





NENE (51)

No. 20. V.10. w.1954 at w.1955/8.

A.N.C. meeting, No. 2. Square, Alexandra Township,  
18/7/54.

Purpose - routine Sunday meeting.

Acted as Chairman.

p.1955. ....A.N.C. is at war with the Government  
of South Africa. A.N.C. is the only opposition  
to the Government.

p.1955. Though Swart said Defiance Campaign  
will be crushed, but last week we have already  
got 3000 volunteers in three weeks time.

p.1955/6. We will have to pay high price for  
Defiance. The day we are ordered we will march  
forward to defy though Swart have ordered police  
to shoot ....wasting time, guns will not stop  
march of the A.N.C.

p.1956. ....from now on we will begin to  
organise everybody to join volunteers.



*P. Selzer (66)*

No. 20. Vol. 10. p. 1954 to p. 1967.

A.N.C. meeting, Alexander Township. 18/7/54.

Apparently a routine organisational meeting.

Report seems incomplete and not very clear or  
cohesive.



*P. Selepe (66) No. 20 printed.*

p.1956.           The African people who do not support Sophiatown people do not realise today but tomorrow when Alexander goes it will be the time they realise, but too late.

§.1956.           We of A.N.C. know that we will get freedom. Though they remove all locations like Lady Selbourne, Alexander Township, Sophiatown; though Chief Luthuli may be removed immediately he is removed someone else takes his place.

p.1957.           Malan will not be free unless the Africans are liberated. They will not rest. That is why they employ watch boys to watch their properties because they know that the owners of the country may come and take their belongings.

ABEL MALULEKA

p.1958.           Many people say A.N.C. will not do anything because the people have no atomic power, but if we are united because for instance if we all stop working, all the same time, what can happen.

p.1958.           Go to the uncivilised mineworkers and preach to them and tell them that all they



*P. Lelepe (66) No. 20 contd.*

do they do it in the interests of the oppressors.  
All they do they do it in the interests of the  
Oppenheimer and Eisenhower.

BERNARD MOLEWA p.1963.

Speech about oppression and struggle for freedom  
in other countries - Indo-China, Kenya, Korea -  
against imperialist governments.



NOTES ON SPEECHES.

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T.X. Makwane (27)

No. 20. V.10. p.1954 at p.1958/9.

A.N.C., Alexandra, Jhb., 18/7/54.

p.1958. "I did not prepare myself to speak. The time of speech is past. All over the world we read of revolutions. All over in Indo-China, Kenya, Malaya, Gold Coast, people are fighting for the cause. Is that the people ~~the~~ demand their rights. These people have shown us the way. India bought out the British. The war in Indo-China they do not read about it already. When the war at Kenya started the British said it was only a mere fight of gangsters, but today it is already two years. The people of Kenya have shown the British that the black man can fight. We are not lagging behind in South Africa. There are preparations being made about the Western Areas. Volunteer corps are prepared."

p.1959. Opposition to Bantu Education. In Kenya they have 3,300 schools out of Government (hands?). "It is better for a man to die standing than to die sitting down".

Chairman: P. Wane (51)

Spoke before: P. Selepe (66)

Spoke after : J. Molefi ~~1st~~ (43).



Nº 20 V10 p. 1954

MAKIYANE (27)

p.1963. Last speaker at meeting Molowa:  
Reference to struggles in Kenya, Indo-China and  
Korea. We are ready for action. Therefore,  
let us accept the call of the President and join  
the volunteers for liberation.



*J. Molefi (43)*

No. 20. V. 10. p. 1154 at p. 1959/61.

A.S.C., Alexandra, Jhb., 1/7/54.

p. 1959 : Reference to Capitalists  
newspapers.

p. 1960 : Reference to conference on  
Western Areas Removal which was raided by police  
armed with machine guns. "They only came to come  
and terrify our people not to come to meetings.  
We want to tell Malan that his terrorism will  
not terrify our free people to freedom.  
In Kenya though the British have aeroplanes,  
but the Kenya people march forward to freedom.  
In every Colonial territory you will always see  
that there is oppression."



*J. Molefi (43) No. 20 cont.*

p.1960 : All the rich people of Industrie like Oppenheimer always dictate to make such laws to pass on natives. We are tired of domination of white people. They think S.A. will be their paradise for ever but we know time will come when a change will come and we will rule this country. Cannot arrest progress. Liberatory movement growing and becoming strong. That is why we will rule one day.

p.1961 : Reference to labour camps which will be real forced slave labour camps.

p.1961 : Reference to Western Areas and call by President for volunteers. "These volunteers we are asking is more than the 1952 volunteers. We are going to meet harder punishment."

Reference to possibility of sending deputation or making protests to the Government. "But at this moment we cannot, only a mass action can work."

Only portion of speech read into record. Remainder contained in Exhibit 9.26, not available.







J. MODISE. (h1).

No. 24. V. 11. A. 30. p. 2016 at 2017.

A.N.C. Sophiatown, Jhb., 18/7/54.

p. 2017. Complains against oppressive laws and  
police administration of pass laws.



P. P. NOKWE (56)

No. 21. V. 11. p. 2016 at p. 2018.

+

P. 2020. **Advocating racial harmony.**

-

p. 2020. **Government described as "Fascist monster".**



R RESHA (63)

No. 21, V. 11, D. 2010 ut p. 2/2/3

A.N.C., Sophiatown, Jhb., 18/7/54.

p. 2021. "Our leaders coming together to  
preach harmony." Uneducated police give wrong  
information on which leaders banned.

Reference to call for fifty thousand volunteers.

- /...



Makgathi (29)

No. 24. A. 30. V. 11. p.2016.

A.N.C., Sophiatown, Jhb., 18/7/54.

p.2020. Complains about bannings. Criticizes Government for being unrepresentative of African opinion and states that Congress policy is correct. Emphasises importance of Yough in struggle.



R. RESHA (63)  
No. 24 Cont.

Volunteers to freeze South Africa in future.  
We have taken a high<sup>er</sup> step. Volunteers to perform a higher task. They are not going to jail. If you believe in leadership of A.M.C. it is far more intelligent than Malan's Government, that is why you must volunteer. One thing the police will not know is what volunteers are going to do. This country belongs to me and you and no white man will know what I am going to do for my country. We in Congress have taken a resolution to free these white men. Just because these Dutch people are uneducated Swart sent them to be here and if we want to kill we must kill them and Swart is some other place. If Swart asks why Resha is agitating you must say it is the conditions that Resha is living under."

p. 2022. "You can realise that the Government is afraid today because it sent Dutch people to write down at our meetings. I think the removal of Sophiatown will bring a clash between the forces of Congress and the forces of the Fascists."

Chairman: -

Spoke before: Mokohe (41)

Makotohi (29)

Nokwe (56)

Spoke after: -



Crown Index No. & Pages. A31. p. 3 Sponsoring Org. \_\_\_\_\_ Remarks \_\_\_\_\_  
 Defence Index No. and pages 26 p. 10 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Vol. & Page (11) 2032-2042 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Date 11/8/57 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Place unrecorded, IHB \_\_\_\_\_

Reporter Code: (interview)  
 Reporter SHARP (No.) 80 Exhibit No. 9.36 notes  
 Mode of Reporting: LH notes Pamphlets, etc. 9.37 Report  
 Code ++/A but B Remarks 9.38 Notice

Speech Code:  

Name and No.	Code	
Chairman : <u>T. YIKI</u> <u>53 (75) (+)</u> <u>X</u>		Duration: <u>2 hrs 55 mins.</u>
Speakers: 1. <u>NILARO</u> <u>( ) (+)</u>		Length of Report: <u>10 pages</u>
2. <u>T. YIKI</u> <u>53 (75) (+)</u> <u>X</u>		
3. <u>MOKOENA</u> <u>( ) (+)</u>		<u>Meeting Summary</u>
4. <u>T. YIKI</u> <u>53 (75) (+)</u> <u>+</u>		<u>Routine meeting</u>
5. <u>SEITSCITIRO</u> <u>45 (64) (+)</u>		
6. <u>T. YIKI</u> <u>53 (75) (-)</u> <u>X</u>		
7. <u>( ) ( )</u>		
8. <u>( ) ( )</u>		
9. <u>( ) ( )</u>		
10. <u>( ) ( )</u>		

Accused and Ex-Acc. Present:  
MADIBE 17 (23) ( )  
CHAMILE 5 (8) ( )  
TUNZI (76) ( )  
NIWENDU (53) ( )  
( ) ( ) ( )  
( ) ( ) ( )  
( ) ( ) ( )



A. 31

*Seitchiro (64)*

No. 26. A. 31. V. 11. p.2032 at 2039.

A.N.C., Newclare, Jhb., 1/8/54.

p.2039. Condemns bannings and arrests of  
leaders. "You Verwoerd, must know that we will  
give you your own medicine..... We want to go to  
parliament and make laws for ourselves ..... When  
Africans see a White person they say that is our  
enemy".

- 2 -

p.2039. Reference to C.O.P. "In the C.O.P.  
all the nations are supporting us".



S. TIKI (75)

No. 26. V. 11. p. 2032.

A.N.C. Newclare, Jhb. 1/8/54.

Acted as Chairman.

p. 2034. Reference to Bible and to Israel in  
Babylon.

p. 2035. Let us look for a new way to pray.  
By leaving Beer Halls and parties to fight for  
our country.

p. 2037. Africans repent and leave those things  
which are useless.

p. 2037. We are exiled as result of detectives  
writing. God will punish them.

- /...



S. TYIKI (75) No. 26. cont.

- + p. 2037. "We want to live in this country with the Boer. We don't want their wives. I hate the Boers. I can be killed but my bones will talk. .... A.N.C. says make friendship with coloured people - leave the Boer alone. The Europeans want to divide us so that we fight each other every day, because they are devils. Africans I am determined to die for freedom of the African people."
  
- + p. 2038. Luthuli wants people to live peacefully in this country. Xosa, Mautu and Zulu must unite. "If it is carried into your lives there will be no fights among us, but fight the enemy."
  
- p. 2039. "The European seems to be restless, has a restless time. They can't sleep. The time is coming when their guns will discharge water instead of bullets. I know what I am saying. I want to warn you that you must beware of the Boer. No matter how humble he shows himself, beware of him. The White man is your enemy always."







A.32

NENE (51)

No. 29. V.11. p.2066 at p.2066.

A.N.C. meeting, No. 2 Square, Alexandra Township,  
8/8/54.

Purpose - regular Sunday public meeting.

Acted as Chairman.

Speech not recorded verbatim, recorded as having  
announced "that the purpose of the meeting was  
for a campaign to call for volunteers".



AKIWANLE (27)

No. 20. V.11. p.2066 at p.2070.

A.N.C., Alexandra, Jhb., 8/8/54.

Oppression by Government through banning and  
deporting and arresting leaders of A.N.C.  
Recently banned Sisulu and Mokwe but I say  
many more ~~xxx~~ Sisulus and Mokwes will rise  
up from ranks of A.N.C. Call to young  
Africans to join A.N.C.Y.L. "He who would  
not stand up to fight is a coward. Let us  
fight until freedom is achieved".



Crown Index No. & Pages... A33 p.3 Sponsoring Org. ANC Remarks

Defence Index No. and pages... 27 p.10

Vol. & Page... (11) 2042-2063

Date... 15/8/57

Place... Newcastle JHB

Reporter Code: notes 936 & 939

Reporter... SHARPE (No.) 80 Exhibit No. SHARPE

Mode of Reporting: L/H notes Pamphlets, etc. 938 (Publication)

Code: ++/A but B Remarks

Speech Code:

Name and No.	Code	Duration	Length of Report
Chairman: <u>SIWISA</u> .....( ) ( 0 )		<u>2 hrs 40 min</u>	
Speakers: 1... <u>TYIKI</u> ..... <u>53</u> ( 75 ) ( ? ) + X			<u>6 pages</u>
2... <u>SIWISA</u> .....( ) ( 0 )			
3... <u>MOLOLELE</u> .....( ) ( 0 )			
4... <u>MATLOU</u> ... <u>27</u> ( 38 ) ( ? ) X			
5... <u>MAWE</u> .....( ) ( 0 )			
6... <u>MOTSOANE</u> .....( ) ( 0 )			
7.....( ) ( )			
8.....( ) ( )			
9.....( ) ( )			
10.....( ) ( )			

Accused and Ex-Acc. Present:

MAZIBA...17 ( 23 ).....( )

SEITZIRO...45 ( 64 ).....( )

NGWENDU...453.....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

Meeting Summary  
Routine meeting



A. 33.

NOTES ON SPEECHES

<sup>38</sup>  
J. Matlou (31).

No. 27. V.11. p.2042 at p.2045/6.

A.N.C. meeting, Newclare, Johannesburg, 15/8/54.  
Purpose - apparently to discuss apartheid laws -  
"have to defend your homes and your freedom".

p.2045/6. Speech mainly concerned with  
distinction between Bantu National Congress  
and A.N.C. Bantu National Congress is not  
A.N.C. .... (but) fighting for perpetual  
slavery of the Africans .... In fact, this  
is the Government organisation.

p.2045. Let us come to 1952 when the Defiance  
Campaign, the Europeans were made to shiver.

p

p.2046. The police are sending spies to find  
what the volunteers are going to do, but we  
have developed high standards that they cannot  
find out what is our intention.



S. TYIKI (75)

No. 27. V. 11. p. 2042 at p. 2043/5

A.N.C. Newclare, Jhb. 15/8/54.

p. 2044. "Let us love a White man who is a Christian, and who is not ~~stan~~. Speaking about what the Chairman said about how we lost Africa. God said 'I am going to reveal myself to the foolish and hide myself to the wise'."

p. 2044. "They are afraid to relent their rule, because they know we will never have any friendships with them for what they have done to us. Tell the White man that there is nothing wrong with us. We only want to live with him in peace. .... Let us stop fighting each other while the White man is oppressing us. The police entering our homes by night while we are in bed with our wives. And say 'Staan op Kaffir'. He says this because ~~at~~ he doesn't regard you as a human being.







A 34.

NENE (51)  
No. 31. V.11. p.2084. at p.2087.

A.N.C. Meeting, No. 2 Square, Alexandra Township,  
18/8/54.

Purpose - regular Sunday meeting.

Short extract from speech stating that "the people will not follow Ngobane, from Eshowe, Natal.....". Reference to action being taken to boycott buses, and calling for members for A.N.C.



MAKIWANE (27)

No. 31. V.11. p.2084 at p.2086/7.

A.F.C., Alexandra, Jhb., 15/8/54.

p.2086. Complaint of oppression hunger and  
passes.

Every man and women must answer Congress call  
for volunteers to organise the people for C.O.P.

p.2087 / ...

p.2087. Government already shaken  
by peace movement. Leaders banned but we will  
not be intimidated. C.O.P. will collect the  
money of the people and build a democracy.  
"There shall be no democracy to racialist people  
who wish to drink the blood of the other people.  
There shall be no room for minorities who wish  
to rule majority."

♦ p.2087. "We have the power in our hands.  
Is it not us who dig gold, who work in the farms.  
If we lay down everything can a white man provide?  
The C.O.P. will put to right every grievance".

p.2087. Call to strengthen volunteer corps,  
Congressors and trade-unions. Freedom in our  
lifetime.



Crown Index No. & Pages. A35 p. 3 Sponsoring Org. ANC Remarks

Defence Index No. and pages 44/1 p. 15

Vol. & Page (11) 2194 - 2199

Date 15/8/54

Place Maroka JHB.

Reporter Code: (not available at time)

Reporter C. X. M. U. S. A. (No.) 26 Exhibit No. C-59

Mode of Reporting: L.H. notes Pamphlets, etc. ....

Code: tt/A Remarks .....

Speech Code: initially

Name and No.	Code	Duration:
Chairman: <u>NKOSI</u>	<u>(55)(+)</u>	
Speakers: 1. <u>KUMALO</u>	<u>( ) ( )</u>	Length of Report: <u>5 pages</u>

- CHAIRMAN 2. H. APANE 6 (10)(++)
- NGWANE 3. NKOSI ( ) ( )
- 4. NKAKALE ( ) ( )
- 5. NKOSI ( ) ( )
- 6. NTSHITHI ( ) (-) X
- 7. XABA ( ) ( )
- 8. MODISOA ( ) ( )
- 9. MOTSOABI 35(47)(-) X
- 10. NGWANF ( ) (-)

Accused and Ex-Acc. Present:

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

.....( ).....( )

Meeting Summary



A.35

B. HLAPANE - ACCUSED NO. 10.

Meeting No. 44/1

Volume 11, Page 2194 at 2195.

15/8/54.

Moroka.

A.H.C.

2196 + "If this Government can throw any boaba  
Africans will use non-violence but march  
on to victory".

Reported by Wilson Grumisa. Notes made at the  
meeting. Poor.



J. KUMALO (17) No. 11/1. V. 11. p. 2194 at p. 2195.

A.N.C., Moroka, Jhb., 15/8/54. Omitted from record;

contained /..

contained in Exhibit G.59 at p.1.

Opposition to ethnic grouping and necessity for unity.  
Local anxieties complaints. Call to join A.N.C.



P.P. White (57)

No. 44/1. V.11. p.2194 at p.2196/7.

A.N.C. meeting, Dandoo Square, Moroka, 15/8/54.

Report of speech not clear. Apparently deals with role and importance of youth in freedom struggle.

p.2196. It is the monster have swallowed our land. It is now 300 years since the Europeans are here, ever since the white man has been, Africans have been subject to oppression.

p.2196. You will find a dead body, past morten held and the result, malnutrition ..... White man's duty is the extermination of the Africans in this world.



港 48/E 235

Motsabi (47)

No. 44.1

V. 11.

p.2194.

A.N.C., Moroka, Jhb., 15/8/54.

p.2198.            Attack on detectives present at  
meeting.

--            p.2198.            "When we take over these people  
who helped the Europeans to oppress us will  
receive punishment or will go away with the  
Europeans".







A. 36

NENE (51)

No. 32. V.11. p.2090 at p.2090/1.

A.N.C. meeting, No. 2 Square, Alexandra Township,  
5/9/54.

Regular Sunday meeting.

Acted as Chairman.

Short speech referring to meeting "as our  
parliament where we discuss our troubles against  
the Nationalist Government".

Joseph Tsie. p.2091. Reference to "Advance"  
....."This paper tells the truth nothing else".  
Refers to Kenya and Kenyatta. "We have to fight  
+? here a different battle, not of bloodshed, but  
to organise ourselves to fight any bad law which  
we judge bad".







A-37

Matlou (38)

No. 33. V.11. p.2095 at p.2099.

A.N.C. meeting, Sophiatown, 5/9/1954.

Purpose - regular organisational meeting.

p.2099. Remarks about the reason for the

A.N.C. salute "Afrika". You must know the  
Dutch wanted to take what the Africans had.

p.2099/2101. I must explain to you that the  
Nationalists are so unfortunate. They came  
into power when the younger African rose and  
said, "Their mothers cannot be raped any longer".  
They came into power when the united African  
sons of Mandela, Sisulu and Luthuli said Africa  
cannot be ruled by these mad people.



S. TYIKI (75)

No. 33, V. 11. p. 2095.

A.N.C., Sophiatown, Jhb. 5/9/54.

Acted as Chairman.

p. 2096. Government today not elected by  
God. Europeans will act like Nebuchadnezzar.  
Nationalists want us to praise them and not  
God and have changed education because they  
think that they are God.

p. 2097. Even now we want the Ministers who  
are chosen by God not those who are chosen by  
the people.



NOTES ON SPEECHES

F. Madiba (23).

No. 33 V.11 p.2055 at p.2096/7.

A.N.C., Sophiatown, Jhb., 5/9/54.

p.2096. Slavery through arrests and fines. Reference to appeal by Luthuli "for about 5000 volunteers. So if we can listen to him we will have our freedom within 5 years". "Africans, let us unite ourselves and defy the laws of this country. Let us do what the other countries are doing. Nobody will free us unless we do with our own." In Australia there are no mere blacks. Our properties are being destroyed in reserves. "So if you are fast asleep you will be destroyed by these Dutch."

p.2097. Reference to Western Areas removal "I want to warn them that Adolf Hitler did the same thing".

p.2097. "All this is an oppression upon the black man. They only want you to starve and die".

p.2097. "Chairman, we Africans do not fight with the white people. We want to stay with them peacefully."







A38.

S. TYIKI (75)

No. 34, V. 11, p. 2103

A.N.C., Newclare, Jhb. 12/9/54.

Acted as Chairman

Nothing remarkable stated by Chairman.



Malupi (31).

No. 74. A. 38. V. 11. p.2103.

A.N.C., Newclare, Jhb., 12/9/54.

p.2104/...

BOND



Malupi (31)

- 2 -

No. 34 cont.

p.2104. "The very people who are oppressing you are the church-going people".

p.2104. Lithuli referred to as "our future Prime Minister and our Jesus Christ."

+  
-  
p.2104. "(Lithuli) says this land is big. Black man and Europeans can stay in this country. .... If it (the Government) does not want to stay with us we will speak a different language which was spoken in 1952 when we launched the campaign."

p.2104. Sauer, Schoeman criticized for increasing rents<sup>m</sup> train fares etc. without consultation with Africans. Accused refers sarcastically to the Government's claim that it represents "civilization". "They must take their civilization to Europe.....You know that civilization was going on in India and Korea but it has been put into halt".

-  
p.2104. Criticism of Pass Laws. "We are not going to allow the bad laws of the pass. You must not bluff yourself and say as you are standing here Dr. Malan will change his laws. He will never do so..... Dr. Malan came to smash S.A. He promised Afrikaner's that if you allow me I will give you the natives freely and the Indians will return to India..... If you can join Congress you will find that the Congress will, bring you honey. We want to tell these people (Dutchman) that the hunting/...



- 3 -

Malupi (31)

No. 34 cont.

hunting of them for a black man is finished....."



A. 38

NOTES ON SPEECHES

A. Chamile (2)

No. 34. Vol. 11. p. 2103 at p. 2104.

(Speech not read into record contained in Exhibit 0.46 at page 3).

"I have worked with those Dutchmen who call themselves Boers and Afrikaners. They are African. They are our own brothers and we must forgive them."

"I and you have not yet fought with them. There he goes with the guns".



R. RESHA (63)

~~REDACTED~~ 2106/8

A.N.C., Newclare, Jhb., 12/9/54.

p. 2106.      Oppression by Malan and Verwoerd.

- / ...

BOND



R. RESHA (63)  
No. 34 cent.

"What can they do in order to delay the emancipation of the African people. They are ordering some machine guns and other dangerous things, in order to shoot the African when he wants to be freed. The Government of Malan must order enough pick-ups and Flying Squads and they should spy what the Africans are doing....."

p. 2107. S.A. divided into two hostile camps. Leaders of Africans banned. Like measles when one put into ground another will grow up.

"Resha will be banned. Another man will be banned for what he has preached. When there is clash between the forces of freedom and oppression we will point our finger to the people who are betraying us."

p. 2107/B. Reference to C.O.P. It calls the Coloureds, Indians, European and even the detectives.

p. 2108. Call for demands of the people. Invitations sent to Strauss and Dr. Malan.

+ p. 2108. "I call upon my people, those who want to be volunteers of the C.O.P. On Thursday there will be a meeting.... enrol those who will go from house to house organising. And we'll explain to those in detail."

p. 2108. "Africans we have been cowards all this time. We have been running away from these people. Unless we fight back we will be tied into a wagon. I say to you, youth of Africa, the time has come



R. RESHA (63)  
No. 34 cont.

to you to stand up as men. We need the gaols  
to be turned into Universities. "We need every  
inch of Africa to belong to a Black man."

Chairman: Tyiki (75)

Spoke before: Malupi (31)

Tunai (76)

Chemile (8)

Spoke After: --



**Collection: 1956 Treason Trial**  
**Collection number: AD1812**

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Location:- Johannesburg*

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