no pay. That only happened once.

People get sick. Some people get boils all over them. The mines are dangerous. Many people die from accidents. The roof can fall. Nost die from explosions in the walls when smoke comes out and kills them. There are injuries from the drills, from flying stones or they cut off fingers, toes or whole arms.

The mines pay when a miner wust be buried. But they do not wait for the family for the buriel. If the family demands the body they cannot get it.

There is a lot of smoke from engines and diesel drills. One ventilation pipe pushes clean air in and the other takes dirty air out. But the pipes are far from the face. I know two men who had pthisis. One was a shoveller and the other a driller. We had X-Ray every six months. Then they were told that they had pthisis. They were taken away. I do not know what happened. They went to hospital first.

The compounds where we live house twenty, forty eight or thirty two men. There is a stove and there are cement double bunks. We sleep on mats on the cement. Matresses are not allowed, only pillows. You must bring your own blanket. There is no cupboard just a rack to put all your things on. Like in a train. They only wash and sweep the compound once a month. There are lots of fleas and bed bugs. There are water flush toilets.

That is what my time on the mines was like. I worked there for nine years and things never changed. I finished in 1976. You are a men when you come back from the mines. I am not working now. I am looking for work.

## communities and transport

This section is included under our general feature on Labour Action as we believe that the issue of mass transport is basically an issue that affects the working class most directly and dramatically. This means that the working people of South Africa and their organisations, or sympathetic organisations, should attempt to prevent conflict over transport inadequacies or costs being used by other classes and groups for their own personal interests.

individuals or organisations have used community anger to advance themselves politically or financially. This has to be guarded against. See the <u>WIP</u> editorials in numbers 12 and 13, and the articles on rents, transport and education in this and earlier issues.

Previously, in <u>WIP</u> 10, we had provided information on the 1979 bus boycotts in Natal. In <u>WIP</u> 13 we printed two contributions on bus boycotts, while the discussion on events in the Western Cape also took up this issue.

Below we supply some limited information on several attempts to increase fares and resistance shown to this and the inadequate services provided by many companies.

It is intended to analyse the Putco application for increases in fares in the Johannesburg area, and subsequent events, in a future edition of  $\underline{\text{WIP}}$ . Articles on this issue and information that we could use, should please be sent to the editors.

Johannesburg: The bus fares on all white, coloured and indian buses rose by 10% from September 1. These buses are run by the City Council. A similar increase is expected for african buses by October 1, stated the report.

The department's general manager stated that these were the first increases in two years, and that the service would still run at a R10,5-million loss - a loss that is made up by ratepayers.

Gezenkulu: Powers concerning road transport within Gezenkulu were transferred from the central to the local government on July 1. From that date road cerriers in Gezenkulu lost all rights to appeal to the Mational Transport Commission. All complaints and enquiries were to go to the Gezenkulu Road Transportation Board.

This appears to be the case in most of the bantustans, and serves to partially deflect another conflict point onto the regional authorities.

Lukoto Bus Service (Venda): 28 students started boycotting the Lukoto Bus Service on April 28 and were still hiking to end from school on May 13 (Post, 13.05.80) in protest against raised bus fares and poor timetables.

The buses charge R5,00 per month for a 10 km route. A rival company charged the same for six months on the same route.

A petition has been handed to the Venda Transportation Board for consideration. Atteriogeville and Saulaville Taxi Owners'
Association: ASTOA increased its fares by
10c on each fare from May 8. The rival
organisation, the Saulaville and Atteriogeville.
Taxi Club (a commuters organisation?) called
on residents not to pay the increase.

The president of ASTOA claimed to know nothing of the increase. Stickers ennouncing the rise cerried the signature of the secretary of ASTOA.

Lensais: Two buses from Lensais to the Johannesburg city broke down on September 17. Irate commuters phoned the Star newspaper saying that this was a common occurrence, Workers expected at work by 07h00 only arrived that morning at 08h30. They complain that their bosses don't believe them about the busse, and dock their pay.

There were threats to burn the buses out of anger and protest. A call was made for a train service to assist commuters and to break the hold of the monopolistic bus service.

Phoenix: Phoenix residents called for major improvements to their bus service (Daily News, 22.07.80). They maintain that there are not enough buses evailable at peak hours, jeopardising the jobs of workers who continually arrive late.

By 22.08.80 the Phoenix Working Committee had stepped in to device protest action to improve the transport facilities in Phoenix.

They lieised with the Phoenix Bus Duners

Committee for changes.

Follow-up meetings have been planned.

Natal: In November and December, 1979, some of the bus boycotte in Natal were still going

on, esepcially those on the South Coast.

Action was, however, still being taken against 'pirate taxis' (a term that probably includes sympathisers giving lifts to boycotters), and in Docember the boycott was said to be tailing off. The buses of the KwaZulu Transport Company's Trans-Umzimkulu Transport service were said to be 75% utilised.

In early 1980 it was said that 85% of workers in the Port Shapstone area were using buses, and that the rest had bought bicycles or were taking texts (see Transvelor, 13.02.80).

The KweZulu Transport Company is owned jointly by the KweZulu Development Corporation (the KDC) and the Corporation for Economic Development (CEO). The ten directors (of whom five are africane) are appointed by the CED, KDC and the KweZulu Legislative Assembly (KLA).

At the end of January, 1980, six men were found guilty on counts under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The charges had related to attempts to enforce the bus boycott in the Maritzburg area. They were all sentenced to R60 or 60 days on the first count, five were sentenced to R100 or 90 days on a second count (these relate to gethering unlawfully and failure to disperse). One of the accused was sentenced to R50 or 60 days for intimidation of commuters.

In June the Ezakheni Bus Transport
Company (also owned by the KTC) was in the
news when two men were arrested in connection
with the sale of fake bus tickets in
Ladysmith.

Wembezi: Workers started the long (29 km

return) walk between this township and the industrial area and homes and gardens of Estcourt on Honday, July 28. They were boycotting the Kanyani Bus Company because of a 20% fare increase that came into affect on that day (from 25c to 32c for a single fare).

Company director, ME Cebekulu, said that the boycott was 'unnecessary' as the fere increase only applied to casual tickets, while season tickets remained at the same price, thanks to a subsidy he received from the state.

The state stepped in with the usual tectics - cars and 'pirate texis' were stopped on the road between Wambezi and Estcourt, and employers transporting workers were turned back by officials said to be from the Natal Transportation Board. Riot squad police were brought in from Ladysmith. Five women were arrested on the first day.

On Thursday, July 31, Cebekulu left for Ulundi to discuss the boycott with Interior Hinister idlalose. Cebekulu revealed,

perhaps with some bitterness as his was the only company in the district involved in the boycott, that pemphlats had been distributed the previous week calling for a boycott, and enother pemphlat had preised the boycotters for their unified stand.

All buses belonging to Kenyani, except for one running empty, had been withdrawn.

On Sunday, August 3, a meeting attended by more than 1 500 residents was held in wemberi. The meeting resolved to continue the boycott, decided to send a delegation to Ulundi, and to ask Midelose to ask the Road Transportation Board (RTB) to stop heressing private care transporting boycotters.

KwaZulu Ministers were able to be rather amug about this issue as the Kenyani Bus

Company probably does not belong to the KTC, and were able to say that the boycott was a local issue and did not concern the KLA.

The Estcourt Chember of Commerce celled a meeting of Wembezi council representatives, RTS, police, Justice Department, commuters and business — 'very little was achieved'. Mayor of Estcourt, Roger Ramseyer (also Estcourt Chember of Commerce vice chairperson), said that they had 'learned a lot' — 'but all we can do is ask out members to explain in detail to their staff the inevitability of price rises' (!) (Natel Witness, 07.08.80).

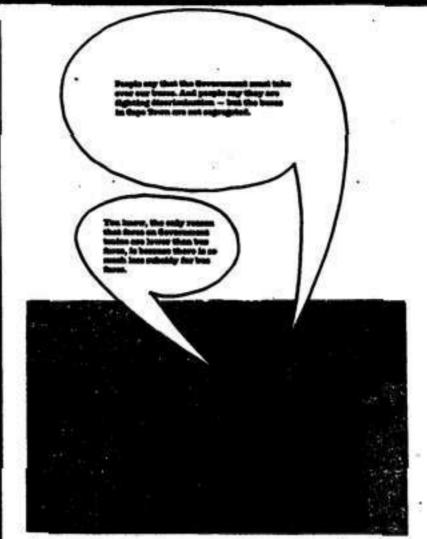
The latest news <u>WIP</u> has available relates to a meeting held in Wembezi (on the weekend of August 23-4), once more attended by more than 1 500 people. The meeting said that the boycott would continue until a new bus company was operating in the area.

Anger was expressed at a RTB decision not to grant further transport permits in the area while Kanyani Bus Company still held a licence. M Cebekulu 'was no longer wanted by the community, even if he reduced fares, because he had failed to meet residents to discuss the issue' (Matel Mercury, 26.08.80). KLA members attended the meeting.

. During the same weekend one of the Kanyani buses caught fire at a bus rank.

Ladysmith-Ezakheni: Fares were reported to be increasing from July 28, on the same routes as those on which the 1979 boycotts started. The increases were said to be much lower though (up from R2,10 to R2,25 for a five-day return ticket, as compared to the attempted increase in 1979 from R2,10 to R2,80).

The lower increase was possible because



Page from City Tramways propaganda material, referred to in next column.

of a 'substantial' subsidy from the Department
of Transport to the KTC-owned Ezakheni
Transport Company.

As in the Wembezi case casual tickets are not subsidised and would, therefore, rise from 45c to 55c (single ticket from Ezakheni to Ladysmith).

The Ladysmith Chamber of Commerce said that subsidies could only be short-term solutions.

Negotiations for fare increases, in the Newcastle and Vryheid districts in Northern Natal were also said to be in progress at the time of the report (Natal Witness, 18.07.80), Cape Town: In WIP 13 (July) this hus boycott was discussed. Now, in September, the boycott is still in operation.

The owners, City Tramweys, had spent a reported R25 000 by mid-July in propaganda. At this time it was reported that the boycott was still 100% effective from Croseroads, Gugulatu and Langa, while about 50% of people from other areas were still boycotting (Sunday Times, 13.07.80).

Police baton charged workers who had been boarding 'pirate taxis' - this happened late in July. Strong action was being taken to force 'pirate taxis' off the road in an attempt to break the boycott. Reports spoke of arrests of drivers of vehicles, damage to their vehicles and even confiscation of cars and lorries, but also of continued solidarity and defiance by the communities involved.

The state was somewhat emberased when news leaked out of the 'enonymous' pamphleteering action by a secret committee established by the cabinet to break the boycott. Cape Times editor, Tony Heard, was visited by the security police in connection with the intended publication of minutes of this committee.

The committee consisted of representatives of the Departments of Co-operation and ... Development, Indian Affairs and Coloured Affairs, the security police, and the army. It issued pamphlets anonymously, such as the one purporting to be from text owners and calling for an end to the boycott.

Foreign Affairs Sinister, Pik Boths, issued a statement saying in part:

The committee in question was established by the Cabinet and the Cabinet instructed it to plan and implement actions designed to combat the unrest page 52

and violence which was building up, inter slie, as a result of the schools boycott earlier this year...

The committee initiated various peaceful actions that contributed to the prevention of violence and the avoidence of loss of life. The committee also distributed factual information to refute the lies and dacaption apread on a large scale by subversive elements.

In some cases enonymous pamphlets were prepared and disseminated by the committee because the committee considered this to be the most effective way to counter unrest and subversive plans and of helping to maintain order. The pamphlets reflected the opinions and attitudes of a considerable proportion of the general public.

The Government wishes to state categorically that it will not hesitate to maintain law and order with all the power at its disposal (Sunday Tribune, 03.08.80).

Boths later said that he would 'do it again, if necessary'.

On August 11 violence broke out again after police had once more acted against 'pirate taxis' and their passengers. People died in the vented anger of the communities.

Johan Barnard, managing director of City Tramways, admitted a few days later that Tramways inspectors were reporting 'pirate taxis' to the authorities. A community leader said:

This action of the police and the Road Transportation Board officials has simply made people angrier and more united because they can see that the Sovernment is helping City Tramways. Instead of making the company look into its fares, they came in with sub-machine guns and dogs and tried to force the people to board the buses.

It has been an education for some of the people to see how the Government works together with business. They must just realise that the people are not going to go back to buses until the fares go down (RDM, 13.00.80).

Mankwang (Lebowa): Bishop Darnabas Lekganyana of the Zionist Christian Church owns a flest of buses operating in Lebows. Complaints about the service provided were discussed at a meeting held at Turfloop in February this year.

It was decided not to boycott the Bakwaduba buses but to elect a steering committee to discuss the matter with the bus company management.

Babelegi (border industrial area): Workers in this notorious low-wage area (see WIP 8) were hit in March this year when the Botlhaba Tawana Transport (BTT) company announced fare increases. The BTT is a subsidiary of BophuthaTawana Transport Holdings (Pty) Ltd.

The BTT said that it was necessary to increase fares from end-March as running expenses were continuously increasing.

The increases would affect workers living or working in such places as Majaneng, Hammanskraal, Tweefontein and Boschplass.

Un Sunday, Harch 23, a meeting was held at Temba, Hammanskraal, to protest the increases. The meeting was called by the Moretele Regional Authority (MRA) consisting mainly of Moretele tribal chiefs. An earlier meeting between the MRA and the BTT management had ended in deadlock.

The outcome of the meeting is not clear, but BophuthaTawana security police detained a Post reporter for a day in connection with the meeting. The reporter, Malose Matsemela, was accused by the security police of halping to organise the meeting.

Bloomfontein: Fares increased from 15c to 20c from Mangaung township to Bloomfontein on August 18. Twenty-nine municipal buses were subsequently stoned by pretesting crowds of commuters.

Pretorie Area: In February this year it was ennounced that Putco had applied for bus fare increases in the Pretoris area, once again attributed to rising costs of fuel, spares and vehicles.

Protest meetings were called, complicated by one Joseph Gomba of the Black Unity Express Bus Service (BUEBS) who invited Cosas to his first meeting (Post, 21.03.80). Gomba said that he had 600 buses 'idling in readiness' for the day when the non-black firm Putco driven out of the townships. This claim was denied by Putco who said that their previous contact with Gomba pointed to 'his ... inability to operate even a single bus within 10 kilometres of his house, never mind the 600 busses that he alleges are "riding in readiness"! (Post, 02.04.80).

In August Joseph Gomba said that he had been called to Compol (security police offices in Pretoria) to telk about his criticism of the community council's failure to talk to Putco about fare increases. He said that his interrogator was 'friendly and sympathetic towards his appeal as a transport man' (Post, 28.08.80; Star, 28.08.80).

The Atteridgeville and Mamelodi community councils werned of the consequences of a fare increase and said that it was causing bitterness.

The complaint from Gomba was, however, that while the community councils might express opposition they did very little in the way of practical measures to prevent the fare hikes from taking place.

In August it was announced that fores on Putco buses in Pretoria's townships,

and certain parts of NophuthaTswame and Lehowa would increase. The increases of 7% on season tickets and 13% on cash fares on average, had been approved by the Estimal Wood Transportation Wourd and the Goards in Bophuthafswame and Labowa to come into effect at the end of Jeptember.

A merting of the Vulamehlo divid Party of Dornard Edlazi (a Mammelodi councillor) attended by 30% people in Mammelodi, threatened Putco with a bus boycott.

Putco initially said that they would no ahead with the increases despite boyentt threats, but it was reported (Post, 10.95.38) that these would not come into effect at the end of the mo.th (September) as planned.

<u>Davoyton</u>: The East Rand Administration fourd (ERAB) and the Daveyton community council run the Davoyton Bus Service. At the community council's monthly meeting in June it was decided to increase fares, except for scholars. This followed a previous decision, in May, to increase fares, a decision that was lifted after denials by both the community council and ERAD that they were responsible for the increase.

These denials and the suspension of the increases followed strong community protest.

After the June meeting there seemed to have been some further confusion, this time related to the size of the loss suffered by the DES (one report said R185 000 and 'mayor' Lacriel Hohosi said that the loss was R1-m).

The increase was also said to be necessary to raise wages and improve the service. Not that much seems to have been happening in this repart as Daveyton residents staged a protest at the bus station in Daveyton on the extreme over-crowding on buses - this in

August.

Duduze: The Higel town council owns the bus service that operates in this township. Towards the end of July the council decided to increase fores. However, the Duduza community council had not been consulted, and opposed the increases. This led to a suspension of the increase for one month, during which time the Duduza community council a id that it would ascertain the feelings of residents on the issue.

A meeting was planned for Sunday,
August 24, and residents rejected the proposed
increase, and said that they would not pay it
until they had seen the Bigel town council's
financial statement on the bus company.

The sinel town council then took a different direction in the face of the community rejection of their plans. They said that they could not accept the residents' mosting decision as the final word, but would have to consult 'works committees (and lision committees) at various firms and industries in and around the town before making a final decision' (RDN, 29.00.80).

Tehane Moloi, of the Duduza community council, said with some insight that as works committees were management stooges, the 'fact that the town council has to confer with these committees means that they want to introduce the new fares regardless. They are merely looking for excuses'.

At the end of this month (September) the Higel town council is to report on the increase. However, James Hkosi and Johnny Hokote of the community council have said that 'workers will walk' rather than pay more.

It appears that not all community councils are to be condemned outright. It

probably depends on their relationship to the specific issues on which docisions are to be taken or leadership given. In this case of the Duduza bus fores the decisions relate to a body outside the community council sphere of involvement. However, for the dominant trend see the articles on community councils and rents in this issue of WIP.

Seshego: In Anrch, 1988, BH Brooks of the Lebous Transport Company (running 245 buses) someoned that the company (LTC) had applied for an increase in fares. Increased operating costs were advanced as reasons for the application. LTC said that the Departments of Transport and Co-operation and Development were subsidising workers' fares, so that in some areas they paid only R2,00 out of a total weekly fore of R11.00.

In July the increases were granted, to go into effect in August. This was said to cover all routes in the Pietersburg, Potgietersrus and Tzaneon districts, as well as the four buses operated by the Gazankulu Transport Company (a subsidiary of the LTC).

Immediate opposition was expressed by Chief J Hothapo (opposition Lebows People's Party), Hesley Lekots (Seshego Welfars Organisation), and the Seshego Village Committee (SVC).

At a meeting arranged by the SVC and by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) on the weekend of July 19-20, workers threatened to boycott buses. Leaders Raphesu of Azapo and Rev Halatji of the SVC denounced the LTC's black directors, Lebowa cabinet ministers, and the Lebowa Transportation Board (LTB). The LTC was said to belong to a 'government subsidiary'. The Lebowa Transport Company is part of the vest CEO

DOUB

(Corporation for Economic Development)
network, through the Lehows Development
Corporation. Representatives of the
various bantustans sit on the boards of
directors of their specific Development
Corporation.

It was decided that commuters would walk the 12 km between Scahego and Pietersburg when the increase came into affect. A few days later the LTC announced that the increase had been meetponed beyond the end of July.

The postponement was briof. Less than a month leter Brooks of the LTC sold that fores would increase from August 25. The SVC reacted quickly by reaffirming the previous month's boycott decision, and called on people to use the 'black-owned company' - the hamba Buye is Service which runs between Sashene and Pietersburg, but is not allowed into the Sashene township.

of the people of Lebowe to ignore the boycott.

The beyontt got under way on this route on Honday, August 25, but apparently not on other routes into Pietersburg. Hany workers arrived late. Leb wa police clashed with pupils who had stoned buses in Seehogo, shots were fired and at lesst a pupils arrested. Pupils were boycotting classes in sympathy with the action taken by their worker naronts.

Traffic police, taking what must be 'atep one' in the 'boycott-breakers' handbook', ordered people out of unrecistored core (called 'pirete taxis' in other situations) on the outskirts of Soshogo on the first day of the boycott. But even the LTC edmitted that about 60% of the 4 800 commuters were participating in the boycott, while Grigadier is ven Zyl, chief of Lebowa police, said that the boycott was 90: successful (Post, MBP), 25.90.80).

A fire damaged an office at one of the Seshego schools.

On Tuesday, August 26, people from Aload River and Perskrbult (Mmutung-Us-Perskisi) joined the boycott. Pupils stoned buses.

An interesting aspect of the boycotte: that are now in their fifth wook and spreading, is that privately-owned bus compenies in two instances are running very much changer carvices than those that are being beyorttad. and yet these companies have not been granted permission by the Lobous cabinet to operate into the townships. The LDC-owned LTC Joes operate into townships. These bus services nre :) Harris' (a black man) Hemba Juya Gus Service (botween Seshego and Pistersburg) and Hisaba dus Service (operating in Mkowankous near Transen). A rather simple explanation of their being black has been offered in the newspapers, but this does not go far in coming to an understanding of the operation of transport companies (does it mean that black people are bad copitalists?)

By Gednesday, August 27, residents of Lobowskyama (40 km from Pietersburg) expressed their solidarity with the boycotters and regret that the distance involved made it impossible for them to join the boycott.

Sixteen youths appeared in the Seshege magistrate's court charged with public violence. The case was postponed to September 10, but no reports appear to have been done on the outcome.

Chief Remmupudu, Lebowa Interior Minister, called a meeting of the bus company SVC and Seahego town council, and Lebowa government representatives. This first secting ended in deadlock. It was revealed, though, that the Lebowa cabinet and not the Lebowa Transportation Soard had approved the increases.

Assembly is caught in the same trop as has been printed out in the case of KwaZulu.

The LDC is presented as representing the Lebowa people or Lebowa government in its (LDC) ownership of the bus company (Lebowa Finance Minister, LC Mothiba, is one of the african directors of the bus company).

Or Phatudi and his government ore, therefore, helpless beyond voicing support for the plight of hoycotters, and try to defloct attention away from the immediate issue of bus farms anto wages (not that this is wrong in itself). This strategy can also not work for very long (if, on the off chance it is successful) as high wages would mean less investment in these low-wage bentuaten 'growth point' or border areas.

The boycotters were also calling for the LTC to drop people in town and not on the outskirts at the Polokwane Centre with its four liquor outlats - 'where our people were encouraged to squander all their earnings in liquor'.

The Rev Helotji, whose SVC called for the boycott with the Seehego branch of Azepo, sold in an interview that he saw his role 'es continuation of evengelism'. He explained that the SVC had been formed in 1979 but that it had been inactive — when forces were incressed last year there was protest but no action. He gave credit for the present hoycott to the people of Seshego.

A further meeting was arranged between

the Laboua Legislative Assembly (members and the LTC. After this meeting, on August 29, Dr Phatodi ordered Leboua police to stop harassing motorists who were giving lifts to boycotters and to remove road blocks.

Tension existed, and probably still does, within the Seshego community between Azepo and the Taxi Association over the latter's refusal to lower fares for the duration of the bus boycott.

Buses were removed from Seshego depot on August 29 and perked at the local SA Airforce bese, presumably to protect them from stone throwers.

that the fare increases had been supponded for two weeks. Fortunately the community was not as optimistic as the Sunday Post with its 'bus boycott victory' headline, but decided to continue the boycott, asking for a roduction of fares and improvement in the service offered (for example, that there should be no charge for luggage, and that the LTC should not drop passengers at Polokwane Centre). These decisions were taken at a meeting of residents,

Rev Melatji said that the suspension was an attempt to 'lure them back to the buses in order to destroy their unity'.

On the night of Tuesday, September 2, two buses to inclets were stoned as they passed through Seshago. A further meeting between Labowa authorities, the SVC, Seshago to mahip council, Pietersburg town council and the LTC ended in deadlock. Jack Botes of the town council said that fares would have to go up more if workers were not dropped at the outskirts of the town.

Botcs said that town council labourers corned R70 per month and the Administration

Board workers earned between R70 and R80.

The mass meeting on Sunday, September ?, said that the LDC-owned LTC must go. The meeting was addressed by Hamabolo Raphesu and KH Molosi, local Azapo leaders, Rev Halatji of the SVC and Lebowa Legislative Assembly members. Freedom songs were sung and poetry read by the Turfloop students.

The LLA members present said that they would not negotiate with the Lebowa government until it allowed the Hamba Buya Bus Service to operate in Lebowa, and would boycott the opening of a road to the Lebowakgomo industrial area (where most industries are LDC-owned).

On 'political' reasons for the boycott one speaker said: 'What is politics?'

Politics is your four-room metabox, it is your five grown-up children sharing a room with others sleeping in the kitchen, it is increasing bus forms while workers are paid R35 per month'. This was loudly acclaimed.

A pamphlet distributed at the meeting called for the formation of a trade union to negotiate a minimum wage for the area.

On Jednesday, September 8, Phatudi and his cabinet, Or J Adendorf, chairman of the LTC board of directors and chief of the CED, and bus company officials met.

The Pietersburg Sakekamer said that only 'the most unskilled workers' (probably the wast majority) were earning less than R100 per month.

Large companies had started making their own transport arrangements for their workers.

During the week starting Monday,
September 15, the boycott spread rapidly,
caused by the end of the suspension and the
reintroduction of increases on all LTC routes

except for those in Seshego. At Lenyenye township (near Tzaneen) a bus was hijacked by students from the Seboye High School - some were arrested. At Sekaba High School students refused to board buses.

At Gefiohoboya (also near Tzaneen) a bus was damaged when commuters stoned it. Workers walked from Holepo and Hokopana townships to Pietersburg. Lt-Colonel P Holoto of the Lebowa police said that buses had to be escorted by police.

The boycotts continue.

## CRITICAL HEALTH

## CRITICAL HEALTH

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