

Renewed claims of hunger emerged later. "We don't have anything to eat, we live like dogs. We search for food just like pigs," Mr James Mate, 69, told INQUIRY in May. "The people are hungry" was the general cry. Rations were provided for the first few days, but these soon dried up. Some parents complained that their children had swollen feet and stomachs.

A survey of 25 housewives, published by a a Grahamstown academic in June, found the average income of the households had fallen from R60 to R27 a month, and several households had no cash income at all. The report said the main reason for this drop in income was that women who worked part-time before resettlement, had lost their sources of income.

Residents said the drinking water was saline and making people ill. They complined of diahorrea, vomiting, bloody stools and about pustules on children. A recent visit to Glenmore showed that the water is still very saline.

Early newspaper reports said stock deaths caused mainly by the deadly tulp plant, common in barren areas, were averaging two a day. Promises that cattle would be dipped did not materialise. One resident, Mr Skotoman Ngesi, told Inquiry: "I went to the officials after my cattle died and the officials felt sorry for. me, but could no nothing. I was referred to other officials but nothing was done."

When people arrived at Glenmore, they found that the houses they were promised were only temporary, and that it would take five years for more permanent buildings to be constructed. With the arrival of winter, the residents, who now

THE PROMISED

numbered 3 000, discovered the full implications of the word 'temporary', when gaps between the asbestos rooves and the tops of the walls let in

On June 7, it was finally brought home that the harsh conditions at Glenmore were taking their toll. Newspapers reported that there had been deaths, nine of who had died of gas-troenteritis, kidney inflammation, kwashior-kor and bronchial pneumonia. Earlier claims by the Glenmore clinic that they had about hunger and only one case of kwashiorkor, no longer seemed valid.

stead of launching an im- Residents are still

buck, claiming the deaths were not the responsibility of the Department of Cooperation and Development, but the Department of Health and the District Surgeon. The PFP's response was to say they were investigating whether the deaths were alarming.

Immediate help came which were children from the Glenmore Action Group, based in Grahamstown. It arranged with the World Vision religious group to sponsore 2 000 kg of food each week for four weeks, to be distributed received no complaints to 200 Glenmore families.

The necessities of civilised life we take for The official resonse granted, are in short was predictable - in- supply at Glenmore.

mediate programme of without permanent relief, ECAB passed the access to a telephone, despite assurances from authorities that some would be installed. This refugee-camp atmosphere is increased by the lack of a permanent post office.

> Government acknowledgment that all is not well at Glenmore came when Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Co-operation and Development announced his decision to halt removals to the camp. But this doesn't make life easier for the more than 3 000 people already there. Or to the thousands of rural people whose day to day struggle for existence doesn't make the front pages. Relief aid might ease the symptom but the cause of the ill remains.

By NIGEL WRENCH

WHAT IS GLEN-MORE? To some it is an excuse for sounding off the government, but to 3 000 people dumped on the edge of the Great Fish River it is a harsh reality of human suffering, no jobs and no future.

To get there you drive 23 km along the Committee's Drift road, seemingly to nowhere. The road winds through the peaceful Eastern Cape countryside, with only a windmill or two indicating man's occupation. There is no hint of what is to come.

Past the police station, over the narrow Fish River bridge, a neat sign points the way. 'Glenmore' it proclaims innocently, not revealing the hardship and human suffering. The track to the township is muddy, it has been raining, the car slithers about, others do the same.

FACES ARE EXPRESSIVE, YOUNG, OLD... ALL SHOWING THEIR HARDSHIP



A first glimpse reveals row upon row of identical wooden houses stretching into the distance. Muddy streets separate the ranks, and beyond is the Fish River, surely a menace when in flood.

A house like all the others is our destination, its number painted on the side distinguishes it from the rest. It's a tiny two-roomed structure with wooden walls, no ceiling and a compacted earth floor.

Within minutes the tiny room is filled to almost claustrophobic levels with town elders, each wanting to tell the story of their own suffering. Cigarettes are passed around, and accepted eagerly, when you are starving you don't buy luxuries.

A look around the room records attempts at homeliness — an old but comfortable lounge suite is somehow squashed in. In one corner is a bookcase, complete with a few books, on top of it

a biscuit tin serves as a picture.

The talk starts painstakingly through an interpreter. He asks the questions and answers come from all sides at once. Faces are expressive, young, old and middle-aged, all showing their hardship. Their views are clear — they are bitter.

On hunger: "We search for food like dogs, we live like dogs. There is no credit when the pension is gone; when it is finished it is finished."

On cattle that are dead because of no dipping. "I went to an official after my cattle died, and the official felt sorry for me but could do nothing. I was sent to more officials, then more, but nothing happened."

On what was promised: "Food and money while we waited for our pensions. Jobs and hospitals for sick people."

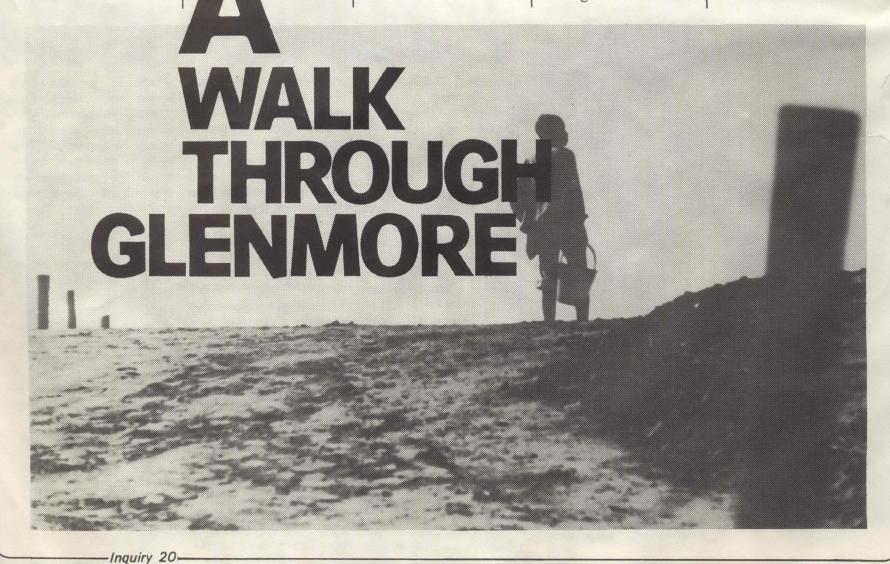
On what they found at Glenmore: "Here there is no work, no food, nothing." 65 men have

work in the township, the rest can only hope.

These people are desperately unhappy. They want to go back to their homes, in Klipfontein, Coega and Kenton.

Meanwhile life goes on as normal as possible. For many children there is school, but it cannot accommodate all. Standing on a hill, it looks hopefully out over the bleak settlement. Workmen are laying concrete floors at the school — they are the lucky ones who have work. A glance inside the classroom reveals a blackboard with today's lesson, "Die Klein Karroo" it hopefully proclaims.

After half an hour it is time to leave, our warm car keeping out the cold, the wet and the misery. People wave as the car leaves, some rush out to stop it, to tell more, to tell of their suffering. The colour of their skins is black, they are doomed to suffer it seems.



"300 metres or 180 days"

By JEREMY THOMAS

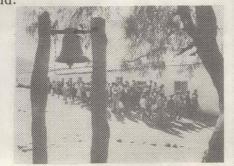
"HILLSIDE" and half of Fort Beaufort is part of the Ciskei, so what right has the municipality to tell us to move out of our houses?"

Mr Gcemene Keke, , (59), was born at Hillside as were his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. "The land on this bank (east) of the Kat River belings to us, and not to the Fort Beaufort municipality," he said.

Mr Keke and his family are one of 41 who face prosecution for illegal squatting on municipal commonage. The Fort Beaufort municipality wants them to move 300 metres across the border into the Ciskei or into Tines location, the Fort Beaufort black township.

The squatters were to have signed an agreement drawn up by the municipality before 31st March. "We haven't signed one single thing and we've heard nothing more from them since," Mr Keke said.

According to a notice sent to them by the Town Clerk, Mr D. van Eck, if the squatters had not moved within three months, they would be liable for eviction and a fine of R200 or six months imprisonment, with no compensation for their dwellings.



"We are happy here and will not move. All my life I have lived here, where my ancestors settled in 1832", said Mr Ford Mtutu, (33).

"The boundary is wrong", said Mr William Mizeko (78), "we are already in the Ciskei. The boundary was only put up in 1924."

Mr Keke said squatters had been refused jobs in town. "They say we do not belong here and should be in the Ciskei."

"We are very uncertain we don't know when the authorities are coming back,"





"Do we have to leave this behind too?"

said Mr Philip Monaham, (70), a third generation resident of Hillside.

Mr Eddie Madhongo, (72), said residents were stopped from building houses at Hillside. "All my children and grandchildren are living here," he said, "and still want to live here."

About 50 families have voluntarily moved across the valley to the Ciskei, where the ground is steep and stony and there there is no water.

Mr Kiveai Bouth, (80), showed is the school at Hillside that children have been attending ever since it was built in 1909.

"THOMAS MATROOS"

AFTER living for 63 years in Humansdorp, Mr Thomas Matroos, 68, was moved to Gwili-Gwili in 1976.

Mr Matroos was a freehold farmer in Humansdorp, with 300 sheep and 20 cows, but was only allowed to bring 100 of his best sheep to the new settlement.

In Humansdorp, Mr Matroos managed to save R1,100. "But this has all been used up now because there is no money here, no work," he said.

He said he didn't want to go back to Humansdorp anymore. "I am too old and tired, and I want to be left in peace to die," he said. "There is no point in going back now I have spent all my savings and sold all my livestock," he said.

The promises . . . and the nightmare

KEISKAMMAHOEK is a sleepy town without even enough work for its own inhabitants. Yet in 1976, 3 000 Humansdorp squatters were removed from their homes and dumped there.

Their new 'home' is the township of Elukhanyeni, just outside Keiskammahoek.

Today the two factories employ mostly women because the wages are so low, according to residents, that only they will work there. The official line from one of the factories. Ciskei sawmills, which ironically supplied wood for the houses at Glenmore, is that the women "work better" than the men.

On arrival at Elukhanyeni, residents also found no water supplies laid on. Water was delivered by lorries that came daily. According to residents, many babies died because of "something that was in the water."

Just on the other side of the hill lies the land originally intended for the people who now struggle in the township. This is the prestige Keiskammahoek Irrigation Scheme, which attracts settlers from all over the Ciskei.

This agricultural land was bought by the South African Bantu Trust for the purpose of resettlement, but it was decided to turn it into an irrigation scheme instead. 56 families are settled there at

present.

Mr F. B. Rhodes, project manager of the scheme, agrees with the change. "A good agricultural resource must be linked to the best possible human resource," he said. Humansdorp settlers may apply to join the scheme, provided they meet the qualifications, which include a standard four education. At present only three Humansdorp families have "qualified" for the scheme.

Mr Rhodes denies this, though admitting that "a couple" of cattle had been killed.

The story of the people of Elukhanyeni and the Keiskammahoek resettlement is just one of many such removals, forcing people to go and live in some remote area. As one resident said, "we would all like to go back to Humansdorp, but we can't."

-Inquiry 21 -

Labour laws feed hungry white capital

LABOUR FODDER

By GRAHAM NORRIS

THE REMOVAL of families to Glenmore is the result of a system of legislation and labour policies built up over nearly thirty years.

The 1903-5 Lagdon Commended territorial and political segregation which resulted in the 1913 Land Tenure Act, bringing to an end an era of Feudal-type relations between farmers and black labourers. This was followed in 1923 the Bantu Urban Areas Act which extended the 1913 legislation to urban areas. It meant that blacks could no longer buy, rent or lease land in any area other than prescribed areas.

This Act contained the notorious Section 10, which gives blacks the right to seek work in an urban area and to reside there, usually while their families are forced to live in the reserves.

Absence from an urban area for a period exceeding 30 days

means automatic forfeit of Section 10 rights. Thus if one leaves an urban area for more than a month, one is forced to become a migrant worker.

The 1936 Native Trust and Land Act provided means for calculating labour supply and demand needs and how they were to be met. However, it created a 'jobies class' of 'redundant' labour seekers but no provision for how these people would live.

This legislation provided background to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, no. 52 of 1951, which effectively blocked the legal flow of blacks to urban areas. This law provides for the demolition of illegal homes

This law provides for the demolition of illegal homes after a warning to depart by a magistrate has been ignored.

The Act stipulates that: Anyone illegally occupying any land or building, illegally entering any black location or village, or remaining on land despite warnings to depart, may be ordered by the magistrate to demolish any buildings erected and to move, to such other place as may be determined. If the magistrate to whose district the persons have been removed is satisfied that no suitable accommodation is available for them in his area or that they have no proper employment within reasonable distance, he may transfer them to some other suitable place. · Any local authority may establish an emergency camp for homeless persons.

This law was formulated to flux because of critical housing shortages. The most striking difference between this Act and the 1977 Amendment is the degree to which arbitrary decision making by Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (BAAB) has virtually excluded the judiciary. Now if evictions are made the authorities do not have to provide or allocate land for the evicted people.

The Prohibition of Interdicts Act, no. 64 of 1956, states that influx control officers may order persons to leave if they live unlawfully in a location, or are illegally in an urban area. Should these instructions be disobeyed, a court removal order may be sought.

Similar removal orders may be served, after the persons concerned are brought before a judicial official and deemed "idle or undesirable". Etion of Interdicts Act whereby
the Minister of Native Affairs
was granted the power to
erefuse the right to appeal to
the Supreme Court whenever
the Minister "deemed such
action to be necessary".
The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, no. 76 of 1963,

rights began with the Prohibi-

ment Act, no. 76 of 1963, made the 1945 Urban Areas Act applicable to all urban areas. Any unexempted person living in the 'white' part of a town may be forced to move to a location or hostel.

In terms of Section 10 1(a) and (b) of the Bantu Laws Amendment Act, no. 42 of 1946, a person may stay in an urban or prescribed area if he/she has: • · · · · resided continuously there since birth . • • · ; worked there con-

tinuously for one employer for not less than ten years, or has resided there lawfully and continuously for not less than 15 years, and has thereafter continued to reside there and is not employed outside; and has not while in the area been sentenced to a fine exceeding R100 or to jail for a period exceeding six months.

is the wife, unmarried daughter or son under the age

Even people with Section 10 rights face threats as Labour Bureau permission is needed to enter or remain in employment. They can be refused employment if this was deemed "not in the

public interest" that their contracts of service should sontinue, and might then be required to leave the area. They might also be deemed surplus to labour requirements.

Those born in the area would be removed only after all "surplus" persons had left.

The Bantu Labour Act, no. 67 of 1964, lost people their Section 10 rights because they no longer get 14 day work seekers permits. They now had to report every working day to labour bureaux until they were placed or until their registration as work seekers was withdrawn.

The Community Development Amendment Act, no. 56 of 1965, broadened the functions of the Department of Community Development to include the provision of housing, slum clearance, and urban renewal. It was not empowered to exercise these functions in black townships, black reserves or Coloured rural communities.

The Minister of Bantu Ad-

ministration and Development said in 1967 that Section 10 rights "can by no means be construed as citizen rights acquired in the homeland of the Whites by the Bantu. These provisions are merely categories of influx control exemptions."

A regulation in the June 14, 1968 Government Gazette frestated that persons unemployed for over a month without producing documentry proof of illness would lose their Section 10 rights. Housing permits may also be cancelled at 30 days notice.

Later in 1968 the Department stated in a directive that blacks could no longer build homes on thirty year leasehold plots, or purchase homes from local authorities. They could only rent houses and could not bequeath them to their heirs.

The Bantu Laws Amendment Act, no. 19 of 1970 amended regulations governing the removal of persons guilty of illegal residence in an urban area.

The 1970 Act stressed that if a black person was ordered to any place other than his/her home he/she would be detained there. "For such period, and perform there such labour, as may be prescribed by the law in terms of which the place concerned was established".

Bantu Affairs Administration Boards (BAAB) were established under the Bantu Affairs Administration Act, no. 45 of 1971, with wide powers to acquire, develop or dispose of land for Bantu occupation, and to refuse loans for the purpose.

They are responsible forhousing, labour allocation and the removal of people not qualified to remain in the area for longer than 72 hours under pass laws. The Minister of Bantu Administration defended the legislation by saying that influx control was necessary to prevent exploitation of black labour resulting from a manpower surplus.

Control was thus centralised and colsolidated into larger areas, such as under the East Cape Administration Board (ECAB).

The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act, no. 92 of 1976, made several changes from the principal 1951 Act. The Department of Community Development now took the place of the Department of Justice in dealing with squatting and BAAB could now establish emergency camps.

Penalties for offences under this Act were increased and any person convicted of obstructing an owner or authorized officer under this Act could be fined R500 or sentenced to a year in jail or both.

The most important change in the new Act is that provisions of the Prohibition of Interdicts Act are now made applicable to all orders relating to illegal squatting and emergency camps.

This effectively puts paid to any form of legal redress for people ordered to leave squatter camps. The State has thus placed itself in the position where it can virtually dictate people's futures without having to justify its action in a court of law.



By LINDA CHURCH

HE Ciskei, like other homelands which have opted for the South African styled independence, is politically dependant on an imported bureaucratic system of government and will remain dependant on South Africa for some time to come.

The Rhodes University Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), argues that the Ciskei is covertly, but effectively tied to the Republic by the interests of the emergent ruling group.

Many are also aware of the power the Ciskei's economic dependence on South Africa gives to the Republic. This economic dependency, over which it has no control and little influence, makes the Legislative Assembly, which gets 79 per cent of its annual expenditure from South Africa, vulnerable to pressure.

Under Section 30 of the Bantu Homelands Act (1971), a number of matters such as the military, foreign relations, transport, immigration, banking and currency and customs and excise, are reserved from legislation by the assemblies and these powers bestowed on the provin-

cial councils within the Republic, contrary to the policy of self-government.

Supervisor of a Social and Economic Research report, at Rhodes University, Ms. Nancy Charton, has pointed to the lack of any coherence and local autonomy in the Ciskei's economy which, she says, coupled with the lack of any significant infrastructure, has resulted in an externally orientated economy dependent on the bordering white industrial area of East London. Without this inter-relatedness a country cannot have a healthy economy.

It is impossible for the homeland to form an effective government due to the increasing migrant labour situation. Fortyfour per cent of the de jure population reside in "white South Africa", their attempts to communicate with the legislature being extremely difficult.

Says Nancy Charton: "When a government lacks the real capability with regard to 44 per cent of its citizens, it will obviously be faced with difficulties in making itself legitimate to them, as well as the growing number of the homeland residents who associate their political values with those of the urban residents.

Because the pool of cheap labour established in the Ciskei suits South African industrialists, the one solution to unemployment, that of creating new employment opportunities, is unlikely to happen.

Industrial investors in the Ciskei have capitalised on the low wages despite vain attempts by the Ciskei Government to negotiate better wages for Ciskeians.

In the range of R81 million has been invested in the Ciskei by the Industrial Development Corporation over the last decade, with little noticeable effect.

The Ciskei's economic situation is drastic and its people are poverty stricken.

Nancy Charton maintains the whole economy of the Ciskei has become hostage to a system whose interests lie on the greater whole.

The South African Government's policy of resettlement is the main friction between it, and the Ciskeian Administration.

The questions arise of how effective the Ciskei is of resisting South Africa's grand scheme of resettlement, and of why Chief Minister Sebe, whose manifesto seems to support separate development, opposed a policy so clearly in line with the policy of apartheid.

If resettlement met with such a grave disapproval from both Government and Opposition members of the Ciskei Legislative Committee, why should more than a quarter of its funds be spent on resettlement?

"We demand our fathers' land and no peace can ever reign until such land has been restored to its original owners," said Chief Sebe in a speech at the Legislative Assembly in May. He also asked that the Ciskei be given Stockenstroom, Victoria East and Peddie.

CISKEI: Black land in white hands



- Inquiry 24 -

the MIGRANT STRATEGY

HE RESETTLEMENT PLAN — to retain South Africa exclusively white.

In 1948, Dr Hendrick Verwoerd explaining the National Party's programme, said. "Natives from the country districts and the reserves will in future be allowed to enter the white towns and villages only as temporary workers. All surplus Natives in the towns will have to be sent back to the country districts or

The implication remains blacks will be used to improve the economy but may never enjoy the fruits of that

development.

The Physical Planning and Resources Act of 1968, provided for the future zoning of industrial land, the subdividing of existing industrial land and the formation of industrial townships. It claimed to be leading to the most effective utilisation of the country's resources and to be formulating the best physical development pattern for the republic.

The Minister of Planning, Mr C. de Wet, said, "We have a border industrial area, where the industry belongs to the white man where it is situated on white man's land. But the black man working there will be living on this land which can never be alienated from him". The border areas are the so-called "land" for the black people.

The function of the resettlement areas is to provide a pool of labour for the industrialists — and the farmer who is the largest employer of unskilled labour and the lowest wage payer. The underlying function, however, seems to be to clear people living in 'black spots' illegal shack developments or in areas prescribed for other

race groups under the Group Areas legislation.

The artificial restrictions on the movement of farm labour has depressed farm wages by separating the worker from wages paid in other sectors.

This pool of reserve labour serves a dual purpose: firstly, it is there to be absorbed during periods of economic expansion when employment opportunities increase; and, secondly, it benefits employers by forcing down wages through competition between workers for jobs.

Arguments that these areas are meant to be places of employment are destroyed by the lack of facilities and employment opportunities.

Ten years ago, Mr M. C. Botha, then Minister of Affairs and Bantu Development', said resettlement areas were not meant to be areas of employment but areas from which blacks could become migrant workers.

Last year, Mr D. Hidge, Chief Commissioner for the Department of 'Plural Relations' in Queenstown, said, "Where people work is not my business. It is like any other area. In the rural areas there are no jobs either — the people are migrant workers. The provision of jobs has nothing to do with me.' (Sunday Tribune, 8.10.78).

Between 1975 and 1978 wage increases and a change in the Chamber of Mines' policy resulted in a vast increase in the number of migrant workers recruited from the Eastern Cape.

Drug control of TB in the Albany District increased the number of workers recruited from the area from 410 in 1974 to 3441 in 1977, In 1978, 13 500 workers were recruited from the Ciskei and 98 000 from the Transkei.

Apart from migratory labour's detrimental effect of breaking up families, the financial benefits are extremely low and the migrant's family often receives a remittance of only R10.

The condition of people unemployed in the impoverished rural areas and the homelands is worse than those in the urban areas, and they have little hope of obtaining jobs in these areas. They may not leave these areas to look for work unless this is done illegally and if they do find a job they cannot be registered.

With the increase of unemployment from 1,2 million in 1960 to 2,3 million in 1977, pass laws have become the means for exporting the unemployed to the reserves.

Early in August, Mr Graham Mason, secretary to the Ciskei Chief Minister said representations had been made to the South African Government regarding a new plan to provide for young blacks especially between the ages of 16 and 20, and at the same time to discipline them so they can play a meaningful role in the South African economy.

The removals and the resettlement of the East Cape labour force have necessitated tightening control. Glenmore was not only carefully planned and laid out for the sake of appearance, but rather to give access to the forces of political control.

The resettlement of these so-called "illegal" people has not gone unchallenged and with several resisting groups the Government has resorted to forceful removals.

It is happening in many places in South Africa and must be seen within the context of the Government's attempt to manipulate the black labour force.

WIEHAHN THE COMMISSION was appointed in July 1977 to examine 12 pieces of labour legislation dating from 1939 to 1966.

The Commission began with the premise that all population groups should enjoy full involvement, participa-tion and sharing in the system of free enterprise, with as little government intervention as possible, while preserving and promoting industrial

By its own admission, the Wiehahn Commission Report (WCR) is in part a response to mounting international pressure on the labour front. It states that a "more creative character for the State's involvement in labour

matters," is needed.
In spite of this more decisive role, the mechanisms of control are never specified, and all issues of critical importance are referred to the National Manpower Commission (NMC).

Wiehahn:

Response to pressure

Migrant workers are specifically excluded from the category of "employees" and are therefore unable to become legitimate members of registered trade unions.

In addition, no agreement between an unregistered union and an employer is enforceable by law. No registered union may have anything to do with a person who is not an employee.

The Minister of Labour has been granted wide discriminatory powers and not only appoints NMC members to deal with all major issues, but is to play an "active par-ticipatory role" giving "sustained guidance" and "where necessary, swift cor-rective action" in conjunction with the NMC.

Fundamental issues to be referred to the NMC include the prohibition of political activity, the status of 'non-employees', trade union elec-tions and the prevention of factory floor worker organisation.

Resettlement is a major pinion in the Nationalist government policy of Apartheid. It is, as this publication has attempted to illustrate, very beneficial to industry. For the shifted people it can mean hardship, starvation, uncertainty even death. For the commercial press it is another source for the "exposé".

Recent Eastern Cape resettlement has received varying shades of treatment by the press. For some large newspapers on the rand, the issue was sparsely covered - until Dr Koornhof became a character. The Sunday Post exposed much of the suffering in an ongoing feature under the mammoth headline



Within a few days Big John Tate or some other "big news" was the issue.

The point about sensational coverage is that it focusses on an actual, average experience of oppression, and presents it as remarkable and out of the ordinary. The perpetuity of the issue is lost to the fleeting publicity.

The Eastern Province Herald deserves praise for its often cautious, but thorough account of the resettlement. It may not have attempted explanation and debate over the issues, but its factual coverage was invaluable.

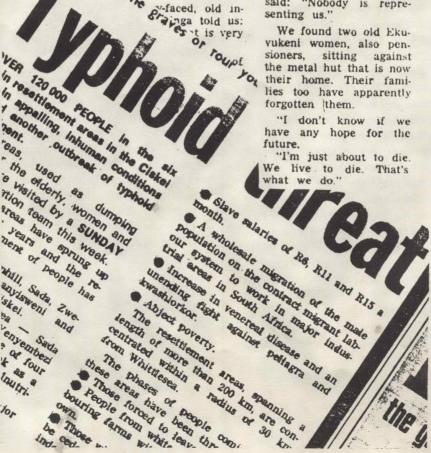
We hope that IN-QUIRY'S attempt at this explanation is to some extent successful. The

WHAT THE PRESS DID

"Dying for Change" "The real information
scandal". The Eastern
Province Herald carried
almost daily reports and
was instrumental in
monitoring developments.

But the old "event orientation" is all pervasive - the news, and not the social issue was what "mattered". The Sunday Post deserves accolades for a pioneering role in uncovering the facts of the situation, but its coverage was undoubtedly sensationally orientated. The emotive, bold headline portrayed the suffering of some, momentarily.

said: "Nobody is representing us."



publication itself is undoubtedly guilty of the faults we have thus far pointed out - this is an indication of the problems faced by the commercial press.

Any media producer should carefully analyse what is trying to be achieved, and to this end should welcome criticism from any quarters. We certainly hope for feedback from readers of this publication, so that we may lessen our inadequacies. And conversely, perhaps our treatment of the issues hold some lessons for others.

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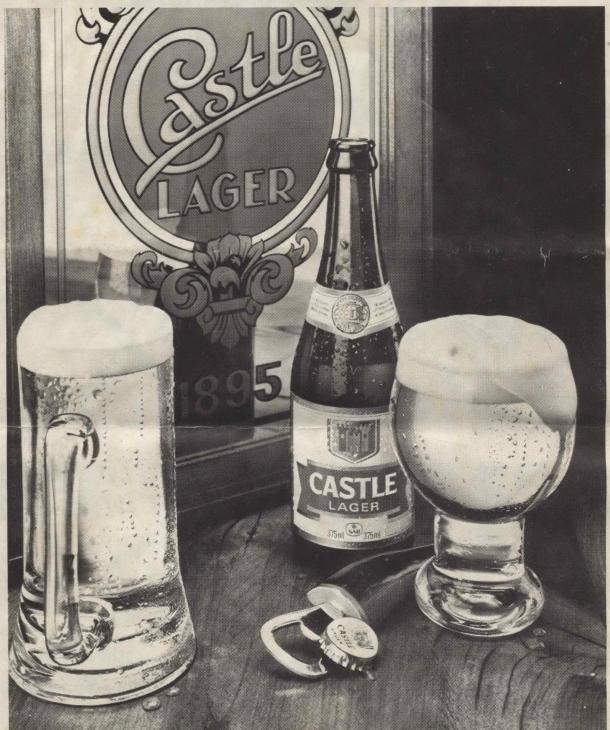
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