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THE
PERMANENT MISSION OF
SOUTH AFRICA
TO THE UNITED NATIONS
96mg:

NEWS HIGHLIGHTS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA
CODESA WATCH
MASS ACTION IS FUTILE,
SAYS DELPORT

The mass action on 3 August was not a democratic demonstration of peoples dissatisfaction, but an exercise in political point-scoring, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Tertius Delport, told Fedhasais annual congress. Dr Delport, the governments chief spokesman on Codesa, said the negotiation process had to be seen to make progress, but should not be put under pressure to produce results. Free and fair elections could not take place in a culture where violence, intimidation, private armies and political intolerance were the order of the day. (CIT0804)

POLITICAL UPDATE
FULL TEXT OF PRESS
STATEMENT ISSUED BY
STATE PRESIDENTS OFFICE

"The State Presidents office confirms that there has been an exploratory discussion on 28 July 1992 between the ANC and representatives of the SA Government, inter alia on the issue of disputes surrounding political prisoners. No agreement has, however, been reached on this matter. According to the Minister of Justice a further meeting is being arranged for the near future. The Minister of Justice also pointed out that this issue is related to other important issues. These issues will also have to be addressed. They include, inter alia, 29 July - 4 August 1992 - No. 30/92 outstanding commitments on the part of the ANC". (SAPA0730)

ANC'S REACTION TO MEETING

ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, addressing a Johannesburg news conference on 30 July, confirmed the meeting, facilitated by UN special representative Cyrus Vance, had taken place. The Government delegation was led by Foreign Minister RF Botha and the ANC delegation by Thabo Mbeki, its Director of International Affairs. "The visit by the UN special representative, Mr Cyrus Vance, has facilitated contact between the ANC and the Government to ensure the release of all remaining political prisoners on the basis that the Government understood and accepted the need for this matter to be finalised immediately," he said.

(SAPA0730)

SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICIANS
NOT SERIOUS OVER PEACE:
SECRETARIAT

The National Peace Secretariat on 30 July accused political leaders of not being serious about the peace process in South Africa and not adhering to the spirit of the Peace Accord. The chairman, Dr Antonie Gildenhuys, said after a two-day meeting of the secretariat in Pretoria that this was influencing the effectiveness of the accord. There was still far too much war talks among the different political groups and the Peace Accord was being misused for political gain. This had already led to an important meeting of the signatories of 333 EAST 38TH STREET, 9TH FLOOR, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10016 the Accord being canceled. At the report-back session on 30 and 31 July, there was a general feeling of optimism among all delegates, who felt the peace process would win the war against violence. (CIT/BD0731)

KRIEL SLAMS VIOLENCE

The government has condemned the violence associated with the stayaway, resulting in the death of 28 civilians and two members of the SA Police since 31 July 1992. Mr Hemus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, said on 3 August that although specific acts of mass action had generally passed off peacefully, it was clear that mass action had pushed up the political temperature to an unacceptable high level. (CIT/BLD/SOW/STR/BD0804)

TRAIN KILLERS ARE FACELESS, SAYS GOLDSTONE

A committee of the Goldstone commission has found that it cannot be determined who is to blame for violence on Reef trains, with killings being seen as a spillover of the unrest in black townships. The committee, which released its findings in Pretoria on 28 July, was appointed to investigate the train violence that claimed 138 lives between July last year and April this year. Secondary causes of the violence included poor entrance control at stations, packed trains and carrying of weapons in public, it said. (BD/STR0729)

TELEPHONE: (212) 213-5583

GOVERNMENT CLAMPS
TOWNSHIPS IN RING
OF STEEL

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on 29 July launched "stabilisation operations" in 14 townships - immediately raising a storm of protest and claims that the move was aimed at intimidating people against supporting the mass action campaign. AN C spokesman Carl Niehaus immediately launched a stinging attack on the operation, calling it "sheer intimidation designed to create an atmosphere of tension and allowing the police to get involved in repressive activity". (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0730)

GLUCKMAN CLAIMS: NEW
INQUESTS PLEDGE

New public inquests will be held in all cases where an Attorney-General finds that Dr Jonathan Gluckman has sufficient evidence to warrant it, Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, on 29 July 1992. Mr Coetsee said he was convinced that a judicial inquest was the correct forum in which all the facts surrounding unnatural deaths could be publicly established and recorded. "I have invited Dr Gluckman to supply me with a full list of inquests which he regards as contentious, and in which he has evidence that may not have been brought to the attention of the presiding judicial officer at the initial inquest. Should Dr Gluckman make such evidence available, it will immediately be submitted to the Attorney-General concerned. The Attorney-General may, on the strength of such evidence, decide to have any inquest reopened." Mr Coetsee's statement follows discussions between himself and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel. Government sources said that should evidence in any inquest warrant it, the Attorneys-General concerned would determine whether prosecutions should take place. (CIT/BLD/SOW/STR/BD0730)

NEW GUARD CORPS
FOR TRAINS

The SA Rail Commuter Corporation would spend R450m this year on increased security - R200m of which will be used for a corps of rail guards - Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed said on 29 July 1992. He said he accepted the Goldstone Commission's report on train violence and proposals which had not yet been addressed would be implemented as soon as possible. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0730)

ANC UNITS RUNNING WILD,
SAYS CHRIS HANI

Communist Party boss Chris Hani this week charged that ANC self-defence units were committing atro-

cities and running riot among communities they were expected to protect. In a brutally frank interview on the eve of the general strike, which the ANC has pledged will be free of intimidation, Mr Hani said in many areas of the country, but particulme in the Vaal, self-defence unit members simply had no conception of democratic tolerance. Mr Hani, who was asked by the ANC to investigate self-defence units, said he had found that:

- There was a clear absence of community control over SDUis.
- SDUls in Sebokeng were fighting among themselves in a battle for political turf. Already the rivalry had claimed the lives of three metal workersl union shop stewards.
- Defence units in the Vaal and Soweto had "necklaced" political opponents. (ST0803)

UNREST - DECREASE

The incidence of violence in the Vaal Triangle had decreased apparently as a result of increased police presence in the area since 29 July, according to Witwatersrand police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce. He said on 2 August there had been a total of 19 incidents during the four days since 27 July, compared with 11 incidents a day before police presence in the town-ships was increased. (SAPA 0802)

CARRYING WEAPONS BANNED

IN 20 AREAS

A Government notice which came into effect on 3 August banned the carrying of a variety of objects and weapons in 20 declared unrest areas on the Witwatersrand. Unrest areas include Soweto, Meadowlands, Diepkloof, Dobsonville, Katlehong, Tokoza, Vosloorus, Tembisa, Alexandra, Wattville, Sharpeville, Bophelong, Boipatong, Evaton, Sebokeng, Kagiso, Munsieville, Swanieville squatter camp, Bekkersdal and Daveyton. On 3 August ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ban should be received with scepticism. "Our past experiences with such proclamations has been that of seizure and covert return of such weapons to the owners," he said. (STR/BLD/CIT/SOW/BD0804)

DON'T TAKE SIDES IN

POLITICAL IMPASSE, '

VANCE TOLD

In its meeting on 28 July with United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance the Conservative Party said it believed UN Security Council Resolution 765 on South Africa was prejudiced in favour of a unitary state and against self-determination. The concept of self-determination was apparent in modern political developments and in line with the UNs own

stated views on the issue, the CP said. In its meeting, the National People's Party called on the international community not to take sides in South African politics. NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi said overseas governments had to accept that the African National Congress and the government were not the only role players. The Congress of SA Trade Unions, meanwhile, said the impasse was being caused primarily by the government's unwillingness to commit itself to majority rule. It said negotiations could only progress if they focussed on establishing majority rule quickly. A time frame of between six and nine months, in this regard, has been endorsed by the union. Cosatu invited Mr Vance to monitor the African National Congress-alliance mass-action next week, as well as the conduct of other parties and the security forces. (CIT/BD/STR0729)

VANCE LIKELY TO BRIEF DE
KLERK ON PROPOSALS

UN envoy Cyrus Vance met ANC
President Nelson Mandela on 29 July
and senior diplomatic repre-

sentatives on 3 August to hear their views on possible roles the UN might play. Diplomatic sources said the discussions were underpinned by the vital importance of the UN playing a non-partisan role. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0730)

UN TO MONITOR MASS

ACTION

The South African Government on 30 July cleared the way for a UN observer team to monitor mass action, which Pretoria predicts will fuel violence. (CIT/BLD/SOW/STR/BD0731)

UN 1A-TEAM' ARRIVES TO

KEEP WATCH

Seven members of the UN observer team - described as the "A-team from New York" - arrived at J an Smuts Airport 2 August and were quickly dispatched to posts around the country where they are to monitor the AN C alliance's two-day stayaway. The seven members joined three other UN monitors who were already in the country after assisting UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, who left South Africa on 31 July 1992. Mission head Hisham Omayad said the team members would act primarily as observers, although they would mediate between groups during the stayaway if requested to do so. He emphasised that team members would act in accordance with National Peace Accord structures and would be briefed by the chairmen of the local and regional dispute resolution committees. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0803)

VANCE DUE TO SUBMIT

REPORT ON SOUTH AFRICA

Special representative Cyrus Vance was expected to submit a written report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 3 August on his mission to South Africa. Boutros-Ghali will probably present the report to the council on 4 August to give members a chance to consult governments before the document is released later this week. If Vance recommends a UN presence larger and more permanent than the 10-member monitoring team now on the ground to observe this weeks mass action, there will have to be a Security Council session to approve the funding. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0804)

MANDELA SLAPS DOWN

ALLIANCE HARDLINERS

ANC President Nelson Mandela on 28 July delivered a blunt putdown to hardliners in the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance and said the ANC was keen to resume negotiations when government met its demands. Addressing a media conference in Johannesburg the day after his return from his trip to the US, Middle East

and Barcelona Olympics, Mandela said: "The general strike will take place, but there is no question of the object of mass action being an insurrection. Statements may have been made by individuals, but they do not represent the official policy of the ANC or the tripartite alliance." He said mass action was intended to secure an immediate transfer of power, in the form of an interim government and free and fair elections to a constituent assembly. It had to be non-violent and disciplined, he said. (BD/CIT0729)

STRIKE PEACE

CODE SOUGHT

The National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation decided on 29 July to boycott the ANC-led alliance's mass action, saying it was aimed at getting Codesa negotiations back on track rather than forcing the Government out to power. The Inkatha Freedom Party had earlier urged its members to go to work on 3 and 4 August 1992.

(STR/CIT/BD0730)

CHURCH DELEGATION PLANS

LAST-DITCH BID TO COOL

POLITICAL TEMPERS

Church leaders want President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet in a last-ditch attempt to cool political tempers ahead of next week's general strike. A church delegation will meet senior government constitutional negotiator Gerrit Viljoen on 30 July to relay details of its talks on 4 August with Mandela and ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa. (BD/

BLD/ CIT/SOW/STR0730)

DON'T STAY AWAY FROM

SCHOOL: NAPTOSA HEAD

The National Professional Teachers' Organisation of South Africa, Naptosa, on 30 July called on Black school children not to stay away from classes as part of the mass action campaign next week. The president of Naptosa, Mr LM Taunyane, said in view of the full syllabus that had to be covered, particularly before the matriculation examination and as a result of time already lost this year, it might in any event not be possible to make up for work lost. Minister of Education, Mr Sam de Beer, appealed to pupils not to heed the stayaway call as they would be "sacrificed for political objectives", a view echoed by, among others, the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) and the Azanian Students' Convention. The ANC-aligned organisations, however, said that only "a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic government can implement a uniform national education system

under one education department".

(CIT/BLD/SOW/STR/ BD0731)

MANDELA IN BID TO HEAD

OFF DISMISSALS

ANC President Nelson Mandela

contacted about 30 top businessmen last week, hinting at an early return to the negotiating table provided the stay-away did not prompt mass dismissals. A senior source in the business community said Mandela had also informed them of the ANC's desire for the early establishment of an interim government of national unity - an issue UN envoy Cyrus Vance is understood to have concentrated on. An ANC source said Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were not dismissals today and tomorrow, events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions. The ANC said on 31 July that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather, they would adopt a "no

work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy". However the business source said, this was not a correct interpretation of what Mandela had been told. Business's position was far more nuanced than that. In their talks, many business leaders had insisted on reserving the right to disciplinary action - and not because they expected large-scale mass dismissals, as they generally had no intention of dismissing workers. However, the source said, if business waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways at will without fear of penalty. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR 0803)

MASS ACTION MILITANT BUT
DISCIPLINED: HANI

This week's mass action will be conducted with "maximum militancy but also maximum discipline", SA Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani, told a 71st anniversary SACP mass rally in Port Elizabeth on 2 August 1992. Communist Party stalwart, Mr Joe Slovo, in his speech, said Mr De Klerk and IFP president Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, had to realise "there is no middle road between apartheid and democracy. If you are not prepared to talk about democracy, we will take it from you anyway." Cosatu General Secretary, Mr Jay Naidoo, said in his speech: "Comrades, we have spoken enough to De Klerk. "On 3 August we will see what the people say. The rolling mass action of the next few days will bring this country to a standstill." (CIT0803)

HOSPITALS BRACED FOR
MORE DISRUPTION

Services at provincial hospitals, which have slowly returned to normal during the past two weeks, are expected to be disrupted again today as workers join the mass action campaign. National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) Secretary-General Philip Dexter said despite the dismissal of 7 500 general assistants, the union still had a lot of support in hospitals. Demonstrations began on 31 July when SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and Cosatu General Secretary Jay Naidoo led hospital workers in a march on the TPA regional offices in Braamfontein to demand the reinstatement of dismissed workers. (BD/SOW0803)

NO ACTION YET' ON
ANC RENEGADES

Controversy over ANC defence
units running riot in the Vaal con-

tinued on 2 August as government and the ANC disagreed over action to control the units. Speaking on SABC's Agenda programme, ANC president Nelson Mandela admitted some units had taken the law into their hands but said no action would be taken against renegade units at this stage. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze earlier urged the ANC to disband the units and called on ANC members to give police information on the units' illegal activities. Mandela said drastic action - including expulsion - would be taken against those involved in such activities in the future, but this was not necessary at present. Kotze said his department had long maintained many ANC structures were out of control. "We believe one of the key factors in controlling the violence would be for the AN C and Inkatha to discipline their members" Koevoet was operating in black townships, including Driefontein, despite government assurances it had been disbanded, Mandela claimed. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0803)

UNREST DEATHS MOUNT AS STRIKE BEGINS

Two journalists were shot and wounded while covering mass action in Sebokeng. Phillip van Niekerk of the Weekly Mail and Paul Taylor of the Washington Post were shot and their vehicle was then hijacked. Both are in a stable condition in hospital. Johannesburg police spokesman Lt-Col David Bruce said the unrest death toll was not as high as expected. Few cases of intimidation had been reported in his area. The AN C said on 3 August that incidents of violence were remarkably low, "despite the De Klerk regimels provocative actions to intimidate people by the deployment of security forces". The ANC "unreservele condemned intimidation and violence. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0804)

STRIKE RESPONSE

IS MIXED

Although the South African Chamber of Business estimates that absenteeism on 3 August ranged from 15 percent to 90 percent, with two million staying away in the private sector, the AN C claimed close to four million people remained home on the first day of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's strike. There were wide regional disparities in the level of absenteeism. (CIT0804)

VIOLENCE MARS

STAYAWAY

The ANC alliance on 3 August hailed its stayaway as the most successful it has yet mounted - while the Government responded with reports of large-scale intimidation. Big busi-

ness said contingency measures helped cushion the impact of the first day of the two-day stayaway on the national economy - despite a 90 percent absenteeism recorded in metropolitan areas. The ANC-Cosatu-SA Communist Party alliance said in a statement that 4 million people had stayed away from work. "The overwhelming response of the working people is a clear demonstration of the ardent desire for democracy and peace," said the statement. (STR/BLD/ CIT/SOW/BD0804)

PRETORIA AGREES TO MARCH

LED BY MANDELA

The Pretoria City Council has approved an application by the ANC for about 70 000 people to take part in a march to the Union Buildings to be led by Mr Nelson Mandela on 5 August 1992. In their application, the ANC indicated that it expected between 50 000 and 70 000 people to take part. The march will be led by Mandela and other senior officials of the ANC, SA Communist Party, Congress of SA Trade Unions, Congress of SA Students, SA Democratic Teachers' Union and SA Studentsi

Congress. About 1 000 marshals will be on duty to ensure that the match is peaceful and disciplined. (SOW/BLD/ CIT/BD/STR0804)

ECONOMIC UPDATE

ECONOMY'S DEVASTATION

iWORTH THE PRICE'

Devastating the economy was a worthwhile price to pay if the ANC's mass action campaign was successful, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on 28 July 1992. Holomisa told an ANC-arranged news conference there was no reason why blacks should let the private sector, which was supportive of government, flourish. (BD0729)

INTERNATIONAL TRADE

PARTNERS INCREASE

As South Africa's presence in the international trade arena becomes more acceptable, the number of potential trade partners increases - the latest being the Peoples Republic of China. An eight man trade delegation from China quietly slipped into South Africa at the end of last week and are confident of clinching deals with South African suppliers of iron ore, industrial diamonds and paper pulp within the first week of August according to Pan Shoutian, president of the China Chamber of International Commerce and leader of the delegation. (BD0730)

US PLAN TO REVITALISE

SOUTH AFRICA

The White House has disclosed details of a bold international plan to support an interim government in South Africa. The plan includes housing guarantees, loan guarantees for black-owned business, high-level trade and investment missions to the country. It also envisages US backing for greater World Bank and International Monetary Fund involvement. The plan was outlined in a letter from President George Bush's national security adviser, Admiral Brent Scowcroft, to Congressman Howard Wolpe of Michigan, who has been one of the strongest critics of the administration's policy on South Africa. "We are convinced that establishment of a nonracial interim government in South Africa will occur. When it does, it will be a watershed event and we must be prepared to move rapidly to support further positive evolution. This will call for new steps by the US and our allies," the letter says.

- Consideration of "a housing guarantee project which builds on our current R150 million five-year Agency for International Development housing programme";

- Discussion of "a loan guarantee programme with selected private financial institutions to support the

credit needs of black-owned business";

- Support for the granting of IMF facilities to the new government, and an effort inside the US to persuade state and local governments to lift their sanctions against South Africa. (SOW/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0731)

SOCIAL UPDATE

TEACHERS TO

DOWN CHALK

SADTU and the NECC announced on 28 July they would take part in next weeks general strike. The strike is part of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu programme of rolling mass action. The teachers join Cosas which has called on students to stay away from school on 3 and 4 August 1992. The Azanian Student's Convention and Pan Africanist Students, Organisation have condemned the call for teachers and pupils to support the general strike. (SOW/CIT0729)

AMY IS QUEEN OF THE

NEW SOUTH AFRICA

Model Amy Kleinhans, 24, of Cape Town, on 2 August became the first black Miss South Africa. And her first princess is Augustine Masilela, 24, from Soweto. Lisa King, 20, another Cape Town model, was third. Amy said: "The controversy that surrounded me because of my skin colour means nothing. I will ignore it and be a great ambassador for South Africa". (ST/STR/CIT/SOW/BLD/BD0803)

SPORTS UPDATE

RECORD BUT NO GOLD FOR

OLYMPIC SWIMMERS

South Africans achieved notable personal successes in the Olympic pool at Barcelona on 28 July, yet neither Marianne Kriel nor Jill Bruckman managed to qualify for the final of their event. On 28 July Kriel, 20, broke the South African 100m backstroke record for the second time in a day as she took second place in the Olympic Games consolation race. It was Kriel's third national record at the Games. (BD/BLD/CIT/SOW/STR0729) ' '

EDITORIAL COMMENT

"ATTEMPT BY CHURCH

LEADERS TO STOP VIOLENCE"

The attempt by church leaders to help stop a tense week is most encouraging. It gives us great comfort to feel that the church can use its pastoral guidance to help people who may be facing very tough social and political decisions. It is ironic that the pain we have suffered should result in the meeting of interest groups and minds. The intervention by big business failed to resolve the problem. Perhaps the church will be more successful. A delegation of church leaders led by the respected Methodist

cleric Peter Storey have met officials from the South African Consultative Conference of Labour Affairs (Saccola) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu). They are to meet State President FW de Klerk and later the ANC. This might well be the last chance to try and stop the general strike that has considerable risk. The risks are not that the strike would have no support but that it could be abused by the same elements responsible for tragedies like Boipatong. We are sure that Trade Union leaders and leaders of the ANC are acutely conscious of such a possibility. Let us therefore hope that the church leaders could pull us back from the brink of chaos and civil war. We think or at least we sincerely hope there is no interest group that has the best intention or at

the worst the desperation to take such an enormous risk. (SOW0729)

"THE PROMISE OF VANCE"

Anybody who is anybody in the political life of this country is speaking to United Nations Envoy, Cyrus Vance during this flying mission to investigate the endemic violence on the Reef and in Natal. If proof were needed that an independent party could bring new application to efforts to end the bloodshed, Mr Vancets visit provides it. Even representatives of parties of the far Right, such as the Afrikaner Volkswag and the Conservative Party, who would not set foot into Codesa, have sought to impress their views on the American expert serving as the eyes and ears of the UN Security Council. The message is clear: the international community still carries weight across the South African spectrum, and men such as Mr Vance can serve as a valuable conduit while battle rages among the parties to secure the moral high ground. An International Monitoring Commission with independent field teams in the most troubled townships, could - if it were given the necessary standing and consent from the Government - fulfil this vital task of on-the-ground, impartial monitoring. In no way would it supplant local peace efforts. But it would be a vital complement - by virtue of its neutrality, its contemporary rather than after-the-fact investigations, and its expertise and restraining presence. Since this first limited UN intervention seems to be yielding positive results, it is to be hoped that Mr Vance's recommendations to the Security Council will facilitate wide acceptance for a continued role for the UN in bringing peace to this land. (STR0729)

"STRUGGLE FATIGUE"

In strictly legal terms, employers have the right to discipline employees who participate in next weeks two-day work stayaway. And given the understandable frustration at developments, many may feel inclined to use that right. The stayaway is directed at the Government, but the primary victims are individual businesses and the general economy. It is not even a well-concoived strategy. In political terms, a two-day - or even a one-week - stayaway is purely symbolic. It is no Leipzig. Not only will it not bring down the Government, it will win no extra concessions from the National Party. The not inconsiderable damage to the National Partyk confidence and standing since Codesa II is already done. This is thanks to factors like Boipatong, General van der Westhuizen, Justice Goldstone, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, weird "power-

sharing" constitutional proposals unheard of anywhere in the Western democracies, and the combined effect of these factors in reducing President de Klerk's international prestige. Partly as a result, the NP has already moderated its negotiating position. What is also clear is that enthusiasm for the stayaway in ANC/Cosatu ranks is less than uniformly high. A threatened week-long action has shrunk to two days, and there was genuine disappointment that negotiations to reduce that to one day failed. Nelson Mandela has recently been at pains not to exaggerate the purpose of the stayaway. One suspects he would be relieved if an acceptable compromise could be found further to reduce its potential for economic damage and violence. "Struggle fatigue" is taking its toll. But Trade Union leaders, like their business counterparts, have been unable to find a formula acceptable to sufficient numbers of their constituents. Yet, however "successful" the endeavour, it represents little more than a final fling before the inevitable return to negotiations. The need to avoid sparking a new round of conflict which delays this return is one reason for employers to exercise restraint in response to the stayaway. Another is that the threat of dismissal will not force people to come to work. Most will participate either because they are committed to the cause or because, whatever the undertakings made by Mandela and Cosatu, they fear for their lives if they do not. Finally, for most companies the replacement of an entire workforce would have severe effects on productivity. And a new workforce will be no more immune than the old from the forces that cause political stayaways to occur. Heavy-handed employer responses will not solve the confidence-destroying problem of economically destructive forms of political protest. Perhaps it is time employer groups, including Saccola, began to think of how labour can be persuaded in the longer term to divert its political activism into less destructive channels. If the stayaway helps to initiate that process, the events of the past few weeks will produce some good. (BD0730)

"LAW AND ORDER"

The ANC cannot have it both ways. It cannot demand that the Government use its capacity to end violence, and then complain when the Government seeks to do just that. The exercise announced by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel on 29 July to provide intensified policing of 14 Reef and Vaal area townships has the potential to provide a break-

through to peace and stability. The measures are unusual and tough, but in the present circumstances they are necessary. A routine approach to enforcing law and order is insufficient, as the Boipatong massacre demonstrates. This is not a case of political debate, attempting to determine who cast the first stone and who is therefore responsible for all the violence that followed. It is a case of security forces moving into violence-torn areas and taking comprehensive measures to eliminate that violence as far as possible. It requires searches at which unlicensed, illegal weapons - cultural or otherwise - can be confiscated; known trouble spots such as hostels or "liberated zones" from which attacks are launched are closely monitored; and informal barricades and the like removed so that normal services, particularly in the Vaal region, can be resumed. None of this can be construed as a clampdown on legitimate political activity, as the ANC has tried to imply. And if the forces of law and order stick to their task of enforcing criminal law, their efforts will be supported by all inhabitants of those areas seeking a return to normality. Some law enforcers yearning for "the good old days" may be tempted to overstep the mark and take politically partisan actions. The timing of the announcement - just ahead of a week of fairly intense political protest - could be cause for

suspicion. Minister Kriel would be advised to give clear and public instructions that this is not the purpose of the exercise. It may be appropriate to issue to officers in charge of these operations the text of the report prepared earlier this month by the panel of experts headed by Harvard Law School Prof Phillip Heymann. It dealt with the obligation of the police not to interfere with the right of political protest, and to use minimum force where the law was being broken. The Security Forces, function next week will not be to intervene to force or encourage people to go to work or to prevent them participating in demonstrations. It is their function, though, to ensure that people are not coerced into taking part in next weeks protests. (BD0731)

"MASS ACTION"

Ten UN monitors watching this weeks mass action have a significance beyond their mere numbers. Their presence in the country could moderate actions of extremists determined to take us into chaos, and that could be the catalyst for a resumption of substantive talks. Today, UN Special Envoy 'Cyrus Vance presents his report to the World Body. It is likely to focus on the opportunities for a peaceful outcome to SAs constitutional crisis based on widespread determination among representative leaders to avoid violence. If the report is used to score political points its usefulness will be wasted. Pik Botha take note. When we have Chris Hani reporting that township comrades are out of control, Jay Naidoo wanting a quick return to work, Nelson Mandela promising business leaders that people will return to work quickly if they are not penalised for staying away and Derek Keys warning of the economic consequences of mass action, the concern of political leaders that the situation could spiral into uncontrollable violence is plain. That, in turn, underscores the urgency of using the Vance report to bridge political differences. It should be used as an extinguisher for putting out the fire rather than as a tool for rebuilding the house. Rebuilding comes later. Vance cannot and will not offer clear-cut solutions or prescriptions. That would be impossible in a situation such as SA's where political support does not necessarily equate with raw power. Vance has left well aware of the need to accommodate small groups with little popular support but the ability to destroy a peaceful settlement by putting impis, blackshirts, uncontrolled self-defence units or death squads on the streets. Today's UN report could,

if used properly and if nothing major goes wrong this week, provide the rationale needed for representative leaders to overcome their comparatively narrow differences. Despite the spectacularly acrimonious end to Codesa H, negotiations in its committees did much to settle points of dispute between the present Government and its opponents. It is difficult for South Africans to look beyond this momentous week, to do more than live the political life day by day. Confidence is clearly ebbing. Foreigners who briefly believed investment in SA could be profitable are backing away sharply, emigration by skilled South Africans again threatens longer-term economic debilitation, businessmen who will eventually decide on new productive investment despair over stayaways and millions of ordinary South Africans are intimidated. Confidence could shatter entirely if this week turns into a vituperative shambles. Handling the weeks difficulties and opportunities correctly will be an essential start to restoring some direction to our affairs. (BD own

"KEEPTHEPEACE'

South Africa is entering a critical week of political mass action in which the discipline and control of the AN C alliance and the Security Forces will be severely tested. Both will be under an international spotlight. While it is regrettable that further strains are to be imposed on an ailing economy, some good may yet result if, in the end, Mr Nelson Mandela's position of leadership is enhanced at the expense of radical elements who seem bent on insurrection. The use of mass demonstrations as a disciplined strategy for mobilising political support is perfectly legitimate. The Security Forces have a duty to uphold the right of peaceful protest within the law. At the same time attempts to abuse such rights for the sake of fomenting disorder - departing from agreed routes and venues, for example - are wholly unacceptable and will no doubt be firmly put down. No qualified observer imagines that the De Klerk Government will give way to mob rule. (CP0804)

SOURCES

"The South African News Review is a weekly news summary of the major daily newspapers in the Pretoria/Johannesburg metropolitan area. Sowetan (SOW), Citizen (CIT), Business Day (BD), Star (STR), Natal Mercury (NM), Pretoria News (PN), Beeld (BLD), Sunday Times (ST), Sunday Star (SSTR), Argus (ARG), City Press (CP), South African Press Association (SAPA), Transvaler (TVL), South African

Broadcasting Corporation (SABC),
Die Burger (BUR).

NB.: This news summary reflects
the wording and terminology of
various newspapers. It does not
reflect the views or choice of words of
this Mission.