BANISHMENT ORDERS

On Monday 15th November the Hon. the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development granted an interview to a deputation from the Christian Council which conveyed to the Minister the deep concern of the Christian community over certain features in the orders which had been issued. These referred to the sudden manner in which the orders were apparently served, involving serious dislocation of the work and domestic life of the person proceeded against; the fact that reasons for the orders were not disclosed; and that no appeal seemed to be possible in the courts. The deputation suggested that the amount of £2 per month allowed towards the maintenance of banished persons was totally inadequate and that where relatives were allowed to visit them the permission was of little value since the banished were generally at a distance of hundreds of miles. The deputation also asked whether ministers of religion were allowed to visit these people, as chaplains do those in prison.

The Minister said that he regarded the issue of such orders as an unpleasant duty but he had to remember his responsibilities to the Bantu generally; he was quite sure that when it became a duty to order a removal there was adequate opportunity for the person concerned to ask reasons. The deputation asked if the procedure of preliminary warning had been used in the case of Mrs. Mafekeng, but there was no reply. It was not always easy to give reasons immediately owing to legal implications. In regard to maintenance the Minister said that if the present rate was inadequate it would be reviewed but he pointed out that there were facilities for earning money. The deputation was informed that several who had been banished had returned home changed in outlook. The Minister said that the Trust Farms used for this purpose were very pleasant places and that an official of the department visited all banished persons at least every three months to listen to complaints. The Minister repeated that his chief concern was to protect innocent people. Ministers of Religion would certainly be given permission to visit removed persons. The Minister expressed willingness to discuss cases with the Church Leaders whereupon the deputation thanked the Minister for his courteous reception and withdrew.
Liberal Party Survey reveals all the facts –

Because of the recent deportation of Mrs. Elizabeth Mafekeng, trade union organiser of Paarl, the Liberal Party of the Transvaal investigated the whole system of arbitrary banishment of Africans by the Union Government. The Party established that the legal basis for these deportations was to be found under Section 5 of the Native Administration Act (38 of 1927) which reads:

"Whenever he deems it expedient to the general public interest, the Governor-General .... may order any tribe, part of a tribe or Native .... to proceed to any place and not leave it except with the permission of the Secretary of Native Affairs ...."

The courts are unable to provide any relief; the Prohibition of Interdicts Act prevents a banished African from applying to the courts for an order staying the banishments. The minister is not compelled to give reasons for the banishments.

Increase in deportations

The Transvaal Liberal Party also established that at least eight of the banished people have been allowed to return to their homes under certain conditions such as: promising not to take part in political activities; recanting their political beliefs; and renunciation of chieftainship.

Since December 1958 the rate of deportations has been increased. Where the government does not wish to banish people itself it asks local authorities to refuse permission to certain people to stay any longer in their areas.

Investigations revealed that a few of the deportees have been able to get work of some kind:

Mr. Nkosiyane, an educated man, has been working as a labourer for £4. 6s. 4d. a month.

Mr. Erom Elonyane had a lucrative herbalist business; he is unable to support his family which is suffering from malnutrition.

Mr. Morris Ramoto, a man who once had money in Pietersburg, is supported by sons who send him food parcels.

Mr. Solomon Thamago was a farmer; he receives £5 per month working on a government tree-planting scheme.

Since 1956 (not before) a subsistence allowance of £2 per month has been paid to some of the deportees. Nevertheless, with the income they can obtain, they have barely sufficient to live on particularly when families try to live with them. People who have visited deportees talk of signs of chronic malnutrition and clothes no better than rags.

Mrs. Baartman, wife of deportee Ben Baartman, died recently at Worcester. Mr. Baartman could not attend her funeral but has since been allowed to go to Worcester for two weeks to arrange for relatives to take care of his four minor children.
He is reported to have said (Cape Times 18th Jan. 1960) "I get no financial assistance from the government and were it not for friends who supply me with food parcels, I would starve to death." This was denied by the Minister.

Asked whether he intended to take his children back to the reserve with him he said, "No. It is a terrible place - a living hell." Since leaving Worcester he said he had lost 20 pounds in weight.

South Africa is frequently referred to as a "democracy". In view of the above facts this term must always be understood as referring to the White inhabitants only. The Party comments: "Banishment therefore appears to be a weapon used to stifle the opposition of leaders of that section of the population that is allowed no political voice whatsoever. It is an exact parallel to the system of banishments to Siberia that were a feature of the Russian political scene for many years."

Extracted from "Contact" - Vol. 3 No. 3 - February 6, 1960.

"All the Names we have been able to get"

The following 93 Africans were banished during the period January 1948 to December 1958 according to details given in Parliament on 10th April 1959 by the then Minister of Native Affairs regarding 61 of them plus 12 others, brought to light through enquiries made by Contact:

- Mokoena, Matlala; Mabaso Sigila; Caswell Moloi; Matela Mantsoe; Ntlabati Jojo; Tlou Matlala; Piet Mabukela; Sibija Matlala; Mabija Matlala; Klaas Matlala; Michael Matlala; Paulus Howell Mopeli (alias Mopelinyane); Treaty Mohlouoa Mopeli; Mmguingo Pikani; Solomon David Lion; Piet Mokoena; Moeapalira Mphahlele; Harry Mphahlele; Namedi Mphahlele; Alfred Matu; Maphuti Mokhase; Maphuti Mokolati Seopa; Boy Seopa; Mamonolata Mseopa; Isaac Molife; Monica Molife; Joseph Hugo Saliga; Mzwangkanwa Mlaba; Charlie Mlaba; Mpiyasa Mlaba; Makomba Mchina; Cubuzela Ngubane; Mzinto Ngubane; Nkune Ngubane; Mabunu Mkize; Jim Mthako; Mamokgakale Lesiba; John Choene; Alcott Skae Gwentshe; Joel Lengisi; Vuna Miya; Thompson Thlaihani; Paul Meremchelo; Machobane Kne; Baren Hlonhane; Morris Ramotlou; Prans Ramro; Moses Molechela; Jacob Matome; Solomon Thamaga; Marthinus Bothmane; Elias (alias Kose); Monare; Jeremiah Bakoko Mbele; Mokate Samafo; David Thloloyane Mabe; Rase Thomas Mokoka; Seth Bosenkweni; Ntlo Mabe; Nhlovu Mntu; Paul Ramadaba; Mangoile; Vuwemuzi Mase; Joseph Kumaolo; Saul Simon Nhlapo; Balekake Bantube; Phethedi Thilare; Mhlupaki Hlongwane; Nxosha Miduli; Kgagudi Maredi; Kenneth Mosesnyi; David Mailo; Boa Molao; Abraham Kogale; Godfrey Sekukhune; Ncwamotse Sekukhune; Mankopodi Sekukhune; Douglas Ramokgopa; Ruben Magakate; Jackson Nkosiyan; Marelane (alias Bangilizwe) Joyi; Jongimfene (alias Twalimfene) Cobinamba; McGregor Ngolombane.

x x x

- S. Tlabane; xG. Moko; X.M. Mothera; X.J. Mani; xT. Sepe; X N. Mpongula; xD. Shock; xHau. Kinirone; xEdwin Mandibike; xJohn Motshambu; xJohannes Moloto; xJohn Mokoena.

xxxxxxxxx
What's Happening to Pondo Detainees? - Extracts

Tsololo: In this district Chief Dilizintaba Mditshwa has found himself an object of hate by his people. For years he had leaned on men like Messrs. William Tyabashe, Vumisa Mbabama and Headman Magade Vilile, who were his Councillors. But when these popular leaders opposed the Bantu Authorities and were banished to the arid wastes of the North Western Cape, the people believe he decided to make his peace with the BAD Commissioner.....

Qumbu: Five men in the Mahlunugu location were convicted on a charge of holding an illegal meeting, and fined £40 each or 3 months. After the men had lost their case on appeal and paid the fines, three of them were sent into exile only a few weeks ago. They are Mr. Douglas Mfikili and his brother and Mr. Nompula.

And Many More Were Banished in 1960
Some Released, Sent Into Exile Again

Thanks to the Emergency and the corrugated iron curtain the Government has dropped over its repressive actions in the reserves, the most recent banishments have received little publicity; but the Govt's exilings of its opponents continued in 1960.

During 1960 - Emergency Year - three men were banished from the Transkei to the Vryburg exiles camp, on the edge of the Kalahari desert. The three are aged 72, 63 and 60 respectively. How will these old men survive in this desolation? All three come from the Tsolo district in the Transkei. They are Vincent Vumisa Mbabama, William Tyabashe and Chief Magade Velile.

Chief Jeremiah Mabe, of Mabieskraal, who was released from the Driefontein camp in November 1959, was re-departed in November 1960, and is again in Driefontein.

During 1960 Alex Tikane from the Cala district of the Transkei arrived in the Frenchdale camp for exiles.

During 1960 three deportees from Zululand were sent to the Sibasa district: C. Mnyaunda, Chief Buthulesi and Mxesga Mdhluli.

During 1960 Chief Maci was sent to the Pietersburg district.

Chief Mhlabuvelile of Pondoland was sent somewhere in the Groblersdal district.

Stephen Nkadimeng came out of prison after serving an 18 month sentence for incitement. Three days after his release he was arrested and deported to Gollel. (Swaziland)

Others may have been exiled in 1960. Information about these men has been collected from their fellow-exiles, from their families and tribesfolk. When it comes to finding out the facts about exiles the Government goes in for its own style of passive resistance.
23 Men are Missing
Vanished After Being Sent Into Exile

Johannesburg.

One in four of the Africans sent into banishment by the Government in recent years is "missing"—untraced, disappeared into some remote place of exile.

The names of the 23 missing men are published alongside this report. Five are Matlalas, probably from Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal. Some are from Zeerust, others from the Cape. Still others appear to be recent exiles, sent away by the Government during last year. Some might have been missing for as long as 10 years.

Either the Government that exiled them does not know where some of these men are, or if it does know, it is not prepared to say.

No Details

The Minister of Bantu Affairs was tackled about this during the 1959 and 1960 sessions of Parliament. Asked for a list of persons on whom removal orders had been served from 1948 to 1958, the Minister supplied a list of 81 names, and two separate lists of places from which they had been removed and places to which they had been removed. No details were given as to who had been sent where.

Pressed the following session for this information the Minister replied callously: "I feel that the tremendous amount of work involved in extracting from individual files the detailed information now required cannot be justified."

It is too much trouble for this Government to go through 96 files on a shelf to find out what has happened to 96 men!

Diabolical

This is the diabolical scheme behind the exilings: to whip men from their homes where they are leaders of popular campaigns, and to try to lose them somewhere in remote parts of South Africa.

Wherever there is opposition to Government plans, to Bantu authorities, the Government pounces on one or two individuals and summarily arrests and deports them, to make an example of them.

Absolute powers of deportation are vested in the Government for the persecution and victimisation of Africans who have committed no crime, who have broken no laws, who have not been brought before any court.

Same Story

Most exiles whipped away from their homes and families tell the same story. They are suddenly taken into custody, refused time to collect any of their possessions from their homes, are handcuffed for the hurried journey into exile, and on arrival are given an empty hut or barn or disused shack, and left to fend for themselves. After months, some manage to get work as labourers. Others, also after long delays, get miserly allowances of £2 a month. Still others get nothing.

Allowances

Questioned in Parliament, the Minister said it would be too much work, too, to find out which of the exiles received Government allowances.
He came out with the bland statement: "Suitable employment is found for him ... If employment is not available, an allowance is paid, the amount being determined by the circumstances of each case."

An East London exile lived for months without any allowance, and kept himself alive by eating wild paw paw roots.

Ben Baartman received no allowance, and only after months was he offered work as a labourer.

Chief Tyalite, exiled to Sibasa, is too ill to work, and receives no state allowance.

In most cases the exiles are dumped, often in semi-desert, and left to fend for themselves. When, after months, they get a Government allowance, it is the 1/4d. a day - 1/4d to feed and clothe a man and provide for his far-off family, hundreds of miles away.

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The Missing Exiles

Mokoena Matlala
Tlou Matlala
Mabija Matlala
Klass Matlala
Michael Matlala
Mnyingo Mphahleli
Maphuti Moraka
Maphuti Mphalele Seopa
Boy Seopa
Mamolatela Seopa
Mnzwangedwa Mlaba
Charlie Mlaba
M. Mpiyenza Mlaba
Makomba Mlaba
Jim Lithako
Frans Ramare
Mamokgalake Lesiba John Mhoene
Mhlupeki Hlongwane
Reuben Makgato
Douglas Ramokgapa
Piet Makobela
Harry Mphahleli
Alfred Msutu

Human Rights Welfare Committees working in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban have managed to trace 73 men in exile. Thirty-three are being assisted by the committees, and also 19 families of the exiles.

The committees are anxious to trace the missing 23. If they have been released and are again at home, they or their families are urged to write to New Age - which will hand the information on to the Committees. If the men are still in exile, write in and tell us that too.
Among those prohibited under the Suppression of Communism Act are Mr. Albert Luthuli, Mr. Patrick Duncan, Mr. Duma Nokwe and Mr. Walter Sisulu. Prohibition dates from five years from when notice was served.

The list includes several who appeared at the Treason Trial. It also includes at least six people, including one woman, Mrs. Shulamith Muller, who have left South Africa. Among them are Robert Resha and Oliver Tambo, now in London.

Among Non-Whites are George Edward Peake, a Coloured leader at Cape Town; Ismail Ahmed Cachalia, of Johannesburg; Ebrahim Desai and Rissik Haribhai Desai, Indian leaders in the Cape, and the Africans, Mrs. Lilian Ngoya and Mrs. Florence Mkize.

Publication was more for the information of the Press than anything else, the Minister of Justice, Mr. Vorster, said in Pretoria last night.

**THE LIST.**

Prohibited under the Riotous Assemblies Act:

Pieterse, Cosmo, Athlone, C.P.; Segale, Stephan, Johannesburg; Swart, Edward Vincent, Johannesburg; Wessels, Victor Walter Wesley, Lansdowne, C.P.

Prohibited under the Suppression of Communism Act:

Abrahams, George Louis, Cape Town; Adams, Farid Ahmed, Johannesburg; Arenstein, Roley Israel, Durban.

Badusa, Schreiner, Johannesburg; Bardien, Magamat Taufie, Kensington, Johannesburg; Barenblatt, Yetta, Johannesburg; Bernadt, Mrs. Jean, Cape Town; Bernstein, E.J. (Hilda Lilian), Johannesburg; Bernstein, Lionel Gabriel, Johannesburg; Beyleveld, Petrus Arnoldus Bernardus, Johannesburg; Brutus, Dennis Vincent, Johannesburg.

Cachalia, Ismail Ahmed, Johannesburg.

Desai, Ebrahim, Salt River, C.P.; Desai, Rissik Haribhai, Cape Town; Dick, Nancy Graham, Cape Town; Dudley, Richard Owen, Cape Town; Duncan, Patrick, Cape Town, residing outside South Africa; Du Toit, Miss E.S. (Betty), Randburg.

Fataar, Allie, Lansdowne, C.P.; Fazzie, Cornelius Judas, East London; Fischer, Abram, Johannesburg; Fischer, Susanna Johanna (Mrs.), Johannesburg; Fletcher, Melville John, Durban; Francis, Joseph Michael, Durban, residing outside South Africa.

Gelf, Mrs. Gertrude, Johannesburg; Goldberg, Marcale Louise, Johannesburg; Goldberg, Victor Samuel, Johannesburg; Gool, Janap, Cape Town; Gordon, Barney, Johannesburg; Gosschalk, Bernard Louis, Cape Town; Owala, Temba Harry, Maritzburg.

Harmiel, Michael, Johannesburg; Heyman, Isaac, Johannesburg; Hodgson, Percy John, Johannesburg; Hodgson, Rica, Johannesburg; Hollow, Mildred, Cape Town.

Jewell, Gillian Elsie, Cape Town; Joffe, Louis Charles, Johannesburg.

Kasrile, Ronald, Durban; Klee, Benjamin Magson, Cape Town; Kotane, Moses, Johannesburg.
La Guma, Justin Alexander, Athlone, C.P.; Landman, Frank A, Port Elizabeth; Levy, Leon, Johannesburg; Lipman, Allan Robert, Johannesburg; Luthuli, Albert John, Graaff Reinet, Natal.

Madiba, Frank, Johannesburg; Malindi, Zollie, Cape Town; Mamfanya, Francina Mondoyite, Cape Town; Maseko, Isia MacDonald, Johannesburg; Matome, Florence, Port Elizabeth; Maurice, Edgar Lionel, Cape Town; Marusa, John, Johannesburg; Meidlinger, Joseph Graham (Dr.), Durban; Meissenheimer, Joyce Sophia, Cape Town; Mkize, Florence, Isipingo, Natal; Mlokoti, Christopher, Cape Town; Mogano, Peter, Pretoria; Motshabi, Calab, Bloemfontein; Motshabi, John, Johannesburg; Mpetsh, Oscar, Cape Town; Muller, Shulamith (Mrs.), Johannesburg, residing outside South Africa; Murison, Norman Astley (Dr.), Cape Town.

Nair, Billy, Durban; Ngoya, Lilian, Johannesburg; Mkatlo, Joseph, Cape Town; Nkobi, Thomas Titus, Johannesburg; Nokwe, Philemon Pearce Duma, Johannesburg; Nthite, Peter Papele, Johannesburg; Nzo, Alfred, Johannesburg.

Peake, George Edward, Woodstock, C.P.; Phehlane, Morekon, of Brandfort; Poos, Aaron Thseko, Pretoria; Poonen, Vera, Durban.

Rampolawane, Johannes, Johannesburg; Resha, Robert, Johannesburg; Rietstein, Amy, of Sea Point, C.P.

Schlachter, Rose (Mrs.), Johannesburg; Segal, Ronald Michael, Cape Town, residing outside South Africa; Selepe, Peter, Johannesburg; September, Reginald Kenneth, of Heathfield, C.P.; Shope, Marks William, of Jabavu, Johannesburg; Sibeko, Archibald, Cape Town; Simons, Harold Jack (Dr.), Cape Town; Sisulu, Walter Elliot Max, Johannesburg; Slovo, Heloise Ruth, Johannesburg; Slovo, Joseph, Johannesburg; Storm, Alfred John, Rondebosch, C.P.

Tambo, Oliver, Benoni, residing outside South Africa; Thandray, Niverti Sadhu, Johannesburg; Tloome, Daniel, Johannesburg; Turok, Benjamin, Johannesburg; Turok, Mary Elizabeth, Johannesburg.

Van Schoor, William Peter, Cape Town; Viljoen, Robert Eric, Cape Town.

Williams, Cecil George, Johannesburg; Wolpe, Harold Leonard, Johannesburg.

The word "ban" has crept into the everyday language of South Africa - more shame to us. It is a sign of the times in which we live. But how many of us really understand what is meant by banishment? How many of us know that the Governor-General may order any African to leave any place and be removed to any other place - until he is once again permitted to leave?

It is far-reaching, this power to uproot a man from his family, from his home and his friends, to take him thousands of miles away to an unknown destination. There are no preliminaries, no warning, the police appear with an order, a piece of paper which changes your whole life, and you are just told to go. If you refuse to go voluntarily, you are clapped into handcuffs and taken just the same. There is no appeal. You can ask questions afterwards, when you eventually find out that you may ask why you have been banished. But no one tells you that you can ask. In any case asking "why?" is just a bitter farce, for invariably the Minister comes back with the same reply. "It is not in the public interest to disclose all the reasons.......

Only Africans are threatened under this scandalous, vicious Act, for it is Native Administration Act No. 39 of 1927. Indians, Coloureds or Europeans are not so threatened - not yet. But it is no mere threat to Africans, for the Act has already been used against 116 people, during the past twelve years; over forty are still in exile, some have already been in exile for more than eight years; 11 have died in exile; 41 have been released - most of them on "probation" with the fear of banishment hanging over their heads. Six are still missing and cannot be traced unless the Minister will disclose their whereabouts, which he has not done so far. A few have fled this unkind country and are struggling for existence in other lands. It is true, of course, that there is nothing to prevent the families from visiting their men, nothing except the fact that there is no money even for food and education, let alone for travelling thousands of miles. The Minister talks glibly in Parliament about families being able to go to their men, but in practice it doesn't happen. Anxious wives have been told that they must be prepared to remain permanently with their exiled husbands, if they are to be taken to them. It appears to be a one way ticket.

This weapon of banishment is cruel, unjust. There is no semblence of a trial or any possibility of defence. One and all, the banished men say today, "What did I do to be banished? Why did I have no trial if I did something wrong?" The answer is all too clear. The banished were not brought to trial BECAUSE THE AUTHORITIES COULDN'T PROVE NO CASE AGAINST THESE MEN.

From time to time the shocking, desolate plight of the men in the camps at Freechdale and Breefontein is brought to the public notice, through the press. Heads are shaken and some individuals are stirred by shame and pity and offer personal help. Then the ripple on the sea of apathy dies away and all is still again. The banished are once again forgotten by all save a few.

Little is known of some of the other exiles who are not herded in camps but scattered far and wide, in the remotest part of our land, in the tip of the Northern Transvaal, in the furthest corner of Zululand. With wicked ingenuity, the Zulu is flung into a Sesuto speaking area; the man from Zeerust will be sent to Kingwilliamstown, or to Collesi, so that even the language is strange and must be learnt. Employment is offered - as labourers, to earn from £3 to £5 a month (top wage after several years). But sometimes there isn't employment for weeks, months, and then there may or may not be "allowances" which are 10/- in cash and rations, supposed to represent 30/- worth of food. Study of rations provided invites the comment that prices in the country must be very high, if this is all that can be got for 30/ - . However, reports show that usually the banished people do not even get these allowances, when they are unemployed. They exist for weeks on end on the kindness of those amongst whom they have literally been dumped.

The stories of the banished men are tragic tales of stark despair and desolation, yet infused with an unbelievable dignity and courage. Whoever has managed to see the banished people comes back with the same comment on their

2/ amazing endurance ...... /
amazing endurance. But some of these stories are only now becoming known, as facts emerge from visits and letters. Nor are visits easy, for these men are not free, they are under strict surveillance, though perhaps not actually guarded and there is also always the danger of victimisation of the banished people themselves. Visits from friends are frequently followed by visits - from detectives. With an indefinite period of banishment, who knows whether it may not be prolonged?

Perhaps the most shameful story of all is that of the Matlala Reserve. Eight years ago, twenty men and three women were banished from Matlala’s Reserve; five have already died in exile. Little is known of how they died, but report of their condition suggest all too clearly that they probably died of poverty and neglect. Only two of the twenty-three ever returned to Matlala - both to die within a month. The remaining eighteen are scattered all over this land, some are struggling in destitution in Zululand, where two have already died, others are working on Trust farms in the Transkei, or in the Northern Transvaal. One is already an Old Age Pensioner. Oh, yes, he gets his pension now, all of £2.7.6 every two months! And he gets nothing else, except what friends send him. Yet this man fought in East Africa in the 1914 - 1918 War. "I saw Mount Kilimanjaro," he says. Today he is a very old man, a sick man, but he is still not allowed to go home.

And what of the families of the banished? They are destitute. Sometimes they are not even allowed to plough, and the new Bantu Authorities Chiefs take their land away, burn down or confiscate their huts. Children grow up without education because there is no money for school fees or clothes. When the families are not allowed to plough they must live on the charity of friends and relations. Stark poverty is their lot, with but little hope of any future improvement. Even when the banished, some of them, are eventually allowed to go home, they find ruin and destitution, and must start again - with nothing. And all for no crime, for if crime there were, they would have been tried by the Courts.

Three tragic men have been banished from Sekhukhuneland. One was banished for three years, then graciously allowed to return home - only to be banished again, for no given reason, back to the very place where he had already lived out three lonely, unhappy years. What sort of refined torture is this, to return a man to his family after three years and take him away again, back to the horror of banishment? Yet there is worse even than this. The other two men were convicted in the Sekhukhuneland land trials a few years ago. They served their sentences and on leaving the gaol they were served with banishment orders, and taken straight from the gaol to the furthest corners of Zululand, without ever being allowed to go home to see their families. This is indeed no less than wilful double punishment. First a man is punished for what can be proved against him and then he is deported for what can’t be proved. It is as simple as that. BUT IS IT JUSTICE?

The Minister says that the banished people are not held in prison conditions. "They are not prisoners!" says he. But when one of these Sekhukhuneland banished men was visited recently, friends were not allowed to speak to him in his own language unless every word was translated into Zulu for the benefit of the three Zulu policemen who remained throughout the visit. Not a prisoner?

Sometimes these banished men live in exquisitely beautiful surroundings, waterfalls, mountain streams, luxuriant bush country, or maybe beside the blue Indian ocean. But the greenest of willow trees, the loveliness of the low veld cannot ease the ache in the heart of a man for his home, for his children. "I want to see my children," they write sadly. "I want to go home."
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SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS, Unrests, banishments, removals, 1948-1969

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