



.THE South West Africa  
peace plan, which was  
| about to swing into action,  
| is suddenly in jeopardy, on  
| the point  
down, according to Mr Pik  
Botha. g

But the odds are that  
the situation is not quite  
as desperate as all that.  
The exuberant and like-  
able Minister of Foreign  
Affairs has a flair for  
catching the headlines  
with a telling phrase. He  
uses the media in calcu-  
lated fashion as a diplo-  
| matic weapon, particularly  
when he wants to concen-  
trate the minds of the  
Western negotiators.

A Reutersâ\200\231s message from  
â\200\230New York, reporting the  
reaction at the UN to Mr  
Bothaâ\200\231s latest verbal fusil-  
lade, observed that his re-  
marks are sometimes taken  
With a grain of salt by dip-  
lomats. As the Reuters  
message noted, one West-  
ern foreign minister is said  
to have remarked recently:  
â\200\234We all know Pik.â\200\235 At the  
United Nations, it seems,  
Western diplomats are still  
reasonably optimistic that  
the peace plan is still on  
track and will indeed be  
implemented, after a few  
more rounds of diplomatic  
skirmishing.

But it remains a tricky  
exercise and could go  
wrong at any stage of the  
game. Now that the parties  
involved â\200\224 South Africa  
and Swapo â\200\224 are finally  
at the point of decision, a  
last-minute flurry of rhet-  
oric and manoeuvre is to  
be expected.

. South Africa is naturally  
indignant that Swapo, get-  
ting in a low blow or two  
before the bell

with it. Swapo, in turn,

says there is a war on and

that until the ceasefire  
has actually begun it is  
hostilities as usual as far

as they are concerned. In

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ASNCS

of breaking-

/0. BORS, >  
seems to be getting away -

New York, Dr Waldheim  
concedes that the Swapo  
attack on the Nkongo base  
was not helpful; but he  
also makes it plain that he  
is not much impressed by  
Mr Pik Botha's latest  
broadside,

This long-distance slang-

ing match is beside the  
point. The state of play is  
that the UN operation  
would be taking shape by  
now with a ceasefire

settlement and has negoti-

-  
ated toughly every step of  
the way but in un-  
questionable good faith.  
Swapo, under Mr Sam  
Nujoma, is a slippery cus-  
tomer and has had to be  
dragged, = kicking and  
screaming, to the negotiat-  
ing table. But the exercise  
is still on course. It is vital  
that it should remain so.  
If the peace plan fails  
to get under way and nego-

Political survey  
by Gerald Shaw -

of the Cape Times

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imminent and the arrival  
of UN troops in a-week or  
so â\200\224 if it were not for the  
fact that both belligerent  
parties are still haggling

" away over details â\200\224 such

as the composition of the

"UN force. But these prob-

lems can be readily over-  
come, if the political will  
is there,

Does the political will  
exist for a settlement? At

. the brink, are both Swapo

and South Africa really  
prepared to go through  
with it, submitting to a  
ceasefire, with forces on  
both sides confined to  
base, then troop withdraw-  
als and a UN-supervised  
election? Is there a suffici-  
ently strong commitment  
â\200\224strong enough to over-

come the suspicion and in-'

tense mistrust between  
Pretoria and Swapo and  
between Pretoria and the  
UN?

LÃ@t us hope that there is  
such a commitment on all  
sides â\200\224 and that the cur-

rent flare-up of rhetoricâ\200\231  
will â\200\230quickly subside. The Â°

indications are that South  
Africa is determined to  
win th\_rough to a peaceful

% Y e  
tiations are finally aban- |

doned, more will go down

the drain than merely the

future of South West Afri-

jeopardy is a remarkable

working relationship which has grown up between the Western Five and the leaders of the Frontline Black states. The peace plan would never have come 30 far had it not enjoyed. The whole-hearted backing of men [like Neto of Angola, Machel of Mozambique, and Presidents Nyerere, Khama and Kaunda. It was pressure from the Frontline States; under Western prodding, that has brought Swapo to the negotiating table. Swapo is now under tremendous

;pressure. to co-operate to

What will also be in !

-

the hilt with the UN plan

and submit itself to UN-

supervised elections. The

Frontline States, all of whom have a vested inter-

-est in' the stability of the

region, are determined that Swapo should be forced to follow the road of elections.

There is a clear impression that Swapo would

and co-operation with its immediate neigh-

ed them down

, 379/

like to wriggle out of this commitment, if they could, and by provocative action,

will try to goad South .

Africa into imprudent retaliation which would give Swapo the excuse it is seeking to dodge the verdict of a democratic election and try to seize the territory by force.

But the Frontline pressure on Swapo is formidable. States such as Ango-

la, Mozambique and Zambia have enough desperate problems of their own without the complications arising from continued unrest in the sub-continent. The. Western peace plan, promising stability in Namibia at least, has suited to the ground. And the whole exercise has been a remarkable essay in Western-African co-operation, pre-empting the Soviet trouble-makers, who have little to offer in the region as else-

The benefits of a SWA/

â\200\230Namibian settlement

would be immense â\200\224 for the West and for South Africa. That is why the Western Five have tried so hard and have kept on and on, overcoming problem after problem to keep the negotiations on track, i And now the whole exer-

l cise is said by Mr Pik

Âç

where in Africa, but guns and mischief-making.

So a diplomatic success '

in SWA/Namibia; with the UN plan unfolding on

schedule, would be a major - coup for the cause of the !

West in the sub-continent. It would demonstrate that the Western formula of negotiating settlements in Southern Africa has more to offer than sub-continental warfare.

A Namibian success might even improve the atmosphere so much that the

Rhodesian impasse would

become more tractable. A -

better Western - African  
rapport, cemented in the \*

SWA/Namibia issue, could  
lead to rapprochement be-  
tween Pretoria and Black  
Africa. In such an atmos-

phere, South Africa could

once again begin to build  
bridges of understanding

more  
bours.

Botha to be in the balance.  
So it would be as well once  
again to consider the con-  
sequences of failure. Apart  
from the diplomatic conse-  
quences â\200\224 the setback to  
Western interests in South-  
ern Africa â\200\224 there'iÃ©s the  
direct effect on. South  
Africa itself. If there is to  
be a continuing guerrilla  
conflict, South Africa will  
be drawn in even more  
deeply, with our young  
men in their thousands go-  
ing to fight in the bush  
and scrub of Namibia,

This is a fatal option. It  
would play into the hands  
of the forces of disruption.  
If the South African De-  
fence Force is to be tied  
up, increasingly, on the  
foreign soil of SWA/Nam-  
ibia, the defence of our  
own land will be weakened  
and the drain on man-  
power will be massive. |

Success in the UN peace  
initiative in SWA/Namibia  
is a vital Somth African  
and Westrn interest. The  
plan is now at a critical  
stage, Further provoca-  
tions can no doubt be ex-  
pected from Swapo. To rise  
to the bait would be fool-  
ish, playing into the hands  
of the wreckers, the forces  
determined to shipwreck  
the peace and undermine  
Western interests in this  
region.

It is time for the politi-  
cians tp remain cool, calm  
and collected â\200\224 and to  
keep the UN operation on  
course. A peaceful settle-  
ment is within reach. The

opportunity will not offer  
itself again,â® i



I Natal 100)  
\_years ago

Melmoth Osborn's

FEE

misplaced optimism  
THS NNafem /) JSrEn <s=  
by Hibernian

LIVING as we do in a world of instantaneous communications, it is difficult to appreciate just how slowly news travelled in the days before telephones and the radio, when even the railway line reached only from Durban to Pinetown. Thus it took several days for the full news of Isandhlwana to percolate through Natal and then South Africa. During this period extravagant optimism, sublime confidence in the British Army and derisive contempt for the Zulus were destroyed by blind panic as wild rumours of the defeat and non-existent Zulu invasions swept the Colony. :

On January 25, three days after the battle, the rumours were beginning to stir Pretoria, but Melmoth Osborn was still writing in optimistic tones to Sir Theophilus Shepstone who had just been replaced as British Administrator of the Transvaal and was en route to Utrecht. s 2

â\200\234Cetewayo being a natural coward it is not to be wondered at that he now tries to get out of the terrible mess he has been concocting by wanting a palaver and I trust that this will not be allowed. People here are very much elated at the successes already achieved by our forces and I sincerely trust that the same good fortune may continue on our side.â\200\235

Osborn, an official in the British administration of  
| the Transvaal, exhibits in this letter not only his anti-

Zulu bias, regrettable since he was later appointed British resident in Zululand, but a degree of anti-Boer feeling which could not have assisted him in his task in the Transvaal,

â\200\234The Boers here are worthless as fighting men and they are only too glad to avail themselves of any excuse to escape facing an enemy â\200\224 what a pity that there are not more men of Piet Uysâ\200\231 stamp. There are I believe a few about Utrecht.â\200\235

Following these disparaging remarks there is an unfortunate irony in his faith in the British forces.

â\200\234I am most anxiously awaiting news of a real engagement with the main Zulu army or branch thereof.â\200\235

â\200\230 Osborn did not have long to wait for he continues, in defiance of the rumours which were setting fire to Pretoria: /

â\200\234This morning they have it that a great battle had come off in which a great many white men were Killed, but the post cart is not in yet no news could have





MRV V2 T AT S

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INSIDE MAIL

WHAT are the main changes that are being implemented by the Government? o Â¢

The fundamental change is the decision to let the rand move gradually to a managed â\200\234floatâ\200\235 in its value for overseas trading tgrposes against all other currencies.

This means that the rand will tend to move steadily up in value in good times and steadily down in bad times in response to market forces. -

The Reserve Bank will, however, intervene to stop any wild daily fluctuations. Previously the rand had been, since 1975, fixed against the dollar at R1 equals \$1,15, but with the rate against all other currencies varying from day to day as the dollar gained or weakened against them.

But the emphasis is on gradual. The Reserve Bank also seems set on controlling the float â\200\224 a point criticised by some who believe market forces alone s ould matter. Wonâ\200\231t a floating rand be unsettling and confusing?

Not really. The rand has been floating against every currency except the dollar anyway. i

What was unsettling before was that the rand could find itself being towed up or dragged down by the dollar against, for example, sterling or German marks when South' African needs or circumstances could be quite the opposite. ' i

And a float does rule out dramatic big â\200\234â\200\230one swoopâ\200\231â\200\231 devaluations or revaluations â\200\224 such as the effective 21,7 % rand devaluation in September 1975. g

It is fear of bi% losses that can arise in these situations that can cause the biggest economic disruption through, for example, panic flights of money pouring out of the country. What will the new policy mean for South Africans planning to go overseas on holiday? ; â\200\230

- Much will be unchanged. Holidaymakers have never been allowed to buy their travellers cheques or forei currency until just before leaving the country so they could not make long-term protection against changes in the value of the rand against other currencies.

The rand might drift down in value this year but that â\200\230could have happened before, just as easily against every currenc! except the dollar.

And if you go and buy your air ticket you can at least

leave, rather a much smaller movement in the rand, up or down. e

Will South Africans be able to take more money out of the country now? 4

No. The De Kock Commission did suggest that South Africans have the right to take extra money out through the securities rand market â\200\224 although this would have

- meant a loss of more than 40 % on the present value of the

securities rand against the ordinary commercial rand â\200\224 but this was turned down, at least for the present, by Senator Horwood, the Minister of Finance.

What are securities rands?

- They are now being renamed financial rands. They were originally called blocked rands.

Foreigners who wish to sell their South African investments, such as shares bought on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, cannot take the money directly out of the country.

It is â\200\234 blocked â\200\235 and this is what makes up the pool of financial rands. ;

These funds can, however, be sold to other non-residents, previously only for buying shares but now for all kinds of setting up new factories and such in South

Africa. 4

It is possible, therefore, for foreigners to get money out of the country but there is no loss of foreign exchange reserves. â\200\230

Basically Foreigner A, who buys the financial rands, is making a new investment in South Africa exactly equal to the disinvestment by Foreigner B who is selling the financial rands. ;

Why are financial rands worth less than ordinary rands?

Partly because of the restrictions on them and partly because the present 40 % discount on commercial rands reflects the political concern overseas about South Africa.

It means, for example, that overseas investors buying

%

SOUTH AFRICA has embarked on a new exchange rate policy for the rand in the wake of the report of the De Kock Commission. Rand Daily Mail Financial Editor HOWARD PREECE looks at the main questions and answers on how it will affect the ordinary citizen and â\200\230 what it might mean for jobs, prices and economic growth. :

better return than South Africans â\200\224 for example, 14 %

against 10 % â\200\224 for, buying shares in Johannesburg in the same companies. ; ;

So why don't South Africans buy the shares in London? They are not allowed to by South African law.

Is this discount likely to stay at 40 %?

The hope is that it will narrow now that foreigners can use financial rands as a cheap way of making fixed investments in South Africa as well as buying shares.

This ought to increase the demand for financial rands. Why are there hopes that the new policy will help boost jobs and economic growth in South Africa? ;

There are two main reasons. The first is that the Government has often been obliged to keep a tight clamp on the South African economy â\200\224 holding interest rates at a high level, for example, and restricting spending generally to curb imports â\200\224 to protect the gold and foreign exchange reserves. . 5

~\_\_ This has been particularly true in the past three-and-a-

half years when the problem has been made worse by the need to repay hundreds of millions of rands worth of overseas debts incurred in the 1973-75 economic spree.

The De Kock Commission rightly argues that there is no way of escaping the responsibility of proper financial

be sure there will not be a big devaluation before you shares of South African companies in London want a 40 % discipline in managing the economy by altering the ex-

Wor

Three looms

warns  
Solzhenitsyn

LONDON . â\200\224 The exiled Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn said in an interview broadcast yesterday that. the world â\200\230was moving towards a third world war,

The warning came in the second half of an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporationâ\200\231s Russian service, in a broadcast to mark the fifth anniversary of his expulsion from the Soviet Union. Part one of the interview was broadcast on Tuesday.

â\200\234We are ,clearly moving towards a world war and yet Western statesmen deceive themselves that we are moving towards détente,â\200\235 he said.

â\200\234They surrender several countries a year to the communists. How long will the supply of countries last?â\200\235 he asked.

The 60-year-old Nobel

ize-winning author was speaking at his home in Vermont, in the United States, where he has lived for two years. Â¢

A staunch opponent of communism, Solzhenitsyn said the Soviet people had already won the main victory over it. â\200\234We have stood out for 60 years and not been infected by it. There has been nothing like the ideological tri.

umph, that massive capture -

of souls that Lenin and Trotsky talked of and counted on,â\200\235 he said. Expanding on the theme of global conflict, Mr Soizhenitsyn said: â\200\234The communists cannot renounce aggression . . . these madmen will clearly succeed in plunging both our

country and the whole  
world into war . . . because  
ranged on the opposite  
side will be China. Hence,  
  
they will do

ar

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the , victor will again be  
communism, but in a dif-  
ferent form,

â\200\234The Americans are  
nurturing -China into 2  
world conqueror, just - as  
they nurtured Soviet com-  
munism after the Second  
World War to rebound on  
their own heads,â\200\235 = he  
added,

Asked how the West  
could help the Russian  
people, he said:

â\200\234The Westâ\200\231s withdrawal  
has' gone so far that it  
is fruitless for us, in our  
country at any rate, to  
count on Western assist.  
ance . . . Nobody has  
either the strength or the  
fortitude. And if they feel  
they need to trade us cff,  
soâ\200\224as with

Taiwan.â\200\235

He said there were some  
glimmers of hope. Western  
young people were more  
sensitive to the truth than

heir teachers, The new  
Pope was â\200\234a banner of the  
time . . . a gift from Godâ\200\235.  
The future of Russia was

in recuperation, \

â\200\234Renounce all mad fan- .  
tasies of foreign conquest  
and begin the peaceful,  
long, long, long recupera-



tion.â\200\235 he said.â\200\224Sapa-Rtr.

Â® Exiled writer Alexander

Solzhenitsyn . . . Western

statesmen are deceiving  
/ themselves.



A threat

in Dutch  
Church

Crisis

THE long-standing feud between the radical and conservative wings of the Dutch Roman Catholic Church has erupted again with such force and recrimination that both sides feel only Pope John Paul's personal intervention can prevent a permanent schism.

Essentially the arguments are much the same as those which divided the Dutch Roman Catholics during the 1960s: where should the Church stand on such controversial issues as birth control, the rights of homosexuals and priestly celibacy?

But the issue chiefly responsible for the latest upset here is abortion and the Government's intention to liberalise the law during the current Parliamentary session.

The passage of this legislation has always promised difficulty for the coalition of Christian

He has threatened to refuse the sacraments to any Catholic MPs who support the abortion law

proposals and in an inter-

view defiantly added: "I

believe that this issue is not only worth a Government crisis, but in this instance a Government crisis is necessary."

Rebuked

S

Democrats and Liberals.  
But now, to politiciansâ\200\231 dis-  
may, the Church in the  
shape. of the ultra-  
conservative Bishop of  
Roermond, Mgr Jan Gi-  
Jjsen, has intervened direct-  
ly.

DAVID |  
HAWORTH |

The Hague

other ethical questions  
there is no doubt he has  
| succeeded. t

He has twice visited  
Rome in the last few  
months and -says: â\200\230â\200\230We

| Must not be surprised if the  
Pope-decides to act in the  
near future. I believe that

Holy See will soon call  
on Holland to make real  
choices. I know the Pope is  
taking the situation here  
very seriously. He must in-  
tervene., | a

So far the Pope has made |  
No comment on the  
deteriorating relations â\200\230  
between Gijzen and his  
fellow bishops. But he has  
received a report on the  
dispute from 'Cardinal

Willebrands, the Dutch.  
Primate, who is also,  
ironically enough, head of  
â\200\234the Vatican's -Secretariat

. for Christian Unity,

All the Pope is commit-  
ted to is his request to see  
- the seven Dutch bishops in-  
dividually before making  
up his mind how to respond  
to the crisis. These  
audiences are scheduled to

Pope John Paul 11

-| â\200\230have been considerable.

- Cardinal Willebrands has described the current dis-  
sension as â\200\230â\200\230tragic,â\200\231  
'saying: â\200\234The Church is a  
sign of unity but threatens  
to become a demonstration  
of division.â\204ç

Comments by Gijzen. he

went on, were undesirable

| because they â\200\230â\200\230might well

detract from the dignity

\_and credibility of the Dutch |  
Episcopal College.

A recent private meeting -  
between the sÃ@venï¬\201?nutctg :  
bishops has done nothing  
bring the two sides closer.  
Gijzen is supported in his -  
conservative - opinions by  
Rotterdamâ\200\231s Bishop Arie  
Simonis; thek 3  
colleagues are riously  
described as â\200\234â\200\230li eralsâ\204ç or  
â\200\234'progressives.â\200\235 Their dis-  
cussions were inconclusive  
â\200\224 the bishops have a  
deeper insightâ\200\231â\200\231 into each  
otherâ\200\231's attitudes, was the  
only comment made  
afterwards.

- mented: ;  
. evidence of a pastoral at-  
~titude and of a deeply felt

â\200\234than the admin

Meanwhile Gijzen has  
excommunicated - two  
priests. One had married,  
the other was found to be

These moves - not.  
endeared him to large sec-  
One leading paper com-  
â\200\234There is little

sympathy for people  
entrusted to his care . . . It  
is hardly conceivable there

~ will be people in Rome who

consider his theological  
arguments more important

said it was â\200\230â\200\230peculiarâ\200\231â\200\231 of  
Gijzen to ask the Pope to  
intervene rather than con-  
sult priests and laymen in  
his diocese about what sort  
of changes, if any, should-  
be made in traditional  
doctrine:

Another bishop com-  
mented: \*It's clear that  
things are not 100 percent  
right in the Dutch Church

Gijzen was strongly .  
rebuked for the semti. . ;2â\200\230l;ew;;l:lâ\200\230c: over the next

Mments, whose expression is | i  
seen by many as interfer- | 'Whatevel." the polmcal  
effects of the bishop's

ing in liti i  
& Political affairs. criticisms of abortion law

However, if it was . the 4  
bishop's intention tg reform the reverberations

polarise debate not only on | â\200\234ithin the Dutch Church -  
the abortion issue but also

Province, but you ean't  
guide people byâ\200\231 ;  
fronting them wi  
rulesit â\200\234tngacy

living under the same  
roof ' as a woman. He has  
- reiterated his pelicy of  
refusing communion to  
homosexuals. . %}