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INTERNATIONAL

Europeans Are Pressured on South Africa

Most Firms Remain, Some See Gain in Staying

We are under pressure. Everyone is. How much time can a company give to South Africa before you say, look, is it bloody well worth it? We accept in principle that the time may come when we have to act.

The executive, speaking anonymously and with feeling, works in London for a British company that has an unshakeable commitment, in public, to keeping a tight grip on its South African investments. If he has second thoughts, there would be few in Europe who don't.

I doubt if there's a boardroom in the country that hasn't had the subject under

This article was written by Barry Newman in London with additional reporting by Thomas F. O'Boyle in Bonn.

discussion, says Sir Leslie Smith, chairman of the British Industry Committee on South Africa, who sits on the boards of BOC Group PLC and Cadbury Schweppes PLC, both of which have operations in South Africa.

Changing Mood

The subject is surely a live one in Europe's boardrooms after last week's news that Barclays Bank PLC had sold what was left of its stake in South Africa's biggest bank. Only the most hopeful of anti-apartheid activists expect Barclays's sale to provoke an exodus from South Africa like the one in full swing among U.S. companies. But the mood shows signs of changing.

In comparison to the Americans, who are quitters, the Europeans seem to be stayers, says Geoffrey Hamilton, whose report on Europe's companies in South Africa was issued last week. The publisher was a research institute in Geneva supported by Nestle S.A., one of Europe's more adamant stayers.

Yet Barclays's decision, as some see it, may tip the balance for companies that have stayed in South Africa in the hope of helping to end apartheid, while wishing they could find an excuse to get out.

Many are going to think, Thank God Barclays have done it, * says Philip Ashfield, a stockbroker in the independent London firm Teather Greenwood. Barclays have made the choice that staying is no longer essential to their concept of social responsibility.

For the South African government, thoughts like that will weigh more heavily on the future than any American pullout. At least 60% of the country's foreign investment comes from Europe; before the recent withdrawals, the U.S. accounted for just 30%. Between 1982 and 1984, Europe's banks had a hand in \$9 billion of loans to South Africa; U.S. banks figured in one-tenth that amount.

Black Employment

) Of the 400,000 black South Africans who work for multinational companies, some 350,000 work for Europeans. Before it decided to pull out, General Motors Corp. had a work force of 3,000. More than 20 European companies each employ more (see chart).

Few of these companies, especially those in Switzerland and West Germany, will hint in public of leaving. Barclays didn't either. until it made its break. But well before that move, a subtle trend had begun in Britain, South Africa's biggest foreign investor by far, toward quiet disengagement.

Several smaller companies Smiths Industries PLC, Valor PLC, Crown House PLC-have sold out entirely. The big British insurer, Prudential Corp., which isn't

related to the U.S. insurance company,

European Companies in
South Africa
Top 20 employers

NUMBER OF WORKERS
COMPANY IN SOUTH AFRICA
Consolidated Gold Fields
(British) 93,851
Imperial Chemical Industries
(British) 27,000
Standard Chartered (British) 22,848
Lonrho (British) 10,817
Courtaulds (British) 8,198
Royal Dutch/Shell Group
(British/Dutch) 8,160
Pilkington Brothers (British) 8,016
Unilever (British/Dutch) 7,372
British Electric Traction
(British) 7,238
BTR (British) 6,482
Volkswagen (West German) 6,000
Siemens (West German) 5,700
BOC Group (British) 5,666
Daimler-Benz (West German) 5,000
British Petroleum (British) 4,880
General Electric (British)* 4,677
Holderbank Financiere Glarus
(Swiss) 4,500
Rio Tinto-Zinc (British) 4,310

B.A.T Industries (British) 4,139
Nestle (Swiss) 4,000
*No relation to G.E. of the U.S.
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swapped its majority in a South African branch last fall for 7% of Liberty Life Association of South Africa Ltd. Jim Sutcliffe, assistant general manager of Prudential's international division, gives a shortage of skilled staff as the reason.

British Electric Traction Co. has pared its freight and bus businesses in similar fashion, and is the subject of London talk of more to come. Metal Box PLC now owns only 25% of Metal Box South Africa Ltd. And Turner & Newall PLC, a construction contractor, has brought its holding in a South African affiliate down to 51% from 78% to improve the company's image on the stock market.

Shareholdings Cut

As Barclays did earlier, other British companies have cut South African holdings by sticking to the sidelines during share sales. Standard Chartered PLC, now the biggest foreign bank in the country, shrunk its slice from 53% to under 40% in 1984. Hill Samuel & Co., which put together more South African loans in 1985 than any other foreign bank, expects to come out of a current rights issue with 13% of its South African namesake, instead of 70%. (In a rights issue, existing shareholders are offered new shares in the company.)

We thought it would be better to make the company more obviously South African, says Dolf Mootham, its finance director. Quite honestly, it's pretty peripheral to our business.

In September, the Common Market imposed a set of sanctions on South Africa, including a voluntary ban on new investment. They aren't nearly as stringent as the sanctions passed by the U.S. Congress over President Reagan's veto. Indirectly, however, they may act as another constraint on Europeans.

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For all this, few companies in Europe feel anything like the push to quit South Africa that has become the norm in America, where race is an important issue and

blacks have political clout. Some Europeans, on the contrary, see a positive incentive to stay. Unlike the Americans, they can't retreat into big home markets. But as the crisis deepens, their prospects in South Africa could well brighten.

Some West German companies seem eager to fill the void left once the Americans withdraw. Daimler-Benz AG decided last year to spend an extra \$75 million in its South African car plant. Over the past three years, Volkswagen AG gave its operations \$200 million, double its investment of the previous three years. As other makers pull out, says a VW spokesman, "we will try to increase our sales there."

Economic Boom Predicted

With sanctions cutting imports, predicts Sir Leslie of the British Industry Committee, manufacturers still in South Africa stand to clean up. I think the South African economy is going to go through a bit of a boom in the next few years," he says.

Europe's anti-apartheid activists clearly have a lot to do. Yet in Bonn last weekend, several thousand demonstrators turned out to protest West German industry support for South Africa. And Barclays heartened British groups when it cited, as a reason for withdrawal, their 16-year campaign to dissuade students from opening accounts.

The movement now plans to concentrate its fire on Royal Dutch/Shell Group and Standard Chartered, two companies that say they don't plan to leave.

Moreover, since South Africa heated up, so-called ethical investing has begun to make a mark on Europe.

It doesn't hold a candle to the U.S., where investors have tied an estimated \$300 billion in assets to companies' South Africa policies. But West Germany's Protestant churches are threatening to take their money out of Deutsche Bank if it doesn't reduce its South African activity. And Britain's first three ethical-investment funds have opened in the past two years.

Pension Funds Act

Of Britain's 95 local-authority governments, 14 have curbed investment in South Africa; their pension funds have a combined worth of \$6 billion. The authorities plan to press a shareholder resolution at Shell calling for the company to withdraw from South Africa, and expect to meet this week with its board.

Few activists, however, seriously expect European companies to abandon

South Africa in the face of shareholder resolutions alone. They say only commercial prospects will lead a company to conclude, as Barclays apparently did, that the country is no longer worth the pain.

There may be differences in pressure on companies in the U.S. and the UK., " says Stuart Bell of Britain's Anti-Apartheid Movement, "but they'll all come up with the same answer in the end: take the money and run."

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BY TOM LEVY/THE CHRONICLE

Zuiu Chief Buthelezl, South Africaâ\200\231s leading black moderate, told the Commonweadlth Club, â\200\230There must be compromiseâ\200\231

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- Zulu Voices Fears

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The solution, he said, should be
a new South African constitution
that would allow blacks to join in
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Buthelezi, denounced as an ap-
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not to abandon the South African blacks who lost their jobs when economic sanctions were imposed. He said unemployment increased among blacks when imports from South Africa to this country were restricted and American companies began shutting down their operations in his country.

â\200\234I respect your motivation, but .

we are now in a post-sanctions era,â\200\235 Buthelezi said. â\200\234I regret that the message is written in the blood of my people. ... When General Motors announced it was withdrawing, the black workers felt they had been abandoned by GM.â\200\235

said he thinks peaceful.â\200\230 the world.

""Over South Africa

By Michael Harris

Like other U.S. firms using the fair-employment practices of the so-called Sullivan Principles, General Motors provided better working conditions for black workers than do most South African corporations.

Sanctions have also resulted in unemployment for tens of thousands of black workers from neighboring countries that depend on the South African economy, Buthelezi argued.

â\200\234Do you want all of us to rely on the crumbs of charity when we canâ\200\231t stand on our own?â\200\235 he asked.

In a meeting with The Chronicleâ\200\231s editorial board, Buthelezi said he has been disappointed that many black Americans believe his efforts for peaceful change are futile and divisive.

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lence,â\200\235 he said. â\200\234I cannot understand why a commitment to peace-

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Grandmaster Group -

He also urged the United States Dubai, 'Â«

United Arab Emlrates

World champion Garri Kasp-
rov announced last night the forma-
tion of a unified council of grand-
masters to promote chess and

govern the affairs of top-level play- -
ers.

In a hastily convened news con-
ference in the lobby of a Dubai ho-
tel, Kasparov, â\200\230who will head the
new group, said the grandmasters
association plans to modify the for-
mat. of the world champlonshlp cy-
cle and- raise funds to begin a grand
prix event for the top 24 players in

Reuters

New Pretoria
Move Against
Black Township

Brits, South Africa

Army troops sealed off the
officially â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 - black
township of Oukasie yesterday
while authorities went from
house to house taking census
data in apparent preparation
for a forced removal of 10,000
shanty dwellers, residents of
the township said.

Meanwhile, the state Bureau
for Information confirmed that a
prominent black physician and po- .

litical leader, Dr. Fabian Ribeiro,
and his wife were shot to death
Monday night by unidentified gun-
men outside their home in the town-
ship of Mamelodi, near Pretoria.

The information bureau and a
spokesman for the South African
police denied allegations by a union
leader in the â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 township
of Oukasie that soldiers and police-
men had forced homeowners to
sign forms in preparation for their

removal to another segregated

township 15 miles away.

But leaders of the Brits Action Committee said that between 50 and 60 army troops arrived in armored vehicles and positioned themselves at the entrance to the township while municipal officials went from house to house noting the occupants' names, identity numbers and sizes of the families. David Modi-moeng, a committee leader, said that when residents asked why the data was being recorded, the officials replied that a fire earlier this year had destroyed some municipal council records.

On October 17, the South African minister for constitutional development and planning, J. Christian Heunis, declared Oukasie, which is 30 miles east of Pretoria, officially abolished and said the 1400 families remaining there would be transported with their possessions to better housing in the Lethlabile township 15 miles away.

The government had announced the suspension of all forced removals on Feb. 1, 1985, while it re-

viewed a resettlement program in-

volving about 50 black communities and 500,000 people.

'Heunis' ministry maintains that the conditions of Oukasie and the other settlements have become

: "unhygienic" and that the govern-

ment is attempting to provide better housing sites for the relocated residents. '

* In Mamelodi, neighbors of the |

Ribeiro were quoted in the South {A\$

African press as saying that the masked gunmen who killed the doctor and his wife, Florence, were white, and that they fled in a jeep and a white sedan. The information bureau said the killers were black.

. Florence Ribeiro was the sister of Robert Sobukwe, the leader of the outlawed Pan-Africanist Congress, who died in 1978. Fabian Ribeiro, who had been imprisoned on security charges in 1979 on charges of trying to recruit youths to join the outlawed African National Congress, but was acquitted, was one of

the best-known apartheid oppo- [

nents in Mamelodi.

Known as â\200\234the peopleâ\200\231s doctor,â\200\235 Ribeiro frequently treated vic- |
tims of political violence in the
township.

Washington Peost

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CORNER
Wvg&rï¬\202[d Sirkin

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BUTHELEZI, THE INVISIBLE MAN

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If Americans are going to keep meddling in the politics of South Africa, the least we should do is learn all we can about South African politics. But we will get no help from the media.

You wouldnâ\200\231t know it from TV and the newspapers, but for the past two weeks, Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi has given speeches and interviews in the United States. Buthelezi is the elected Chief Minister of the Zulu nation, President of the Inkatha political party, and Chairman of the South African Black Alliance.

We might have been unaware of his visit had not President John R. Silber of Boston University invited us to the ceremony at which B.U. awarded the Chief Minister an honorary degree. The New York Times mentioned it in a single sentence in a long article, reporting nothing of what Buthelezi said but discussing a demonstration against Buthelezi and leftist faculty-member speculations about President Silberâ\200\231's motives in giving the degree. The News-Times gave even less coverage â\200\224 nothing at all about Buthelezi at B.U. on November 17th but on the 14th an announcement of the forthcoming demonstration planned against him.

The demonstration was organized by the African National Congress, Buthelezi told the National Press Club.

This invisibility of Buthelezi to the American media is not new. A year ago, he gave a major speech in New Orleans. A hundred journalists were present. They pitched a shut-out. One of the organizers of the event said (on a call-in program on C-SPAN on the 24th) that he was unable to find a single mention of the speech in all the print and broadcast media.

Who is this invisible man? Only the most important Black

political figure in South Africa. The Zulu nation comprises one-fourth of the population, the largest single group. Inkatha is a major political party of 1.3 million paid-up members uniting Zulus with other ethnic groups. .

The black-out of Buthelezi contrasts vividly with the media treatment of Bishop Tutu, representative of practically no one, whose every hiccup is a media event.

In his B.U. address, the Chief Minister spoke of *â\200\230The Plight of Responsible Black Leaders in South Africa,â\200\235 analyzing the difficulties of his role in changing South Africa and how the

difficulties are increased by the peculiar role being played by the United States.

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The task of a responsible Black leader, says Buthelezi, is â\200\234'to replace apartheid with an open, race-free, democratic, multi-party democracy.â\200\235 Those â\200\230â\200\230solely concerned with the eradication of apartheid ... fail to see that the way in which apartheid is eradicated holds vital implications for the future."â\200\235

Eradication of apartheid by violence cannot establish a secure democracy, as Buthelezi testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the British House of Commons last January. Once you use violence to overthrow the government, those who would like to change the government will use violence again.

Buthelezi believes that non-violent pressures can lead to negotiations for a race-free democracy under a constitution that will protect minority rights. Since the Botha Government agrees on the abolition of apartheid and on negotiations for a new constitution, the prospects for a non-violent solution ought to be promising.

But there is another player in the game, with different methods and motives, the African National Congress. "It is insufficiently realized in countries such as the United States,â\200\231â\200\231 said Buthelezi at B.U., â\200\234that at the heart of the turmoil in South Africa there is a life-and-death struggle taking place which is, bluntly put, a power struggle. The African National Congress Mission-in-Exile regards itself as a government.... It has observer-status at the United Nations, the OAU (Organization of African Unity), and at meetings of the Commonwealth and non-aligned countries; and everywhere it represents itself as the sole authentic voice of the people of South Africa.... -

â\200\234For the ANC Mission-in-Exile, the primary means of, liberating South African must be violence,â\200\231â\200\231 said Buthelezi. **The violence which is reported in Black South African townships is, more often than not, violence perpetrated in the Black South African power struggle.... â\200\230Necklacing,â\200\231 street-corner butchering b{_mobs._}hand-grenades thrown into Black houses, are all too often reported as Black anger against apartheid when they are no more than dastardly deeds of power-hungry forces."

The ANC says it seeks to make the country ungovernable. It seeks to destroy the economy, which is why it welcomes sanctions against South Africa. The ANC has been taken-over by the Communist Party of South Africa. It has put Chief Buthelezi on its hit-list.

As between the destructive, anti-democratic ANC and the constructive democratic movement. of Buthelezi, guess who gets the support of the U.S. Congress, the American churches, the American TV and major newspapers. No, not Chief Buthelezi,

who can scarcely get a hearing in this country. The attention, the money, the Congressional support by sanctions, all flow to the ANC, which violates every principle Americans are supposed to be living by. : ;

The ignorance with a dollop of viciousness that leads Americans to support organizations like the ANC is a menace to ourselves and to decent people around the world.

Not that a happy outcome is guaranteed if Buthelezi prevails. Constitutions are easily torn up. People like the ANC Communists are always on the alert to seize power as the Communists seized power in Nicaragua after what started out as

"a revolution for democracy.

â\200\230But Buthelezi offers a chance for a democratic and prosperous

3+ futurein Southr Afrienj Under the ANC. thereis nachance at-all, - s

William Raspberry

A Sensible Offer for P. W. Botha wisi fUs(

Black South Africans, speaking indirectly through an opinion poll, have made the government of P. W. Botha an intriguing, sensible offer that they probably could not have made directly: Let us sit down, before it's too late, and talk about a plan for sharing political power and ending the violence.

If such a moderate proposal had been put on the table at a meeting of black activists, it might have been hooted down and its authors humiliated or worse.

But when individual blacks had the chance

u Three out of four said they would prefer a multiracial government, while only 14 percent insisted on an all-black government based on one-man/one-vote;

w Seventy-four percent said they favored negotiations rather than violence as a way of ending apartheid;

u Half said they believe there is still a large reservoir of good will toward whites among

u Well over a third said they would support blacks working with Botha on a National Council to work out a new racial dispensation.

In short, the respondents seemed to be
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â\200\234Seventy-four percent said they favored negotiations rather than violence as a way of

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saying that there is still time for reason to prevailâ\200\224but not an unlimited amount of time. The same poll showed that four out of five blacks support calls for international sanctions against the South African government, even if it costs them their jobs. And more ominously, while 82 percent of the men over age 50 condemn political violence, 34 percent of the men 24 and younger see such violence as justified. 4

One caveat: Omnichack, while claiming a

margin of error of less than 4 percent, admitted that more than half the blacks approached refused to answer political questions, Was it the more moderate blacks who declined to answer? Or was it the more militant blacks who feared that their answers might get them in trouble?

But even if the poll's findings are accurate,

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there is scant reason to suppose that President Botha will use them as a basis for moving his government toward negotiations,

At about the same time the findings were released, Botha's minister of internal affairs, Stoffel Botha, was dismissing as unacceptable the KwaNatal Indaba [council] blueprint for a joint, multiracial administration of the homeland of KwaZulu and the province of Natal, prompting expressions of outrage from both blacks and white moderates.

How a cabinet minister can summarily dismiss the recommendations is beyond my comprehension, Indaba chairman Desmond Clarence said, adding that the rejection was based on untruths, including a charge that the proposal was based on a one-man-one-vote formula that failed to provide for true power sharing.

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The Progressive Federal Party, the white opposition party, was even blunter, describing the rejection as a reaction from bigots who seem to have a death wish for South Africa.

The danger is that the rejection of the KwaNatal Indaba proposal, like the anticipated failure of the government to take advantage of the black moderation revealed in the Omnichick poll, will cut the ground from under moderates of all races. ;

While strengthening the moderates would seem to be the government's best hope of reducing violence in South Africa, the Botha regime seems hellbent on moving in the opposite direction, leaving the action to the Nazi-like Afrikaner reactionaries and the most violent of the township blacks, whose trademark is the necklace, a blazing gasoline-filled tire draped about the necks of those thought to be cooperating with the white-run government,

The crucial contest now is between those whites who might persuade Botha to draw on the surprising moderation of a majority of the blacks and those who believe the only way for whites to survive is to tighten the screws of repression between the forces of moderation and, as the PFP put it, those bigots who seem to have a death wish for South Africa.

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[The Moderate Zulu Chief Amid.S. A
â\200\230 T By Mary Btk

" Wasfiington Post Staff Writer '

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â\200\234ThÃ© Princess Irene had retired to
the â\200\230bedoom of the hotel suite, and
Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi,
leader of the the 6-million strong Zu-
lu nation, South Africaâ\200\231s largest eth-
nic group, and chief iinister of the
"KwaZuly tribal homeland, was tick-
â\200\234ingg off on his long, tdpering finger-
tips the stops on his weeklong visit
.to Washington. ~ * S

"4I'm seeing the vice president,
andl I'm seeinig the secretary of
state, and\l have just learned today
that I also have a few minutes with
the president, on Monday, l believe
. . }" He fished in his suit pocket for
his' crammed appointment card. Add
to that list appearances at the Heri-
tage Foundation, the Carnegie En-
dowment for International Peace,
the National Foreign Trade Council,
the Washington Association of Black
Journalists. And Thursday evening,
he also was struggling to wedge in a
visit with Commerce Secretary Mal-
colm :Baldrige, who had called
Thursday .afternooti requesting a
seeting " x nin '

â\200\234And Friday I go to, I'ni flying te
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Zulu Chief Buthelezi, South Africa's leading black

- BY TOM LEVY/THE CHRONICLE

ack moderate, told

the Commonwealth Club, "There must be compromise"

S.F. Speech

Aulu Voi

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.~.The leading black South African advocate of a negotiated-end to apartheid warned in San Francisco yesterday that the time may well come when all there is left to do is employ violence :

"There must be a compromise of some sort: between blacks and whites or we will destroy each other." Mangosuthu Buthelezi, chief of 6 million Zulus, said in an address to the Commonwealth Club at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel, "The victor would be left only with ashes."

The solution, he said, should be-

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By Michael Harris

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He also urged the United States not to abandon the South African

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â\200\230ON Post

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1986 A21

â\200\230Census Sparks Eviction Fears

In South African Shantytown

Antiapartheid Doctor, Wife Assassinated Near Pretoria

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Foreign Service

BRITS, South Africa, Dec. 2â\200\224
Army troops sealed off the officially
â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 black township of Ouk-
kasie today while authorities went
from house to house taking census
data in apparent preparation for a
forced removal of 10,000 shanty
dwellers, residents of the township
said.

Meanwhile, the state Bureau for
Information confirmed that a prom-
inent black physician and political
leader, Dr. Fabian Ribeiro, and his
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The information bureau and a
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said that when residents asked why

the data was being recorded, the officials replied that a fire earlier this year had destroyed some municipal council records.

Alan Morris, a representative of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, a group affiliated with the Black Sash antiapartheid organization that monitors forced removals, said that such data is usually collected before residents are forcibly taken away from â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 townships and squatter . amps.

â\200\234If the bulldozers come, all we can do is apply for a court order.

But by then it may be too late,â\200\235 said Morris.

On Oct. 17, the South African minister for constitutional development and planning, J. Christian Heunis, declared Oukasie, which is located 30 miles east of Pretoria, officially â\200\234abolished,â\200\235 and said the 1,400 families remaining there would be transported with their possessions to better housing in the Lethiabile township 15 miles away.

The government had announced the suspension of all forced removals on Feb. 1, 1985 while it reviewed a resettlement program involving about 50 black communities and 500,000 people. At the time, the Reagan administration welcomed what seemed to be an important change of policy.

In recent weeks, the government has taken steps to relocate an estimated 30,000 residents from squatter camps and black townships in the Transvaal, near Port Elizabeth and the city of George, in the

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â\200\230ON Post

WeDNESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1986 A21

â\200\230Census Sparks Eviction Fears

In South African Shantytown |

Antiapartheid Doctor, Wife Assassinated Near Pretoria

By William Claiborne

Washington Post Foreign Service

BRITS, South Africa, Dec. 2â\200\224
Army troops sealed off the officially
â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 black township of Ou-
kasie today while authorities went
from house to house taking census
data in apparent preparation for a
forced removal of 10,000 shanty
dwellers, residents of the township
said.

Meanwhile, the state Bureau for
Information confirmed that a prom-
inent black physician and political
leader, Dr. Fabian Ribeiro, and his
wife were shot to death last night
by unknown gunmen outside their
home in the township of Mamelodi,
near Pretoria.

The information bureau and a
spokesman for the South African
police denied allegations by a union
leader in the â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 township
of Qukasie that soldiers and police-
men had forced homeowners to sign
forms in preparation for their re-

moval to another segregated town-
ship 15 miles away.

But leaders of the Brits Action
Committee said that between 50
and 60 Army troops arrived in
armored vehicles and positioned
themselves at the entrance to the
township while municipal officials
went from house to house noting
the occupantsâ\200\231 names, identity num-
bers and sizes of the families. David
Modimoeng, a committee activist,
said that when residents asked why

the data was being recorded, the officials replied that a fire earlier this year had destroyed some municipal council records.

Alan Morris, a representative of the Transvaal Rural Action Committee, a group affiliated with the Black Sash antiapartheid organization that monitors forced removals, said that such data is usually collected before residents are forcibly taken away from â\200\234abolishedâ\200\235 townships and squatter . amps.

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