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NOTES ON LECTURING

The purpose of gaining knowledge of political science is to put your knowledge into practice. One of the best ways of doing this is to learn how to convey what you know to others. Present conditions make it urgent that every one who possibly can should master this art. Each one of us must endeavour to teach others, and through teaching and mutual discussion, improve the understanding of all.

The best way to learn to lecture is to start lecturing, first among a small group of close friends who will not mind if you make mistakes, but will help with comradely criticisms. In this way you will acquire confidence and experience and be able to lecture to a wider circle.

STUDY OF "WHAT IS MARXISM?"

The book "What is Marxism?" by Emile Burns is an excellent basis to use in such a group. Each of the eight chapters can be taken in turn by a different member every week. It is a good summary of many difficult aspects of the subject, so the course will not only help to train lecturers, but will at the same time give the members of the group a good basic knowledge of a very important subject.

To help in preparing lectures for these sessions, a series of lecture-notes is attached. Each member should read the book. The one who is preparing a chapter should make a careful study of it beforehand. The actual lecture given will also depend on the standard of education of group members, how much other reading they have done, and how much studying they have done. Lecturers must be careful to see each person understands everything that is said.

TASK OF LECTURER

The task of the lecturer is not simply to reproduce or summarise what is in the book. He must enable his listeners to understand it. He cannot merely use the notes without individual study and thought; he should prepare his own notes, with the assistance of the book and the notes given.

The lecturer must read carefully and make a note of everything that is difficult to understand. The same points will probably worry others as well. Try to work out, and give the others, the benefit of your thinking on the matter. This is creative teaching. It is a hundred times better than merely parroting or summarising. The worse lecturer is the one who tries to cover up or slide quickly over his own difficulties. If there are things you don't understand yourself, don't be afraid to say so, and make a point of raising these very questions in your lecture. A good lecturer is constantly trying to learn more, not simply to teach others.

POINTS TO REMEMBER

1. A lecture should not be hurried; but at the same time you should aim to cover your chapter fully. That is why each set of notes is numbered. You can see how much you have covered, how much is still left in the time you have.
2. Try your best to illustrate your points by thinking out examples related to the local and personal experience of your listeners. This is important, and brings the subject to life, besides making understanding clearer.
3. Make notes, but don't read from them. Reading makes a dull lecture. Talk naturally - a little slower than usual. Think all the time you talk.
4. Don't talk too much. Leave a lot of time for questions and discussion. Encourage your listeners to interrupt when they don't follow you; but not to the point where you lose control and leadership in your lecture.
5. Don't worry about yourself and what sort of "impression" you are making; worry about what you are explaining. These are great and important ideas - are you conveying them clearly? That is the test of a good lecturer. The "actor" type who leaves his audience impressed with his own cleverness and personality, but remembering little of what he said, is useless.
6. Thorough preparation; self-confidence; modesty. These are the marks of a good lecturer. All who use this course should aim at producing such lecturers; both on the evenings when you are lecturing and when you are listening, questioning and criticising, enrich your own knowledge and that of your friends.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION - A SCIENTIFIC VIEW OF THE WORLD

1. Changes in human society are not accidental, but follow certain laws.
2. Basing his ideas on the study of the actual experience of men, Marx worked out a scientific theory of the working of society. Using this approach he laid bare the economics of capitalism.
3. Because Marxism is based on the experience of men and on the actual world around us, Marxism is not a completed and finished theory. As history unfolds, so new facts come to light. Outstanding developments have been made by Lenin, Stalin, Mao-Tse-Tung.
4. Marxism is not just an academic theory, but a guide to action. The Marxist study of society is used to change society, to change the world around us.

### QUESTIONS

1. What was Lenin's contribution to the development of Marxist theory? Was the absence of this in Marx's works a theoretical deficiency?
2. What is meant by the phrase that Marxism not only explains the world we live in, but is a weapon in order to change it?

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE LAWS OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

#### 1. THE CLASS STRUGGLE

- A. Marxism is not satisfied with an explanation of events by reference merely to the exploits of individuals. The real science of history deals with people and not individuals. Individuals have a bearing on events only in-so-far as they represent a movement of the people as a whole, or a group of people.
- B. When we approach history in this way, we see that after the stage of primitive society, people are divided into groups struggling against each other. These groups we call "classes".
- C. How do you find out what class a person belongs to? You ask yourself the question: "How does he make a living?" All people who get their living in the same way belong to the same class.
- D. The change from one form of society to another is brought about by the struggle between classes.
- E. The development of the means of production is the basis for the growth of classes and the victory of one class over another.
- F. The conscious action of a class with "the future in its hands" comes about when the old relations of production are seen to be a barrier preventing full use being made of the new productive forces which have developed.

#### 2. IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

- A. The institutions, moral codes and ideas at any given period arise out of and are associated with the form of production. When there is a change from one form of production to another there is also a change in the ideas and institutions. Ideas are not abstract. All ideas are class ideas.
- B. Although ideas arise from material conditions, they in turn exert an influence on the course of things. While the change is in progress (a struggle between classes) there is also a conflict in ideas. The old, dying class tries to suppress the new ideas which are the chief weapons in the struggle to overthrow a decaying class.
- C. Marxists consider that since ideas arise out of social conditions, there are no "abstract" ideas and principles. When new ideas arise that are in conflict with the established order (as for instance when people get the idea of "socialism", though still living in a capitalist society) that is because the conditions for the new idea have already appeared - and in fact can only

- any property is capital, and you may own property without being a capitalist. Capital is that property which is used to produce surplus value.
- B. At the beginning of the Capitalist era, capital was accumulated by direct robbery - this Marx calls "primitive accumulation". Thereafter, capital increases by indirect robbery - through the exploitation of the workers.
  - C. The class struggle hinders the accumulation of capital and eventually puts an end to capitalist production. Periodic crises also hinder accumulation because capitalists have to stop production, and even destroy some of the goods already produced.
  - D. Periodic crises which occur under capitalism are due to the fact that the mass of the people who work do not get enough wages to buy the things which are produced. In other words, a crisis is caused by a fall in the wages of the workers in relation to a rise in production.
  - E. Competition is also a factor in the development of capitalism, and also has two contradictory results - the lowering of wages and speeding up; and the reduction of demand through less total wages being paid out. Competition also leads to the appearance of big trusts and monopolies; out of capitalist competition comes its opposite - capitalist monopoly.

### QUESTIONS

1. Discuss this statement: "the more useful an article is, the more value it has"
2. How is the value of a worker's labour-power determined? Is the value of his labour-power and the wages he gets always the same?
3. Explain why it is correct to say that a capitalist, in order to make profit, has to exploit the worker.
4. What does the capitalist try to do to make more profits?
5. How was capital originally accumulated? How does it increase in the process of production?
6. What causes crises under capitalism?

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE IMPERIALIST STAGE OF CAPITALISM

#### 1. WHAT DO WE MEAN BY IMPERIALISM?

- A. Imperialism is a policy of expansion and conquest of less-developed countries to form an empire.
- B. However, this is not simply a search for markets, or for raw materials, food or land for immigration.
- C. The special feature of imperialism is the export of capital, as distinct from the export of ordinary commodities.

#### 2. WHAT ARE THE FEATURES OF IMPERIALISM?

- A. The concentration of production and capital has developed to such an extent that it creates monopolies which play an important part in the economic life of the country.
- B. Bank capital has merged with industrial capital, creating a "finance-capital" oligarchy which virtually rules the country.
- C. The export of capital, as distinguished from the export of commodities, grows in importance.
- D. International monopoly combines of capitalists are formed, and divide the world between them.
- E. The territorial division of the world by the Great Powers is virtually complete - expansion can now only be made at each other's expense.

#### 3. WHY IMPERIALISM BRINGS CRISES AND WARS

- A. Imperialist stage of capitalism brings world wars, greater economic crises, and working class revolutions and the revolt of colonial and oppressed people against their exploiters.
- B. The concentration of capital in the hands of small groups also means these groups get more and more power over the State machine, so that the policy of various countries becomes closely associated with the interests of narrow groups.
- C. This leads to trade wars fought by tariffs, quotas and other State measures, and in the last resort to war.
- D. There is a bitter struggle for markets, with economic agreements between countries that do not last, as one group becomes more powerful and increases its productivity.

appear when society is ready for it. Ideas based on the old system of production are "conservative", those on the new are "progressive".

- D. Up to a point the process which brings new productive forces out of the old system are unconscious and unplanned. But a stage is reached when old class relations become a barrier preventing the new productive forces from full use. Man has now sufficient knowledge to pass on to the next stage of society in a planned and conscious way.

QUESTIONS

- 1. What are the main classes in : (a) slave society (b) feudal society (c) capitalist society?
- 2. Discuss how and why the change from feudalism to capitalism took place.
- 3. Would it be correct to say that if it was not for Napoleon the French bourgeoisie would not have embarked on a policy of aggression? Give reasons.
- 4. If it is a scientific law of history that a change must come about, why is it necessary to have organisations to bring about that change?
- 5. Discuss some of the "principles" that arise from the form of society that we have in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

CAPITALIST SOCIETY

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF CAPITALISM

- A. Capitalism as a system of production has not always existed. Like all other systems, capitalism is not eternal and is changing. Marx showed in what directions it was changing.
- B. Under feudalism, production was mainly directed to satisfy local consumption. Under capitalism, production is for profit - for the market.
- C. Production for profit requires capitalists and workers; people who own the means of production and people who have nothing to sell except their labour-power.

2. HOW IS PROFIT MADE?

- A. Profit is not made by selling goods above their value. For the value of the article itself contains the profit. This something that gives it value comes in the course of production. This something adds a value greater than its own value.
- B. Value does not depend on the usefulness of a commodity, although you cannot sell things unless they are useful or have use-value. For example, the air you breathe has a great deal of use-value, but no exchange-value.
- C. The common property that all commodities have is that they are all products of human labour. This gives them exchange-value (which we call value).
- D. The amount of value is determined by the amount of socially necessary labour time put into the production of a commodity.
- E. Labour-power is a commodity, and its value is determined in the same way as all other commodities - that is, the amount of food and shelter, clothes and other things necessary to produce the labour-power (to keep the worker alive and going).
- F. Profit is made because the time spent in producing the worker's labour-power is less than the time the workers spend in working for the capitalist. The value created by the worker for which he is not paid is called "surplus value".
- G. Although labour time determines the value of commodities, actual price may be affected by other factors, such as supply and demand. This is also true as regards wages, which the worker gets when he sells his labour-power. But here there is an additional factor - Trade Union organisation.
- H. The worker works part of the day for himself and part for the capitalist. The capitalist is always trying to increase the part of the day during which the worker works for nothing. This is done by: (i) speeding up (ii) reduction of wages (iii) lengthening the working day. On the other hand, the worker fights for: (i) shorter working hours (ii) higher wages (iii) against speeding up. Thus the class struggle arises out of the system of production.

3. A CURRENCY OF CAPITAL

- A. Before he can exploit the worker, the capitalist needs capital. Capital is property - machinery, buildings, raw materials, fuel, money, etc. But not

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#### 4. THE PEOPLES' ATTITUDE TO WARS

Marxism condemns imperialist wars of conquest, and wars to hold down peoples fighting for their liberation.

But it regards wars fought against imperialist conquest, or for liberation from imperial rule, as just.

#### 5. IMPERIALISM BRINGS NOT ONLY WARS, BUT ALSO REVOLUTIONS

- A. Class and colonial struggles become more acute.
- B. Monopolist groups in imperialist countries draw very high profits from the exploitation of the people. This also enables them to yield to pressure from their own "home" workers for higher wages, and leaders of the privileged sections tend to become "opportunist" and identify themselves closely with the imperialist policy of their own ruling class.
- C. Struggle of the colonial people for liberation becomes more determined and widespread.

#### 6. IMPERIALISM BRINGS ABOUT THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION

- A. Conquest and penetration of "backward" countries breaks up old forms of life and production, destroys the basis on which the people lived.
- B. Pressure on the people is increased by taxation to maintain apparatus of imperialist rule.
- C. In the countryside, the people are forced off the land, deprived of old forms and means of livelihood; in the towns, working class organisation is hampered and often suppressed. The middle classes chafe against the bonds of imperial rule. The development of "native" capitalism is restricted. Thus there is the widest possible basis for a united, national struggle of all sections of the people against imperial rule.
- D. This struggle unites peasants, workers, middle class and others for elementary democratic rights, against police terror and suppression, for the right to organise in trade unions, to own land, property, to move freely, trade freely, etc.

READING: Stalin: the National & Colonial Question; Economic Problems of Socialism  
 P. Dutt: India Today; Crisis of the British Empire  
 Lenin: Imperialism; War and the Second International.

#### QUESTIONS

- 1. What is the economic basis of the support of a section of the working class in imperialist countries (social democracy) for imperialism?
- 2. What is the rôle of the following in colonial countries in a revolution against imperialism: (a) the national bourgeoisie; (b) the peasantry; (c) pre-capital elements (feudal, tribal chiefs) (d) the proletariat?
- 3. On what grounds do Marxists distinguish between just and unjust wars?

### CHAPTER FIVE

#### CLASS STRUGGLES AND THE STATE

Class struggles arise out of the form of production which divides society into classes, one of which carries out the actual process of production (slave, serf, wage-earner) while the other (slave-owner, lord, capitalist employer) enjoys part of the product without having to work to produce it.

In addition to the two main classes in each epoch, there are also other classes.

#### 1. GENERAL LAWS OF REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

- A. It is the new ruling class in early states which always leads the revolutionary struggle. Struggle is always conducted by class which is coming to power in the new system of production.
- B. Every revolution which aims at overthrowing existing ruling class is not a revolution only of the class which is to succeed to power, but a revolution of all who are oppressed or restricted by the existing ruling class (give exs.)
- C. The revolution that puts the new class into power is only the high point of a continuous struggle between classes, due to their conflicting interests in production.

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- D. The aim of the working class is to prepare for and organise overthrow of ruling class of capitalists, and the organisation of a new system of production - socialism. In the process of preparing for this, the working class develops many forms of organisation, such as trade unions, associations and political parties. In the course of struggling for certain limited aims - such as higher wages and better conditions in industry - the workers learn common interests as a class against capitalists. The working class political party explains why, as long as capitalism continues, so class struggles must continue, and so also must continue the rule of force.

## 2. THE POSITION OF THE STATE IN RELATION TO THE PEOPLES' STRUGGLES

- A. The state is often thought of simply as the parliament - the "elected" governing apparatus. But the historical development of the state shows that it has in the past had little to do with parliamentary institutions.
- B. In primitive society, when people lived in small tribes, there was no sign of existence of a state. Predominance of custom, authority, respect, the power enjoyed by the elders of the tribe - but nowhere is there a special category of people who are set apart to rule others, and who, in the interests and with the purpose of that rule, systematically and permanently command a certain apparatus of coercion, of violence, such as we see represented by the armed forces, police, prisons, courts, and other means of subjugating the will of others by force - in fact all that which constitutes the essence of the state.
- C. To find the essence of the state and its significance, we must ask why no state existed when there were no classes, no exploiters and exploited, and why it arose when classes arose.
- D. The state appears with the division of society into classes. In most countries the evolution of society followed the pattern - primitive society into feudalism, feudalism into capitalism. In our own country, there are sections of each of these still existing side by side.
- As class society arises, so the state arises and takes firm root.
- E. The state really does amount to such an apparatus of rule separated out from human society. "When there appears such a special group of men who are occupied with ruling and nothing else, and who, in order to rule, need a special apparatus of coercion and of subjugating the will of others by force - prisons, special detachments of men, armies, etc. - there appears the state".
- F. "The state is a machine for maintaining the rule of one class - (J.S.) over another". (J.S.) It is impossible to compel the greater part of society to work systematically for the other part of society without the permanent apparatus of coercion. So long as there were no classes, there was no apparatus like this. When classes appeared, always and everywhere this division grew and the state institution appeared.
- "The state is a machine for the oppression of one class by another, a machine for keeping in subjugation to one class, other subordinated classes."

## 3. THE POSITION OF THE STATE IN RELATION TO PARLIAMENT

- A. Is the state machine controlled by the parliament or governing institutions of the country? As long as parliament of the country represents only the ruling class, it appears to control the state machine. But when parliament or other institution does not adequately represent the ruling class, and attempts to carry through measures disturbing to the ruling class, the fact that it does not control state machine becomes obvious. (Examples.) (Classic example, of course, fascism - Franco in Spain.)
- B. How does ruling class maintain its separate control of state machine, especially armed forces, which superficially are controlled by "parliament"? Answer is in the character of the state machine itself. Higher posts in armed forces, judicial system, administrative services generally, are permanent and held by members or trusted servants of ruling class. Parliamentary democracy does not penetrate the tough core of the state machine.
- C. However, democratic institutions are not unimportant, nor is struggle for parliamentary democracy an unimportant struggle, even if it is only part of the whole struggle and cannot by itself bring new order of society. (Significant that fascism everywhere destroys parliamentary institutions, just because of the opportunities they present to the people's opposition.)

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#### 4. THE STATE MACHINE OF THE WORKING CLASS

- A. People's will can only prevail effectively when the armed barrier in its way - the capitalist state machine - has been destroyed.
- B. But it is not enough to defeat and destroy state machine of former ruling class. Working class must set up its own state machine - own centralised apparatus of force - to defeat capitalist class completely and defend new system from within and without.
- C. Also, working class must set up its own form of government with important differences and different purposes to the old. This new form of state was called by Engels the "dictatorship of the proletariat".
- D. This is not a contradiction. To achieve real democracy the working people must exercise forcible control of the minority who will continue to use all forces against the people's will. Comm. Manifesto says: "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interest of the immense majority".
- E. History confirms Marx's conclusion that the working class must maintain its own state organisation for a long period after taking power (Paris Commune; socialist revolution in USSR; Guatemala.)

#### 5. WHEN WILL THE STATE FINALLY DISAPPEAR?

- A. Class struggles and the state continue through history as long as human society remains divided into classes.
- B. But when working class take power, they do it to end class divisions and organise new system to serve society as a whole.
- C. When this process has been completed - ON A WORLD SCALE - there will be no class conflict, because no classes with separate interests, therefore no need of state - an apparatus of force - to protect one set of interests against another.
- D. "When the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve - only when the possibility of this no longer exists, shall we consign this machine to the scrapheap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation".  
- (J.S.)

#### QUESTIONS

1. How and when did the state arise in South Africa? What was its earliest form?
2. What classes exist in South Africa today?
3. What is the relation between the state and the present parliament in our country?
4. "Every revolution which aims at overthrowing the existing ruling class is not a revolution only of the class which is to succeed to power, but a revolution of all who are oppressed or restricted by the existing ruling class". Discuss this statement in relation to the national struggle in South Africa.

(Reading: Note: Limited number of Little Lenin Library "Lenin and Stalin on The State", are available, 9d. each.)

### CHAPTER SIX

#### SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Socialist society, like all previous forms, Marx said, would come into existence on the basis on what already existed before it - emerge from capitalism. It would not be utopian dream, compounded of ideal conception of what such a society should be.

#### 1. CAPITALISM PREPARES THE WAY FOR SOCIALISM

- A. Production becomes increasingly social; factories get larger; greater interdependence of people, old ties broken, for wider ones made.
- B. Products are made by co-operative work of society; but still privately owned. Large concerns are ready to be taken over by new society. Smaller enterprises must co-operate, learn to produce in common.

## 2. HOW THE TRANSFORMATION TAKES PLACE

- A. "Not forcibly, but by way of example and by offering social aid."
- B. After power of former ruling class has been broken, and larger enterprises taken over, not everyone is immediately forced to accept socialism.
- C. First essential feature of socialism is that the means of production are taken from private ownership, and used for society as a whole.
- D. Next, essential, step is conscious, planned development of productive forces.
- E. From this follows increase in level of production, therefore in standard of living of the people, and this is the material basis on which the intellectual and cultural level of the people is raised.
- F. Planned production consists of two parts - the plan for new means of production, and the plan for consumption (not only food, but education, etc.)
- G. Never over-production. There may be bad planning, but defects are easily remedied.

## 3. WHY ALL DO NOT GET AN EQUAL SHARE

- A. How are goods shared out among the people? Not equally. New society has grown from old, and equal share would penalise many. Equality based on the unequal conditions left by capitalism would not be just. "Rights, instead of being equal, must be unequal ... Justice can never rise superior to the economic conditions of society and the cultural development conditioned by them".
- B. Those who do most useful work get greater rewards. But each year skill and development of the people is raised, raising all standards. Inequality is the lever by which the whole social level is raised.
- C. Inequality is not permanent feature of society. When production reaches the stage where all can have all their needs fulfilled, there is no longer any need to measure or limit.

## 4. COMMUNISM IMPLIES MORE THAN MERE MATERIAL SUFFICIENCY

- A. Barriers are broken, all become "intellectuals".
- B. Women play equal share in every sphere, and their "home" work is reduced.
- C. National barriers disappear. No subject races.
- D. Democracy becomes the responsibility and part of life of all.
- E. Differences between town and country are broken down.
- F. Individualism is replaced by social outlook. Human nature itself is changed.
- G. With establishment of world communism, the long history of class divisions and struggles will come to an end, and man will resume his struggle with nature, on a great scale.

### QUESTIONS

1. How does capitalism prepare the way for the new society - socialism?
2. Discuss the way in which socialism is built up, with reference to the new democracies and China today. What is meant by planned production?
3. What is the purpose of inequality of wages under socialism?
4. How does socialism prepare the way to communism?

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### THE MARXIST VIEW OF NATURE

The theories of Marxism are based on the materialistic conception of the world, known as "Dialectical Materialism".

#### 1. MATERIALISM AND IDEALISM

- A. Idealism is the view that the external world has existence only in the mind, that the mind is the primary reality and matter, if real, is secondary.
- B. Marxists believe in the reality of the external world, whether we are conscious of it or not.
- C. Importance of these views is that of practical action: man does not merely observe nature; he changes it, and himself with it. And ideas are a reflection of reality, and have their origin in the world around us.



2. DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM

- A. Everything is interdependent, all depends on other things.
- B. Everything is moving, changing, growing or dying. Nothing is static.
- C. No development is smooth and even. Gradual changes take place over a long period, but eventually every quantitative change becomes a qualitative change.
- D. Everything has its positive and negative side, developing features and features that are passing away. The conflict between these opposites gives rise to change.

3. THE MEANING OF THE MATERIALIST OUTLOOK

- A. Man's physical existence comes before the ideas which man forms of his own life. The practical ways in which men get their living are the basis of their ideals. Political ideas and institutions arise from the system of production, not from abstract principles. The institutions and ideas of each age are a reflection of the practice in that age.
- B. But old ideas persist alongside the new. No single idea, rising from society, is valid and absolute for all time.
- C. Marxism deals with society as it exists not only here and now, but as it existed in the past and as it is developing as a result of its own internal contradictions.
- D. Marxism provides the guide to action which allows men and women for the first time to consciously fit their actions to the processes around them.

QUESTIONS

- 1. Why is the controversy between idealism and materialism important?
- 2. Give examples of the idealistic outlook.
- 3. Are there "eternal truths"?
- 4. How does one form of society develop into another? When does the change take place?
- 5. Is South Africa a capitalist country? Is there feudalism in South Africa? Discuss the conceptions of changing society as applied to our country.

**Collection Number: AD1812**

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

**TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand*

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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