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INTERNATIONAL

Chase Stops \\\Â¢ Police Patrol in South Africa Township  
Loansto Firms Confronts the Silent Hostility of Blacks

In South Africa

By PHiLuIP L. ZWEELS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK~In one of the toughest  
moves by a major bank against South Af-  
rica, Chase Manhattan Bank has stopped  
making new loans 10 companies and banks  
operating in that nation. banking sources  
said.

Separately, in Washington, House and  
Senate conferees agreed on a compromise  
bill that would bar new bank loans to South  
Africaâ\200\231s government and impose other  
sanctions, including 2 ban on the U.S. im-  
porting of Krugerrand coins.

The move by Chase, the third largest  
U.S. bank, means that it won't renew loans  
or lines of credit to companies operating in  
South Africa, and won't advance additional  
funds under existing lines of credit. In-  
cluded in the ban are loans to South Afri-  
can units of multinational corporations, the  
sources said.

It is understood that Chase Manhattan  
currently has about 3400 million in loans  
outstanding to the private sector in South  
Africa. This represents less than 0.7% of  
Chase's total loan portfolio, which was  
\$360.73 billion at the end of June.

A Chase spokesman in New York denied  
reports circulating in the South African  
banking community that the bank was  
planning to close its representative office  
there. But he did say, â\200\234We're evaluating  
the situation continually.â\200\235 The spokesman  
also declined to give the details of Chase  
Manhattan's loans to banks and other cor-  
porations in South Africa, citing customer  
confidentiality. He noted, however, that  
Chase Manhattan hasn't made loans to the  
South African government or government-  
owned companies since 1977.

Many major U.S. banks have adopted  
policies against making new loans to the  
South African government or its agencies,  
but they have continued â\200\230o lend to corpora-

tions and banks there,

These policies generally allow these banks to lend to companies in South Africa if the nonwhite population stands to benefit.

The decision by Chase appears to have been based primarily on the economic risks of doing business in South Africa, a concern heightened by the official state of emergency that exists there.

Citibank, which owns a banking subsidiary in South Africa, said yesterday it will continue lending to companies in that country. Noting that Citicorp has not any outstanding loans to the government of South Africa or its agencies, a spokesman said, "We plan to continue our South African banking operations with the private sector. We believe our continued presence, along with other U.S. companies, provides a positive force for opposition to apartheid and for substantial assistance to black South Africans."

By STEVE Murson  
Staff Reporter of The WALL STREET JOURNAL

DUBUZE, South Africa "Blacks stare sullenly from the windows of their cinder-block homes at four white policemen and 10 helmeted soldiers armed with shotguns, rifles and tear gas.

"Foot patrols are better than armored cars," says Warrant Officer J.C. Laing. "You have closer contact with people, and it's better for the figure." He pats his ample stomach.

A black woman speaks sharply to two small children and they avert their eyes from the patrol. One child steals a backward glance at the men and the woman slaps his head.

Caim has returned to this black township of 35,00 that erupted in rioting early in July, but 2 days with police patrols shows clearly the mutual distrust between the people and the police.

Blacks vs. Blacks

Sgt. Ezekial Ngau, the only black policeman: on duty, takes visitors to what was his home for seven years. He stands in the doorway; a rubble of cinder blocks lies on either side. Other blacks burned down his house and his mother's house in May. They also took his chickens, leaving the bloody heads inside the remains of the house.

My neighbors don't talk to me any-  
more because they fear that if they do  
their houses will be burned down, too. No  
one even greets me," says Sgt. Ngou. He  
now lives with his wife and two children in  
a different town.

Two visitors walk behind the burned  
house and ask a woman gardening in a  
pink dress and white wool hat whether she  
knows Sgt. Ngou, her next door neighbor

The Congressional measure still faces  
two stumbling blocks: a possible filibuster  
from Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) or other  
conservatives because of the Krugerrand  
provision, and a possible veto from Presi-  
dent Reagan, who has ruled out sanctions  
under his "constructive engagement" pol-  
icy.

The compromise bill would:

Bar new U.S. bank loans to the South  
African government, or government-con-  
trolled corporations, except those provid-  
ing educational, housing or health services  
on a nondiscriminatory basis,

Suspend the import of South African

" gold Krugerrand coins to the U.S. Last

year, the U.S. imported 3578 million of  
Krugerrands.

Ban the export of computers and com-  
puter technology to South Africa security  
agencies that enforce apartheid.

Prohibit trade with South Africa in  
nuclear technology.

Require U.S. concerns with more than  
25 employees in South Africa to adhere to  
the series of fair-and-equal employment  
practices known as the Sullivan Principles.  
These rules currently are voluntary.

for seven years. "No," she says curtly.  
; "I've never met him." She turns back to her

Black township residents allege that po-  
lice are to blame for the atmosphere of  
suspicion. The allegations of police abuse  
are many and difficult to document.

One woman, Sinsin Zingwe Dike, al-  
legedly two weeks ago saw a man in  
her kitchen when a black policeman  
chased a black youth into her house and  
fired four shots that hit the woman. The  
policeman allegedly pursued the youth into  
a bedroom. Found him under the bed and  
shot him in the head. White policemen re-  
sponded, complimented the black policeman  
and took photographs of the youth. The

wounded Ms. Dike remained unattended, thought the face, she says. When the was finished, the police finally called for an

ambulance.

In another incident last week, police scaled a fence of a school where school children had locked themselves in and shot, and the father of one of the dead youths,

Dozens of affidavits from blacks allege that police beat residents, break windows and shoot suspects. Black residents allege that black doctors living in the townships have been threatened with arrest for treating gunshot victims. Mr. P.W.) Botha is declaring war against the residents, says David Sullo, a resident of the township of Zwedi. ;

Many say that police taunt residents. At a funeral in Kwathema for victims of a police shooting, white police allegedly called to mourners: "This country belongs to us." During a drive through the township of New Brighton, a soldier in an armored car casually tossed a banana peel at a young boy on a bicycle.

Policemen may be teenagers, need only have 2 tenth-grade education and may be paid as little as \$70 a week. Under the state of emergency, any officer in uniform, of any rank or color, can arrest anyone without charge, warrant or hearing. Few Police

The police presence is remarkably small, considering the tensions in black townships. There are 35 soldiers and about a dozen police in Dubuze, authorities say. A permanent police station is just being organized

One member of the patrol says his work generally doesn't make him nervous, but that he has had anxious moments facing hundreds of angry blacks. He is armed only with a gun that shoots rubber pellets designed to hurt, but not kill. The pellets must be loaded one at a time.

He volunteers that riding in the armored cars frequently used by police can be unpleasant, too. The car seats two in front and 12 in back with gunports and bullet-proof windows. The top of the car is -

open and rioters often try to throw rocks

inside. Sometimes it looked like it was raining stones, the policeman says.

Continued From Page A1

â\200\230adutyvmo' inum.s.w yard,  
â\200\230â\200\230then so be it.â\200\235  
It was the first time the Bis.y, win-

it  
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House of Anti-Apartheid Figure  
Raided by Police During a Protest

By ALAN COWELL  
Special to The New York Times

DAVEYTON, South Africa, Aug. 6 â\200\224

Lawyers for Mrs. Mandela, the wife  
of the jailed nationalist leader Neison  
Mandela, said a 20-month-old grand-  
child had disappeared after the raid  
near Brandfort, in a remote part of the  
remote Orange Free State.

Mrs. Mandela has been bani to

gINes

South African Army used armored  
cars, troops on horseback and foot sol-  
diers to encircle the funeral of a black  
victim of the unrest.

The army operation represented the  
biggest clampdown to date on political  
funeral rallies by township activists,  
and it was staged with air support by  
two helicopters.

The show of forcs

designed

tosignal to restive black townships that

officials are ready to use still harsher  
black defi

Brandfort for the last eight years. At  
the time of the raid, she was in Johan-  
nesburg to meet a visiting United

Vowed to Disobey Regulations

placed

restrictions on funeral rallies, virtually the only form of lawful assembly available to blacks.

yion, & P  
close to Johannesburg, Bishop Desmond M. Tutu, the Anglican leader, negotiated with white police officers today to avert a confrontation after the

public exp

But Bishop Tutu, citing the Scriptures, said today that he would ignore new preventing clerics from ad-

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â\200\234\*â\200\234If I am to go to-jail for preaching the

gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ,â\200\235 he

said in a funeral address in a tent under

Continued on Page A1S, Column 3

South African soldiers standing guard outside a burned-out store in Daveyton.

|House of Anti-Apartheid Leader Raided by Police During a 'Protest'

opposition to apartheid with vigor.

Continued unrest, meanwhile, was

been to crush public shows of dissent.

In Daveyton,

the police after a

near | Miss Khumalo, witnesses said,

Under the new rules covering the funeral outside Johannesburg, | nerals of victims of the unrest, there the funeral today was for Elizabeth

tonight to

raid. She was said by friends to be

ing back to Brandfort with her lawyers.

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through

0 bury 11 people at one ceremony. intention of the police today seemed to be to quell such shows of defiance.

A22 THURSDAY, August 1, 1985

â\200\234The Wash

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Opposition Figures Decry  
S. African Funeral Ban

" SOUTH AFRICA, From Al  
They have been filled with angry  
rhetoric and the flaunting of out-

- lawed slogans and banners. Many  
haw:ï-\202aredmtovmience.

.actmsts one oi their most unpor  
tant forums for stirring unrest. But  
opponents warned that the restric-  
tion; by closing off one of the few  
refhaiping channels of legal protest,  
would only make things worse.  
" \*â\200\234The new government ban forbids  
cutdoor services for anyone who  
died of unnatural causes in any of  
"tae 36 districts around Johannes-  
burgand Port Elizabeth covered by  
fiisstate of emergency.  
Â«\*Â¥he measure also includes a ban  
Â@f.. ny political statements at a ser-  
Â¥ice, and forbids the use of public  
gddress systems and the distribu-  
tion or display of flags, piacards and  
pesters, It orders that the presldmg  
clergyman â\200\234shall not ... in any  
tanner defend, attagk. criticize,  
propagate or discuss any.form of  
government, any principipla or policy  
ofa government of a state, any boy-  
{adtt action, the existence ofa state

of. emergency or any action by a\_

force or a member of a force.â\200\235  
â\200\234-Anyone who violates the ban  
tould face up to 10 years in prison  
and a \$10,000 fina.  
- In an interview on British tele-  
vision, Tutu said he was â\200\234appalledâ\200\235  
by the ban on funarals, because the  
aauthorities â\200\234are now trying to pre-  
scribe to the black community when  
and.how to mourn. and [ think that  
lE.-. . quite intoierable.â\200\235  
:Zl'lmd he did not know what the  
government's reaction would be if he  
saÃ@ke.abmzt the political situation: at  
Thursdayâ\200\234s funeral, and added: â\200\234If  
e gre going to be able to .exercise.  
-agy kind of control and. call people to-  
â\200\230Be ratmmed, we surely need to re-

er to the situation in which they find



themselves.â\200\235

At the mass outdoor funerals. he  
said. people were able to â\200\234give ex-  
pression to their hurt, 2nd there was  
a kind of healing . . . . It was possible  
for religious leaders to be able  
to exercise some form of control and  
influence on how things developed  
â\200\235 from that kind of situation.â\200\235

The South Africa Council. of

Churches, in a statement by Gen-  
eral Secretary

Beyers Naude, asked  
the government to reconsider the  
move, warning that â\200\234anger will in-  
crease and we fear that a situation  
may arise where the community, in  
their frustration, will eventually  
defy such restrictions., thereby  
causing more conflict and clashes.â\200\235

Boesak. a Dutch Reformed min-  
ister who is a founder of the United  
Democratic Front opposition move-  
ment, said the restriction was â\200\234sure  
to cause more confrontation and  
bloodshed.â\200\235

In the other matter affecting Boe-  
sak, the South Africa Media Council  
dismissed a complaint brought by the  
security police against The Johan-  
nesburg Star. The newspaper had  
published articles earlier this year  
reporting that police had helped dis-  
tribute pamphlets and tape record-  
ings. alleging that the minister, who  
is of mixed race, was having an affair  
with a white woman.

The council ruled that â\200\234certain  
members of the security police,  
whose identities are not clear from  
the evidence, were implicatedâ\200\235  
disseminating the materials to The  
Star and possibly to other newspa-  
pers. It ruled that two police colonels  
had admitted this to two reporters in  
interviews, although they had told  
the reporters they would deny the  
admissions if they were published.

Boesak, who has said he had a  
â\200\234very closeâ and â\200\234uniqueâ\200\235 relation-  
ship with the woman, said the ruling  
confirmed police had conducted a

â\200\234dirty tricksâ\200\235 campaign against him.

\_Police also announced today that

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they had arrested eight persons in connection with the murder of Maki Skosana, an alleged police informer who was stoned and burned alive July 20 by a mob.

Incidents of unrest continued today in several black townships, police reported.

In the eastern Cape Province town of Cathcart a man was killed by shotgun fire when police dispersed a stone-throwing crowd that had attacked a town councilman's house.

The death was the 25th since the emergency was proclaimed by President Pieter W. Botha to quell the unrest that has rocked this country for the past 11 months. The death toll since last September is now about 500 people.

Police announced 44 new arrests today, bringing to 1,259 the total made under the emergency proclamation. Thirteen persons have been released.

EC Commission Urges  
Sanctions Against S. Africa  
Manchester Guardian

BRUSSELS, July 31—The Commission of the European Community called for economic sanctions against South Africa today, unless the Pretoria government changes its attitude to apartheid as soon as possible.

In a toughly worded statement delivered to the South African ambassador to the European Community, Petrus Meyer, the commission said apartheid has no future.

European Community Trade  
Commissioner Willy de Clezede told  
the ambassador that the commis-

sion considers sanctions to be inevitable unless there is a change in attitude.

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THE WASHINGTON Post

South Africa Sanction

SANCTIONS, From Al

one of several particular steps toward ending apartheid.  
If South Africa does not make

progress toward ending apartheid .

within the next year, the president would be required to recommend stiffer sanctions for congressional approval, including a ban on new private U.S. investment in South Africa, a denial of most-favored-nation tariff status or a prohibition on coal and/or uranium imports. Although administration sources have said Reagan is unlikely to veto a sanctions measure along the lines of the House-Senate compromise, official spokesmen continued to stress the president's opposition to economic sanctions and refused to

comment on his plans before seeing -

the final measure.  
. Senate conservatives, led by Jes-

se Helms (R-N.C.), similarly refused to rule out the possibility of a filibuster against the conference report, which would delay final consideration until after Congress returns from its August recess.

Several conferees said rising violence in South Africa in the wake of the declaration of a state of emergency there had made it more urgent that sanctions be approved. In addition, U.S. sales of krugers have dropped by about 80 percent over the past year, although they are still thought to be running at more than \$22 million a month.

Agreement came without a formal vote of the conferees. Under the legislation, the sale of nuclear technology would be banned and computer technology would be curbed. U.S. firms with more than 25 employees in South Africa would

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Approved

be required to abide by the â\200\234Sullivan principlesâ\200\235 mandating promotions and preferential hiring for blacks.

â\200\234We are saying kaddish for the policy of constructive engagement,â\200\235 said Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.), referring to the Jewish prayer for the dead. The compromise â\200\234has the sticks of immediate sanctions in it,â\200\235 he said later, â\200\234but it has the carrot of a potential waiver if [South Africa] is making progress down the line.â\200\235

The steps that would be considered progress under the measure include an end to forced relocations, negotiations for a new political system with full rights for nonwhites, a settlement of the status of South African-cuntrolleâ\200\235 Namibia, freedom for ali political prisoners, access to jobs and joint family housing for nonwhites, and an end to â\200\234denationalizationâ\200\235 practices of segregation.

The measure vides for the minting of new U.S. gold coins in the same sizes as the banned kugerrand, in order â\200\234to let Americans vote with their purchases,â\200\235 said Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Richard G. Lugar (R-

nd.). Â¢

It also provides \$34 million of Agency for International Development funds for scholarships through fiscal 1987 for black South Africans to attend South African colleges and secondary schools.

Sen. Charles McC. Mathias Jr. (R-Md.) said, â\200\234The situation has deterioratedâ\200\235 in South Africa since the Senate voted July 11 on its approach. â\200\234I think we have to do more than we originally contemplated.â\200\235

The new state of emergency and the ensuing violence has killed scores of blacks and sent more than 1,250 people to jail since the Senata vote. In addition, France has imposed strong sanctions and the U.N. Security Council voted 13 to

1, with the United States and Brit-

ain abstaining, to urge afl nations to impose sanctions against the Pretoria government. :

Rep. Howard E. Wolpe (D-Mich.), chairman of the subcommittee on Africa and a leading advocate of strong sanctions, said those events left the United States â\200\234way behindâ\200\235 in responding.

â\200\234Economic sanctions are the only alternative to an absolute blood-bath,â\200\235 he .said, because the white minority government will engage in serious negotiations with the black majority population â\200\234only at the point when they are convinced they have more to lose than to gainâ\200\235 by preserving apartheid. .

The conference was briefly inter-

\_ rupted by an outburst from a spec-

tator, Daki Napata of Baltimore, who has said he will fast on the Capitol steps until Congress acts ' against apartheid. â\200\234I take exception . to your talking about gold coins when black people are dying in South Africa,â\200\235 he shouted. Police hustled him from the room. .

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Confereeâ\200\224:Approve  
Economic Sanctions  
Against South Africa

Opposition Figures | Action Repudiates  
Hit Funeral Ban White House Poli,

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By Glenn Frankel " By Joanne ==  
Waskingos Post Poreign Sebvicel ) Washingten Post Staff Writer :

JOHANNESBURG, July 31â\200\224 | House and Senate negotiators, in  
The South African government is- a clear repudiation of Reagan: ad-  
sued a sweeping new ban today on. ministration policy, agreed yester-  
outdoor funerals with any political day en a package of ecenomic sanc-  
content in black townships, a meas- tions against South Africa, including  
ure immediately denounced by op- ab:anmthehnporuï~\201onpfnfh

~ /| Desmond Tutu quickly vowed to the House Senate  
speak at a funeral scheduled for consideration today, initially  
Thursday, and said the government have slight if any econemic  
is â\200\234playing with fireâ\200\235 in banning the on the Pretoria government.  
| funerals, which have served as a / But it would put Congress on  
â\200\234safety valveâ\200\235 for â\200\234a peeple already record for the first time in o  
ppesi-  
battered by vicious and i

Province area today, and ified steps to end apartheid.  
continued in the Cape Town and The legisiation represents  
Durban areas not covered by the gressional dissatisfaction with Pres-  
state of emergency the government iglentRuganâ\200\231spolicyofâ\200\234constma

racial segregation called apartheid. ate negotiators the kru-  
Funerals for blacks killed by po- gerrand ban approved in the House  
lice during of unrest version of the bill. In return, House

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Igemeapthdqdwnsdpub- negotiatars accepted language that

in  
drawing as many as 70,000 people. agrees, that South Africa has taken  
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Tie WashINGTON Post

Kuropeans, in Recalling Envoys, Show Division on S. Africa

By Celestine Bohlen  
Washaagton Pout Foreign Service

HELSINKI, Aug. 1â\200\224The foreign ministers of the European Community split over the adoption of joint economic sanctions against South Africa early today, agreeing instead on the symbolic gesture of summoning their ambassadors home from Pretoria â\200\234for consultations.â\200\235

"The ministers of the 10 member countries, plus Spain and Portugal, spent four hours debating how to protest South Africaâ\200\231s racial policies and its reaction to recent violence.

.The meeting, held while the European ministers were here for a commemoration of the 1975 Helsinki accords, showed divisions in Europe on how to deal with the politically and economically sensitive subject of South Africaâ\200\231s system of apartheid, or racial segregation.

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The South African government attempted to play down the EC move, issuing a brief statement denying that the recall had any political meaning, correspondent Glenn Frankel reported from Johannesburg. The Department of Foreign Affairs cited â\200\234discussionsâ\200\235 with an unnamed â\200\234official European Community spokesmanâ\200\235 on the action.

Several ministers here said the final result was a compromise that had involved concessions on all sides.

â\200\234A common position implies suggestions and concessions made by the whole delegation,â\200\235 said French External Affairs Minister Roland Dumas.

Britain and West Germany have taken public stances against sanctions, which they say are not effective in bringing about change. France and Belgium have pushed for a tougher response, particularly since

France late last month unilaterally decided to recall its ambassador from Pretoria.

The strongest of the measures agreed on jointly by the community involves the return to Europe this summer of the community's ambassadors to South Africa for consultations in preparation for another foreign ministers' meeting on Sept. 10.

The word 'summon' apparently was chosen over the word 'recall' after lengthy debate. As diplomats explained it, the formula allows each country to decide whether to send its envoy back to South Africa.

At a press conference today, British Foreign Secretary Geoffrey Howe made a point of drawing a distinction between recall and summon. He said he had opposed sanctions, because 'we do not believe we are likely to advance the process of change by applying economic sanctions.'

Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said later in London that the ambassador return

for the meeting 'but he will be returning to South Africa. It is my view that he should be able to report from there.'

The ministers' statement condemned the state of emergency declared in South Africa and the failure of the white-minority government to pursue talks with black leaders such as Bishop Desmond Tutu.

The ministers also asked for an inventory of measures and guidelines already used by individual countries to control South African investments and to draw up further measures that could be taken to 'contribute to the abolition of apartheid.' These measures are to be considered at the Sept. 10 meeting.

West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told a press conference it was important that the community establish a 'political strategy with a clear aim.' 'We must not jump from one special step to another,' he said.

Genscher, noting that his country and

'

Britain shared a 'principled attitude' on sanctions, said the decision to summon the envoys was an 'important political symbol.' - France took the decision to recall its ambassador three days after a previous European Community meeting had agreed on calling on South Africa to lift its state of emergency. 'When we met on July 22,' Y said France was not satisfied,' said Dumak at the time. 'We made several suggestions. at the time that were not taken. So France; took its own initiative.' -



Today, Dumas said "progress" had been-  
made among the members of the Common:  
Market since then. "England and Germany~  
have made concessions in our direction and  
not without pain," he said.

Luxembourg Foreign Minister Jacques  
Poos, whose country now heads the EC Com-  
mission, said, "There are certain reserva-  
tions among the members states against eco-  
nomic measures against South Africa."

»

Balm for Botha and Shots at the Sã©ndinistas

A British anthropologist once discovered & trite i Burma that changed its entire conception oi the universe according to the seasons. Ir the summer months, when the tribe lived up in the hills, its the- ology was sangulne and its political philos- ophy democratic. In the winier, when the tribe moved te the valley floor, this benign outlook gave way 0 a grimmer, more tor- mented eschatology and o authoritarian political bellefs. The Reagan administra- tion, reflecting the sophistication of a civi- lization â\200\230\*higherâ\200\231" than that of the Burmese

Viewpoint  
by Alexander Cockburn

| tribe, manages similarly radical shifts in its beliefs without even moving out of Washington, and in the time frame not of a year but of a week and even a single day. Take the cases of South Africa and Nic- aragua. Since the beginning of Mr. Rea- + ganâ\200\231s first term the administraticn has ga)- loped over the Sonth African veldt in pur- suit of the chimera of â\200\234constructive en- gagement,â\200\235 otherwise known as â\200\230â\200\234quiet diplomacyâ\200\235 or â\200\234â\200\230negotiatcñ behind the scenes.â\200\235 Thus liberated from noisy diplo- macy or public arii-twisting, the whiie, racist government of South Afiica kas In- tensified its repression of the country's 20 million disenfranchised blacks, managing to murder 300-400 of them in the past 10 months.

In the face of detailed descriptions of torture, as of the Rev. Simon Farisani, the Reagan administration remained compla- cent. The murder of those detained in prison arcused itile or no coacern. When the South African police shot down un- armed men, women and children earlier this year, President Reagan suggested that these victlmis had some brought it on

themselves. In 1984 the Botha government promulgated a new constitution that accu- rately summed up the effect of four years of â\200\234construciive tngagement': This con- stitution provided parliaaientary represei- tation without powar tor rqdians and col- oreds iby wiuci are ine2at South Africans of mixed race) and nothlig at all for the 20 million blacks. The sole engagement, con- structive or otherwise, thai the constitution

made with the democratic aspirations of these blacks was a single clause, that the control and administration of black affairs shall rest with the president.

The emergency announced by the Botha government on July 20 signaled an intensification of the repression. More than a thousand people are already being held, and the aim of the police is clear: to decapitate black protest by locking up every organizer and leader they can find. If the fate of one such leader, Matthew Goniwe, is any guide, some of these organizers will not survive their sojourn in prison. At the end of June, Mr. Goniwe, one of the most admired of black leaders, failed to return from a meeting in Port Elizabeth and his mutilated and charred body was subsequently discovered next to a highway amid the widespread belief that the police were responsible.

At long last the administration, against rumbles from Congress about economic sanctions, has itself begun to make noises and strike the odd rhetorical pose, while continuing to insist on the utility of constructive engagement. Almost the only piece of good news is that a State Department intelligence study has concluded that present turmoil in South Africa does not represent, in the words of a White House official, a revolutionary or a pre-revolutionary situation. If this is the word from the masterminds who saw no serious problems for the shah in 1978 and no serious military threat from Egypt to Israel in the fall of 1973, we may expect Nelson Mandela to assume power by Labor Day.

Now mark the abrupt shift in theology

and general world outlook as the administration (and, it goes without saying, the editorial outlook of these pages) swivels from South Africa to Central America. During four years of thickening night in South Africa, the Nicaraguan government, by contrast, produced a constitution that was attended by the first democratic election in the nation's history. The torture practiced by its agents of Anastasio Somoza, dictator with whom the U.S. had the most constructive and, indeed, prolonged of engagements, has been ended along with the death penalty.

But since torture and judicial murder have been abolished by the Sandinistas, the U.S., abhorring a vacuum, has made

On one day the folk in Congress talk about sanctions against the South African government; on the next they clear the way for

funding an Angolan proxy of that government.

sure that such practices survive, by financing and training the contras, whose tortures and murders of Nicaragua's civilian population have been abundantly documented. This export of terror into Nicaragua by the U.S. has been accompanied by other forms of destructive engagement, including a trade embargo and the blocking of multilateral aid. And, adding final insult to extreme injury, the president recently singled out Nicaragua, along with four other nations, as one that was itself exporting terror. Thus has Nicaragua been rewarded for its own gestures of constructive engagement with the U.S.

Congress has lately showed itself to be in sympathy with the U.S. efforts to improve the volume of its country's terror

exports. External AFDC (aid to the families of dependent contras) has been approved, along with other gestures of good will toward the White House such as the repeal of the Clark Amendment, thus permitting aid to Jonas Savimbi's contras in the Angolan bush. This vote in Congress would have left that Burmese tribe dizzy with admiration. Or one day the folk in Congress talk about sanctions against the South African government; on the next they clear the way for funding of a proxy of that government, which has been of extreme importance in maintaining South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. This is the sort of signal from Washington that is greeted with raptures by Mr. Botha and his men.

If this signal was not enough, there is now a report, by Alfonso Chardy in the Miami Herald's Washington bureau, that among officials in the White House and De-

- fense and State departments there is being

mooted the idea of a freedom fighters bureau to coordinate anti-communist insurgents around the world. Preliminary estimates of the cost of this White International of counterrevolution total up to \$1 billion, although the rapacious corruption of the intended recipients of former national guardsmen in the Nicaraguan contras, Afghan bandits and feudal landlords, allies of Pol Pot in Cambodia, hirelings of the South Africans in Mozambique and Angola, to name but a few will doubtless multiply that sum greatly.

- Over the months to come we can expect Burma Syndrome to continue apace. On

one day, howls of denunciation against the white South African police state, with an escalation of diplomatic protest; on the next, hearty endorsement of all the forces kindred to that police state in philosophy and behavior, along with avoidance of the fierce economic measures~serious economic sanctions and embargoes~that might actually impel the Botha regime to

the rights of the majority of the country's citizens.

## House Backs Economic Sanctions Against Pretoria

.â\200\231@ Continued From Page A1 -

. . veto even if it set the stage for a sharp

coafrontation with Congress.

against signing the bill.

Both the House and Senate have al-

Put | ate to cut off debate, and the legislators

Septem-

ber. It would take two days for the Sen--

â\200\234Weâ\200\23111 just have to take it up  
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around here,â\200\235 Mr. Helmka said. He  
noted that the sanctions measure  
nally passe 1 the Senate 80 to 12, and  
predicted the changes made by the con-  
ference committee would not under-  
mine this broad

support.

Mr. Lugar plans to meet with Admin-

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istration officials during the August re-  
cess. He will urge Mr. Reagan to re-  
spond to the increasingly violen: situs-  
tion in South Africa by enacting the  
sanctions with his executive authority.

The bill by the House would

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leverage, as important as that economic leverage might be,â\200\231â\200\235 said  
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Continued Democrat who is chairman

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| Black Cops Feel  
.AloneinS.Africa

. By Marcia Kunstel -

Newsday Special Correspondent  
Dennotta, South Africa â\200\224 Like

thousands of South African blacks,

Michael Modise is a young man in  
prison.

Unlike the others, he is not behind  
bars. He is isolated by the blue police  
uniform he wears. - :

The stigma of being a black police  
officer is 80 severe in these explosive  
times that Modise has lost his friends,  
his house has been destroyed by fire-  
bombs, and he has been forced to phys-  
icelly abandon his place ir the black  
community.

â\200\234They eaid they are fighting apart-  
heid,â\200\235 said Modise, obviously bewil-  
dered by the gangs who have targeted  
police. "But I donâ\200\231t know why they  
should attack houses like this.â\200\235

As of July 19, unrest in the black  
. townships had scored a high toll

among police: the homes of 294 black  
police officers had been burned down,  
seven officers had beer killed and 113  
assaulted, according to a spokesman  
for the South African police.  
. The police are symbols of a haved  
government.

Modise, 27, and his wife and dauzh-  
ter now live in a 9-by-12-foot tent in a  
. guarded compound with 19 other  
black officers on the grounds of the po-  
lice headquarters here.

- His wife does not go out to shop. It is  
no longer safe for his 12-year-cld  
daughter, Prudence, to go to school.

All 34 polica officers in the nearby  
black township of Duduza have been  
burned out by their black neighbors.

Duduza has been among the town-  
ships hardest stricken by violence,  
which included the deaths of four  
g:ung blacks blown up by defective

The 19 Duduza police officers clustered in this miniature tent city are a spot of black in the white township of

. Dennotta, where blacks normally are not permitted to live.

The police station that is home carries clear signs of the blacks' position in this family. Placards label separate white and black parking spaces, separate white and black toilets, separate white and black entries to the courtroom and separate white and black sections at the complaint desk.

These police are tragic middlemen.

- Their black skin makes them unacceptable among whites, while their jobs as enforcers of the white man's law makes them anathema to blacks.

Some, at least, do not understand how they landed in this no-man's land.

"I am always in danger," said Steven Mona, 28, who was burned out of Duduza on June 17. He lives in a tent here, but has sent his wife to stay with relatives elsewhere.

To Mona, the gasoline bombs are inexplicable. . .

In fact they are fighting against me, not the government. I am not the government. { am just an employe," he said. :

Mona, in civilian clothes when interviewed at the tidy compound, wore a crease punned to a scrap of cloth on his shirt, bearing the letters ZCC. It stands for the Zion Christian Church, a large black denomination that believes government carries out the mandates of God.

Mona, a police officer for four years, said he does not understand the reasons behind the unrest that has ripped through his country for nearly a year.

I don't know why they are fighting," he said. "I think they want their freedom, but I don't know."

Similarly, Modise seemed perplexed over the racial strife that has what he considers a good job -because of the government, earning 457 rand or nearly \$230 a month, which is much more than a veteran black schoolteacher makes and nearly 10 times as much as some unskilled black work-

ers. .

â\200\234T donâ\200\231t like any protest,â\200\235 Modise said. â\200\234With this South African government, 'm in a good condition.â\200\235

He is not in such good condition when he must go back to work in Duduza, which is four miles and an economic light year from the white township its people serve.

His job is still to investigate crime in Duduza, a complex of rutted dirt roads linking matchbox houses. But he goes only at night, Modise said, because it is too dangerous for him to be seen in daytime.

The community wanted him out so badly that his house was attacked three times before the final firebombing finished it off May 19. ;

â\200\234Even our friends are now afraid of us,â\200\235 he said. "If they see one of my friends talking to me, as soon as possible, they are going to burn him. To death. Set him alight.â\200\235

One friend did approach him and told him he must resign, Modise said.

"I said, â\200\230No, I canâ\200\231t do otherwise.â\200\231 It is just because I want to help the black people.â\200\235 i

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## House Backs Economic Sanctions

- Against South Africa, 380 to 48

Senate Action Delayed  
by Threat of Filibuster  
â\200\224;â\200\230 Veto Is

\ BySTEPHEN L. ENGELBERG  
Special to The New York Times

" WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 â\200\224 The House

of Representatives today overwhelm-

ingly approved economic sanctions  
inst South Africa, but final action

on the measure was delayed until Sep-

tember due to a filibuster.

\* ended a filibuster.

massive economic sanctions.

\* sanctions in Congress, the House voted

380 to 48 to accept 2 bill put together  
Wednesday by Sen. Jesse Helms and Sen. Alfonse D'Amato.  
Opponents.

- Administration officials said today that Mr.  
Reagan would veto the bill moving  
' Some Form of Sanctions Expected

â\200\230 Senate Republicans have said they  
â\200\230 believe that Mr. Reagan would accept  
a bill containing moderate sanctions,  
\* such as the one they adopted. Senator  
Richard G. Lugar of Indiana, chair-  
man of the Foreign Relations Commit-  
tee, plans to ask President Reagan to  
impose sanctions of some form under  
his executive authority during the Au-

g\mcongressional

- At talks in Helsinki, Reagan gave a  
signal of displeasure over the situation  
in South Africa, 11 more Western Euro-

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TutuAskx Government  
to Cancel Reslnctt\_om  
â\200\234Qn Funerals\_ of Blacks

By LL  
Special to The New York Times. |

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 1 â\200\224 Bishop  
Desmond M. Tutu, the Anglican leader,  
appealed to South Africaâ\200\231s white au-  
thorities today to cancel newly an-  
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by blacks.

At 'the same time, the Bishop, South  
Africaâ\200\231s most prominent black cleric,  
said he would break laws he considersd  
unjust.

â\200\234I appeal to the suthorities,â\200\235 he told.  
mourners at a funeral for & black politi-  
cal activist near Parys, 75 miles scuth  
of here, â\200\234â\200\230piease do not try to find rea-  
sons for confrontation to rmake worse a  
situation which is already bad.â\200\235

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Bishop Tutu, winner of the 1984 Nobel  
Peace Prize, was referring to regula-  
tions issued Wednesday undcr Souïï-\202xâ\200\231  
Africaâ\200\231s 12-day-old emergency decrees  
imposing severe curbs on black fi-  
nerals, which have come into use as  
forums for black political expression.

In a separate development, the po-  
lice said Victoria Mxenge, a civil rights -  
lawyer, was gunned down outside her  
home in Durban tonight. Mrs. Mxeuge  
was the widow of Griffiths Mxeage, a  
lawyer and fcrmer political detainee  
slain in 1981 in a case that the poifice

pean countries decided to recall their: never solved.  
Ambusadon!rom?mmaforcmd Mrs. Mxenge was an attorney in the

tations. {Page A4.]

treason trial of 16 leaders of the

coming

\*He is not for it,â\200\235 a senior aide said,' United Democratic Front, the biggest

referring to Mr. Reaganâ\200\231s position on!

nonparliamentary oppesition move-

the bill. â\200\234It is his bonest conviction that' ment in the country. The police said  
it is the wrong way to g0.â\200\235 Officials four men arrived at Mrs. Mxenge's  
said Mr. Rugansadvmtzvorada hkome and â\200\234â\200\234diÂ¢ the shooting,â\200\235 but sai

d

; . Continued on Page A4, Colaran 1

- Time of Reappraisals  
For Ties to Pretoria  
The making and remaking of

" U.S. policy on South Africa.

Washington Talk, page AS.

. Executives aÂ¥ many of the

300 American companies in  
" South Africa are uneasy, and

some want to reduce their in-

volvement. Page D1.

ro further details were known. The mo-  
tive remained unclear.

The pelice, meanwhile, reported con-  
tinued unrest in several black town-  
ships. They said that since the state of  
emergency was proclaimed, 1,329 peo-  
ple had been detained without charges,  
butthati-\'202ofthemwmnowtree"lâ\200\230hey  
did not explain why the 47 were freed.

â\200\234I do not want to break the laws of  
this land,â\200\235 Bishop Tutu said. â\200\234But if  
they pass laws which are quite unjust,  
quite intolerable, then I will break that  
law.

â\200\234!v;vi-\'202lnozbetoldbymyseuhr\_alx-  
thority what gospel I must preach,â\200\235

Continued on Page A4, Column 1

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barker, who asked not to be identified.  
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bank. the Security Pacific Corporation,  
this nationâ\200\231s sevenith-largest, said yes-

TO SOUTH AFRICANS  
Action Likely to Put Pressure  
on Other Big Banks in U.S.  
to Change Policy, Too

CHASE ENDS LOANS

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## Tutu to Defy Funeral Ban

SOUTH AFRICA, From A21

organized, with an elaborate program of speeches and stewards keeping a tight control over the worked-up crowd while armed police watched from distant roof-

tops. ?

Several of the organizers said in interviews that they had come out of hiding to help with the arrangements, and would return "underground" after the funeral.

Speakers appealed to the crowd to give refuge to activists if they knocked on their doors at night. To try to stop this, the police reportedly are enforcing an unofficial curfew, ordering people into their homes at 7 p.m. each evening.

Today's funeral in Tumahole was for three persons killed in a clash with police Saturday at a rally to commemorate the first anniversary of an uprising in the township against an attempt by township administrators to increase house rents.

As with other such funerals, the three-hour ceremony in a makeshift hall quickly unfurled banners, chanting slogans and singing freedom songs, some of which are prohibited under the banning order that applies to the main emergency areas around Johannesburg and in eastern Cape Province.

An early test of whether black activists and churchmen will defy the ban in the emergency areas, and of how the authorities will react if they do, will be provided Saturday when a funeral is due to be held in Zwelitsha township in eastern Cape Province.

Tutu said in an interview today he would not be at

that funeral, but might attend another in Duduza township, near Johannesburg, next week.

Tutu was impassioned in his plea to the government to lift the ban on political speeches and processions at the funerals, which have provided the main occasions of black political expression during the 11 months of rebellion against the apartheid system of segregation.

"You say the funerals are becoming political, but

where else can we speak?" Tutu asked. "We cannot enter your Parliament. I asked to speak to your state president, but he refused. Now how are we to tell you how we feel?"

Tutu said it is part of African tradition for the community to share in a family's grief.

"How then are you going to keep the people away?" he asked. "Last week, in Kwa-Thema township there

were 50,000 people at the funeral. How do you tell them there must be only 1,000 :

â\200\234How do you disperse 42,000 people. unless it is that you intend using the police and the Army and having a confrontation in which more of our people will dieâ\204¢

Imploring the authorities not to create new points of confrontation that would make an already bad situation worse, Tutu said: â\200\234We ask you, for the sake of our children and of this land, please withdraw this legislation. Please allow us to bury the people who have been killed because of apartheid as we would like to bury them. Do not rub salt into our wounds.â\200\235

Switching to a more determined tone, the Nobel laureate warned that if the government did not respond to his plea and the ban remained, â\200\230then I shall speak as I always do, and if to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ as I believe God commands me to preach it means that I must go to jail, then I am ready to go.â\200\235

Police headquarters in Pretoria said tonight a black police officer and two suspected insurgents were killed today in a shootout between police and a guerrilla band near East London. i

Two other insurgents and a police officer were injured wounded in the clash, which the statement said took K

place when the guerrillas were intercepted on their way to sabotage a power station.

In an attempt to stamp out student activism in the eastern Cape Province village of Graaff-Reinet, the local police chief, Brigadier J. Kotze, today promulgated emergency regulations making it a crime for any pupil to be outside school classrooms in the village's black township of Adendorp between 8 a.m. and 2 p.m.