

The Natal Mercury Aug 6, 1985

Heunis wants blueprint for Natal/KwaZulu rule

African Affairs Correspondent

THE Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, has suggested that the parties concerned in the administration of Natal and KwaZulu should come forward with recommendations for joint decision-making so that these could be considered by the Government.

Mr Heunis was replying to a question from Mr Graham McIntosh, PFP MP for Pietermaritzburg North, at a symposium attended by 400 delegates in Durban yesterday on the development of Natal/KwaZulu.

Mr McIntosh said there had been overwhelming response from delegates to attend the symposium because people wanted some idea of the Government's commitment to Natal/KwaZulu working out its own political future.

Essential

'We need a political nod from the minister', he said.

Mr Heunis said people should stop talking about the 'Natal options'.

'No one knows what the options are,' he said.

He pointed out, however, that the future of Natal and KwaZulu was so inter-related that it was essential there should be co-operation between the Natal Provincial Administration and the KwaZulu Government.

'I also believe that, in the economic and political fields, the solution may not be the same in all provinces,' he said.

Mr Heunis was applauded when he said

that the time had passed when the Government could work out a constitution for other groups. It had to be worked out collectively.

Dr Oscar Dhlomo, KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture and secretary-general of Inkatha, told the symposium the Government had displayed a 'remarkable insensitivity' and a 'callous disregard' for a growing momentum of opinion in making its decisions on second-tier government applicable to Natal.

Utility

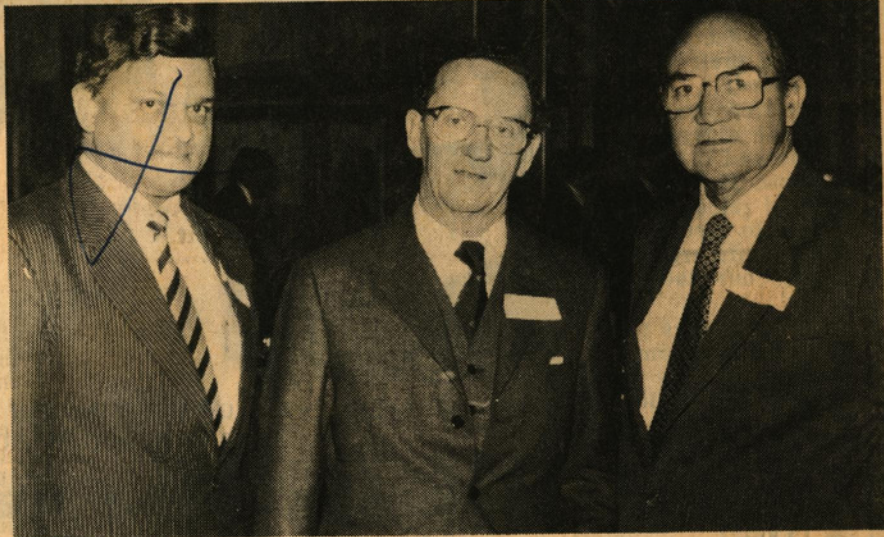
Dr Dhlomo said the replacement of the Natal Provincial Council by a body with lesser powers and reduced responsibilities was a 'severe setback' to the hope for a representative joint government for the combined region.

He said this was being done regardless of the fact that KwaZulu had its own proposals which it would have liked to table for discussion with the Government.

He said he regarded the new nominated Provincial Executive as a body with little more than one political utility, and this was to form the Natal nucleus of a negotiating body to consider the regional constitutional future of the combined area.

Prof Lawrence Schlemmer warned that the relative peace in the region would not last very long unless the leaders of the majority of people in the area were able to join in solving the area's many social and economic problems.

Prof Schlemmer, director of the Centre for Applied Social Sciences at the University of Natal,



Together at the Natal/KwaZulu planning symposium yesterday were (from left): Mr Amichand Rajbansi, chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates; Mr Radclyffe Cadman, Administrator of Natal; and Prof Pieter Booysen, principal of the University of Natal.

said the suggestions made in the Buthelezi commission report had been accepted by the KwaZulu Government as a 'basis for negotiation'.

Mistake

'The situation in our country demands that the process of negotiation starts immediately', he said.

Prof Schlemmer said the intention of the Government to reduce the status of the Provincial Council to that of a nominated body was a 'serious affront to a very important black constitutional initiative', in the light of the Buthelezi commission.

He said this 'huge political mistake' could only be corrected if the Government allowed Exco to join the KwaZulu Cabinet and the South African Cabinet in appointing a negotiating body to get to grips with the future of the region.

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Tutu backs boycott group

FROM PAGE 1

free the oppressed people of South Africa."

Isolation

He also makes it clear in the letter that he has been directly involved in TransAfrica's efforts to bring about South Africa's isolation in many spheres.

"I have worked directly with Randall Robinson, the executive director of TransAfrica, to alert and arouse the Washington community and, through it, the world community.

"I am thankful that Randall's and my efforts bore much fruit. Enormous newspaper and TV coverage greeted our campaign. I spoke with dozens of groups and even met personally with President Reagan," Bishop Tutu's letter said.

"Free South Africa is spearheading efforts to bring political and economic pressure, worldwide exposure, and moral outrage to bear on the South African Government," it said.

"We must bring an end to tacit support of South African policies, such as that of 'constructive engagement', which pretends to force change, but which are cruel lies and abominations," it continues.

"Other countries may not actually be able to end the evil of apartheid, but they must not support evil by work, deed or indifference."

Bolster

Bishop Tutu said the efforts of the "Free South Africa" campaign were "crucially important," particularly when it was considered that the South African Government, according to a source he quoted, employed 31 American public relations concerns to bolster its propaganda effort.

He asked for funds and moral support to help bring about a "reconciled society of Blacks and Whites together in a democratic, non-racist South Africa.

"At this stage in our

fight for justice, it is most important that we have the critically-needed resources to exploit every advantage and take every strategic action demanded — diplomatic, economic, political and educational," he said.

Professor Carl Nofke, director of the Institute for American Studies at the Rand Afrikaans University and former South African Government information counsellor in Washington, yesterday described the contents of the letter as "shocking."

The letter showed Bishop Tutu as a supporter of radical causes and a clear backer of the disinvestment campaign against South Africa.

Delegation

Against the background of the letter it was difficult to envisage what message Bishop Tutu could be expected to convey if he was included in the church delegation to meet the State President,

Mr P W Botha.

In the absence of Mr Tom Langley, the Conservative Party spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Daan van der Merwe, a member of the CP's foreign affairs group, said it "is a long time since I have heard a letter containing so many flagrant untruths."

Not only did it raise questions against Bishop Tutu on Christian ethical grounds, but it demonstrated the role he had been playing in the disinvestment campaign.

Mrs Helen Suzman the PFP MP for Houghton, who has recently been on an overseas visit where she came out against disinvestment, said her own views on disinvestment were well known, but she would not comment on the contents of Bishop Tutu's letter.

The PFP spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Colin Eglin, was not available for comment.

TUTU BACKS US BOYCOTT GROUP

The Citizen 6 AUG 1985

By TONY STIRLING

NOBEL Peace Prize winner and Anglican Bishop of Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond Tutu, has made a clear and unequivocal call for financial and moral support for an American organisation which aims to bring political and economic pressure to bear on South Africa and isolate the country diplomatically.

Reference was made to Bishop Tutu's letter of support for TransAfrica early this year, but a copy which has reached The Citizen indicated the extent of his support for its campaign against South Africa.

An open letter by Bishop Tutu has been used in support of the "Free South Africa" cam-

Hits at SA in call for money

paign launched by the American organisation, TransAfrica, in which it is seeking financial contributions in support of a worldwide campaign to isolate South Africa.

TransAfrica has been at the forefront of lobbying and other actions in the United States aimed at instituting boycotts and bringing international political pressure to bear against South Africa.

Attached to the letter is a form asking for donations ranging from \$20 US to \$500 US or a financial contribution of any size — issued under the name of Bishop Tutu — "to help you (Bishop Tutu) mobilise public support within America and other nations for economic, legislative, political and educational actions that will lead to the abolition of apartheid forever."

The executive director of TransAfrica is the well-known Black American political activist, Mr Randall Robinson.

In his letter of appeal, Bishop Tutu speaks of "unspeakable horrors" committed in the name of apartheid, including "torture, murder, abduction, incarceration and many other crimes against humanity."

He makes a direct appeal for a financial commitment to help "boycott" South Africa.

The text reads: "I ask you to make an immediate commitment, a financial commitment to help publicise, educate, lobby and boycott and take whatever other legal and moral means are necessary to end the long nightmare of apartheid and

TO PAGE 2

Call for suggestions on Natal/KwaZulu

DURBAN. — The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Chris Heunis, yesterday called for all parties to come up with recommendations on the future of Natal/KwaZulu, so the Government could consider them.

He was answering a question put to him at a development symposium in Durban by the Progressive Federal Party MP, Mr Graham Mackintosh (Pietermaritzburg North), to give a clearer indication of the Government's attitude to political and constitutional initiatives for Natal/KwaZulu.

Earlier, in his speech, Mr Heunis spoke in favour of some of the new moves being made on this issue and said certain initiatives in the institutional field which had only just been implemented, as well as those expected from the Provincial Coun-

cil and Regional Services Council, would provide a much better basis for joint planning and decision-making.

This would serve not only in the local context but also in terms of the involvement of the Government.

Wrong

Calling for joint recommendations, Mr Heunis said it would be wrong to ignore such moves.

He referred to the Natal Provincial Council's request for a joint statutory body to govern common matters in Natal/KwaZulu and the impending provincial and KwaZulu Government discussions on August 14.

He said there was no doubt about the need for cooperation, but solutions must be worked out collectively.

There must be sufficient flexibility to allow for different circumstances in different provinces.

Mr Heunis said it had been decided those homelands which did not want to take independence must take part in decision making in another form at the highest level.

The type of institutions to provide for this must be negotiated.

The symposium, at a Durban beachfront hotel, was organised by the Development Society of Southern Africa.

Momentum

Meanwhile also speaking at the symposium the secretary-general of Inkatha, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, yesterday criticised the Government for ignoring a growing momentum of opinion about the viability of a joint constitutional future for Natal/KwaZulu.

Dr Dhlomo, who is also the KwaZulu Minister of Education and Culture, said: "Central Government has displayed a remarkable insensitivity and callous disregard for a growing momentum of opinion in making their decisions on second-tier government applicable of Natal."

Referring to the Government's rejection of the Buthelezi Commission, Dr Dhlomo asked: "How many more golden opportunities for inter-racial harmony and cooperation in this country are we going to miss?"

Goodwill

The Government was squandering the goodwill of responsible Black leaders such as Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Dhlomo said. He regarded the new nominated provincial executive as "the body with little more than one political utility."

Inkatha was aware the White minority had deep-

ly ingrained anxieties about the possibility of political domination.

The KwaZulu Government was therefore open to negotiate on Black/White power-sharing in the Natal/KwaZulu area, "possibly around a federal model of constitutional development," Dr Dhlomo said. — Sapa.

Major Political Trial Begins In South African Province

16 Blacks, Asians Accused of Treason

By Allister Sparks

Special to The Washington Post

PIETERMARITZBURG, South Africa, Aug. 5—South Africa's biggest political trial in 21 years began today with 16 black and Asian civil rights leaders facing a charge of high treason.

The trial in the Natal provincial Supreme Court opened with defense lawyers asking that the 580-page indictment be thrown out be-

cause they say it is vague and un-specific.

Describing it as an attempt to establish the crime of "verbal treason," Ismael Mohamed, who heads the defense, said the indictment's terms were so broad they could apply to the whole parliamentary opposition, particularly its best known liberal member, Helen Suzman.

If the defense strategy succeeds, the case could collapse within a week, lawyers said. If it fails, a two-

year marathon will get under way that, together with a similar trial in Transvaal Province of 22 other leaders of the country's main black civil rights organization, the United Democratic Front, will tie up the entire top leadership of the front and effectively prevent them from playing any political role. The trial of the 22 is due to start in October.

It is widely believed in political circles that the authorities brought the treason charges to put the democratic front out of action, believing it to be behind the racial unrest that has wracked South Africa for the past 11 months.

The maneuver failed. Although the 22 prisoners in Transvaal have been held in custody for four months and the 16 in the trial here have been given bail on the condi-

See SOUTH AFRICA, A12, Col. 3

Tutu Averts Violence At Funeral

Bishop Defies Rules, Persuades Police To Assist Mourners

8/7/85

By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Foreign Service

DAVEYTON, South Africa, Aug. 6—Nobel Peace laureate Desmond Tutu today openly defied the government's ban on political funerals for the first time, then interposed himself between black mourners and white security forces to prevent a violent confrontation over the ban.

Tutu's personal intervention and painstaking negotiations with police defused a situation in which a bloody showdown had appeared inevitable. Dozens of armored vehicles and hundreds of heavily armed soldiers and police had encircled an angry crowd of about 1,500 mourners and a senior police officer had ordered the crowd to disperse only moments before Tutu stepped in.

The Anglican bishop, who has emerged in recent weeks as the most influential advocate of restraint in South Africa's black community, convinced police to supply seven buses to transport the crowd to a local cemetery for the burial of a 16-year-old victim of previous unrest. He then persuaded the youngsters to board the buses and conduct themselves peacefully.

Meanwhile, police in the Orange Free State town of Brandfort raided the house of Winnie Mandela, wife of imprisoned black nationalist leader Nelson Mandela, arresting 30 people after firing tear gas and rubber bullets into a crowd they said had thrown rocks at them outside the house. It was one of several incidents of unrest reported today outside the areas affected by government's declared state of emergency.

Tutu, who is bishop of Johannesburg, came to this sandy, windswept black township east of the city this morning to preach at a funeral for Elizabeth Khumalo, 16, one of the victims of violence at a previous funeral. He addressed mourners in a tent in her front yard.

Tutu condemned the regulations, announced by South Africa's white minority government last week,

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Britain, U.S. lead nations investing in South Africa. Page A14

Tutu Intervenes to Avoid Confrontation at Funeral

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

that prohibit any mention of political issues at funerals for unrest victims. He violated the ban today by preaching against the restrictions and against the government's emergency decree, which took effect July 21.

Citing the Apostle Peter's defiance of the high priest of Jerusalem in the New Testament, Tutu told the crowd, "I do not want to defy the government. But the Scriptures state quite clearly when there is a conflict between the law of God and the law of man, we must obey God and not man. And so at funerals I will continue to preach the gospel."

"I don't want to go to jail," Tutu added. "But if I am to go to jail for preaching the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, then so be it."

The bishop also made an emotional plea to the government to allow blacks to freely conduct funerals for unrest victims.

"Please allow us to bury our dead with dignity," he said. "Please do not rub our noses in the dust. We are already hurt; we are already down. Don't trample on us."

"We are human beings; we are not animals. And when we have a death, we cry like you cry."

Just before Tutu spoke, three white policemen entered the yard of the house and hustled a young black man wearing a "Release Mandela" shirt into a green station wagon. One of the policemen aimed a shotgun at an angry crowd that drew near the car as it pulled away.

Witnesses identified the man taken prisoner as Aubrey Nzumalo, a local activist who they said had long been on a police list for detention.

"We can see how bloodthirsty these soldiers are," Steve Mochene, a minister of the International Assembly of God, told the crowd after the incident. "We should not be so angered that we lose our heads."

Tutu also preached restraint, saying "I don't want us to provoke people unnecessarily. You are young... don't do anything which will give the system a chance to act against you."

As he finished, police using a bullhorn ordered the mourners outside the house to disperse.

Tutu then rushed to a nearby sandlot where police had massed to plead for a compromise that would allow the crowd to attend the burial. For 20 minutes the purple-robed bishop huddled with the blue-fatigued senior officer while two Army helicopters circled over the crowd.

Tutu came back with a commitment from Nel to seek buses so that the mourners could go to the cemetery without violating the restriction against funeral processions on foot.

A half hour later, seven buses supplied by the local town council pulled up and the confrontation was defused. There followed the incongruous sight of a black Nobel Prize winner and a white police lieutenant colonel overseeing the loading of the buses and directing traffic.

There was a far different conclusion to the episode outside the Mandela house in Brandfort this morning while Mrs. Mandela was in Johannesburg.

According to the police, 50 blacks gathered in front of the house after a store was looted and a

school boycotted. The crowd was armed with knives, axes, picks, bricks and other weapons, police said, and they threw stones and a gasoline bomb at police after being ordered to leave.

They were then dispersed with rubber bullets and whips, and tear gas was fired into the Mandela house where some had taken refuge. Police said seven gasoline bombs and about five quarts of the fuel were found in the house.

A spokesman for Mrs. Mandela's lawyer said her sister had been arrested and her house "broken into" by police. She said the situation in Brandfort tonight resembled "a big war zone" with police and soldiers patrolling the area.

Winnie Mandela is a "banned" person under South African law who is not allowed to speak to reporters and has been remanded to the remote Brandfort area by the government. Friends said she had been in Johannesburg today for medical treatment.

Meanwhile a wave of violence continued to sweep through black townships near Durban, where activists are protesting last week's slaying of Victoria Mxenge, a prominent black civil rights lawyer. Durban is not one of the districts designated under the emergency decree but has been the scene of growing violence.

One man was shot dead by a policeman at Kwamashu township, while 17 preschool children suffered minor injuries when students stoned a school bus in Lamontville.

The treason trial of 16 black and Asian civil rights leaders in the city of Pietermaritzburg entered its second day with the lawyer for the defendants charging the government was resorting to McCarthyism and "guilt by association" in its case. The lawyer, Ismail Mahomed, conceded his clients were "antagonistic toward the state," but denied they had engaged in treason.

Outside the courthouse, a student boycott of township schools continued and police reported stone-throwing incidents in which eight people were injured and police used tear gas, rubber bullets and whips.

President Still Resists South Africa Sanctions

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Staff Writer

8/6/85

President Reagan, defending his policy of "constructive engagement" toward South Africa, said yesterday he will continue to resist sanctions against Pretoria and suggested that the South African government's actions against violence in recent weeks have been justified.

Reagan stopped short of saying whether he will veto sanctions pending in Congress, but insisted that "the results we've had" with a policy of trying to influence South Africa through diplomatic contacts "justifies our continuing on that score."

In his first meeting with reporters since cancer surgery July 13, Reagan also indicated he would be willing to join the Soviet Union in a permanent moratorium on nuclear testing once the United States had

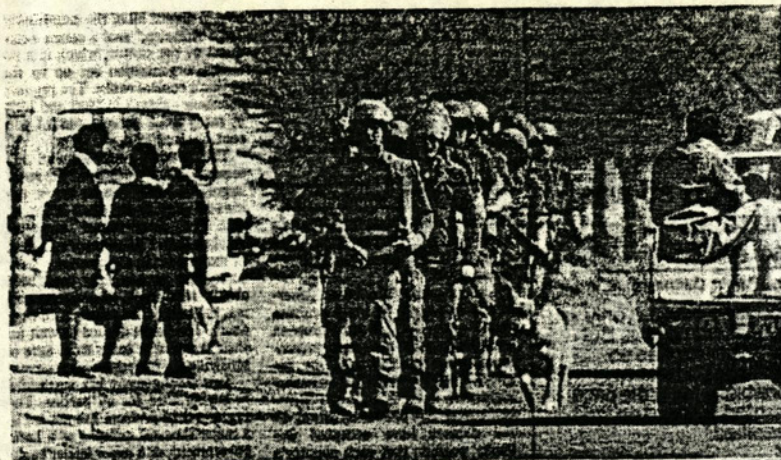
finished its planned tests. But the White House later issued a statement saying Reagan was "not proposing any new initiative" on a test ban.

Speaking from his desk in the Oval Office, Reagan announced in a nationally televised statement that he would launch a "major fall offensive" on behalf of his proposal to overhaul the tax laws, and for line-item veto authority and a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced federal budget.

The president also called for separating Social Security from the federal budget sooner than scheduled in 1992, saying that it is "nothing but a bookkeeping gimmick" to keep the huge pension program as part of the budget.

Social Security is self-contained in that payroll taxes can be used only for benefits. But the program figures in the size of the

See PRESIDENT, A7, Col. 1



South African soldiers file past a group of local residents in the black township of Soweto outside Johannesburg.

S. African Treason Trial Starts

SOUTH AFRICA, From A?

tion that they take no part in politics, the unrest in the black townships has continued to intensify.

Now the government has declared a state of emergency and is trying to stamp out the unrest by arresting the leaders of hundreds of grass-roots organizations, most of which are affiliated to the democratic front.

The massive indictment in the Pietermaritzburg trial cites hundreds of political actions by the 16 leaders between 1980 and 1985, including speeches criticizing the apartheid system of segregation and calling for the release of political prisoners, the distribution of pamphlets and the singing of freedom songs, which it claims amounted to a conspiracy to create a revolutionary atmosphere with a view to overthrowing white-minority rule by violence.

The indictment is based on the contention that the United Democratic Front, together with the outlawed African National Congress, South African Congress of Trade Unions and South African Congress Party, formed a "revolutionary alliance" that advocated nonviolent programs to further its violent aims.

The scope of the indictment, and its attempt to make the spoken word an act of treason—which is punishable by hanging—has startled lawyers.

Mohamed referred to the crime the defendants are charged with disparagingly as "talk-talk treason" in his address to the court today as he argued for dismissal of the indictment.

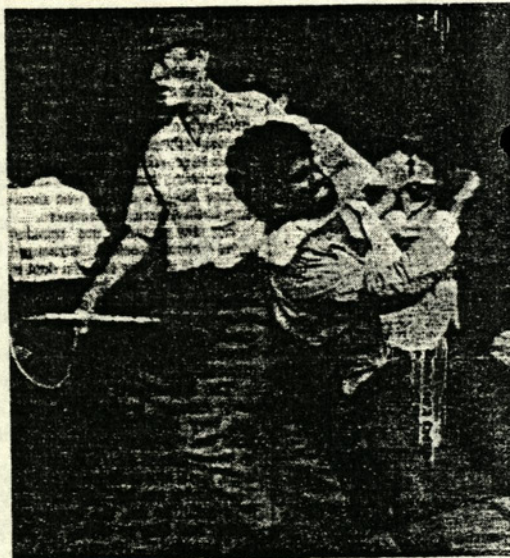
The prosecutor, N.C. Gey van Pittius, is scheduled to reply to the defense arguments Tuesday.

Mohamed noted that the distribution of pamphlets calling for the release of the imprisoned African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was cited as one of the actions forming part of the alleged conspiracy and said: "On this basis the entire official opposition in Parliament, and especially Helen Suzman, could be charged with treason."

"In a country as deeply divided as this, it is inevitable that there will be a furious and passionate debate about the nature of society," Mohamed said. "That is part of our national heritage. The authorities must be subject to criticism, and severe criticism."

The last big political trial was when Mandela and other leaders of the African National Congress were sentenced in June 1964 to life imprisonment for trying to overthrow white rule. The last major treason trial was in 1955, when 166 black leaders were charged but acquitted four years later.

Mohamed also argued that the indictment was defective in charge-



South African riot policeman grapples with demonstrator in the Durban area.

ing the prisoners collectively on the basis of "different acts committed in different places at different times."

He asked Judge John Milne to order that the joint indictment be withdrawn and the 16 men charged again separately. When Judge Milne asked how this would benefit the prisoners, Mohamed replied: "I think, my lord, that if that were to happen, it might be the last that we see of this case"—an implicit suggestion that the administration of President Pieter W. Botha regarded it as a political failure that it would drop if given the chance.

The trial has aroused strong feelings in the black community, and armed police with dogs patrolled the streets near the red-brick courthouse, which is behind a high security fence, to prevent demonstrations. A few hundred black people gathered on the pavement opposite the courthouse throughout the day, but there were no incidents.

Despite the gravity of the case and the racial tension it has aroused, there was a calm, almost genteel atmosphere in the court itself, which was redolent of the province's British colonial past.

Natal is the province of the English minority, and the proceedings had about them a touch of British colonial rule in India as the flamboyant Indian lawyer pleaded his case before the politely attentive judge with an accent that had a ring of the English upper class.

A visiting U.S. federal appeals court judge, Nathaniel Jones of Cincinnati, found it all very surprising. "I guess the problem here is not one

of procedure but of the underlying body of law," he observed during a tea break.

Blast Hits Durban Home Of Key Asian Politician

By Glenn Frankel
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 5—The house of one of South Africa's most prominent Asian politicians was slightly damaged by an explosion late last night, the third such attack in two months against nonwhite parliamentary leaders accused of "collaborating" with the white-minority government here.

The attack on the home of Amichand Rajbansi, chief minister of the Asian house in South Africa's racially divided Parliament, marked a further escalation of political violence in the port city of Durban.

Until last week it had been spared most of the unrest that has resulted in 50 deaths since last September largely in the Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth areas and led to the government's declaration of a state of emergency in 36 districts on July 21.

The government has claimed a sharp drop in unrest in the designated districts since the emergency took effect, although police have reported 24 deaths. But recent incidents in Durban and in the Cape Town area suggest that the violence may be spilling over into new regions.

Also today, police announced the arrests of 14 more persons, bringing to 1,426 the number of arrests since the emergency declaration took effect. They said 109 of those persons have been released.

Reagan Still Resists Pretoria Sanctions

PRESIDENT, From A1

federal deficit because the taxes are counted as revenues and the benefits as spending. Social Security has been part of the "unified" federal budget since the late 1960s.

Reagan looked fit, and a small scab was evident on his nose where a piece of skin was surgically removed last week, which the president disclosed yesterday had been diagnosed as a minor skin cancer. He joked with reporters and said he hopes to be horseback riding on his California ranch next week.

Reagan opened the 25-minute session with an optimistic statement heralding "a year of progress" in domestic and foreign policy, and ended with an appeal to baseball owners and players to think about their "obligation to the baseball fans" to avert a strike.

White House officials have acknowledged that Reagan has suffered major legislative setbacks in the first year of his second term, and the president yesterday appeared to be promising an effort to regain momentum in September.

On South Africa, Reagan defended the administration's ap-

proach to South Africa even as world criticism of the state of emergency declared there on July 7 is intensifying. Reagan said the system of apartheid, or racial segregation, in South Africa is "repugnant," but went on to list "gains that have been made so far by our constructive engagement."

He listed "the increase in complete biracial education, the fact that American businesses there have, over the last several years, contributed more than \$100 million to black education and housing, the fact that the ban on mixed marriages no longer exists, that some, I think, 40-odd business districts have been opened to black-owned businesses, labor union participation by blacks has come into being, and there has been a great desegregation of hotels and restaurants and parks and sport activities and sports centers and so forth."

These and other improvements "have been coming about as they have continued to work toward what is the final answer," he said.

Critics of South Africa have said that, despite the relaxation of certain laws by Pretoria, blacks—who make up 73 percent of the popula-

tion—still have no political rights or representation, reside in inferior economic conditions and are strictly limited in their freedom of speech, movement and association.

The state of emergency imposed July 20 gives the South African police and military virtually unlimited powers in 36 cities and towns to seize property without warrants and arrest people without formal charge. The security forces can also seal off the areas, impose curfews and censor all news from the specified locations.

The administration demanded July 26 that the state of emergency be lifted. Yesterday, Reagan was asked what he would do to make the point more forcefully to the South African government.

He responded by saying the United States has "had some influence so far and they have themselves guaranteed that they want to make progress in that direction."

Reagan added, "You are talking, though, now about a governmental reaction to some violence that was hurtful to all of the people. We have seen the violence between blacks there, as well as from the law enforcement, against riotous behavior. I think we have to recognize sometimes when actions are taken in an effort to curb violence."

Refusing to say whether he would veto sanctions legislation pending in Congress, Reagan said some provisions "could be helpful in the very way I have been talking."

was apparently referring to pro-



PRESIDENT REAGAN

... prepares "offensive" on taxes
visions calling for scholarships and export promotion.

"I know also, however, that the sanctions would not only be harmful to the black citizens there, they would be harmful to the surrounding black countries whose economies greatly depend on their trade and economic relations with South Africa." The president also took note of a statement Sunday by Gatscha Buthelezi, chief minister of the KwaZulu homeland in South Africa, that economic sanctions would hinder efforts to end apartheid.

Asked if there is no change planned in U.S. policy, Reagan said

he would not turn to sanctions but "there can be fluctuations in your conversations and your relationship with another government."

On the Soviets, Reagan was asked why he refused to join a Soviet proposal last week for a temporary moratorium on nuclear testing, which the Soviets have said they will unilaterally impose starting today. Reagan said the Soviets are ahead in modernizing nuclear forces, and have just finished testing for their SS18, SS24 and SS25 nuclear missiles. The United States, he added, has not finished testing comparable weapons.

Reagan repeated his invitation for the Soviets to send an inspection team to watch a U.S. nuclear test, which Moscow has rejected. He said that after the Soviet temporary test ban runs out in December, "if they want to make that a permanent moratorium or if they want to agree with us and have bilateral inspection of each other's testing, we're willing to do that."

The president then qualified his remark by saying he would not be prepared for a joint test ban until the United States tests the warhead for the Midgetman missile, now in development, "and we haven't even come to that stage yet."

White House spokesman Edward P. Djerejian said later yesterday that Reagan was "not proposing any new initiative" on nuclear testing. He said the United States "has long supported the objective of test ban negotiations in the context of

achieving deep and verifiable nuclear arms reductions, substantially improved verification capabilities, expanded confidence-building measures and the maintenance of an effective deterrence."

Djerejian reiterated the administration's concern about verification. He noted that Reagan had said the focus in arms control should be reducing nuclear stockpiles, which would provide a "genuine incentive" to cut back testing.

A senior official told reporters last week that the United States needs to continue testing nuclear weapons, and Djerejian said yesterday "the basic necessity for our testing derives from the massive buildup of Soviet offensive power."

Reagan said in his statement that the United States is in "the best position in more than a generation to achieve real reductions of nuclear weapons. All we need is a serious approach by the Soviets."

On the eve of the anniversary of the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Reagan said that it was a decision made to stop World War II, "and I think to second-guess now those who had to make that awesome decision is ridiculous."

"I think, horrible as it was, we have to say this, too—that it did give the world a view of the threat of nuclear weapons," he added. "And I think that should be an aid in one day now riding ourselves of them."

Staff researcher James Schwartz contributed to this report.

SOUTH AFRICA PUTS 16 BLACKS ON TRIAL IN A TREASON CASE

Hearing Is Biggest of Its Kind
Since Nelson Mandela Got
Life Term 21 Years Ago

By ALAN COWELL

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 5 — Sixteen prominent opponents of the South African Government went on trial for treason today.

The trial, in Pietermaritzburg, is the largest judicial proceeding of its kind since Nelson Mandela, leader of the outlawed African National Congress, was imprisoned for life in 1964. If convicted, the 16 could face the death sentence.

All are leaders of the United Democratic Front, the largest opposition movement outside of Parliament. The accused include the group's joint presidents — Archie Gurnea, 73 years old, and Albertina Sisulu, 62, the wife of Walter Sisulu, who was convicted with Mr. Mandela 21 years ago and is still in prison.

Emergency Rule in Third Week

Meanwhile, as emergency rule around this city and in eastern Cape Province entered its third week, the initial two-week period for which people may be held was prolonged by another 14 days. Such extensions may be made indefinitely two weeks at a time.

According to the police count today, 1,319 people are being held under the emergency rules, which also provide unlimited powers of search and arrest.

[In Washington, President Reagan reacted to Congressional pressure for economic sanctions by saying that sanctions would hurt blacks in South Africa and in neighboring countries. But he declined to say whether he would veto legislation imposing sanctions. Page A3.]

Indictment of 587 Pages

In the Pietermaritzburg trial, the 16 defendants are accused of forming an alliance with the African National Congress, which is based in Lusaka, Zambia, and is committed to the overthrow of the South African Government. The prosecution's case is set out in an indictment of 587 pages.

The defense seemed bent today on undermining the credibility of the charges and on reducing their extent.

"Is it a crime for people to protest in the form of pamphlets against the Government?" a defense lawyer, Ismael Mohammed, said in court. "Is it a crime for people to assemble provided

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South Africa Puts 16 Black Activists on Trial on Treason Charges

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they do not commit acts of violence?"

Meanwhile in Durban, Amichand Rajbansi, one of two nonwhite politicians in the Cabinet, said that what seemed to be a hand grenade was thrown at his home on Sunday, causing damage but no injuries.

Mr. Rajbansi is the leader of the majority party in the Indian house of a three-chamber Parliament introduced

last year as part of a program of limited racial representation.

The program gave representation in segregated legislative chambers to people of Indian and mixed racial descent, but not to blacks, who account for 70 percent of the population of South Africa, including its nominally independent black homelands. Elections for the three-chamber parliament were widely boycotted by those who were supposed to be represented.

There was no word on who was responsible for the attack on Mr. Rajbansi's home in Chatsworth, a Durban suburb that, under the laws of apartheid, is reserved for Indians.

The trial of the 16 leaders of the United Democratic Front opened a few days after the assassination of Victoria Mxenge, a defense lawyer.

Opposition figures say that most of those detained under emergency

powers belong to the United Democratic Front or its affiliates and that the authorities are seeking to destroy the organization.

Twenty-two other members of the alliance are facing treason charges in a separate trial. Opposition figures have attributed the slaying of Mrs. Mxenge to officially sanctioned death squads.

"Her death is part of the appalling violence that is sweeping the country," Judge John Milne said as the court observed a minute's silence for Mrs. Mxenge, whose husband, Griffiths, was also assassinated four years ago.

The trial is being heard, under South Africa's system of Roman Dutch law, by a judge and two assessors, without a jury. The judge may rule on points of law, but on points of fact, the assessors may overrule him. Both assessors are nonwhites, one of Indian descent and the other black.

American Judge Is an Observer

An American Federal Judge, Nathaniel R. Jones of the Sixth Circuit Court of Appeals, based in Cincinnati, is attending the trial as an observer on behalf of an organization called the Lawyers for Civil Rights Under Law.

Judge Jones said that the defense would first try to quash the indictment, probably without success, and then the trial would begin hearing the evidence in September.

Elsewhere, the police reported continued unrest near Port Elizabeth and around Johannesburg. In Durban, two cars were burned by protesters, buses were stoned and policemen fired tear gas after being attacked by rock-throwing demonstrators.

Durban is the commercial center of Natal Province, the home of six million Zulus, many of whom owe allegiance to Chief Mangosuthu Gatsba Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi's control of his own ethnic political organization, Inkatha, has been seen by some as a reason for the relative tranquility of Natal since unrest erupted last September. In interviews, the Zulu chief has said that he will not allow his followers to become "cannon fodder."



Amichand Rajbansi, a South African Cabinet minister, looking through window that was shattered in an attack on his home in Durban. He said it appeared that a hand grenade had been thrown at the house; no one was injured.

Reagan Criticizes Bill on South Africa Sanctions

8/6/80
by CHARLES MOHR

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Aug. 5 — President Reagan said today that economic sanctions against the white minority Government of South Africa would hurt blacks in South Africa and in neighboring countries. But he declined to say whether he would veto legislation imposing such sanctions.

Mr. Reagan, speaking at a news conference attended by five reporters, said his policy of "constructive engagement" toward the Pretoria Government had wrought changes leading to a more equitable life for black South Africans. He said he did not intend to change the policy, which rests on diplomatic persuasion rather than hostility.

The President's remarks could have significance for what he may do next year, when a law pending in Congress would require him to make a determination as to whether much stronger sanctions than those contained in the present bill, notably a ban on new American investment, should be applied to South Africa.

On the basis of his remarks today it seemed at least doubtful that Mr. Reagan would make such a finding.

U.S. Will Not Join Ban

On other foreign policy issues the President made these points:

¶The United States would not agree to join the Soviet Union in a five-month moratorium on underground nuclear tests, which is to begin Tuesday, because the United States needs to complete tests of the designs of warheads for several new missiles. But Mr. Reagan said that when the United States had completed the test series he might agree to a "permanent" cessation of tests.

¶The death of "20 million" Soviet citizens in the Stalin era was barbaric, but the American use of atomic weapons against Japan 40 years ago was a justifiable effort to shorten World War II.

¶Conservative complaints that Secretary of State George P. Shultz is insufficiently anti-Communist are "ridiculous," and Mr. Shultz has Mr. Reagan's full confidence.

The President said "no" when asked if action by Congress on South African sanctions would change his emphasis on diplomatic persuasion, and said that "in principle" continuation of the Administration's present policy "is the best way we can be of help to the black citizens of South Africa."

A Senate-House conference committee last week approved a bill that would impose a number of relatively mild sanctions against South Africa, which has been rocked by black protest because of its policies of racial separation. The House passed the legislation by a vote of 380 to 48, but the Senate postponed final action until after the August recess.

Asked if he would veto the bill, the President said, "I never say what I am going to do until the thing gets to my desk."

He added that some parts of the bill "could be helpful in the very way I have been talking."

A Threat of Further Sanctions

The pending legislation would prohibit the import of South African gold coins and the export to South Africa of goods for nuclear industry and computers. It would ban loans by private United States banks to the South African Government and require all but the smallest branches of American businesses in South Africa to follow principles for equal housing and employment for black employees.

The bill also says that within 12

months of the time when it becomes law the President would have to make a finding as to whether the South African Government had made significant progress toward ending apartheid.

A U.S. Condemnation

If the finding is negative, the pending law would require him to impose at least one more penalty against South Africa among a specified list, including the ban on new private investment. Other choices would be removing the country's most-favored-nation trade status or prohibiting the import of South African coal and uranium.

Today the President again expressed opposition in principle to sanctions. He also drew a sympathetic picture of guarded changes in the South African Government's policies and its reasons for imposing the state of emergency that affects 36 areas around Johannesburg and Port Elizabeth.

The State Department has been condemning South Africa for the emergency decree on an almost daily basis, but Mr. Reagan said, "I think we have to recognize sometimes when actions are taken in an effort to curb violence."

The Scale of Stalin's Crime

President Reagan's use of a figure of 20 million people to describe the victims of Stalin's purges cannot be readily documented from available published sources. The 20 million figure is usually associated with the losses the Soviet Union suffered during World War II, not as a result of Stalin's rule of terror.

In contrast to the figure of war losses, which is used officially by the Soviet Union and is generally not contested by Western historians, no official Soviet count has ever been issued for the number of people who died as a result of Stalin's repressions.

They include people executed during purges and those who died of deprivation in the vast system of prisons and labor camps that has become known as the Gulag, after Alexander Solzhenitsyn's documentary account.

Western specialists on the

Soviet Union have long tried to estimate the number of Gulag victims. They included the kulaks, private farmers who opposed the collectivization of agriculture around 1930; the great wave of mass repression of the middle to late 1930's, and the successive purges of the early postwar period that ended only with Stalin's death in 1953.

According to the Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union, published in 1982, "careful estimates indicate that about 15 to 16 million people died of exhaustion and starvation between 1930 and 1953." In addition, according to this source, one million were executed. The encyclopedia estimates that at the time of Stalin's death, about 10 million people were in labor camps. Most of the camp system was then dismantled and most of the political prisoners were released.

The State Department spokesman Bernard Kalb criticized South Africa today for pressing ahead with trials of 16 leading dissidents on charges of treason.

The President called apartheid repugnant but said his approach toward Pretoria had led to gains for blacks, citing what he called "the increase in complete biracial education" and that "40-odd business districts have been opened to black-owned businesses."

Except for a few private secondary schools and universities, education remains segregated in South Africa. The central Government has in principle approved some black businesses in white-only areas, but they are subject to local municipal approval. No such businesses have opened in Johannesburg.

In a formal statement this afternoon, the White House modified Mr. Reagan's suggestion that he might agree to a permanent moratorium on underground nuclear explosions once the pending American test schedule had been completed.

Verification and Deterrents

"The President is not proposing any new initiative," the statement said, adding that any end to tests would require "substantially improved verification capabilities, expanded confidence-building measures and maintenance of an effective deterrent."

Worries about compliance with a moratorium, the White House said, "are heightened by evidence of Soviet violation" of treaties which already limit underground tests to yields of 150 kilotons.

When a reporter asked Mr. Reagan to comment on a statement by Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, that the 1945 nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been "barbaric," Mr. Reagan responded that "I always thought it was barbaric of Stalin to kill some 20 million people in his own country."

The President said it was "ridiculous" to second-guess American officials who ordered the Hiroshima bombing. He said, "We dropped the bomb in an effort to end what had been the greatest war in man's history."

"I think, horrible as it was," he said, "we have to say this, too, that it did give the world a view of the threat of nuclear weapons and I think that should be an aid in one day ridding ourselves of them." He added that nuclear deterrence had brought peace "for the longest stretch we have ever known."