

BEW.

6/8/86

V6 PAR.35

(TECHNICAL RECORDING)

**U.D.F. MEETING — BURGER CENTRE, CLARE-
MONT, CAPE TOWN — 1984-11-26**

SPEAKERS

REV. FRANK CHIKANE (Acc. No. 10)
ANDREW BORIANE
MARIE PHILLIPS
DR. ALLAN BOESAK

IMPORTANT ORGANISATIONS, PEOPLE AND OCCASIONS MENTIONED

ENEMY ARMY (3)
FRIENDLY ARMY (4)
1955, CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE (9)
SWAPO (16)

ASSESSOR

UDF meeting: Burger Centre Claremont, Cape Town

Page 1 Line 1 "inaudible" to "Ntsoelengoe"

Page 1 Line 2 and 3 Change "Mr Essau Matanse" to "Mr Essau Mahlatsi" and change "and other home lands" to "and other homeless".

Page 1 line 6 Change "in the ball of" to "in the board offices of"

Page 1 line 13 Change "by the means" to "by the forceful means"

Page 1 line 21 Change "burned Supermarket" to "burned my Supermarket"

Page 2 Line 11 Change "strategic struggle positions" to "strategic positions"

Page 2 Line 17 Change "hostel goers" to "hostel dwellers"

Page 2 Line 34 Change "I get free" to "I get three"

Page 9 Line 13 Change "inaudible" to "So Journeyer"

Page 10 Line 13 Change "There is no alternative" to "They have no alternative."

Page 13 Line 15 and 16 Change "observation either by or wardens" to "observation either by video cameras or by warders"

Page 14 Line 31 Change "inaudible" to "Nick Boraine"

Page 15 Line 11 Change "strive more" to "strive for"

Page 16 Line 36 Change "in the its in" to "in the streets is"

Page 17 Line 2 Change "a war frontting" to "a war footing"

Page 17 Line 7 Change "a just court" to "a just cause"

Page 21 Line 30 Change "children do" to "soldiers do"

Page 25 Line 22 Change "the genes of" to "the dream of"

CORRECTIONS :

I, ABIE ABRAM MAHLANGU, am a Senior Interpreter in the Department of Justice, and I am stationed at the Magistrates' Courts in Johannesburg.

I was requested by the Attorney-General for the Transvaal to check the transcript of this recording against the tape/cassette and bring about any corrections, if any.

I did this to the best of my ability and found this transcript to be just and correct.

A.A. MAHLANGU.

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, written over the typed name 'A.A. MAHLANGU.' The signature is fluid and cursive, extending upwards and to the right.

OPMERKINGS

1. Hierdie is 'n transkripsie van die betrokke vergadering. Die transkripsie is so akkuraat as moontlik en is so ver as moontlik woordeliks korrek.
2. Verskillende sprekers kon van mekaar uitgeken word op die opnames en hulle word binne die transkripsie aangedui.
3. Woorde, sinsdele of sinne wat heeltemaal onverstaanbaar is, byvoorbeeld weens swak opname, geraas of waar sprekers gelyk praat, word aangedui met stippellyne, die woorde "inaudible" en "indistinct".
4. Agtergrond geluide en enige ander moontlike kommentaar, word tussen hakies aangedui, indien dit baie opvallend is.
5. 'n Vraagteken in hakies na 'n naam en/of 'n woord in hakies, dui 'n mate van onsekerheid aan.
6. Die transkripsies is van heropnames van die oorspronklike bande gemaak.
7. Tellernommers word aan die kantlyn aangebring om die opsporing van spesifieke gedeeltes te vergemaklik. Die nommers stem nie noodwendig presies ooreen nie maar is 'n genoegsame hulpmiddel.

006 What we have said. Mr. ^{Ntsoengoe} (~~Inaudible~~) To me ^{said} since September, we have been meeting with the Mayor Mr. ESAU ^{Mahlatsi} MATANSE and other home-lands councillors and the Vaal Development Board

In SEBOKENG, and we continues to say our pleading with the residence of the Townships. To except me and I am virtually in hibernation in the ^{board offices} ~~ball of~~, - ~~since~~ my home was burnt down. If I just resign I will be between two enemies. One, - the Administration Board on the other hand and the people on the other. I am pleading that I be accepted back into the community. He said there was a deadlock between the residence and the Board. On the one hand the residence are firm on their demands and on the other hand the Board is not prepared to give in. The situation he says we are in: "The situation we are in must be defused peacefully, not by the ^{forceful} means which the Board and the Council are using. The residence have spoken in volumes that they do not want the Council, but the authorities reply by having Police and soldiers come to the Townships "and I am still quoting. "The residence must bargain with the Board that they want the rents to be reduced, whil 'st in actual fact the Board must give in. The second Councillor goes further to say: "I am going to resign from this Council".

024 ^{my} People have actually burned Supermarket during the protest. I cannot say they were wrong in what they did, because they were proving a point.

I am quoting: "they had been saying for a long time that the rents were to high. I told Council meetings that there were complaints about the rents being too high, but I was told to keep quiet. Mr. MOSALA said said councillors, - and I want you to listen carefully and it is a councillor who is saying it, - "Councillors bought some of the bond, bonds, bottlestores for themselves. They said the opposed, eh he said he opposed, because the Council needed them as a means of income. He also said that councillors allocated themselves businesses, - business sites without consideration for the rest of the community and I am still quoting that Mr. MOSALA called for the release of detainees including the two Ministers who have been detained for providing services and ministered into the community. These people enjoyed recognition by the residence and were in the deputation that was chosen by

037 residence to represent the people and it goes further to say that when these people actually deport them, the the Board and council-lors, bought the business centres, they gave them to friends, to their relatives, to every means the licence was obtained, by those who were closest to these people and that's why the indication, that when the people could not succeed to get the council resigning they resorted to the methods that they resorted too. Since the enemies operation "Palmiet" and I am still continuing with the radio report which mobilised seven thousand (7 000) person strong force, - armed to the teeth against our defenceless people in the VAAL and the ~~stratie~~ strategic ~~struggle~~ positions taken by this enemy force during the previous - "Stay-away", to back-up the Police in SOWETO. The army with the Police now raided the Townships in TEMBISA, KATLEHONG and ATTRIDGEVILLE and various Townships in the EAST RAND. More than about four thousand (4 000) people, eh four hundred (400) people got arrested in the VAAL during the operation "Operation Palmiet" Hundreds of hostel ^{dwellers} ~~goers~~ were arrested recently in the hostels, eh recently in the hostels in the VAAL TRIANGLE in the action of the army. - During the action of an army, one people were arrested in TEMBISA during a military operation there, and almost all the people arrested in all those areas were either

056 arrested for pass offences or other offences unrelated to the unrest. In actual fact the only thing they find - found that was serious in the VAAL was a gun (Nie hoorbaar, praat te sag) possibly owned by a Tsotsi element and not those people who caused the unrest. It has been reported but the army have also attacked and the reports still continues attacked the people in the EASTERN CAPE and they surrounded the Townships there. In the months that have passed (onhoorbaar) the apartheid regime intensified the war against the majority (onhoorbaar) hundreds of people died almost in three (3) months, time. Now if you do your little bit of mathematics you'll realize more than about two (2) people die a day in the TRANSVAAL and it means that (onhoorbaar) over two people Every weekend I get ^{three} ~~free~~ invitations to funerals to assist in the burials of people and I have to make a choice as to where I can go and where I can not go and this figure 161 has been quoted by the South African Institute of Race Relations for those who may not believe me. Many thousands of people have been injured, mostly with bullet wounds, whil 'st some suffered

072 injuries when beaten by Police, by sjamboks, batton charges etc. Since the beginning of this year according to the D.P.S.C. 1062 people have been detained and I am giving this statistics just to indicate to you the whole situation in the country. The rest were actually the people who were detained. Very few of those people were charged. The rest were released and a very few were found guilty of any crime. About two hundred and twenty eight are still in detention now and 164 of them are under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. This might have been a radio report and this is how the people in the Townships actually view the whole situation in the TRANSVAAL. To be more precise, the war declared against the people in the last few months proved beyond doubt that the S.A.P. and S.A.D.F. are actually an enemy army. They are actually mobilized and trained to attack the peoples, the legitimate people of this country. The enemy army has in actual fact become, eh achieved through the operation "Palmiet" in the VAAL, actually there to make eh the achievement they made was to make the residence actually begin to realize they actually do not have an army. I was trying to put it in the most convenient way so that I don't get prosecuted for saying it I want to say (amandla) That operation "Palmiet" actually made people to discover eh by the way we do not have an arm- army eh by the way this is a White defence force that is meant to defend White privileges and in particular "apartheid". For the first time they began to think "Why do we not have an army?" -- Why can't we protect ourselves?" (handeklap) For the first time they began to learn that they talk about the boys and the border. It actually means the boys and the border at the borders of the Townships. They began to realize that in actual fact the borders means, the borders that have been created by "apartheid". They separate you and put you in a Township where they can attack you conveniently, and when they (handeklap) - people are now more than ever before aware that they actually need an army and I want to emphasize that I've talked to them. I've been there this Saturday, I was there last Saturday eh I was there the other week. I am doing my patrol work in that area for those who believe some people. Some agitators coming to these areas and agi-

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113 tate the people I'm simply there bringing food parcels for the hungry and trying to set up information services and I am very happy that the information service started two weeks ago to identify the ~~weak things~~ ^{VICTIMS} of the army in that particular area. Take ugly ducklings and identify the injuries and pain that has been caused to those people and when you talked to them, they feel they are defenceless. They really need some form of defence. Now I want to take this opportunity to warn SOUTH AFRICA at this stage, that those people who are actually, acted against through an army, those people who do not have guns, in those Townships in the VAAL, in SOWETO, in TEMBESA, in KATLEHONG, are very soon or they may have started already looking for an alternative army and it is not going to be very difficult (handeklap). It is not going to be very difficult to identify a friendly army. It is not going to be very difficult for them and if they do so, no one in SOUTH AFRICA must blame those defenceless people in the VAAL (handeklap en deurmekaar praterij terwyl hande geklap word).

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No one (inaudible) against them. These ^{the Police to go in to ILLUSION} (inaudible) the atrocities. - That have been committed by the Police and the army in those areas and I am becoming careful as well lest I be accused and I make sure that besides the evidence that have been presented in this booklet here, called "Repression during the time - the time of reform" - that are documented here by peace loving South Africans. South Africans about what is happening. I am going just to present to you two cases. One is the one that happened in NANENI of a boy that was sent to buy food, I mean a loaf of bread in a shop and once he went there the parents knew he was going to buy bread. He did not come back. When the parents went there they found evidence that the Police truck, - as children were playing along the streets, at once they struck - they shot and that young man was shot dead and was buried the following week. The case that we interviewed just this Saturday to make the evidence as fresh as possible, is that of Mr. MAJIBA a SOWETO old man of sixty two who actually had a broken jaw and we asked him - "How did your jaw get broken?" He said one day I saw children running around and I thought well, the unrest has started and I must lock my shop and as I was busy

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147 locking my shop I had a blow on my side and I collapsed and the next thing I found myself in the hospital with a broken jaw and I took two weeks in the hospital. Of course the Police took statements and after taking statements they actually disappeared and I've not seen them up to date. That is the evidence of Mr. MAJIBA and the other evidence that I can be quoted I know that Dr. BOESAK is going to refer to a number of ugly ducklings, but the most atrocious I ever learnt about, is the young man who was shot in a Police van and that to me was the most hard hitting, that when these young people have to be released very young, school going age they were in a van - (hakkal en kan nie die regte woord uitkry nie) - document was prepared. One Policeman came to them and said to them, - "Bring me my jacket, - where is my jacket? - Where is my jacket? What happen to my jacket? They said - "No we don't know anything about your jacket! and he said - "Well I am going to kill all of you here!" and he drew up the gun and they thought that, that policeman was playing games and he triggered, he loosen the trigger and the bullet went through the eye, through the back of the head, through the walls of the eh the van out into the streets and they picked up the child and took the child to hospital, when they arrived at the hospital the child was dead. The next thing they did, - and that's where I've got the information, - is when the Police were actually terrorising the other youngsters not to make statements about what happened, and we tried to get them. To removed them from the VAAL, they gave them an order not to leave their houses where they actually stayed, so that we could not remove them from the place and we handed over a, a the case to a lawyer to take care of that situation and I want to say that some of you may say as most actually South Africans believe that these people must have been shot being violent. They must have been involved in violent acts as as as much as police cannot act against innocent people. I want to put it very clear to this house today, that in SOUTH AFRICA I as a priest have found myself in a very difficult position. That in actual fact in SOUTH AFRICA all the peacefull methods have become illegal and I would like to prove to you, that because the peaceful methods are illegal you are bound to produce violence and that the violence is produced by the police and that the Police have no alternative but to create that violent situation. Lets take for instance a peaceful march according to the law. It is riotous assembly act. It is a crime, so when people march peacefully

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the Police have got a duty to to to keep law and order. The Police must come and say we give you 5 minutes to desperse because you are committing a crime. This people are committing a peaceful crime. Your know a crime that you commit is the one that you just walk along the street and you are committing a crime and when that people are busy dispersing thousands don't disperse in five minutes, the Police are bound to throw teargas and as the people run away, the Police shoot. They say, they are keeping law and order if all gatherings are actually illegal even open. I mean indoor meetings. That ban at times and listen to the banning order any meeting which discuss or critisises government policy and legislation are banned. Now it means that even a discussion on how, who will, how to get food into the VAAL, becomes a crime, because then you must talk about the legislation of the state as to how the legislation goes there, how legal will be our action be, and the more you talk about it, you are actually committing a crime. The most dramatic action was that JODAC an organisation in JOHANNESBURG that have to organise a lawyer to sit here to listen to them and keep on reminding them when they start to committing a crime. (Gelag en hande klap) - and say in actual fact when they starting committing a crime and I want to say that labour strikes are illegal stay away is potentially illegal. This Saturday they have announced that those people who actually cause people to stay away, have to be charged under the Sabotage Act - (gelag). It means that when you say to people, - "People, let us stay at home, we are not going to work, we just relax at home, you are actually committing a Terrorist Act; you are actually sabotaging the state. They are saying that people sabotage the economy of the country. A call for sanctions against. I know this is a very sensitive one, some people believe that the most peaceful way of putting pressure against the government by calling for sactions and I must warn you, don't try it, because it is a crime - (Gelag). When you call for sanctions against this country and you think it is the most peaceful way to solve the problem they are going to say - lock you up and charge you under the Sabotage Act. Take it. - The councillors talking to councillors to resign. I talked to Mr. SLAVINE? myself and he said I want to resign, can you help me? Is there a way that I can actually meet the leaders to tell them I am resigning. When it come to me to say, the young people in June sixteen their S.S.R.C.

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224 was charged for intimidation by simply say to the councillors resign and they resigned. I began to think I might be committing a crime here if I actually help him to resign - (Gelag), because I am going to be told that I have committed a crime. So I said to him - "Well you can (inaudible) ... I can make arrangements for you to meet the leaders in the VAAL and talk to them. We are a very gracious and patient people and we are here with our hands open and that everybody else who want to (inaudible) join the side that is fighting for justice, have the time now. In actual fact that I always feel I might be too gracious just like the Lord Jesus Christ - (Gelag), - but you see all the protest meetings, are methods are not possible. What else can I do, to register my feelings? What else, actually the leadership in the VAAL might have escape, eh escaped the charge by saying we are becoming absent from work to go and actually submit our eh our grienvances, so they didn't say they are staying away to sabotage the economy of the country. They said we are staying away to have time to deliver our grievances and as they got up together to move to the office, then a councillor interfered, the first one who died actually shot, started shooting. The person who started the violence in the VAAL was one
245 of the councillors. He shot first and after releasing the two shots, which shot two people. The peoples anger just (inaudible) overwhelm them and they attacked the councillor. The second one the same happened. The Police come and then it becomes very clear that it is not the people who cause the violence, but it is actually the system in that area. I want to conclude by saying that demands of the people are very clear. The demands of the people are, that we, want a just SOUTH AFRICA. When they protest against rent, it is because they cannot afford it in the first place, secondythey cannot even decide how much they pay. Even the councillors themselves don't decide, they are told by the Development Board and they execute the decisions and they are saying we cannot effect, afford the money. It might mean this hard way. I want to make an example to say. A woman whose earning R144-00 and has to pay a rent of R75-00 and example, I use money for travelling R30-00 to leave children with another family, has got nothing remaining to buy food with and she said to me: "I'll rather get rid of the house and rather use the R75-00 to feed my children" -

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265 and I said where are you going to stay? She said well I may as well stay in the streets as long as my children can actually have food. You may say to her, well it is not our responsibility because you are eh are eh poor, you cannot get a big salary, that also has a chain reaction. It says something about the economic system of the country. If there can be a person earning that much, that person who has not got the education, because of Bantu education prepared to be a worker, according to VERWOERD'S word, that if we give these people education they will like to be, like us, they will like to be in our position, so we must give them Bantu Education and let them be dropped out so, that they can be our servants. I want to say that the demands of the students are very simple. They want free and equal education. Actually the world cannot believe we are still making such demands. Any civilized country should be giving people free and compulsory education, which is not happening in SOUTH AFRICA. The labour who plans is also doing the same and I want to say, the stay away last week eh eh few weeks ago was actually a culmination of an all long drawn struggle that produced many deaths, that make many people to suffer and people said because the department of education doesn't listen us - to us, because KOORNHOF'S department which has been handed over to DU PLESSIS and he has handed over to VILJOEN, is not listening to us. We as workers and this is what made the success of that stay-away two weeks ago. We as workers, are the people who pay the rent eh eh the eh the month eh the school fees. We as workers are actually ^{suffering} ~~supporting~~ because our children are making the demands. The demands the children are making just to quote Mr. DLAMINI of eh FOSATU eh the demand the people are making is equal to, it is the same as the demand of the workers. The workers demanded that they be recognised from the factory floor and have their own trade union. Some children are making the same demands, because it is the same we are supporting them. It is our children and the people who are in the Townships are workers. They are making the demands and the Trade Union, said we will support this stay-away as an ultimate!!, because we are not listened to and instead of being listening to the people were locked up and detained. I do not have time now in my conclusion, but I want

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to say that the message in the TRANSVAAL is that the people want to govern (Amandla - geskree uit gehoor en handegeklap) - The people are saying we are not going to be administered by an enemy, because this is an enemy. The people are saying we are no more prepared to accept ^{sojourner} In actual fact at one stage or another I begin to dream as I am walking along the streets of SOWETO. Dr. BOESAK I can't believe that Frank CHIKANE walking around the streets of JOHANNESBURG, doesn't have the right to vote, he is not a citizen of this country. I can just sometimes, eh I think I am dreaming. Sometimes I just feel possibly, I am not alive here. There must be something wrong with me. That I am still oppressed that I've no say in my way of living that I'm temporary (inaudible) in SOWETO. When I was born in SOWETO that foreigners (skreeu praat) within two years or three or five they became citizens of this country (handeklap) and I want to say sometimes there is a strange feeling in me. As I stand here, I remember VERWOERD saying that if you give this people education they will demand to participate in the government. Do you remember the quotation? - (Uit gehoor - "Yes"). You must read VERWOERD, he said (gelag) "We give them Bantu Education, because if you leave this mission out to teach this people, one day, they will demand to govern and within two years of the statement of VERWOERD in 1955, the congress of the people met and started by saying the people shall (handeklap) govern and immediately after the peoples congress VERWOERD had to think about a formula. It took him some years and he put up some commissions and after those commissions they came with a story to say, let's create Bantustans and when we have to see if your are in a yard you need a kennel of a dog to keep the dog there. You don't want the dog to get into the house and make a mess here. So they decided we must have a kennel of a dog, so that we keep this dogs in that kennel. But at one stage they realized no you can't control these dogs. They can't stay there, lets get a chain. Called influx control so that we chain them up there - (gelag) and keep them in that and then they can determine they are eh. are they are future and participate in eh voting in that particular kennel there. Called the Bantustans. So we have given them a chance to express themselves. Suddenly they discovered it looks like there are Indians, so-called and Coloureds who are not in those dog k...k...kennels. The best thing to do is to create a tri-cameral

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354 parliament so that these people can express their feelings in that tri-cameral parliament and the people in the Townships asked people who are talking about elections, were saying, - we hearing the noise and they were saying, by the way we are excluded from this government. I am not surprise that it happens in the TRANSVAAL. Are you not surprised that it happens in those Townships. The frustration of being ignored when you say no to the local authorities. When you say no to the tri-cameral parliament. Those who have guns, just continue with their government, that frustrations ... eh ... frustration has created the state of affairs now. Thats why the government is forced to re - resort to state apparatus ^{They have} that are repressive in state of persuasive, state apparatus. ~~There is~~ no alternative. I actually understand the action of SOUTH AFRICA. You can't maintain the oppression of the people. You can't maintain an unjust system without actually acting against those people. It is impossible, you need a b-i-g army to maintain that and the people are saying that what is been said in the in the VAAL and elsewhere and I am concluding, they're saying Let us make sure that the army stays with us. Let us make it impossible for them to administer us. Let us eh Let this message become clear, that even if we died all of us we are prepared to die, for the sake of a just order.

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380 Thank you comrades (Handegeklap)

ANDREW BORAINÉ

388 Ladies and gentlemen. I think all of us here in the Western Cape and so much difference, for the last few months in the TRANSVAAL and in the Eastern Cape. I think that you all agree with me that after the privilege of listening to the Rev. FRANK CHIKANE that you feel much closer to the people in the TRANSVAAL and it is from now onwards and we can do nothing more than pledge our solidarity and support for their struggles there. Now the next speaker tonight I eh struggle how to introduce her. On the one hand I know her as eh MRS PHILLIP a co-publisher in CAPE TOWN. Eh she is a member of many organisations and one can perhaps list all those organisations that she belongs to. I think rather I'll introduce her as KATE'S (KATE PHILLIPS) Now I think for many people who face the challenge who seek to challenge eh the apartheid state in this country detentions eh are a everyday on reality we see this all the time. I think KATE PHILLIP and President of the National Union of the South African Students - knew this and faced this reality and she was detained, I think it was about 10 days ago along with many other democratic leaders in SOUTH AFRICA. I think while, eh those who challenge "Apartheid" who work in democratic organisations know of this reality, to face it perhaps not as easy for those who are members of their families, parents, sisters and brothers one step from the firing line to understand to know how to respond to appreciate - just to in a sence show that solidarity. I think, as we all seen over the last week or so for KATE'S parents, it has been very easy. They have stood by KATE. They have publically stated their love and support for her and I know how proud she would be if she did know or she could read the newspapers or she did have access to any information, how proud she would be sitting in John Vorster Square, of her parents and so I think it gives me that pleasure and I myself will be proud to ask KATE'S mother to address us for tonight about detentions (Handegeklap)

MARIE PHILLIPS

435 Ladies and gentlemen our own two of perhaps two thousand parents who have been effected this year by the detention of one of those families I hope you will understand this, when I speak here

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as I have been asked to do about my reactions as a mother to the detention of my 24 year old daughter. I am speaking also on concern for all the detainees. I know that there are issues much bigger than the detention of KATE alone and as you know the security measures, been flung far and wide and has dragged in the leaders and leading members of many other organisations as well as NUSAS Political and students and youth organisations, trade unions, civic groups, teachers and journalists. The very people that in all to the government should be talking to not locking up. In a report on detentions that was given to us in JOHANNESBURG last week. Statistics are pre-empted with the names to back him up. They told that 1,000 and 64 people have been so far detained this year, under one section or another of the internal security act. One thousand and 64. In 1983 it was 453 and that was a (Inaudible) enough. More than 200 are still in detention now and many of these are detained under Sec. 29. It seems to me quite the most sinister of all the sections. It means solitary confinement Solitary confinement for an indefinite period for the purposes of interrogation. With no rights to see a lawyer, or family or friends. One can talk (Inaudible) about statistics with the out goes of lifes down lies statistics, but I believe these figures to be not lies but shamefull truth and another confirmation of the state of upheavel in the country that are heard described by the Rev. CHIKANE. It is a confirmation also of the Government's panic stricken reaction to the effect of protest, as the election boycotts and the stay aways undoubtedly were. These statistics have been now in a new and a terribly painfull way because one of them is KATE, detained under Section 29 twelve days ago. We are quite KATE phone us at odd hours of the day or night. I think most students keep strange hours anyway but as NUSAS President she has been traveling backwards and forwards like a yo-yo from campus to campus and often phoned home - during the night just to say she has arrive safely or some message or some request, but the phone call at 6.30 in the morning on November the 14th had an ominous ring to it before I even picked up the receiver, as a click in the stomach the reality of something that one has feared stays with us. From no loud warning, she has been utterly in the power of the security po-

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lice. Shut up from the law, from a lawyer from her friends, from us. One is bewildered by it, almost as if by a sudden death there's unfinished business. questions one needs to ask and come, first your belongings lie around waiting to be picked-up an my car keys I think she has taken by mistake (praat baie sag) and no end in sight we, DAVID and I and the rest of our family have been immensely strengthened by the wave of outbreak against the detentions. By all the messages of solidarity and support as if not only some from all round in SOUTH AFRICA but incredibly swiftly and widely from overseas. Strengthen to, by the moving tributes to KATE courage and integrity and to her justice and peacefull change which we know and are proud of. All this has helped us very much, but she knows nothing of that support. She has none of that to help her. I am told that sec. 29 detainees are under 24 hours observation either ^{by video} ~~by or wardens~~ ^{cameras or by wardens}. Each one of them is very much alone and solitary confinement without news or in as I say that I am as if I can qualify it if one call it respect. That is indeed the situation of isolation that the authorities are trying to effect; but I am sure that although KATE will be allowed no concrete evidence of outside support. She will know that she does have the support of her marvellous friends and other family. Solitary confinements, - is said to disorientate one very quickly, but I am sure she will be able to hang on to the strenght of that certainty. We are, I repeat very confident of being only two parents out of many in the same distressing situation. How well of the evils of detention and banning is that it sweeps people away. Very quickly out of the site and out of the mind of society. It is the effect of the strategy of the state that they should become anolomy? faceless. I speak personally about us and KATE, because I realize from the many people who have phoned and said to us, then it is when such an evil act of bullying, hits some one they can visualise personally, that they realize that it could happen to their daughters or sons to their husbands or wives not just to face less quote "some person elements" but to worthy members of perfectly legal organisations and gave it a ligitimate protest against some manifestation or another of injustice. Then they too are moved to protest against detention without trial. Though they, may not

559 actively done so before. Can I ferment to you the call by the Black Sash or the detainees parents support committee and the act of detentions committee, charge there, this coming Thursday the 29th of November as a national day for "remembering detainees". Some of them have now been in detention for as long as six months. They drew the meetings that have been arranged elsewhere and press coverage too. It is very important for the physical and mental safety of detainees that we do continue to protest as sharply and powerfully as we can to keep up the pressure on the authorities to charge or release until one day we get rid of this barbarious internal security act that shames our country in the eyes of civilized people. (Geweldige handeklap).

ANDREW BORAINE

590 Thank you MARIE PHILLIPS for reminding all of us here once again tonight of what you call the shameful truth of our country. I think as we of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT only all of us here tonight never to become numb, never to become numb to the statistics that tend to blow over the pages of our newspapers every day to refuse to accept them; to constantly fight them until, as MARIE said, they have done away with completely. Before we proceed with the meeting there has been a request maybe from people scattered rightout the back there that if possible those of you in the isles come sit on the stage here we ask someone just to open the curtains so that as many people as possible can come into the hall. (Hande klap) (Mingling of crowd)

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Tonight and obviously a very similar topic to what eh FRANK CHIKANE spoke to us, but obviously from a very different angle. Next speech here tonight, as one of the many thousands of young White South Africans who have begun to question the S.A.D.F. to challenge their role and to couragely seek alternatives (Nick Boraine) (Inaudible) (Hande klap)

UNKNOWN SPEAKER

009 Good evening. We heard from MARIE PHILLIPS tonight how the recent uprising has effected them and those close to them. For many other White South Africans affected the conflict has been diffe-

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011 rent. There will be parents here and parents throughout the country who's children were sent into those Townships to crush the disturbances. That the Government would have us believe Kate was instrumental in creating. There are many tragedies in the South African conflict. One that is very real and close to me is the effect that it is having on White youth. There are lessons we can learn and similarities that we can draw eh there is the Rhodesian bush war and the Smith's Smith Government legacy to young White Rhodesians a massive propaganda machine operating through the press, radio, schools and through military training itself. Held up an ideal for these young people to strive ^{for} more. The picture of a strong young man armed and in uniform and his wife, mother, sister or lover supporting him from home all of them involved in aggressively defending a free Christian nation against the massed forces of communist terrorism. Some of those young White man went out into the bush and died and killed for the cause and their mothers, sisters, wives and lovers proudly suffered the anguish of waiting and sometimes the anguish of the death of a loved one. The rest is history. Robert MUGABE the most diabolical and contemptible of all the terrorist leaders was elected to power in a overwhelming popular victory. How could those young White Rhodesians understand what had happened. Those eh those people are still with us today. They are still at our universities. They alienated hardened embittered in a world that they would never ever taught to understand. That possibly even more criminal in a world that was deliberately misinterpreted for them. The ~~power wells of~~ ^{parallels with} our own situation are obvious and frightening. It is becoming clear that our country is entering into a state of civilwar. Ranged on one side of that battlefield are the people of SEBOKENG, KATLAHONG, TEMBISA, CHEKANE, SOWETO and many other townships around the country for protesting against rent increases and community councils that imposed them or it is the school children who sometimes heroically and sometimes desperately are putting their lives on the line in the fight against Bantu Education. There are people resisting deportations to the Bantu stans and there are people resisting removal to KHAYELITSHA. There are the Namibian people who have long opposed the occupation of their country with what ever means at their disposal. There are workers, woman, infant, students who came

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044 together and their trade unions and their community organisations all in man based popular fronts like the UDF, who are shaking the very foundations of "Apartheid". On the other side of that battlefield is the "Apartheid" state. Those people that benefit from the status-quo and the operators that concern and preserve it and of course than there are young White South Africans who get armed, clothed, fed and thrown into the breach, to defend our Christian civilisation against the communist onslaught. In SOUTH AFRICA the S.A.D.F. is in a seat of political power. It is not an exaggeration to say that the S.A.D.F. is everywhere. It is in the White schools with the drag of cadets every Thursday afternoon. Imprints itself on the (Inaudible) of boys who carry out mock attacks on SWAPO bases and attacks on mock SWAPO bases and an (Gelag uit gehoor) and also imprints itself on the (Inaudible) of the girls who are taught to be the mother eternal filing a harp and keeping a home for the man who we'd, war. It is in the Black schools taking the children on outings to the Zoo or to leadership camps. It is assisting with removals at places like MAGOPA and now as we're heard tonight, it waging a direct war against the people of the townships and I think many people here will watch this list of SADF involvement in the townships with growing concern and I think it is usefull, just to pick out again some of those points.

October 23 operation "Palmiet". 7,000 troops invaded townships of SEBOKENG at 3 in the morning. All exits are sealed. 354 people arrested. Most of them for pass offences. There are - there are accusations of brutality. Sixty people are treated for injuries. Ocotber 24. 7,000 troops moved into SHARPVILLE and BOIPA townships.

November 5th and 6th. S.A.D.F. moves into TEMBISA and CHEKANE townships. People barricade the roads, rocks stones old cars and burning tyres. Twenty four (24) people are killed.

November 10th and 11th. The S.A.D.F. moves into GRAHAMSTOWN townships with armoured troop carriers. Two (2) deaths are reported and armoured carrier ploughs into a taxi and kills four (4) people. As we can see the S.A.D.F. is everywhere. It's in the ^{streets} ~~it's~~ in the media. It's a symbol in advertising. Its in ANGOLA and NAMIBIA

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076 and also importantly the S.A.D.F. is in our heads. As our country gears itself onto a war ~~fronting~~ ^{footing} philosophy begin to permeate in the media and in our minds the enemy become something foreign less than human and a soldier becomes a symbol of the nation, something more than human. They are taking us down that well ^{war} warmth path where SMITH lead White RHODESIA. We have been told in so many ways that ours is a just ~~cause~~ ^{cause} and that justice on our side, we will win the war. I don't believe this is true. If White SOUTH AFRICA only took the time off from the war mongering rhetoric of "Rooi gevaar" and total onslaught we would see that the enemy is no more and no less than, the great majority of SOUTH AFRICA's people and I think that we all realise here that there is very little chance of the "Apartheid" State, winning a war against such impossible odds and yet the myth is propogated. The White nation prepares for war and some of our lives are put on the line. I wonder if in five or ten or even 30 years time there will be a small White community living somewhere in SOUTH AFRICA, that is hardened allienated and ambitted just like those Rhodesians I've mentioned. But what can we, who are so caught up in that cycle of violence do to break it and to avoid our own brutalisation. We can call out to those young White soldiers and to their wives, lovers, and families. We can show them that they cannot win the fight and that it is wasteful to try it and we can show them the cause itself is an unjust one. It's no more than the defence of "Apartheid". On every platform and in every forum we can expose the government's own explanation of the war. We can call for an end to conscription for SOUTH AFRICAN. Troops to be pulled out in NAMIBIA, we can call on end to the war and we can organised others around that call, but beyond this we have to attack the roots of violence in this country. The violence of the Bantustans, of the cheap labour system. The violence of group areas and forced removals. The violence of starvation and poverty. The violence of "Apartheid" and whether we come to a meeting like this or join the UDF area committee or support the inconscription campaign. I believe we are doing the only patiotic duty left open to us working for a just peace in this country.

Thank you.

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111 (Handegeklap)..
ANDREW BORAINÉ
Thanks very much NICK.

Ladies and gentlemen and one have to introduce Dr. BOESAK infact the man is so well known, he needs no introduction I think on the one hand this is true but ons the other hand it is quite an easy way out for the chair - person so firstly could I say a couple of things about him um he is well known to students of U.W.C. or as their chaplain, he is also President of the world alliance of the Reform Churches, he is patron of U.D.F. He is a husband to DOROTHY BOESAK father of four young children. He lives in BELLVILLE. I don't know whether thats fortunate or unfortunate for him - (Gelag uit gehoor) these sort of things. He is also the mortal enemy at present stage of the Minister of Law and Order Mr. Louis LE GRANGE - (Gelag en handeklap) Now Mr. LE GRANGE has accused him of being a liar and a slanderour and he has also threatened to charge him in terms of Section 27 of the Police Act and if these charges are are eh are held against him, Dr. BOESAK will then face five years in jail or a R10,000 fine, so without saying much more on that, - um - I would like to say Dr. BOESAK over to you and take your gloves off.
(Klap hande en maak geluide uit gehoor).

DR ALLEN BOESAK

(Inaudible)

138 Thank you very much Andrew. Brothers and sisters, ladies and gentlemen, friends and enemies (Gelag).

I can't believe that everyone here is a friend and I wouldn't like to leave anybody out, so (Lag) Please feel welcome (Lag en klap hande) (Break in recording)

There are some people here tonight who works for the S.A. Television and I need to say that although they very much wanted me to speak, tonight, so that they can get me on film. So they can show me to the nation. When they did not allow time when I was in DURBAN and visiting the six people in the consulate there. I came out and we had a press conference and I spoke and when I got

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home my little girl Tulane, who is the cheekiest of all my children, showing very clearly that she does not take after her father (Gelag) She said to me, "Daddy - they didn't make you say anything?" (Gelag) and I said to her, - "Maybe that's the problem with the South African Television. They don't want to let you say anything. Unless, they say or you say
162 what they want you to say. And they like it then (Clapping) I, just want to make very sure that everybody understand, I don't hate these people, I don't have time for that. I have too much on my plate these days, and more then ever before, but I very much like to say, - does the policy of the U.D.F. is clear and correct? Small and it do not get a clear and solemn undertaking. As much as it is possible for AUCKLAND PARK not to lie that we will be given clear and impartial coverage so that the people of SOUTH AFRICA can see and hear for themselves, what we are and what we stand for and what we want and what we think of this country. We will not allow them here (Hande geklap), and I will go and will speak with people in the S.A.B.C. T.V. if it can rely and if it is no less than 10 to 15 minutes. They can ask as many questions as they want, but I will not go and have a little interview as the or whatever it is that they call it (Gelag). So that I will not even recognise it. So now, - you are all welcome.

You know - lets get down to serious business. The Minister has ordered that I be charged under Sec. 27. Now it says - Section 27 of the Police Act there are people who thought that I have been detained, because when you hear a section in this country, you know (Gelag). He also said, that he has now ordered the Police to open a dossier on me (Gelag). I was a little bit disappointed. I must say. I now, thought they have dossiers on me way back then and now I know that they only starts two weeks ago.

Well, - it says, any person who publishes any untrue matter in relation to any member of the force and that force member of that forces, functioning without having reasonable grounds, that that statement is true, shall be guilty of an offence Da-Da-Da-Da and a fine of R10,000 or 5 years in jail or both. Now what angered the Minister in the publicity what I have said.

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While on a visit to AUSTRALIA. - If you ^{WANT} ~~wanted~~ to be ^{FAVOURIS} ~~safest~~, -
go to AUSTRALIA (Lag)

While I had an interview with a person who have asked me what I thought about what was happening in SOUTH AFRICA and among other things.

We talked about the unrest of the last three (3) months. We talked about the campaign of the U.D.F. and other organisations, to get people to stay away from the polls. We talked about the success of all that. We talk about the meaning of what we were seeing in SOUTH AFRICA. Who does it mean - he asked me. - When seven thousand troops are asked to go or ordered to go into the townships. Now he said that, that means that we have a undeclared state of civil war. I thought it was clear and honest and I thought it was simply saying what I saw was the truth. The Minister is upset about that. He is even more upset because I talked about the role of the military and of the S.A. Defence Force, and I said we know that they are committing unbelievable atrocities in the townships and I mentioned only one example of that. The example of a little boy who was shot in both legs by a policeman, - who ^{THAT WAS TOLD US} ~~never saw that~~, by the people we visited as a delegation of the South African Council of Churches in SEBOKENG, in September. I do not know whether the Minister knows what an atrocity is? I have looked it up. It is - It said - a repellance deed an inhuman act. Something that will ^{of} defend ordinary human decency. An act that is unexcusable and ought not be defended. Now when I hear or when I read of a little boy of 3 years old who was playing in the yeard, with his friends and got shot dead by the Police, while he was playing in his yard. Then I think that, - that is an atrocity (Handeklap)

When I hear that little THABO SEBEKO who was 6 years old, was sitting on the front stoop of his home playing with other children, was shot on his front stoop so that he actually died, as he went into the home crying for his mother. Six years old! - and I asked myself what kind of a threat was he to any policeman.

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I think that, - that is an unbelievable atrocity. It should not have happened. If the Minister doesn't know that, then he must go into those townships and speak to those people or if he doesn't know it now, I'm almost tempted to say that may the day come that he will experience it to know what it means. We will never again say that, that is not an atrocity. It is very clear (Handeklap). Either he does not know or he does not want to know what his Police are doing in the townships. And if he does not know and if he does not want to know, he should not be the Minister (Handeklap) and, in fact, not only should he not be the Minister, that government shouldn't be government at all! (Handeklap). I wonder what one expects when you let the police and the army move into the townships?, - then you order a black-out of all news. The press is not allowed to go in there the press is not allowed to monitor the situation, to come and report what they see and what they have experienced. What do you think will happen, when there is no possibility for public scrutiny for what the Police and the military are doing? What do you think, - what do you imagine is happening, when there is no public accountability from the Police and from the military on what they are doing in the townships when you move against defenceless, people and you move in with full military preparedness, armed to the teeth. What do you think is going to happen, when you let these people loose on, - on defenceless civilians and on children, when they think that they have been trained for in the army, - the only thing that they have been trained for in the army, is to kill, as efficiently as possible.

we don't think about that, but when we take a person - some. You know civilians life and you make him into a soldier, - the worst thing that you train him for is how to kill efficiently. That what ~~children~~^{soldiers} do, you know? - and when they move into the townships and there is no control or there is no possibility of control then of course you must prepare yourself that things will happen that you would not like to happen but when they happen you must not try and make other people who speak about out as liars or as slanderers of the country. You must try and find out whether in fact it is true, - and this the Minister has not been willing to do and I think that, - that is wrong and I think that in SOUTH AFRICA the public and our people has a right to know what is happening in the townships. You cannot say that,

Has Allan Bvesak been willing to find out the facts?

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286 because South African Television does not show it, - it doesn't not happen. You cannot say that because the press is prohibited from publishing anything, it doesn't happen. I have said so before and I will say it again, the whole world saw how on their television screen, South African Policeman beat women and men and children who had done nothing. They saw what had happened on August 27th in LENASIA and in other townships. They saw since then what had happened especially during the first month of the unrest in the townships in the VAAL TRIANGLE, and on the EAST RAND. This government has made law which make it well nigh impossible for the press to report these things. They made laws which protect the military, - which protect the Police, like this Act No. 27 of this Section 27 of the Police Act. They have indemnity laws, so that it is almost impossible for us ordinary people to get the truth and to say this is what has actually happened. There is an all prevailing atmosphere of violence and of threats and of intimidation, so that even those people who have suffered under the violence of the Police sometimes are too afraid to come out and testify. "Apartheid" - is a violent system, we have said so often before. It is a system that can only be maintained by ongoing violence by want-on (Inaudible) It is a system that will not survive for one single moment if there were no Police force and if there were no army. If there were no violent reaction from the government every single time the people go to (Handeklap) and in no - Police state, the Police and the army are not really instruments at the service of all of the people, but they became instruments of the most vicious kind of oppression to maintain the position of power of those who see themselves as the powerful group and this Police state is no exception and this is what we have seen over the last few months and again when we read these things that happen to our people, and when you read what happens to people like little Thabo SEBEKO, the question for me is not only, - what kind of mentality does that Policeman have, who will pick up a gun and shoot a 6 year old in the back, but the question is ultimately and finally, what kind of climate have been created in a country where such a thing is actually possible where a Policeman can do it and get away with it. That is the question, that we ask (Handeklap). So the responsibility for the

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336 violence that we have to live with everyday, - the responsibility for the violence that's being done to innocent and defenceless people in the townships everyday, - the responsibility for the violence that is aesthetic built into the system of apartheid. The responsibility for the impossibility of people to really work for peace without getting the threat of death. That responsibility I lay squarely at the door of the South African government. They are responsible and they must be told this and I will tell them so long as God gives me breath in my body (Handeklap). So I recognise, - I recognise that it is the responsibility of the Minister to protect his Government I recognise that it is the responsibility of the Minister to protect Police force but I also say it is my responsibility to protect my people. I will not (Handeklap) I will not allow these things to happen and I know about them and I'm being told about them by the very mothers and fathers who have seen their children die and keep quiet about it. If I hear it! - The world will know it as long as I can speak and I want you to remember (Handeklap) the responsibility to defend those who are defenceless to speak for those who are voiceless to make sure that the world understand what is happening and to make sure that we in this country are aware of what is happening, is not only the responsibility of one or two people. It is our joint responsibility. The Minister because I have done this has called me a liar and a slanderer. He must take responsibility for those words. I have in my possession affidavits and I will read simply a few examples of what have happened to people during the last three months, since the police and the military invaded the townships and since we have had the unrest. There was a little boy called Walter Pule MAKQATA, a school boy, age 14 from Naneni, SOWETO, - went to the local shop to buy a loaf of bread, - you've heard that from Frank GHIKANE, - was hit by bird shot and was dead.

Et altherum? Partim? What will be shown when the shot was fired? the shot hit him? why was the stick fired?

In KATLEHONG three children, one of them mentally retarded, were allegedly assaulted by Police on the 30th September 1984. The Police fired tearsmoke into the house and walked in asking where the children were, and when they found them, they started to kick and hit them all over their bodies. This happened to children. This is from the S.A.C.C. affidavit. Who is the liar? - Mr. LE GRANGE! On Friday September the 28th

392 there were reckless examples of, the Rev. CHIKANE has spoke of the young boy who was shot in the Police van by by a Policeman, - his name was Jacob Mo - MOLELEKI. On August the 15th an unnamed boy, - and he refused to give his name, - he called himself Abe, aged 15, was on the roof of his home in Wattsville, BENONI, with two other people doing repairs. There were no apparant disturbances in the area at the time, the Police came through, shooting teargas cylinders. Some people ran out to the street into Abe's house for shelter. The other two men on the roof fled but he layed down on the roof. A policeman mounted the ladder to the roof, came up to him an discharged a teargas cylinder into his face. He has lost his left eye as a result. It is another S.A.C.C. affidavit. If this is not atrocity, what is? If the Minister does not know it, he must make it his business to know it. Nicholaas MONGLUWA, 10 years old, was sent out by his father one evening to go and fetch firewood. The area was so quiet that his father thought this was actually safe to do. A Combi came by, a shot was fired, the father ran out, found his boy hit on the left side of his forehead with a rubberbullet. The Police came and told him to keep the matter quiet. He refused he went to the lawyers and he signed an affidavit, he even gave the registration no. of the vehicle BDY 549 B. Elsinana, 19 years old, was arrested while attending a prayer vigil, she was assaulted on the 3rd of October. She was told to write a statement and give details about whatever she knew about the activities of other people. She was two months pregnant when she told them this. During her assault she was kicked and sjamboked. She had a miscarriage and lost her baby. Moses MOKWENA, 21 years old, was shot dead in HEIDELBERG by an Administration Board official. This is the man who walk around that day with two guns, a shotgun and a revolver. He had just shot a dog in his anger, came around the corner saw this young man and shot him three times. All of this the Minister can ask from the people who have made these affidavits. All I want to ask him is who is the liar? Who is the slanderer? Who is the one who trying to cover up deeds like these? As long as these things happen and as long as he hear about it, it will be our responsibility to speak, - it will be our responsibility to testify against the evil that is

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445 gripping this country. It will be our responsibility to testify against those who, because they are in power, think that they can play God in the minds of people. We will not refuse, we will not stop to do this. We will refuse to be intimidated. Seems to me that the South African Government thinks that these things that happen, these atrocities, - yes atrocities, mister Minister will stop us from demanding our freedom, but the South African Government must learn that the time that they can ever change fundamental change in SOUTH AFRICA by merely reaching for a gun is over. We will no longer be silenced by fear or by intimidation or even by wanton killing of our people. The demands are there and are clear : Release the political prisoners unban the organisations scrap all of these laws that have made SOUTH AFRICA a hell for so many people to live in, stop killing our children and our people on the streets. Let us participate in an open democratic society and then there will be peace in SOUTH AFRICA. Before that there will be no peace in this country (handeklap) and that is true. - So the state threatens to ban organisations and they threaten to ban the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT, it will be a little difficult because the U.D.F. - I have often said, is the people of SOUTH AFRICA and they cannot ban the people. The U.D.F. embodies the ^{dreams}~~genes~~ of the people of SOUTH AFRICA and they cannot ban that dream. The U.D.F. embodies the aspirations of the people towards a free and just society. They cannot ban that and they can do whatever they want, but the determination of our people to be free will remain and will be (inaudible) the real reality that even Mr. LE GRANGE and his government will have to face, and so it seems to me that all of the threats that we see will not really in the end help the South African government. There are threats against individuals and I do not know what the Minister has in mind for me. I have just heard that I will be charged, over the last week or so. The threats have come in more frequently than before. Some one has called me up and said, the system has many ways to get at you and they would do that. I don't know what he means, - I do not understand, but it doesn't matter now. That is no longer the most important thing in my life. The most important thing is, what I want you to remember tonight, what we are fighting for, - what we are struggling for, - what our people are suffering for -

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506 what our people are dying for, is worth while. Let us not give that up. Let us remember that no threat and no form of intimidation, and no trick that the system can play on any one of us, including myself must bring us to the point where we will be silenced, where we will accept the situation as it is, because if we do that we might as well give up and die and we sometimes die a thousand times before we die because then we are afraid, we die every day a little bit and we die in our humanity and we die in our determination and we die in our self respect. Let us not come to that point. For me it is clear, - I have experienced in this last year something within the community of the United Democratic Front that will remain with me as long as I live. I have experienced support and I have experienced a determination and I have experienced a love for freedom. That is a precious gift that we have and we must not give that up and this is what we have to continue to work for and I have seen a new SOUTH AFRICA, I have seen a land not of apartheid, not of death, not of change, but a land of joy and a land of freedom and a land of peace. Let us fight for that land and I have seen a new land where our children will no longer be bowed down by the yoke of racism. Let us fight for this land. I have seen a land where our people shall work and enjoy the fruits of their labour. Let us fight for that land. I have seen a land where families will no longer be broken up and where mothers and fathers will enjoy the love and the respect of their children. Let us fight for that land. I have seen a land where the misery of relocation is no more and where the graves dug for little children who will, tomorrow die of hunger will remain empty. Let us fight for that land. I have seen a land with those of us who fight for freedom and for justice and for the selfrespect of this country will no longer be sent to prison, will no longer be tortured, will no longer be sentenced, will no longer be shot on the streets of our nation, but will be rewarded with honour and with the presence of justice. Let us fight for that land and I have seen a land where we together will build something that is worth while and that is faithfull to what we believe and let us not give that up, but tonight, make tonight a new dedication.

For that moment because I believe it doesn't matter what happens now. I believe that the freedom that we have struggled for and the freedom that we have died for, will become a reality and you can make it happen.
God bless you. (Clapping) END OF TAPE 1 SIDE 2

*Leehor Stroom Boezem Boezem
Col Jansen*