The Budget reflected "the desperate efforts of the National Party to remain in power" and an attempt to appease white voters, said the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu).

And the president of the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm), Mr Thami Hlekiso, said that the money allocated to black education in the Budget announcement in Parliament yesterday "is proof that apartheid is alive and well in this country'

The Nactu statement said: "The increase in the security and defence budgets by 20 and 22 percent respectively means that the state of emergency will continue and repression will escalate.

"The Government's intention to pursue the farcical constitutional development plans through the Regional Ser-pices Councils and town council elections later this year is a blatant waste of taxpayers' money," said Nactu, ad-ding that the reduction of tax on low-

income groups was "long overdue".

The federation said the lack of substantial Government spending in the building of sub-economic housing, the creation of jobs, and the daily eviction of rent defaulters in the townships

were clear recipes for political chaos.
"The ability of this budget to address fundamental social and economic prob-lems is extremely limited. It tends rather to reflect the lack of solutions within the constraints of the present system," said Nactu.

In a statement on behalf of Azasm, president Mr Thami Hlekiso said: "We did not expect the Boer government to do much in any way for black students. It has shown in the past that it is not prepared to spend enough money on black education. It also continually refuses to spend an amount of money on a black child equal to that it spends on a white child.

"The little it has given towards black education is not adequate to provide for satisfactory education of black stu-

Mr Jackie Hlapolosa of the Azanian Co-ordinating Committee (Azacco) said the 20 percent increase in the Budget for the police and army served to drive home the point that the government was turning itself fully into a totalitarian state.

• Comment on Budget: Pages 4, 11, 12, 13, 6M and 7M. Full Budget speech on pages 1M to 5M.

'ANC plan to use churches'



Political Staff

CAPE TOWN - President Botha has challenged Anglican Archbishop Des-mond Tutu to say whether he is acting "for the kingdom of God or the kingdom promised by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party".

"You owe all Christians an explanation of your exact standpoint for we are all adults, and the time for bluffing and games is past, Mr Botha wrote to the archbishop in a letter released by his office last night.

It is a reply to a letter which Archbishop Tutu wrote him on March 1, enclosing the petition which the archbishop and other churchmen intended to hand to him after a march on Parliament last month to protest the heavy restrictions slapped on the Unit-ed Democratic Front and 17 other bodies.

Confronting the Government

The march was stopped by police who arrested the churchmen.

In his letter President Botha strongly suggests that the march was part of an ANC campaign to confront the Government.

The march was "to a large degree planned as a calculated public relations exercise",

President Botha writes.

"But it goes much further than that, as you know so well. To illustrate the point, I wish to quote from a recent broadcast by the ANC's propaganda radio, Radio Freedom.
"The church must now be developed into a

fierce battleground against the regime ... we must organise our forces for a physical confrontation with the forces of the apartheid regime."

The question inevitably arises whether it is possible to come to any other conclusion than that actions such as the march to Parliament may be seen as part of the campaign referred to in the ANC propaganda broadcast?" President Botha asks.

He then reminds Archbishop Tutu that the intention of the ANC/SACP alliance is to

transform SA into an atheistic Marxist state where freedom of faith and worship will be among the first casualties.

Referring to a statement in the petition that "victory in the struggle is guaranteed by our Lord" President Botha challenges the archbishop's "understanding of evil".

"Is atheistic Marxism the evil, or does your view of evil include the struggle on behalf of Christianity.

half of Christianity ... against the forces of godlessness and Marxism?'

President Botha then points out that in the petition the churchmen used phrases such as: "Peoples organisations", "democratic activity", the "struggle for justice and peace" and "the real struggle for democracy".

He then compares this statement with the

one made on the ANC Radio Freedom broadcast referred to earlier.

"In the name of justice we must take up the fight: We must participate in such means of struggle, the democratic movement must be given a voice in all churches, church services must be services that further the democratic call."

In his letter President Botha underlines words common to both statements, apparently implying that the similarity reveals a common purpose.

Transfer of power

President Botha says that in the petition Bishop Tutu urged the Government to take several steps.

In reply he urges those who supported this petition to say if "the transfer of power to all the people of our country" which they appeal for in the petition, carries the meaning of the same phrase used by the ANC and the SACP.

President Botha asks whether the march was "really necessary and worthy of the cause and message of Christ and the churches represented by those who were involved, knowing their actions were illegal

He said the archbishop and others in the march had in the past been well received at his office, Tuynhuys.

Tony Allen-Mills of The Independent, London, discusses the implications of the judgment on the Sharpeville Six, who are due to be hanged in Pretoria tomorrow.

The controversy surrounding the Sharpeville Six stems less from the sickening nature of the crime — which was a particularly gruesome mob killing of a black municipal councillor — than from the legal procedure that determined their guilt.

No evidence was ever presented that any of the six directly participated in the murder of Khuzwayo Dlamini, the township's deputy mayor. They were found guilty on the unprecedented grounds that they were part of an angry crowd, some of whose members stoned Mr. Dlamini into unconsciousness then set fire to his body.

The attack occurred in September 1984, as the townships erupted in protest at rent increases imposed by black-run councils, which were perceived as agents of Pretoria. Men like Dlamini were branded sell-outs. The penalty for collabora-

tion was death.

After hearing evidence in the Sharpeville case, the trial judge adopted the previously innocuous legal doctrine of guilt through "common purpose". Although he ac-

'Common purpose', 188 judgment arouses concern

cepted there was no proof that the six accused had "contributed causally" to Dlamini's death, the court ruled that they had shared a "com mon purpose" with a mob intent on murder.

Whoever the actual killers were, the six accused were effectively deemed accessories to the crime. For this, they were sentenced to hang. The verdicts were upheld on appeal.

Critics of the judgment say its implications are far-reaching. If a man is killed in a confrontation involving a crowd 1 000 strong, any or all of those present might be found guilty of murder and be hanged.

The judgment "established for the first time in South African law that conduct not proved to contribute causally to a death can none the less lead to conviction for murder," said Mr Edwin Cameron of the University of the Witwatersrand's law department.

DISCREPANCIES

Legal concern was further heightened by discrepancies in the evidence linking some of the accused to the crime. One of the key witnesses admitted he had been told by police whom to blame. Doubts persist whether two of the men convicted, Francis Mokgesi and Moses Diniso, were present when Dlamini died.

Theresa Ramashamola (26) is the only woman among the six. Before the attack she worked as a waitress at a restaurant called Burger Box. Her alleged crime was to shout: "He's shooting at us, let's kill him" — a charge she denied — and to slap another woman who had protested before Dlamini was burned. For those two outbursts — no other evidence was presented — Miss Ramashamola was sentenced to death.

"If there was ever a case for the President to exercise his discretion and grant clemency, this is it," the lawyer for the six, Mr Prakash Diar, said this week. "The court accepted ... that they did not actually do the killing — they got caught up

in the crowd."

The Natal Mercury, Thursday, March 17, 1988

PWBothas course Essucial Cidal Essucial Cida

William Harper African Affairs Correspondent

ULUNDI—President Botha was on a suicidal course because of his refusal to place his political future at the mercy of a non-racial electorate, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi said here yesterday.

Beginning his policy speech in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, the KwaZulu Chief Minister said Mr Botha must cease being an Afrikaner first and must become the first true South African statesman capable of leading the country where it had to go.

He had to cease being a brake on the progress the country desperately needed to make in order to become an open, multiracial democracy.

As long as South Africa retained a Constitution which made it unnecessary for Mr Botha to campaign for support among the rest of the people for his political survival, the country would remain locked in divisive Afrikaner politics. Dr Buthelezi said.

Until the National Party

abandoned its racially exclusive politics, violence would continue to escalate.

Inkatha's membership was under fire because of its refusal to turn away from the negotiating table.

'Our people are dying in defence of that which can saye the white man's bacon in South Africa.

Halt

'How long will we be prepared to face this total onslaught from the revolutionary forces of South Africa while the South African Government continues to pull the rug from beneath our political feet?'

Referring to the National Party's May, 1987, election manifesto, he said the Government was blind to the reality that it was destroying the circumstances in which serious negotiations could take place.

It must call a halt to what it had been trying to do for the past 40 years — continue white domination of the rest of the people — and negotiate about alternatives for South Africa.

Dr Buthelezi added that he would not negotiate within

the constraints of the NP's 'straitjacket on democracy'.

'I want to negotiate about one South Africa, with one sovereign parliament, elected by one or another system of one-man-one-vote franchise,' he said.

'There is nothing else to negotiate about as far as I am concerned.' WITNES ECAO 17/3/88

LETTERS

Chief Buthelezi must stop long stories and discipline supporters

ON 18th February in The Natal Witness I read about the (Chief) Minister of KwaZulu's denial of allegations of violence in Edendale valley.

What worries me most is that I've noticed that this violence will not come to an end because the leaders have no backbones; they are siding with their followers or supporters. What is most important to them is that they are earning from the government, and they don't think of other people's children who are victims of this violence.

I am an Ashdown resident, I am one who saw impis coming into our township hitting, throwing stones and stabbing everything and everyone they came across. I witnessed an incident. To my amazement this incident was denied by the honourable Chief Buthelezi. He knows that he wasn't there (but) instead of saying I don't know, he denies it.

Good people of Natal and South Africa as a whole, do you think that this violence is going to stop when a leader can behave this way?

Will the warlords continue their evil deeds? I say no peace talks will solve this, it will be solved the day the leaders turn to their followers and tell them to stop, rather than shielding them.

Does it mean that all these people who brought affidavits before the courts are liars or mad?

We women of Ashdown don't know anything about politics. We are neither Inkatha nor UDF. We are not interested in all these stories by the Chief Minister about Inkatha, UDF, Cosatu, ANC and Uwusa. All we want is to be safe everywhere we are, not for our children to be murdered for not joining an organisation.

Chief Buthelezi must stop the long stories and discipline his supporters. Just the other day he told the world that he would sound foolish if he said he could control millions of his followers. Today he is denying that they are causing violence. Which of his talks are we going to take?

I know he is a Christian and too committed, but he must also think of us poor human beings. We were put by God in this land to be happy and bring up our children happily and not to be harrassed.

When they (Chief Buthelezi's followers) read in front pages that he is shielding them, they will never stop killing. Once he's taken my opinion all will be well, the world will go back to normality with everybody happy as before.

(Mrs) G. MASONDO Ashdown

KT to takeover city buses

KWAZULU Transport (KT) and the city transport department (CTD) yesterday signed an agreement for KT to take over municipal buses with effect from April 1.

KT will take over the black services and operate the CIG (Coloured, Indian and General). They will be run on a no-loss basis in that the city council will subsidise any loss incurred.

KT has undertaken to employ as many staff as possible from CTD. they said. To date, 80% of the employees have been offered posts in the company. KwaZulu has also budgeted a further R1 million for the acquisition of movable property such as tools. ancillary vehicles and office equipment from the CTD.

The former premises of the CTD are also being occupied by KT at agreed rentals. The service will operate under the title Kwa-Zulu Transport Pietermaritzburg with headquarters at the former municipal bus depot in Doull Road



In the townships they are called "kitskonstabels" although the South African Police officials prefer them to be called special constables. This batch, photographed in Imbali last week on a patrol, had been trained for six weeks to police the trouble-torn areas of Maritzburg.

Exploiting black anger to further dubious ends

THE schism that exists between the United Democratic Front and Inkatha is indeed tragic and a

fundamental cause for the conflict.

The main reason for the violence in the Pmburg area is apartheid, which has crippled black unity and subjugated blacks economically. Therefore the roots of the trouble are also socioeconomical. The area had, for many years, an extremely high rate of unemployment, crime and for the most part it was in the depressed areas that violence was taking place.

Clearly both organisations differ in their strategies for ending apartheid in South Africa, as well as in their policies towards the issue of apartheid in the country, and, undoubtedly, this will go

on for generations to come.

Inkatha envisages a multiracial democracy in a free enterprise system economy, whereas the UDF believes seemingly in a socialist/Marxist state. This difference characterised the violence across the length and breadth of the country.

Violence breeds violence and racism breeds racism. South Africa is a violent society. One finds violence from both sides of the colour line. Some people have referred to the present state of violence in South Africa as a pre-revolutionary era. Another school of thought rejects this notion, since it's black-on-black conflict rather than black/white conflict.

Those who stand aside quietly to analyse what is going on will be able to see that the violence we are experiencing is different in nature to the type of violence which broke out in 1976-78, first on the Reef and then elsewhere. Some of the prime factors are the same but it seems there is far more black-on-black killing, black-on-black looting, black-on-black strife and black criminality than was the case in 1976-78.

The increase in pace in black politics goes hand in hand with the growth of anger within black South Africa. Every black man in the country is angry and there are those who work behind

the scenes who find it opportune to exploit that anger to further their own dubious ends.

What we see in Pietermaritzburg today is not something new. There were political murders among the Mau Mau, Unita, ANC, in Soweto, in Durban townships, in the Eastern Cape, etc. Therefore black/black conflict has always characterised the South African struggle for liberation, and this is indeed tragic. The Pietermaritzburg violence has cost many innocent lives. Pietermaritzburg has become "the valley of fear and death", as one journalist pointed out.

Inkatha and UDF are tearing each other apart like a pack of dogs over a meatless bone. They are fighting over who will take Mr P.W. Botha's seat. But it is so unrealistic to count chickens before they are hatched. No one black organisation will ever win the South African struggle for liberation. It is time this is recognised. People are dying in the vain hope by some that their organisation will

end up the only organisation to win.

How can we hope to negotiate successfully with whites if we are incapable of burying the hatchet as black brothers and sisters of Mother Africa, and start negotiating among ourselves? The black struggle for liberation in South Africa has always been about the liberation of all its people and all its groups. We will eventually move together. Why not start now. If blacks do not learn that threats to their unity comes equally from the left as much as the right within the white establishment, we will never get anywhere in achieving any black unity.

As non-black South Africa wakes up to a bright new day, black South Africa mourns and prays for the clearing of the dark clouds, the return of normality and respect for human life. A lot of black South Africans are paying the cost of failed violence. More and more are becoming distillusioned and it has again and again been demonstrated that for the foreseeable future, the upward spiralling of violence in townships will continue until it spills across township boundaries.

Were it not for this common disunity in black politics, Inkatha and the UDF could bring the South African government to the point of meaningful power sharing; bring the churches to a point where religion institutionalises the struggle for liberation; bring the industrialists to a point where stopping apartheid in its tracks is a vested interest; bring the official opposition to the point of working for power sharing; unify the haves and the have-nots in one struggle with a purpose common to all; produce unity of purpose among South Africa's exiles; provide the West with constructive ways of assisting change to come; give Western churches and other pressure groups greater relevance; give the Organisation of African Unity a more constructive role, and remove South Africa from the position of being an ideological football between capitalism and socialism.

Let humility unify blacks so as to build a strong black unity, otherwise we will never taste the fruits of liberation. It is, however, sad to find that records reveal that when both Cosatu and UDF were founded, they both proclaimed that they were not going to associate themselves with Inkatha. No wonder the peace came to no fruition.

South African laws and administrative action, together with white political drives, have always acted to fragment black democracy. Divide and rule policies of successive National Party governments have always attempted to smash any black democratic forces of consequence, and the South African government is now facing the fact that it has nobody to deal with.

Black democratic politics in South Africa must emerge healthy and intact. It is a must that black solidarity is restored. Political schism will take the oppressed blacks nowhere, instead it will

prolong the day of liberation.

JOHN BHENGU Ex-editor, Inhlabamkhosi magazine Mthwalume

THE CITIZEN

LEGALLY, there is no reason to commute the death sentences on the Sharpeville Six.

They were tried and convicted. The Appellate Division, the highest court in the land, rejected their appeal. The State President in Council, after careful consideration of the case, decided that the executions should take place. And the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, has told Parliament there are no grounds for clemency.

Unfortunately, cases like that of the Sharpeville Six are turned into highly emotional is-

sues, both here and abroad.

The fate of the Black Councillor and Deputy. Mayor of Lekoa, Mr K J Dlamini, who was gruesomely murdered by a mob in a rents protest, is of no concern to those who scream the most.

The attention is focused, instead, on the Sharpeville Six, one of whom is a woman, and a well-staged international outcry has been mounted to save them from the gal-

President Reagan, Mrs Margaret Thatcher and West German President Richard von Weizsacker are among the Western leaders who have appealed for clemency on compassionate and humanitarian grounds.

But the mob showed no compassion for their victim — and so it is difficult to expect the State President to show compassion for those found guilty of murdering Mr Dlamini.

The overseas media have reported in every story they have written that the Sharpeville Six were not convicted directly of the killing of Mr Dlamini, but were guilty because the mob, of which they were part, had a common. purpose in killing him.

However, the six, according to the Appeal Court judgment, did take part in the attack on Mr Dlamini, either stoning him, or making petrol bombs in the yard, or inciting the

crowd.

The Appeal Court found, in the case of each of the accused, the conduct proclaimed anactive association with the purpose which the mob sought to, and did achieve, namely, the killing of Mr Dlamini.

So the agitation inspired by the foreign media is false. Carlo Maria

According to the evidence at the trial, a group of people approached Mr Dlamini's house and began stoning it.

The police arrived and dispersed the crowd who, however, regrouped after the police left and again stoned Mr Dlamini's house.

Petrol bombs were also thrown into it. Mr Dlamini fled from the house, and defended himself with a gun, which was then taken from him. He was stoned, dragged from hiscar, which was overturned, and he was set

alight with petrol.

Mr Justice J W Human, sitting with two assessors, described Mr Dlamini's murder as "gruesome, medieval and barbaric."

Several spurious arguments have been used in suggesting clemency.

The South African Catholic Bishops' Conference stated that "in the present political climate, killing people who are perceived as collaborators is seen as a political, not a criminal act. We suggest this be seen as a mitigating factor."

This is ridiculous, since it would make all socalled collaborators fair game for "political" murderers.

The Rev Frank Chikane, the General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, said: "We believe the South African Government has no right to execute opponents of the apartheid system."

But the Sharpeville Six were not sentenced to death because they were opponents of the apartheid system, but because they were

found guilty of murder.

The government is unlikely to be moved by the international outcry, plus the agitation at home.

However, even if at this late stage there are grounds for staying the execution — and international calls for clemency are not among such grounds — we believe the government should not hang them tomorrow, since every condemned person deserves every possible chance of avoiding the gallows.

COMMENT

Business Pan

Barend reforms

Plessis has produced a Budget which can be welcomed only on the assumption that it is the first step in a restructuring, both of the tax system and of the economy, which will continue next year and for several years to come.

If we speak warmly of his efforts, it is in the sense that the conversion of the sinner is an occasion for joy; the test of good behaviour lies ahead. Meanwhile, we observe that he has begun his new life of virtue somewhat sneakily by raiding the National Road Fund and the Central Energy Fund to pay for tax concessions.

As is normal for converted sinners, the Minister is brimming with good intentions, but his past sins have left him very little room to manoeuvre. For the first nine years of the Botha regime, the Nationalists acted as though nobody in government had ever learned to count beyond the number of their fingers and toes. Their recklessness permitted inflation to run rampant, weakened the economy, put us in debt, broke the currency, made us vulnerable to foreign creditors and then to foreign economic attack, and has left us with no willing creditors and an immense burden of State debt to

Du Plessis predicts a deficit before borrowing of R9,860bn, or 4,9% of gross domestic product, which is better than last year's performance but which, with necessary loan redemptions, requires financing of more than R12,5bn. Two comments are necessary: firstly, the Minister was similarly optimistic a year ago, but he was unable to control the deficit and he ended up needing far more money than he had anticipated.

Secondly, he is talking of an immense amount of borrowings. Already debt servicing represents the biggest item of expenditure in the Budget and South Africans — like the equally profligate Americans — must accept the necessity to earn what they have already squandered.

It will not be easy. Indeed, our hopes for privatisation rest not so much on confidence that a national socialist government has been infected with the ideas of Adam Smith, as one might catch the 'flu, but on a recognition that only a sale of State assets will suffice to redeem the debts incurred by President Botha's feckless administration.

Against this background we welcome the initial steps at tax reform. Individuals needed relief from bracket creep, and they have received a little of it. The tax base does need to be broadened, and the burden does need to be shifted from direct to indirect taxes and from individuals to corporations. Equitable taxation of women is overdue, relief for the aged is necessary, and the special privileges enjoyed by the insurance industry are no longer the political imperative they once were. It's all very nice.

Now let's wait and see what happens.

Peace talks man out after pressure

PIETERMARITZ-

BURG — The Chamber of Commerce has withdrawn its manager, Mr Paul van Uytrecht, from the peace talks on the killings in Natal following pressure from KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Assocom.

The pressure has also resulted in Mr Van Uy-trecht withdrawing from this weekend's Towards Democracy conference in the city, where he was due to speak on the Pietermaritzburg experience in negotiations.

It is understood that the chamber has also forbidden Mr Van Uytrecht to make any further public statements.

Sources within Assocom said that Mr Van Uytrecht had been axed from the peace talks delegation, of which he was co-chairman, after reports quoting him were published in the New York Times.

The sources said that after the Assocom delegation's recent visit to the city and its subsequent visit to Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi corresponded with delegation leader, Mr. Alec Rogoff, expressing his displeasure at Mr Van Uytrecht's statements.

Chief Buthelezi asked for the quotations to be repudiated in the New York Times to prove the chamber's impartiality and retain its position of honest broker in the negotiations.

Co-chairman of the chamber's peace delegation, Vice President Mr Rob Pater, confirmed that Mr Van Uytrecht had been withdrawn as a result of a decision by the executive committee.

"Mr Van Uytrecht's decision to withdraw from the conference was a personal one," Mr Pater said.

Newly-elected president of the chamber, Mr Kay Makan, declined to comment until the matter had been discussed by the executive committee.

Mr Van Uytrecht declined to comment on the reasons for his withdrawal from the conference or on any pressure that might have been brought to bear by Assocom or Chief Buthelezi. — Sapa.

Monday 21 March 1988

donate to voticens

Looking back over Chikane's record



Rev Frank Chikane

(

kane's track record seems rather a bit mild for appointment as General Secretary to the SACC. As far as I'm aware, he attended Turfloop University in the Northern Transvaal and was apparently financed by the AGS. While, there, he participated in student politics which prempted an investigation by a commission of the AGS. The mission was led to believe that there was nothing seriously wrong about what he was doing.

Chikane completed his course, graduated and was given a probationary position as minister in the AGS. As a result of further political activities the

AGS withdrew the ordination to their church. However, he claims that he is still a reverend in the AGS.

If this track record is compared with that of his predecessors like Dr Beyers Naudé and Dr Allen Boesak, the question arises as to whether the reason for his appointment was not due to some other cause. Perhaps the answer could be found in a claim to fame by the ANC Radio Freedom who referred to him as: "Our leader, the Reverend Frank Chikane?" Maybe, the SACC would be prepared to comment?

CURIOUS

Pretoria

Agreement 'marks end of 84 years'

ovt takes us fleet KwaZulug over city

by TONY OOSTHUIZEN

THE city's multimillion rand bus fleet — comprising 180 passenger buses and 10 other vehicles — offi-cially passed into the control of the KwaZulu government yester-

A comprehensive lease agreement between the Pietermaritzburg City Council and KwaZulu Transport (Pty) Ltd — of which the KwaZulu government is the majority shareholder - was signed at a special ceremony in the city hall yesterday.

Also leased to KwaZulu Transport (KT) in terms of yesterday's agreement were the Mason's Mill bus depot, the Doull Road workshops and office complex, a number of ticket offices, and machinery used for the maintenance and cleaning of buses

However, while the properties and machinery are to be leased at market rates, the bus fleet -

which has a book value in excess of R4 million - will be leased at R1 per bus per year.

The conclusion yesterday of all the legal requirements brought to an end many months of negotiations and consultations. The fleet will be handed to KwaZulu Transport on April 1.

Commenting on the agreement, the mayor, Mr Mark Cornell, said the city council did not look at the disposal of the municipal transport department in a political context

"It is true that KwaZulu Transport's majority shareholder is the KwaZulu government. But at the same time it is a private company and in a sense the disposal of the transport department is privatisa-tion," Mr Cornell said.

Before signing the contract, Mr Cornell said: "Today is an historic occasion because, when this agreement comes into effect on

April 1, it will mark the end of 84 years, during which the city council has operated public transport in Pietermaritzburg.'

KT's managing director, Mr Eddie Marshall, said: "This agreement is going to increase the size of our fleet by 30%.

"It is therefore understandable that we are a little apprehensive about the future. We have a terrific responsibility, but it will be our objective to ensure that the well-being of the citizens of your lovely city will be looked after."

Mr Marshall concluded that, in order to provide an efficient service, KT would be buying another 30 buses to supplement its fleet, at a cost of about R200 000 a bus.

According to the last figures released by the municipality, the disposal of the municipal transport department will cost ratepayers an estimated R3,5 million a year for the next 10 years.

Last written words of the condemned

Theresa Machabane Ramashamole Central Female Prison, P/Bag XU5, Pretoria

Dear Jacob — I write this letter to you as a Christian who believes that the future lies with men and nations who listen to God and obey.

God is the only person who can give us power and we can get it if we want to.

The secret lies in listening to God. To build a citizenary (sic) whose roots are deep in the finer traditions of our land, to form a national character that may some day lead the world back from these painful judgments (sic), to make our country impregnable both from within and without is not the job of those who called themselves peacemaker or any name, it is our job as Christians.

We know that today we see many ideologies battling for control, all these are fighting for the hearts and minds of men. They promise him liberty and give him regimentation.

Remember, many have followed a star. But for you, your friends which you have now and myself it would be more truthful (stc) to say that the detailed constant, accurate leading of God is as natural and powerful as daylight.

Jacob, let us not loose (sic) temper as no one will likely pick it up. Remember, only a Godcontrolled nation can dethe world into sanity

and peace.

Remember, THE PROBLEMS OF THE WORLD REFLECT THE PEOPLE WHO LIVE ON IT.

In short, this is just a guide to confident Christian living. Remember as a Christian forgiveness is essential because the call to forgiveness is the call to health and peace, and surely no resentment is more precius (sic) than these choice gifts of God.

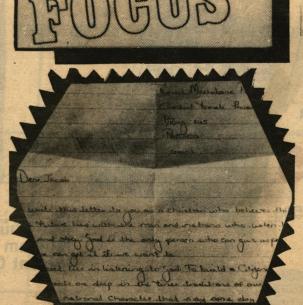
The cost of refusing to forgive is to create a price for anyone to pay (sic), meaning that God cannot forgive them. Remember God has a surer way of dealing with the future than revealing it to you. He is eternal, there is past, present or future with Him and to have faith in Him is to have complete trust in Him for all your tomorrows.

Jacob, ngwaneso, mantswe ana le a boloke dipelong tsa lona jwalo ka ha le boloka diCard tseo batho ba le romellang tsona. Nna ke Card eo ke le romellang yona lona ba mokgatlo wa Sharpeville Civic Association. Ke re kgotso bana ba THARI E NTSHO, ke re: Bayetel Ke re WHERE JUSTICE RULES PEACE SHALL GOVERN.

Balang: Bafilipi: 1-27 to 30. Psalm 106 vs 40.

(Jacob, my brother, keep these words in your hearts as you do with the

THERESA Ramashamole and Don Mokhesi, two of the six Sharpeville residents who are to hang tomorrow, have resigned themselves to the meeting with the hangman. The two have written touching letters from Death Row to their friends



cards people send you. This is the card I am sending to you the Sharpeville Civic Association. I say, peace 'Children of the Black Soil'. I say 'Bayete'! I say Where Justice Rules Peace Shall Govern. Read: Phillipines: 1-27 to 30. Psalm 106 vs 40).

Yours in Christ, Theresa Ramashamole.

This letter from the only woman among six people to be executed tomorrow for being in a crowd that killed former deputy mayor of Lekoa, Mr Khuzwayo Dlamini, on September 3, 1984, was written on September 25, 1987.

Francis Mokhesi who is Theresa's partner in the wait of the condemned also wrote a letter to 85-year-old Mrs Agnes Korotsoane of Sharpeville. They are fellow members of the Roman Catholic Church in the township.

Francis wrote the letter in Sesotho:

Dear Mother — Peace be with you. It is with great pleasure that I again find an opportunity of writing to you. I wish to inform you that I am well — better than before.

Truly, I thank you very much for what you are doing for me; that you should visit me here despite your failing health.

I ask Our Father in heaven everyday to spare you and increase your days so that you should experience His love and mercy when that day comes. The day which I am awaiting with humbleness and respect because He says: "Wait for that day for you do not know the day or time when I shall come."

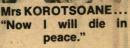
I also wish that He finds me waiting as I ask Him always to give me strength to await His coming.

I am truly waiting with the eagerness which I cannot describe. You might remember that I once told you of how happy I am for the pain I have to endure which is the way I am being shown to enter the kingdom of eternal bliss.

A Christian must not doubt what he hears or what he is made to bear on his shoulders, even though it is exaggerated.

One has to remember how one's deliverance has been planned on this earth.

I have had my doubts about my predicament,



so much that I spent sleepless nights trying to understand how I got entangled in this great problem and being accused of what I do not know.

However, when I was reading the Holy scriptures I came across these words: "Do not despair for I am the God who is the only One who knows your needs". Other verses teach that one must be happy to be tried in many ways because one should know that to be tested spiritually means the beginning of patience and endurance.

These words helped to console my soul because I am weak in spirit. What is important is that blessed are the meek in heart because theirs is the kingdom of heaven.

The time has come for one to enter the kingdom of heaven and how happy can one be to be in that home which I have been elected to see, to be with our Mother, Mary the Virgin, who saved the earth by giving us a saviour in Jesus Christ.

I am hopeful that I am now going to be with Her and Jesus who died for me on the cross because this is how my soul wants to return to the Father. The time has come.

Even though the heart still yearns the pleasures of the world I have given myself over to the Lord.

My dear mother, I beseech you to put your hope on our Mother, Mary, and Jesus Christ who will represent me when I meet the Holy Father after I have been judged in this earth.

Pass my regards to all my brethren at the church, in particular Mr Zondo and his wife, Mr Mphasa, Mr Lekheka, Mr Makhokolo, Mrs Mapiloko, Mr Matsoso, Brother Lebidi and the choir as well as Father Patrick.

Your Son, F Mokhesi 9

This letter was written on February 15, 1988.

Mrs Korotsoane knelt in prayer this week and said: "The dream I had that these children would hang is coming true. Now I will die in peace and be with them."