

## 'ANC flags' — two freed

NW 3/12/86

CAPE TOWN — Two people were acquitted in the magistrate's court here of furthering the aims of the African National Congress by making ANC flags, as it could not be proved the flags were "only ANC flags".

At the end of the State's case, Mr Siraj Desai, for the defence, applied for the discharge of a Clothing Workers' Union organiser, Miss Elizabeth Erasmus (26) and Mr Mogamat Fuad Carlie (45).

The prosecutor, Mr Mark Sher, conceded he did not think the State proved the main charge, that the pair were members or office-bearers of the ANC.

He argued, however, they should have to answer an alternative charge of taking part in ANC activity.

Miss Erasmus and Mr Carlie were arrested at an Athlone clothing factory last December where police confiscated rolls of black, green and yellow cloth and some completed and flags of the same colours.

Magistrate Mr M. Marais said witnesses testified that the flags could be ANC flags but "we know there are other legal organisations which use similar flags". — Sapa.

16/1/11



## 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

COMPANY	NUMBER OF WORKERS 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.

Source: Common Market; British, Dutch and Swiss anti-apartheid movements; company information

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.

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 U.K.," 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."





BY TOM LEVY/THE CHRONICLE

Zulu Chief Buthelezi, South Africa's leading black moderate, told the Commonwealth Club, 'There must be compromise'

## S.F. Speech

# Zulu Voices Fears Over South Africa

By Michael Harris

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 a new South African constitution that would allow blacks to join in the government of their country "with one man, one vote — diluted by a veto to protect minority rights."

Buthelezi, denounced as an appeaser by leaders of the anti-apartheid militant African National Congress because of his willingness to negotiate with the white government and his opposition to sanctions, said he thinks peaceful change is still possible if Western nations serve as mediators.

"I don't see how you can really abandon us to the Soviets," he said, arguing that more than half the leadership of the ANC consists of Marxists.

He also urged the United States 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.

"I respect your motivation, but we are now in a post-sanctions era," Buthelezi said. "I 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."

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.

"Do you want all of us to rely on the crumbs of charity when we can't stand on our own?" he asked.

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

"The symbol of black liberation in America was Martin Luther King Jr. and his campaign of nonviolence," he said. "I cannot understand why a commitment to peaceful change in my country is lamented by people who followed King."

## Chess Champion's Grandmaster Group

Dubai, United Arab Emirates

World champion Garri Kasparov announced last night the formation of a unified council of grandmasters to promote chess and govern the affairs of top-level players.

In a hastily convened news conference in the lobby of a Dubai hotel, Kasparov, who will head the new group, said the grandmasters association plans to modify the format of the world championship cycle and raise funds to begin a grand prix event for the top 24 players in the world.

Reuters

## New Pretoria Move Against Black Township

Brits, South Africa

Army troops sealed off the officially "abolished" 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 political leader, Dr. Fabian Ribeiro, and his wife were shot to death Monday night by unidentified 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 "abolished" township of Oukasie that soldiers and policemen 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 Modimoeng, 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 reviewed a resettlement program involving 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 government is attempting to provide better housing sites for the relocated residents.

In Mamelodi, neighbors of the Ribeiros were quoted in the South 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 opponents in Mamelodi.

Known as "the people's doctor," Ribeiro frequently treated victims of political violence in the township.

Washington Post

Christmas





## NATALIE'S CORNER

*Natalie & Gerald Sirkin*

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### BUTHELEZI, THE INVISIBLE MAN

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 wouldn't 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 Silber's motives in giving the degree. *The News-Times* gave even less coverage — 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 "The Plight of Responsible Black Leaders in South Africa," 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.

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

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," said Buthelezi at B.U., "that 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...."

"For the ANC Mission-in-Exile, the primary means of liberating South Africa must be violence," 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.... 'Necklacing,' street-corner butchering by 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.

But Buthelezi offers a chance for a democratic and prosperous future in South Africa. Under the ANC, there is no chance at all.



William Raspberry

## A Sensible Offer for P. W. Botha

WASH POST

08/12/86

12/3/86

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 to express their views through a recent nationwide poll conducted by Omnichick:

- 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;

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

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

- 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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saying that there is still time for reason to prevail—but 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.

One caveat: Omnichick, 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,

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.

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."





# *The Hard Choices Of Buthelezi*

The Moderate Zulu Chief Amid S. Africa's Strife

By Mary Battiata  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Princess Irene had retired to the bedroom of the hotel suite, and Chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of the the 6-million strong Zulu nation, South Africa's largest ethnic group, and chief minister of the KwaZulu tribal homeland, was ticking off on his long, tapering fingertips the stops on his weeklong visit to Washington.

"I'm seeing the vice president, and I'm seeing the secretary of state, and I have just learned today that I also have a few minutes with the president, on Monday, I believe . . ." He fished in his suit pocket for his crammed appointment card. Add to that list appearances at the Heritage Foundation, the Carnegie Endowment 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 Malcolm Baldrige, who had called Thursday afternoon requesting a meeting.

"And Friday I go to, I'm flying to do a Christian, it's a religious program, it's . . . what do they call it,

not ashamed of having a white constituency, because I believe the future of South Africa is black and white."

BY DARREL ELLIS—THE WASHINGTON POST

05-12-86





BY TOM LEVY/THE CHRONICLE

Zulu Chief Buthelezi, South Africa's leading black moderate, told the Commonwealth Club, 'There must be compromise'

## S.F. Speech

3 Dec 1986

# Zulu Voices Fears

# Over South Africa

San Francisco Chronicle

By Michael Harris

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."

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# NEWS

## Census Sparks Eviction Fears In South African Shantytown

*Antipartheid Doctor, Wife Assassinated Near Pretoria*

By William Claiborne  
Washington Post Foreign Service

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Meanwhile, the state Bureau for Information confirmed that a prominent 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 "abolished" township of Oukaskie that soldiers and policemen had forced homeowners to sign forms in preparation for their re-

moval 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 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 "abolished" townships and squatter camps.

"If the bulldozers come, all we can do is apply for a court order.

But by then it may be too late," said Morris.

On Oct. 17, the South African minister for constitutional development and planning, J. Christian Heunis, declared Oukaskie, which is located 30 miles east of Pretoria, officially "abolished," and said the 1,400 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 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

See SOUTH AFRICA, A27, Col. 1



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