no disunity. They are united over their Apartheid doctrine by strengthening racial segregation; by oppressing the Africans through influx control and by doing away with African education.

There is again the United Party which *guards* within itself every day and which is almost absolutely powerless today as compared with the Nationalist Party. The Labour Party is progressing but it is still ~~be~~hatted. What very much pleased us was that it sent a message of goodwill to the Kliptown Conference of the Congress of the People.

There are other political parties like the following which resulted directly from the 1952 Defiance Campaign: The Federal Party and the Liberal Party. I am not going to say anything much about these political parties though. Yet I only want to give a little implication about the Liberal Party. This group stands for racial equality and still goes so far as to accept Africans into its membership. Moreover it stands for the doctrine of equal rights for all without colour discrimination. We of the African National Congress do go with the Liberal Party as far as this aspect is concerned in respect of its aims and objects; but further we differ a lot because it sometimes direct retrogressive steps. By this fellow - Africans I mean:-

- (1) That this doctrine of racial equality without racial discrimination was formulated by Congress in 1912. It is our recognised policy which more than 40 years old.
- (2) The Liberal Party is aiming at achieving freedom through the vote, that is it wants to become the future government of this Country provided the White voters back it. We, Africans, cannot expect that we shall have to achieve anything by begging for our rights from the White voters and so we do not find it advisable that we should be members of this group.
- (3) We of the African National Congress have adopted unconstitutional methods because we have discovered that the methods of begging have proved a failure and we have no other way.

Therefore, fellow - Africans you should understand that the only national organisation of the African people is the African National Congress and that it is only where you can discuss questions affecting the liberatory struggle. We should have one spirit of confidence in our National Organisation and not even at one time should we thrust our hope in White political organisations which have morally nothing

(X)

in store for us as far as liberation is concerned. The Freedom we shall have will be a result of the endeavours of the African people and I have not the slightest hesitation in giving the assurance that we shall free all national groups in the country.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION AMONGST NON-EUROPEANS  
AND THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE.

In short, I feel I should just mention that something happened - something that had never happened in the history of this country - during this year, namely, the Congress of the People Conference which drew up the Freedom Charter. Congress at its historic Conference held in Queenstown in 1953 gave power to its National Executive that it should conv~~oke~~ one of the greatest gatherings comprising of all the racial groups in this country and to invite all the existing organisations even their very branches of white political parties to draw up the Freedom Charter for all the peoples in this country.

The National Executive did this by inviting all the parties of both the White and non-White camps to attend or be represented at this Conference of the Congress of the People. This idea originated from the implication and recommendations of the Cape Province A.N.C. being product of a plan by Professor Z.K. Mathews the then Provincial President for the Cape African National Congress. The organisations which welcomed the invitation to come together with us were:-

*at this conference*

- (1) The South African Indian Congress;
- (2) The S.A. Congress of Democrats;
- (3) The S.A. Coloured Peoples Organisation;
- (4) The Liberal Party.

The liberal Party showed its support to this idea but said that it would co-operate whenever it was necessary. Other groups like the United Party and the Nationalist Party decided to keep silent and say nothing in this respect. This Congress of the People Conference was held at Kliptown on June the 26th 1955. As you will later find out in the Executive Committees report, it proved a great success.

The Freedom Charter was drafted. (It will be put before this Conference so that it should be discussed and amendments proposed). When the Freedom Charter had been drafted Congress discussed it and decided upon its being made into a policy which shall henceforth be followed by our National Organisation.

What was <sup>of</sup> great importance once more at this mighty assembly was the honour and tribute which was payed to Chief Luthuli who is President-General of the A.N.C. and Natal Provincial President when he was offered or rather presented with the Freedom Award (Isitwalandwe). This Conference will again present the President with this award. I shall be

very pleased therefore if all the Natal delegates and volunteers will be present at this ceremony of presenting the award to Chief A.J. Luthuli our President. Other recipients of these awards were Dr. Dadoo and Father Trevor Huddleston.

CONGRESS IN NATAL.

I am pleased to give a review of the progress of Congress activity here in Natal. The year brought hardships by the removal from amongst us of our President and Secretary. Yet through the diligence and courage of the members working hand in hand with the Provincial Executive Committee we attained very satisfactory results which more than equalled our very endeavours. There are branches which were formed up this year which we believe will work even harder than the older ones; we welcome them with a congratulatory spirit especially the officials of these branches. The work of Congress is gradually expanding now-a-days and we find it quite a necessity that we should have more branches and more members at the older branches.

MATTERS AFFECTING THE AFRICAN COMMUNITY.

Here are the things which affected the African people very vitally:-

- (1) Bantu Education.
- (2) Removal of Africans from their rightful homes.
- (3) Passes for women.

- (4) Influx control (like Nongoma, Vuma and Ngwavuma).
- (5) Bantu Authorities.
- (6) Higher rents at locations.

(1) BANTU EDUCATION. The method we are adopting in relation to the so-called Bantu Education will be found in the report on the Conference which was held in Durban on the 27th March, 1955, to discuss Bantu Education.

Of all the laws made by this government, I do not see one which excels this Bantu Education Act. In fact there is not a single law which is more evil - this Dutch government ever made than this one implementing a type of education which we never called for. Congress examined the situation as regards this type of Education at its Annual Conference held in Durban in December, 1954. It passed a resolution that on the 1st of April, 1955, all African children should not go to school - that is, boycott the schools. That was the remedy <sup>invented</sup> by Congress and upon which it based its struggle.

STRUGGLE AGAINST EDUCATION. I want just now to clarify my statement that Congress policy towards this type of education is a two-way struggle:-

(a) THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT is implemented by School Committees and Boards. Yet if the Africans could boycott School Committees and Boards the government could be brought to the understanding that

the people do not want this Bantu Education. Otherwise these Boards and Committees can do nothing for us except the worst. We know that many board members joined these bodies with very little knowledge of what type of education they were trying to implement. We also know that some are already sorry to have accepted the membership to these positions.

(b) Boycott by children of the Bantu Education Schools was fixed <sup>up</sup> for a day as the 1st of April 1955, But the National Executive of Congress withdrew this date in order to give branches enough time to work on it exhaustively.

The struggle of the boycott started in Johannesburg on April 1st owing to the response of parents to the call against the evils of this type of Education. The boycott is still on in the Cape in such places like New Brighton and Peddie. Further we already hear that in these places the fight against this education is more advanced by the establishment of Cultural Clubs.

NEW SURPRISES FROM BANTU EDUCATION.

(a) THE CLOSING OF NURSERY SCHOOLS.

The government has already announced its intention of closing down all the Nursery Schools. Fellow - Africans, there you see how Verwoerd is closing down the schools for your children without consulting the School Committees and Boards; without consulting the chiefs and without consulting parents.

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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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