# ANC condemns ban on Sebina

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has condemned the South African Government's decision to ban its spokesman, Mr Tom Sebina, from being quoted in South Africa.

The ANC said the Government's decision to ban Mr Sebina from being quoted was another attempt "at keeping all our people ignorant about what crisis the country is experiencing because of apartheid".

"These actions aimed at the intimidation of the ANC will fail just as many other attempts in the past have failed," the statement said. — Sowetan Africa News.

Unlimited access for security forces

**Curbs on student** political activity

Ban on June 16 Commemoration

# IURFLOOP Sewetan IN DRASTIC

MOVE



PROF Mokgokong . rector.

A CONFIDENTIAL report on the University of the North (Turfloop) has recommended that the security forces be given unlimited access to the university, that student political activity be curbed and the commemoration of days like June 16 banned.

Strict controls to be implemented must ensure that "radical underground elements" and the "revolutionary climate" on the campus were eradicated.

The report, entitled "Confidential: steps and measures for campus control — interim report", was posted to the Sowetan.

The report was not signed and it is not known when the second one will be issued.

#### By MATHATHA TSEDU

Last week a spokesman for the university said the university would release details on admissions today.

Yesterday the rector, Professor P C Mokgokeng, and public relations officers were said to be in Giyani and could not comment on our further inquiries.

Though it cannot be established if any of the recommendations have

been implemented, and if the report was commissioned by the university, some steps already taken by the university authorities are similar to some of the proposals.

The nine page report with numerous subheadings recommends unlimited access for security forces on the campus to "monitor radical and disruptive elements" and the establishment of communication channels "to enable management and experts from outside to inform staff about revolutionary activities, target groups being the ECS (Executive Committee of Senate), the senate and faculty boards, departmental staff and administrative management committee".

Some of the measures include admission and registration of the students:

• Rule A19 which deals with readmission of older students to be applied strictly. Students who are refused readmission to be given two years before being readmitted:

### Steps

- No transfer students other than those from Unisa to be accepted this year; and
- The university to take steps "through the existing state security institution to ensure that no radical underground elements are admitted".

On university and security:

To Page 2

# Turfloop curbs swelow

• Formal communication will take place between the rectorate and the SADF Far North Command headquarters, South African Police and Lebowa Police;

The report further states that the "university reserves the right to disallow SRC activities."

Resolutions of the SRC will only be considered if taken through properly supervised secret balloting and bookkeeping of finances of the SRC to be entrusted to a university officer.

On political activities the report states that commemorations of "so-called national days on campus" will not be permitted and that disciplinary steps will be taken against staff or student members "who launch politically motivated action or activities on campus."

The report states that the university, being non-affiliated to any political organisation should not allow "itself or its facilities to be used for political campaigns

or mobilisation".
On campus control it is 'stated that a "high fencing should be erected between campus and campus staff residential areas".

Class attendance registers are also to be introduced and both staff members and students "should carry on themselves visible university identity cards during any academic activities."

Strict control of copying and typing machines is also recommended to curb reproduction of political material.

An addition to student rules states that:

- Violent and disruptive protests and demonstrations will not be allowed:
- Prior approval for any mass marches and meetings must be obtained from the rectorate:
- Petitions must be properly signed by a majority of students, giving adequate particulars of the petitioners; and
- Slogans that may be offensive to any group on campus will not be allowed.
- Some of the above measures have already been implemented this year and over 500 students are said to have been refused readmission this year on the basis of rule A19.

Many eager for strong-arm Botha to retire

# Nats upset at



President, Botha

# PW's bullying

BRUCE CAMERON

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN: The growing dissent on the left wing of the National Party is being fuelled by the personal strong-arm style of leadership of President P.W. Botha.

There is concern that the measures being taken by Mr Botha could have serious consequences for reform and future negotiations with blacks, and cause a snowball effect on the left of the party.

Many Nat MPs are openly looking expectantly at Mr Botha to retire and expect the carring election to be the first step in the process.

At the centre of the debate is the brake being put on reform, and President Botha is being blamed for it.

There is also growing concern at his bullying tactics.

#### Barclays affair

Examples of these were the public admonition of his Foreign Minister, Mr Pik Botha, last year for suggesting that South Africa could have a black president, and of the Rev Allan Hendrikse, leader of the Labour Party, for his swim on a white beach.

This was compounded by the way he handled the affair of Barclays Bank's Chris Ball and the ANC advert.

Key to the concern about reform is the heel dragging on the Group Areas Act, the lack of any real negotiations with blacks, the handling of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba, the new commitment to independent city states for blacks and the refusal to hold any negotiations with the ANC.

There are increasing complaints in NP circles about the style of Mr Botha's leadership, with claims that many of his Ministers have virtually abdicated their decision-making powers to him.

This is apparently particularly the case in Foreign Affairs with many of the key decisions coming from the President's Tuynhuys offices.

#### Verge of tears

It is also known that Mr Botha intervened directly in the recent mini-budget in Parliament, deciding sal ary increases for civil servants should be delayed until after the election.

Pages of a prepared Post Office budget that would apparently have included more tariff increases, were also scrapped.

There are also reports being deliberately leaked to the Press of Cabinet Ministers being overwhelmed by Mr Botha, with one being on the verge of tears when he angered Mr Botha last year.

Mr Botha's style of government also includes keeping a close watch on all the departments, including their spending. This is done either through a relatively new computer network that links most of the Government departments, or by experts on the Tuynhuys staff. Evidence of this was recent interviews by senior members of the intelligence establishment of administrators of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba before the Government rejected the proposals.

There have been a number of examples recently which have shown Ministers reacting immediately to any command or expected command from Mr Botha.

A senior Minister recently left a party he was hosting to make a TV appearance on Mr Botha's instructions, while another was said to have avoided answering his home telephone because he thought President Botha was going to reprimand him.

# Dismantling apartheid is SA's biggest problem—professor

**Political Staff** 

CAPE TOWN — More Stellenbosch academics could follow two professors out of the National Party.

There is also increasing speculation in Stellenbosch about the possibility of an independent reform-minded independent candidate in the general elec-

Some 200 to 300 academics at Stellenbosch are said to share the misgivings of members of an academic discussion group who met President Botha, chancellor of the university, in Cape Town on Friday.

All of them have doubts about Mr Botha's leadership.

The academics express agreement with the ideas of Dr Denis Worrall, independent candidate in Helderberg and Mr Wymand Malan, MP for Randburg. who has also left the National Party.

At the weekend Professor Sample Terreblanche, of the faculty of economics at Stellenbosch University and Professor James Fourie of the law faculty resigned from the National Party. They attended the discussions.

Their reasons were that the reform process was too slow and that the Nationalist leadership did not have the vision for such reform.

The name of Professor Willie Esterhuyse of the philosophy faculty has been mentioned as a possible independent candidate but he said yesterday that he was not interested in this. He was not after a political position in Stellenbosch.

The Nationalist MP for Stellenbosch, Mr Piet Marais, has countered that there is enough scope to work for

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change within the National Party.

Mr Chris Heunis, Cape leader of the National Party, said the honourable way for someone who disagreed with a political party was to leave it.

Giving the reasons for his resignation Professor Terreblanche, who has been an active member of the National Party for many years, said that he had come to the conclusion that the Government, under its present leadership, did not have the will nor the ability to bring about reform and that there was no plan for this.

any plans to join another party. He had never considered joining the PFP.

Professor Terreblanche indicated that Mr Boths's discussions with 27 of the 35 members of the academic discussion group had been positive and reasonable but they left disappointed.

The discussions were a continuation of a meeting they had with Mr Botha in August. He then told them to come with their own counter-proposals instead of just criticising the pace of reform.

In the 1983 referendum many of the He said he did not at present have academics had accepted promises

about reform but they did not realise that the coloured and Indian chambers of Parliament would be such junior partners in the new system.

Professor Terreblanche said what was needed first of all was the identification of South Africa's greatest problem - apartheid and its dismantling.

His future moves would lie in the academic field as he did not have political aspirations.

He planned to write a book about the untenability of apartheid.

Professor Fourie said he could not continue in the National Party at present as reform was taking place too slowly and there was no real vision for reform.

Mr Marais, the Stellenbosch MP, said yesterday that now was the time to stand together and to muster all possible goodwill in order to build a new South Africa.

He said he did not want to pretend that everything was normal in Stellenbosch at present. It was a time of a great fermentation of ideas.

The academics are to meet again soon and they may issue a statement formulating their ideas.

Meanwhile the PFP has suspended its nomination procedures in Stellenbosch until the position there has become clearer.

The party's Cape leader, Mr Roger Hulley MP, said developments were sufficiently significant for the party to hold on for a while.

The PFP could stand back if an independent with an approach similar to that of Dr Worrall or Mr Malan came forward.

## Independent action spreads as Stellenbosch ferment grows

**Political Correspondent** 

CAPE TOWN - The independent movement in South African politics is gaining momentum following the resignation from the National Party of University of Stellenbosch Professor Sampie Terreblanche at the weekend.

There was much speculation in Cape Town yesterday that disaffected Afrikaner academics would support the fielding of an independent in the Stellenbosch constituency in the coming election, although no names of candidates are being mentioned.

The Progressive Federal Party in the Cape has meanwhile suspended nomination procedures in the constituency in case the party feels it should stand back for an independent.

Cape PFP leader Mr Roger Hulley said today: "We don't say we are not

going to put up a candidate. We are just waiting to see what, if anything, develops."

The PFP has already decided to stand back for Mr Wynand Malan who is seeking re-election in Randburg as an independent and it is widely expected the party will not oppose independent candidate Dr Denis Worrall in Helderberg.

Dr Johan Blignaut, a Richard's Bay veterinarian, has announced he will be standing against Mr Wille Heine, the incumbent MP for Umfolozi.

Another disgruntled Nationalist, Mr Terry Theunissen, is to stand as an in dependent in Claremont (a PFP constituency).

A possible sixth independent candidate is Mr Horace van Rensburg, disaffected PFP MP for Bryanston.

# case for Inkatha

It is not surprising that there is a great deal of confusion in some quarters about the national cultural liberation movement, Inkatha, led by Chief

Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Recently, for instance, The Star in one issue (January 31) published a Page 8 denial by Inkatha of any involvement in so-called "vigilante" groups in Leandra. On Page 12, however, journalist Jo-Anne Collinge wrote with some authority about "socalled 'Inkatha' gangs" in Leandra and "pitched battles between gun-toting 'Inkatha' members and supporters".

Ms Collinge did not make it clear that the reason she put the name "Inkatha" in quotes was because there was no proof that the real Inkatha movement was involved. In short, what she should have said, but didn't, was that there were allegations that a gun-toting gang calling itself "Inkatha" was running amok in the Leandra area, Inkatha officials had, however, denied that any Inkatha members were implicated in any way.

Ms Collinge had not, in fact, contacted Inkatha to hear its side of the story - hence this lengthy explanation of Inkatha's views and its rebuttal of allegations which, to put it mildly, somewhat smear

the good name of the movement.

To be fair, Ms Collinge was not the only one who made the same "mistake". Another newspaper went further and said that not only had an "In-katha" gang murdered Chief Ampie Mayisa in Leandra but that the "vigilante" group was paid R10 000 to do so.

So ready were some to believe this libel that even the Anglican Bishop Suffragan of Johannesburg, Bishop Simeon Nkoane, was quoted in the Press as telling US Assistant Secretary of State Dr Chester Crocker that "... Mayisa's attackers were members of Inkatha, the powerful and politically conservative organisation led by Chief Buthelezi

So now Inkatha stands accused not only of having

"vigilantes" but, even worse, of being involved in

paid "death squads".

The facts of the matter are that Inkatha does not have a branch in Leandra or anywhere near it. Furthermore, the poor unfortunate man who

The Sunday Start JAN 19

To my astonishment, he told me my wou assailants had been at the police office and had just left and that the police were aware that "Inkatha" (the name given to the vigilantes, although their standing with the national Inkatha movement has not been established) wanted to burn down my e and kill me.

The Star Jan 20

He stated that he and the chief had had week's warning that the vigilantes, commonly known as Inkatha, (but NOT the official long katha movement) were out to kill theme.

evious references to the Leandra vigilan tes which appeared in articles written by Jo-Anne Collinge: The above items make its clear than The Star does not link them to

By Dr Oscar Dhlomo (right), secretary general of Inkatha



was hacked to death in Leandra for being an "Inkatha" member was not a member of Inkatha.

In short, Inkatha denies any involvement in the tragic murders and mayhem in Leandra. Inkatha does not have "vigilante" groups, nor does it support these so-called "extra-legal agencies".

So why, readers may well ask, was Inkatha's name dragged into the issue in the first place? And why are some people only too willing to per-petuate this slander? To explain this one must move away for a moment from the sordid subject of "vigilantes" into the bloodier arena of politics in South Africa today:

Inkatha has a total membership of 1 155 094. No other political organisation in the country, black or white, can prove so many paid-up supporters. And here lies the rub, Inkatha's strength is feared in many quarters. Respected, of course, in others.

The main protagonists in a well-organised campaign to erode Inkatha's power base are the ANC mission in exile and the United Democratic Front. This is a simple statement of fact.

The UDF and its leaders and patrons, including prominent churchmen who openly call for support for the ANC, leave no stone unturned in their attempts to denounce Chief Buthelezi and Inkatha.

Distance of the days sentiments Strategies differ will be the

Numerous documents and verbatim statements in possession of Inkatha indicate that as far as Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi are concerned, these menof the cloth definitely do not love thy brother Working in tandem, supporters of the ANC and the UDF have mounted a highly sophisticated campaign of denigration and vilification against Intatha. The reason is really quite simple. Strategies differ. The last of violence is concerned the UDF. has, since its inception, set about to make the country ungovernable and the ANC has been waging a so called armed struggle for decades inkatha in committed to non-violence and the politics of nego-tiation.

The UDE does not espouse the free enterprise

capitalist system; nor does the ANC likatha does, the national inkatha movement Thes LIDE supports sanctions against South Africa

and so does the ANC. Inkatha is resolutely against the disinvestment campaign.

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So, clearly, we have two organisations whose political agendas differ quite radically from Inkatha's. I won't complicate this scenario by bringing in other organisations, such as Azapo, which

don't agree with Inkatha or the UDF.

The ANC and the UDF have, quite correctly, perceived Inkatha to be a threat to their ultimate aim of becoming South-Africa's de facto "post-liberation government" — as the political pundits put it. (Political commentators seem to be all agreed that the leaders of the UDF would readily allow themselves to be absorbed into the ANC if that organisation were unbanned.)

On no occasion has the ANC ever committed itself to a multi-party democracy. It sees itself as a government in a future one-party state. And on no occasion has the UDF ever-challenged this

interpretation of democracy.

Inkatha, meanwhile, has set itself on the road to peaceful black negotiations with whites, coloureds and Indians and the ultimate expression of this would be free and fair elections in a multi-party unitary State

Inkatha and its leaders in kwaZulu (no matter that they have blocked so-called independance for the region) have become a focus of political enmity by the ANC and the UDF. On their side, the level of

animosity is very deep indeed.

#### Smear campaign

There is not doubt that the ANC and the UDF appeal to a considerable number of people who have "high visibility" (as they say in media jargon) in their various fields.

And when it gets down to the dirty tricks department, there's nothing like a good smear campaign to sow dissension and confusion among the ranks of the "enemy" and elsewhere. One just has grudgingly to admit that the ANC and the UDF are doing a magnificent job on their respective propa-

ganda fronts.

Inkatha is literally under siege as it tries to fend off reports claiming, for example, that Inkatha members "swoop on houses with heavily armed policemen", that Inkatha "impis" terrorise whole townships and so on and so on The movement gets blamed even for tribal faction fights. And the latest is gun-toting vigilantes called "Inkatha" running amok in a township...

One would like to be able to ignore these attempts to discredit Inkatha but the campaign of

vilification has become very serious indeed.

The cruel world of South African black politics. is such that fair, play has flown; out the window and, as a result, actions and reactions and abuses

are perpetrated by all.

The facts of the matter are that all is not well in the black struggle for liberation and often things are not what they are purported to be an on Politics in this country have entered a crucial phase of transition. It would, therefore, be naive for concerned citizens who read newspapers to take everything at face value:

The struggles for power are under way in all. quarters. Some have aleady taken off their gloves and are baring their bloodled knockles and are

## S-African Communist

## Talks of Negotiation

Slove Denies ANC Controlled by Moscow

By Allietes Sperks -

years ago, a former Johannesburg lawyer named Joe Slovo—who went on to become leader of the South African Communist Party and the first white member of the executive committee of the black African National Congress—warned against the "Illusion" that there might be a route to democracy in South Africa short of "the seizure of power" by the ANC's military arm.

Increasingly, this is also becoming the credo of the tough young activists in South Africa's black ghetto townships, many of whom argue against the idea of a negotiated settlement of South Africa's racial conflict on the grounds that it would mean comprensising with the ruling white minority, which controls the country through the apartheid system of political and social segregation.

But in a series of rare interviews and conversations in the Zambian capital, Slove sounded a different, more conciliatory line from the one he took in his book, "No Middle Road," a decade ago and from the

ore atoming a re the

one being taken by the young ac-

"T believe that transition in South Africa is going to come through negotiation," he said. "If there was any prospect of settling it peacefully tomorrow, we would be the first tosay let's do it."

Some seople who know Sievo, who is 60t think age has mellowed him. Others suggest that he is feeling the weight of increased responsibility as the ANC has gained in international recognition as the main black alternative to white minority rule in South Africa.

Slovo's explanation is that circumstances have changed. "When I wrote 'No Middle Road' there was not even a peripheral chance of negotiation," he said: "The other side was completely intransigent, and for us there was only one answer to this:

"Now the other side is in such trouble that with meaningful international intervention they might come forward. In fact, I venture to guess that within six months of mandatory international sanctions being introduced, Botha or his successor will be sitting round the table," he added, referring to the

## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

## **Prog smouses**

THE Progressive Federal Party's policy of not contesting seats against "reformist" Independents and of possibly standing back for some New Nats is destroying its own image and its own chances.

The two main Independents, Dr Denis Worrall and Mr Wynand Malan, say they do not support the PFP.

So the PFP is wasting its time and fudging its image by supporting them.

In its early years the Prog Party was one of absolute principle — the voice of conscience of South Africa.

Then, somehow, it lost its way, or its financial backers became impatient. The party had to be the catalyst for "effective" opposition. And so it helped to break up the United Party, swallowing first the Young Turk Reformists of the UP to form the Progressive Reform Party and then the Bassonites to form the Progressive Federal Party.

But the PFP, by taking in the former United Party members, did not become the powerful, "effective" opposition its financial men-

tors had hoped it would become.

Instead of talking in the pure voice of Progressivism, instead of projecting itself as the party of conscience, instead of expanding its base beyond the mainly English-speaking constituencies of wealth and privilege, the party came to a halt.

Even Van Zyl Slabbert, with all his charisma,

could not put any spark into it.

The main trouble was that the party had become confused. Its own Young Turks, described more elegantly in Progtalk as young lions, were not satisfied with the Old Progs and hated the more moderate, more conservative ex-UP Progs.

The party was rent with arguments over policy issues and whether it should participate in parliamentary democracy or engage in extra-

parliamentary activity.

Instead of looking like an alternative government, at a time when Afrikanerdom has lost its cohesion, when Afrikanerdom has lost its way, it looks more and more like a party in

need of hope and direction.

Afrikaners won't touch it with a barge-pole. Many English-speakers shun it, too. It has failed to project its policy honestly. It is playing footsy footsy with the ANC. It is doing all the things it shouldn't do if it wants to broaden its support.

At this point, the PFP is falling into a trap similar to that into which it fell when it broke up the UP and took in the incompatibles from that party.

It is trying to set up an alliance with anyone who wants quicker or better reform, irrespective of their policies or lack of policies and whether or not they support the Progs.

Thus, instead of brushing up their own image and fighting on the basis of a more marketable platform, the Progs are again looking for partners, are again trying to get together an "effective" opposition that can challenge the government for power.

If we were the Old Progs, we would be ashamed of the manoeuvres of the party's

leaders.

For how do you put together an alliance of people with principles that differ from your own?

What happens to the PFP in the politics of today when it helps ex-Nats and possibly New Nats, the very people it once opposed? Where is the principle? Where is the vision? What has happened to the voice of con-

science?

We'll tell you what has happened. The PFP has prostituted itself by standing back for Independents and possibly for New Nats in constituencies it should be fighting.

It has prostituted itself by placing political ex-

pediency above principle.

It is now a party smousing for support, for an alliance of incompatible "reformists".

Too bad. It can never be an alternative government, since it cannot sell its policies to a wide section of the electorate — and it cannot even sell them to the non-Progs it is helping.

undannerung Sentispisanser Sandred Bratoria um Electroscala Para Shurbech

The predicament of many people in the homelands is shown by the appearance of Mr Elias Banda. His face is drawn and his body painfully thin.

# 7 000 live in destitute village, in a land of unemployment and malnutrition

By Susan Pleming

When The Star visited Mr Elias Banda in Lebowa last week with Operation Hunger, he was sitting outside his one-room home. His face was drawn and his body painfully thin from lack of food. He was wearing his only shirt, which gaped at the back from a large tear, and a pair of old shorts.

Asked if he had any other clothes, Mr Banda said he had a pair of trousers which he wore during winter.

He lives in a tiny room with seven other people. There are no beds or blankets and the roof has collapsed, leaving everyone exposed to the weather.

Mr Banda is one of about 7 000 people living in the destitute village of Hlakano Sekhweng in Lebowa and is included in the 80 percent unemployment figure in that village.

#### RETRENCHED

Sister Rose Madisha, who runs a clinic in the area, said there had been a large influx of farm labourers since 1983 when farmers retrenched many workers because of the drought.

"The malnutrition in this area is very bad and about 80 percent of the children suffer from malnutrition and pelagra," said Sister Madisha, who has worked in the area for 15 years.

The director of Operation Hunger, Mrs Ina Perlman, said Hlakano Sekhweng was one of the worst areas she had seen in many years. The village was indicative of what was happening in many of the homelands.

"The people in this village have been discarded — they are displaced. This problem of displaced people crops up in all the homelands. During the drought we became increasingly aware of the steady stream of people being pushed off the farms into the homelands."

In 1983, said Mrs Perlman, the maize industry laid off 250 000 men, many of whom returned to the homelands.

"These were the people employed at the lowest rung of

the working ladder. Once their jobs had been phased out, the likelihood of employment became slight."

Mr Banda arrived in South Africa from Malawi "many years ago". He found employment on the mines, but had to leave after he became sick. He then worked at a farm near Zebedelia where he earned R50 a month. He was told to leave the farm in 1983 because of ill-health.

Mr Banda then moved to Hlakano Sekhweng. His wife worked on an orange farm, but brought in little money.

One of the worst cases visited by The Star was a family which consisted of a blind mother, blind son and a deaf daughter, who had four children. The children of the deaf

daughter had kwashiorkor and their bellies were swollen from lack of food.

The blind mother and leader of the family said nine people lived in her two-room house. She had worked on a farm until 1982, but had still not received her pension.

Mrs Perlman said there was a terrible backlog in pensions in many of the homelands.



A look of pain and hunger stares out from this small child who lives in the destitute village of Hlakano Sekhweng in Lebowa.

"It can take up to four years before an elderly person receives the pension in the homelands. For example, the Carnegie study showed that in kwa-Zulu 12 000 people were waiting for their pensions. In Lebowa some people have been waiting for years.

"It seems immoral that people should spend all their working lives in South Africa and not be entitled to a pension at the nearest source of their work," she said.

In another household, Mrs Letta Lettalo (79) said she had to leave a farm in Naboomspruit with her family in 1978 when her husband died. Her husband had worked on the farm from the age of about 16.

"After my husband died we were chased away from the farm. My husband was earning R50 to support 14 people and so we had no money when we got to this village."



#### BREWED BEER

Mrs Lettalo's daughter worked on a farm close by and earned R60 a week.

"She brings all her money home. We spend R41 on a bag of mealie-meal a month, buy washing powder and then my daughter uses the rest for travelling to the farm."

Some villagers survived by doing odd jobs and others had to take part in illegal activities. One woman said she brewed beer which brought in about R60 a month. Her children were not at school because she could not afford the uniform.

Mrs Perlman said: "This village is one of the worst that I have seen in many years. I have suggested that, for starters, we set up a massive child feeding scheme."

All these children have is an empty food bowl. Their hopes of attending school have been dashed — their parents cannot afford • Pictures by Karen Sandison. to pay for school uniforms.

24 Feb 1987