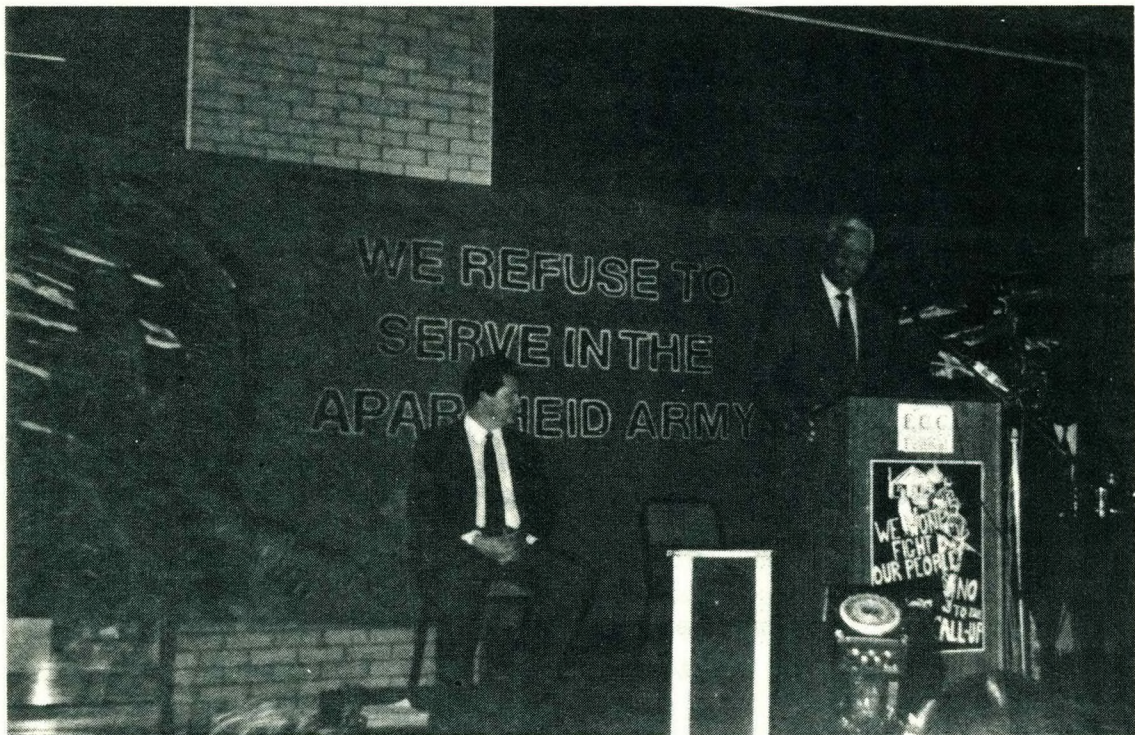


the Objector

SEPTEMBER 1993

JANUARY CALL-UP CANCELLED!

See story on p3



"...we salute you."

-ANC president Nelson Mandela, keynote speaker at the ECC National Peace Festival, acknowledges more than a decade of grassroots struggle within the "white" population against apartheid and militarisation. See article within.

EDITORIAL

As the newsletter of COSG (the Conscientious Objector Support Group), this publication reflects the life of the organisation not only in its content, but in its production process. We are now at the end of the era of apartheid conscription, and are redefining our roles as activists in a changing South Africa and as part of the world peace movement, and have lost two of the three members of the editorial collective. Hence the gap in publication.

When COSG decided to affiliate to War Resisters' International, it also decided in principle to continue after the end of racial conscription (in contrast to the End Conscription Campaign, which will disband). The broad outlines of COSG's future activities were seen as (a) opposing militarisation, especially in South Africa; (b) supporting COs wherever we could, even though there will probably (hopefully) be no more in our own country, and (c) contributing generally to the international peace movement.

It now appears that a broad-based peace movement is necessary and possible in South Africa, and should this materialise COSG would have to consider whether to maintain an independent identity. At the same time, the reduced availability of external funding will mean that whatever activities are pursued, are sustainable primarily by local resources.

The above paragraphs were written before the rather anticlimactic announcement that racial conscription would be ended, and they still seem to suffice. It only remains to add that the articles in this issue on the "Women Overcoming Violence" conference are welcome hints of some of the flavour of peace activism after conscription... assuming, that is, that the generals aren't cooking up a new scheme...



WRI Conference: Women Overcoming Violence

Bangkok, November 1992

A personal account by Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge

This experience made a profound impact on me. What it is I can't really say - maybe it was the opportunity to meet women from such diverse experiences. Although our needs and experiences were different, we were able to enrich each other. Our diversity was evident in the stories we told. Some wanted theoretical analysis to help them understand the nature and source of women's oppression and of violence in our society. Others just wanted to share their suffering and hear about others' experiences in order to develop strategies and practical suggestions back home.

Diversity was therefore a resource rather than an obstacle. The organisers' sensitivity to our needs helped build a spirit of unity and sisterhood among participants. For example, the organisers took seriously the input and suggestions made at the half-way evaluation. The Talking Circles were a great success in that they provided support and were a forum for the women to discuss and further explore themes from the conference.

These were some of the highlights for me:

- * Thailand - the venue of the conference was very well chosen. Apart from the beauty of the country itself and the warmth of its people, Thailand gave me the opportunity to meet and interact with people from countries, which in my limited experience, I did not know existed; countries in Asia and the Pacific islands. Thailand provided a relaxed and peaceful atmosphere for the interaction.

- * The people - I did not get a chance to speak to all the participants, yet I felt that each woman I spoke to was a rich resource. We talked, laughed and sang together. Every evening, after supper, we gathered on the front steps and sang. We even stopped worrying about the mosquitos!

There was a lot to learn from the women. One of the women I

(CONTD on p4)

No further intakes - but camps continue

On the 25th of August, the South African Ministry of "Defence" announced that, pending an "amended and more representative system", there will not be "the normal intake of white national servicemen in 1994."

The press release went on to say: "The present Citizen Force and Commando service obligations are however not initially in any way affected by the announcement."

The wording of the announcement indicates that it is only the racial nature of the present conscription system that is being renounced,

rather than the principle of conscription. It would appear that if the state is not satisfied with the number of "suitable" volunteers available, a non-racial ballot system (probably with educational qualifications) will be introduced.

In the absence of any plausible external military threat, the Ministry's emphasis on the need for a new system which will guarantee "trained manpower for the part-time forces of the country" can only be interpreted to mean a continued commitment to the role of the military as the means of ultimate social control.

...so, what'e up with the Call-p?

What are the prospects for conscription in South Africa? Prior to this month's announcement, racial conscription was definitely on its last legs. Only about 20% of "campers" (previously trained soldiers called up for part-time service) and 40% of "national servicemen" (new recruits) were reporting for duty.

A new government will almost certainly scrap conscription, mainly for economic and logistical reasons.

Once the Transitional Executive Council is in place, the ANC and other parties will have a direct say in military deployment policies, and would not want to be associated with prosecutions of objectors. At the recent Peace Festival, I asked Albie Sachs of the ANC negotiating team what would happen to the conscription system under a transitional government, but he gave no definite answer other than to state that his movement was opposed to retaining conscription in a new South Africa, and that the ANC is the only party in the current negotiations to recognise conscientious objection in its Bill of Rights.

Despite the above, the SADF is vigorously following up conscripts who did not report for this January's call-up. To my knowledge, only one has been summonsed to appear in court (in the Transvaal), but many hundreds have been visited by Military Police in the course of investigations.

The charge non-reporters face is "Failure to Report", which has a maximum penalty of 4 months' imprisonment, but nobody has ever been imprisoned under this section. The penalty is usually a fine of not more than R600 for privates, R1200 for NCOs, and R5000 for officers. A first offender will never be fined the maximum. Thus, a private who is eventually traced, charged and brought to trial is likely to be fined between R300 and R400. Recently, however, a Durban magistrate sentenced a camper to 3 months imprisonment, suspended for 4 years. He has lodged an appeal against the severity of the sentence.

In my experience people who write to the military when they receive callups, explaining that they refuse to serve on political or moral grounds, are generally left alone. Even if such people were tried for "Refusal to Render Service", (which is almost inconceivable after last month's announcement that racial conscription would end) the sentence would probably be to part-time community service, i.e. unpaid spare-time work for non-profit organisations, perhaps up to a total of 800 hours in the case of someone who has never served in the military.

Thus, the moral of the story is: the SADF BARK IS MUCH WORSE THAN ITS BITE; DON'T BE INTIMIDATED. The system is collapsing and will soon be gone. **(Richard Steele)**

WOMEN OVERCOMING VIOLENCE - continued

spent a lot of time with was Vivien Sharples from Seattle. She works for the War Resisters' League. She helped me think more deeply about oppression, by making me aware that we need to keep ourselves in check in whatever ways we have privilege. She made me realise that despite our best intentions we find, more often than not, that we duplicate the patterns of power we find so abhorrent in dominant culture. And that, to create a context which embraces diversity, in which no-one is marginalised, a conscious effort is required.

Women from Africa: Among the participants there were women from Senegal, Morocco, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa. It was quite a challenge when we were asked to present a cultural item that was African. We managed to come up with a kind of blend of our various cultures! Patty and Adele looked stunning in their Afro outfits!

* Being with Patty Geerds - Although Patty and I had met and talked in South Africa, it was in Thailand that we got to know and like each other. We had lots of fun together: we rode motor bikes, tuk-tuks, and even on an elephant. After the conference we spent three days up North in Ching Mai. We stayed in a small motel, in an old part of the city, surrounded by a moat and remains of the old walls. That was wonderful.

* The food - you have to experience Thai food to really know what it is like! During the conference I learnt to appreciate vegetarian food. Our hosts at We-Train Conference Centre were wonderful: very helpful and patient with us.

They prepared the tastiest meals, making us feel loved and cared for. Patty and I spent the last evening having dinner with some WRI women at a street restaurant in Bangkok - very good and very cheap!

* Some insights - On Consumerism: Women and the poor as consumers have a powerful tool at their disposal. They can use their consumer power positively, to influence decisions about the kind of goods that are produced. An awareness of this power is needed, together with an awareness of conservation of nature, and the preservation of culture and personkind.

On Crossing the Line - It is possible. "Women in Black" brought together Israeli and PLO women in a campaign to end the occupation. Palestinian and Israeli women work together and learn from one another. Turkish and Greek Cypriots are campaigning for their people to be re-united. Women from all walks of life have marched together. For the march, they carried no emblems and no symbols. They broke and crossed the military line that divided them. They are united in their fight against militarism.

To summarise: I came back refreshed and revitalised. The conference affirmed my commitment to working for peace and justice for all. The challenge is to make sure that the message of peace reaches everyone. One way could be through the various organisations we belong to. I am excited, for example, that the Strategy Conference of the SACP has adopted a resolution to work with the world peace movement on peace and environmental issues.

Another perspective By Adele Kirsten

The conference was attended by approximately 150 women from 51 countries. It brought together women from grassroots movements in both the South and the North, women activists coming from many diverse backgrounds and cultures. It was exhausting, overwhelming, exciting and frustrating being with so many women from so many different countries with so many different issues.

The first WRI Women's conference to be held outside Europe, it took 5 years to plan - the last was held in Ireland (just outside Dublin) in 1987. The conference focus, "Women Overcoming Violence", arose out of "an awareness of the escalation of violence and displacement in the world, in the form of wars, militarist oppression, poverty, maldevelopment, social oppression, economic exploitation, ecological abuses and physical violence. More often than not women bear the brunt of these oppressions."

The conference's three main themes were:

- * Women overcoming Violence;
- * Women and Militarism;
- * Women Redefining Development.

A panel of 4 to 5 women introduced each day's theme with an overview of the key issues during a plenary session. The aim of the plenary session was to set the tone for the day - to give an idea of the issues around the theme and to point towards women's role in determining a way forward. Small group discussions or workshops discussed specific issues around the broad themes. For example, in Women Overcoming Violence, the plenary focussed on domestic violence and its relationship to the other two themes and the workshops then looked at issues such as: Working with rape survivors; Women's Rights as Human Rights; Nonviolent and Nonsexist Education for Children, etc. Workshop options on

Another perspective on Women Overcoming Violence - contd.

the second theme included topics such as: Opposing intervention and invasion; Neocolonialism and Militarisation; War trauma and children; Women as refugees of war. The final theme of the conference included workshops such as: Responses to state and industrial encroachment on indigenous land; Women gaining economic independence; Nonviolent decision making; Trade unions and women workers.

The organisers had also planned regular Talking Circle meetings - groups of 7 to 8 women got together to talk about the issues of the day, to how we were feeling about the proceedings, etc. The same women remained in these groups throughout the conference. Of course, some of the most interesting and rivetting discussion happened over meals, in the passages and late at night in the dormitories.

One of the frustrations of the conference was a lack of focus on the theme of the day by the panelists. They failed in their inputs to provide participants with direction, challenge and content to discuss further in the smaller workshops. Most speakers focused on women as victims without combining stories of exploitation with stories of women overcoming oppression through innovative and positive actions. Similar problems occurred in workshops with some participants not being able to move from story telling to helping answer the question "how do we change this?" Clearly, many had an incredible need just to talk - to tell our stories.

The last two days of the conference were spent drawing up resolutions which were discussed in the talking circles. The resolutions were generally quite broad - more policy statements than clear, concise suggestions for action. Some resolutions were: condemnation of the abuse of Cambodian women by members of UN "peacekeeping" forces; that WRI recognise exploitation of women workers as a form of violence; suggested topic for 1993 on the International Day to End Violence Against Women (25 Nov) - "Solidarity with Migrant Women and Women Refugees"; for concurrent, co-ordinated activities on International Women's Day (9 March), such as "Cross the Line" activities - eg meetings of women from Serbia and Croatia.

Despite the conference's structural failings, it was incredibly exciting and energising being together. It became clear that as women, we are more often the casualties of war; and all the effects of war - hunger, disease, displacement - affect us most. Siriporn Sakrobanek of Thailand said 70 to 80% of the world's refugees are women, and pointed out that in most Asian and Pacific countries, military budgets exceed health and education budgets combined, and that once again women suffer most from skewed priorities.

This is a familiar picture for South Africans - the inequitable distribution of resources.

After the second day, pieces began to fit together. The links between domestic violence and war go deeper than just the phenomenon of soldiers, brutalised by war, coming home to beat their wives, deeper than just a general "culture of violence". It is the psychological equivalence of war and domestic violence, the intricate relationship between the constructions of masculinity and patriotism and violence that can make abusing your wife into a part of the war, an alternative way of "being on the front". Women from Cambodia and former Yugoslavia assert that the United Nations "peacekeeping" troops are implicated in rape and sexual harassment. Not too far from home - Namibia - we have heard the same assertion.

As well as domestic violence and militarism, the conference focused on development, and its relationship to the other themes. The inputs and discussion around this theme were perhaps the most powerful and useful for many of us. Many speakers highlighted that economic power and development based on domination by a few major powers have increased the gap between rich and poor, encouraging economic dependence and exploitation - in particular of women. However, delegates felt that it was possible and desirable to create a model of development which ensures the physical and material well-being of all. Many spoke with a sense of urgency about the fragility of the world and anxiety about the quality of its continued existence. "The current world situation cannot continue," said Nelsa Curbelo, of SER-PAJ, Latin America. "it is moving to destruction. But there are alternatives coming up from the poor, the marginalised - like the noise of the sea before a storm, the noise of the earth before an earthquake."

In a sensible world women would play a central role in development planning. However, we are often not consulted at all. Elaine Hewitt of Barbados said: "There are so many cases where government and funding agencies have failed in their projects because women were not consulted."

Women were strengthened by each other's accounts of how they had survived and changed their situations. Maggie Helwig, a Canadian journalist, had this to say: "There are no reasons to think that women are **naturally** less violent than men. But there are reasons to suppose that our peculiar relationship to violence can - if we choose - be the basis for a different perspective. Living with everyday terror until fear is almost tediously familiar can destroy you; or it can build in you a peculiar strength.

We are surviving, and we are not going away."

GOING OUT IN STYLE: THE ECC PEACE FESTIVAL

July saw what was probably the last major event of the decade-old End Conscription Campaign, before racial conscription was abolished as part of the transition to a "New South Africa". Hundreds of people from all over the country attended the National Peace Festival, held at the University of the Witwatersrand.

In keeping with the ECC tradition of diversity, the organisers catered for those who'd like to see a new integrated defence force, as well as those who'd rather see **disintegration** of armed forces...here's a summary of the programme:

- * the festival opened with a cheese & wine function, against the backdrop of an exhibition of anti-conscription media, followed by some musical events, and then Nelson Mandela's keynote address. He praised the work of the Campaign and its allies - but went on to say, as an intended compliment, that there will be a place for it in the future South Africa!

- * after a review of the ECC's origins and history, the first theme session dealt with "Peace Keeping in South Africa"; after an input on the

National Peace Accord, workshops dealt with "Intervening to Prevent Violence", "Community Initiatives Against Violence", "A National Peace Keeping Force" and "After Elections in Angola - What Can We Learn?";

- * the next theme session was "Armed Forces in Transition", with workshops on "Integration of Armed Forces", "Disclosure and Intelligence Organisations", "Police as Peace Keepers" and "The Right Wing"; this was followed by a special session on Bosnia addressed by award-winning Guardian journalist Maggie O'Kane;

- * supper was accompanied by a music by the Elite Swingsters, Bush Culture and Tananas;

- * after interfaith prayers to start the final day, the theme "Developing a Peaceful Society" connected workshops on "A Future Defence Policy", "Healing the Wounds of the Past in South Africa", "Peace Education in Schools", "A Voluntary Civilian Service" and "A New Anti-Militarisation Movement" - this last session resulting in an ongoing process of consultation about which more will (hopefully) soon be heard.

UPDATE ON S.A. MILITARISM AND RESISTANCE

October 92:

(these two items were accidentally omitted from the last **Objector**)

- * Involvement of members of the disbanded CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau - a covert SADF unit) indicated at the inquest into the 1989 assassination of activist and academic David Webster;

- * a draft Bill published in the Government Gazette which, if made law, would allow "restriction" of products and technology related to mass destruction, eg. nuclear weapons.

November 92:

- * The Army announces additional troop call-ups to help combat the increased violence in Natal. Defence Minister Gene Louw accuses Transkei of training and housing MK cadres. Train violence erupts again on

the Reef;

- * in view of the increasing violence, SA Council of Churches' Frank Chikane calls on political leaders to re-open negotiations urgently;

- * in Luanda the Angolan government accuses the SA government of continuing to support UNITA fighters, and declares Foreign Minister Pik Botha **persona non grata**;

- * the inquest of ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni discloses an SADF plot, codenamed "Project Echoes", to discredit the ANC; it was linked to members of a militant Ulster loyalist group;

- * Judge Goldstone (commissioned to investigate political violence) uncovers another secret MI project, the DCC (Directorate of Covert Collection), apparently the successor to the disbanded CCB; documents relating to an anti-ANC smear campaign are seized. Goldstone's request for

further powers to investigate the security forces is turned down by President de Klerk;

- * General Pierre Steyn is appointed by President de Klerk to investigate SADF Intelligence activities;

- * at the judicial enquiry into the 1989 assassination of David Webster the chief suspect is Ferdi Barnard, one-time CCB member subsequently employed by the DCC;

- * bilateral talks between the government and the ANC begin in earnest, and Inkatha leader Buthelezi responds with a threat to turn Natal/Kwazulu into an independent state;

- * the endemic violence begins to impact on whites: four are shot dead at a golf club in Kingwillamstown, and the PAC's armed wing, APLA, claims responsibility;

- * Armscor puts on a major show, the "Defence Exposition of South Africa", in Johannesburg.

UPDATE (contd)

ECC, Black Sash and MOP (Methodist Order of Peacemakers) members distribute leaflets protesting at the social cost of the arms industry.

December:

* ECC's petition to the Chief Justice for leave to appeal against the September judgement of the Transvaal Supreme Court (which upheld the validity of continued racial conscription) is refused;

* reports of air space violations by the SA Air Force over Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique raise fears of destabilisation of neighbouring states;

* the SADF announces a new Voluntary Period Short Service system to replace some of its Permanent Force members by volunteers ("of all population groups") on contracts of between two and six years. Cuts in the "defence" budget have reduced permanent posts by more than 6000.

* at an ECC press conference in Cape Town, 21 men facing January "National Service" call-ups publicly state their refusal to serve;

* alleged informal APLA training bases are found in the Transkei, near the white-owned farms of the north-east Cape province. The PAC later denies having such bases;

* an investigation by the police into corruption in the arms industry reveals a possible connection between an Armscor employee and the CCB, with Armscor funds being channeled to the CCB through a front firm;

* nine senior officers of the SADF are placed on compulsory leave or early retirement and a further seven are being investigated for "criminal or unauthorised activities". Those

retired include the Officer Commanding the DCC, and other members of Intelligence services.

January 1993:

* In terms of the 1977 arms embargo of South Africa, the UN puts pressure on Switzerland to halt the sale of 60 Pilatus training aircraft;

* weapons and ammunition valued at R134000 stolen from an army weapons store at Welkom. Seven members of the far-Right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) arrested. Two South Africans are reported to have attempted to buy 20 million pounds' worth of arms from an international syndicate in London;

* the ECC claims that about 4000 failed to obey the January "National Service" callup, and that large-scale prosecutions would be a logistical nightmare, although the SADF promises a ruthless crackdown;

* the CIA claims that South Africa has an advanced nuclear weapons program and a stockpile of such weapons at Pelindaba;

* the Human Rights Commission reports that 3499 people died in political violence last year; of these, 1822 were in the Pretoria/Witwatersrand/Vaal area and 1430 in Natal. By the end of December, 29 magisterial districts and five townships had been declared "unrest areas".

February:

* 22 conscripts from the University of Pretoria military unit are court-martialled for failing to report for a camp over the Christmas/New Year period, and are fined R200 or less. ECC calls this a show trial to bolster the government's threat to prosecute all "draft dodgers";

* as a result of the seizure of an arms cache on the Natal/Swaziland border, eight

men are arrested; the ANC confirms that five are ANC members, and claims that one was severely tortured after arrest;

* Admiral Paul Murray, Chief of Defence Staff (Finance) announces that the "defence" budget is to be further slashed; the current year's allocation is R9,7 billion; the (unaudited) Special Defence Account still stands at R4,4 billion, of which R4,2 billion is for arms purchases, and R200 million for "special projects";

* the army plans to reduce citizen force (part-time) obligations from April if the situation in the country is stable;

* rumours abound of arms being illegally flown to UNITA in Angola from Mmabatho in the Bophutatswana "homeland", and of the MPLA recruiting mercenaries from disbanded SADF units;

* ANC leaders in Natal call for an international peacekeeping force; neither the ANC nor Inkatha considers the police impartial.

March:

* The Swiss government orders the Pilatus training aircraft being sold to South Africa to be incapable of being armed (the SA Air Force intends them to replace current Harvard trainers);

* religious objector Luis Mitras appears in court again; charges dropped;

* at the reopened inquest of four activists, a Col. du Plessis confirms that the signal authorised by Brig. van der Westhuizen was a death order for the four (v.d. Westhuizen is now chief of Military Intelligence and was also the mastermind of a secret plan in 1986 to counter the ANC and UDF in the eastern Cape and to depose the then president of the Ciskei "homeland", Lennox Sebe);

UPDATE (contd)

* the controversial 32 Battalion, comprising mainly former Angolans, is finally disbanded;

* President de Klerk admits South Africa's nuclear capability, claiming that the six weapons produced in the 80's are dismantled;

* emergency callups of 20 000 Citizen Force and Commando members are justified by referring to "crime and terrorism"; the PAC interprets this as a threat to invade the Transkei "homeland".

April:

* Kobie Coetzee takes over the portfolio of "Defence" from Gene Louw, while simultaneously holding that of "Justice";

* Chris Hani, Communist Party leader and Umkhonto weSizwe veteran, assassinated. Polish immigrant Janusz Walusz arrested. Days before his death Hani called for the transformation of controversial township "Self Defence Units" into Peace Corps-type formations to rehabilitate destabilised communities;

* memorial services, marches, and Hani's funeral bring the country to a stop. A massive security operation is mounted, comprising 20 000 troops and police. A week later veteran ANC leader Oliver Tambo dies aged 79;

* two Citizen Force campers, John Downie and John Kelley, appear in court on charges of refusing to serve in the SADF; both cases remanded to June 28;

* in support of Kelley and Downie, 50 other campers state their refusal to do further camps; thirteen of them publicly return kit to Witwatersrand Command after a press conference at which the ECC calls for suspension of prosecutions.

May:

* The ANC's proposal for a

combined armed force of about 5000 to safeguard the run-up to elections could be on the agenda of the negotiations forum;

* a new rightwing alliance, the Afrikaner Volksfront, is launched by four retired generals, including ex-Chief of the SADF Constand Viljoen. They claim to have the support of 500 000 trained soldiers, ie Citizen Force and Commando members;

* the ex-chairman of Armscor discloses that a former Armscor agent absconded with R2,3 million by falsifying signatures of foreign-based officials handling clandestine arms imports.

June:

* The SADF announces that 8000 people of all races and both sexes had applied for employment in the SADF's Voluntary Short Service System;

* army signaller Zalani Sikokoyi jailed for an effective three years on charges of stealing confidential documents relating to radio frequencies and the layout of 121 Battalion barracks at Mtubatuba;

* John Downie and John Kelly in court again at Vanderbijlpark; cases postponed to January 1994.

July:

* Russia, Portugal and the USA call on the international community to allow the Angolan Government to purchase arms to fight UNITA, and to intensify the arms embargo against UNITA, after having voted for the UN Security Council to encourage economic and technical assistance to the MPLA government;

* General Kat Liebenberg announces his retirement as head of the SADF at the end of October, and "Defence" minister Kobie Coetzee announces that Liebenberg will be succeeded by General George Meiring, the

head of the army;

* at the July intake of "National Servicemen" only 2600 of the 12000 called up report for duty; Genl. Liebenberg confirms that the SADF is looking at a new recruitment system, but states that those who ignored call-ups will be prosecuted;

* End Conscription Campaign Peace Festival held - see article in this issue;

* some eight men are due to appear in Johannesburg and Pretoria magistrates' courts on charges of failing to report for the January call-up; most of them pay admission of guilt fines of R300, a precedent apparently established in the case of international rugby player Robert du Preez.

August:

* In response to the high death toll in East Rand township violence, troops are deployed to support police by patrolling in armed vehicles;

* Umkhonto weSizwe soldiers occupy ANC branch offices in Durban to protest against lack of support by the ANC and failure to incorporate them in a new army;

* the Weekly Mail reports that government departments were ordered to destroy classified documents especially those relating to the National Security Management System, the instrument of P.W.Botha's "total strategy" - which included counterrevolutionary warfare by covert operations, disinformation and destabilisation;

* allegations of torture and solitary confinement in ANC prison camps outside South Africa in the past are confirmed in the report of the Motsuenyane Commission appointed by the ANC to probe human rights abuses;

* Kobie Coetzee announces the end of racial conscription - see articles in this issue.

Collection Number: AG1977

END CONSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN (ECC)

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers Research Archive

Location:- Johannesburg

©2013

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection held at the Historical Papers Research Archive at The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.