



# WASHINGTON NOTES ON AFRICA

July, 1975

## RHODESIA SEEKS U.S. MERCENARIES

Since February, Rhodesia has been advertising for U.S. mercenaries through an American soldier of fortune, Robert K. Brown of "Phoenix Associates," Arvada, Colorado.

Brown claims that he has received some 300 inquiries in response to his ads, which have appeared in such magazines as Shooting Times. (See February issue, page 84.) If the customer sends in \$10 Brown sends him a whole Men-of-Action

packet: pamphlets on a career in the Rhodesian Army, the British South Africa Police (BSAP) or the Special Air Squadron together with enlistment forms and a medical form. A four-page article on "Rhodesia's War" by Brown himself gives a sketch of the war against the "terrs" based on a three weeks' visit Brown made last year. In a sheet entitled "Additional Information" Brown demonstrates that the pay and privileges are good. One Vietnam veteran is now a section leader of the BSAP and earning \$1600 (U.S.) a month, which he puts in foreign banks. BSAP will pay your air fare to Rhodesia, provide you with a Rhodesian passport and there is no income tax for two years.

U.S. intelligence sources say as many as 60 Americans are already fighting in Rhodesia. Others are on the way. A Vietnam veteran from New Jersey, who heard about the opportunity through Brown's ad, told a reporter he was an "idealist" who wanted to fight communism; he said that if he found on his arrival in Rhodesia that it was a racial war, he would quit.

The U.S. State Department has known about Brown's recruiting activities at least since March. The Department says it has discouraged people who have inquired about going, and warned them that they may lose their citizenship. But only in June, when the operation was revealed publicly by the U.S. representative of ZANU (one of the Zimbabwe liberation movements), did the government launch an investigation of Brown. Presumably, the investigating agents are considering whether sanctions against Rhodesia have been violated, for instance in the provision of airline tickets to Rhodesia and in the shipping of salaries to foreign banks, and whether Brown is an unregistered agent of a foreign government. (The Washington-based Rhodesia Information Office, as expected, disclaims any connection between Brown and the regime.) The pressure of investigation has led Brown to state that "I categorically deny that I have at any time recruited for any government." On the advice of his lawyer, he has supposedly stopped sending out the publicity packets. Clearly he hopes to avoid prosecution. He may be successful, even if the investigation turns up evidence of law-breaking. Just as publicity and citizen pressure were needed to prod the government into investigation, they may be necessary to bring about prosecution.

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Brown's political ties have swung from left to right since the 1950's. He claims he fought with Castro in the Cuban revolution, broke with him over Communism, joined anti-Castro exiles in their plots and then plotted with the Haitians to overthrow Duvalier. In 1967 he served in Vietnam as an intelligence officer, Special Forces Team Leader and Political Warfare Officer. After 14 months in Vietnam, he says he has "observed revolutionary movements in the Caribbean, South America, Spain and Portugal."

Such a history suggests that Brown may have worked with or for the CIA on a number of occasions. But it seems questionable that so public an operation as the one Brown now runs would be a CIA front.

Currently, in addition to promoting Rhodesia's challenge to man of action, Brown is starting Soldier of Fortune, a journal of Professional Adventurers. His promotional flier advertises a first issue with articles about "Mad Mike" Hoare and his "Mercs" attempting to invade Angola, American Mercenaries in Africa and Urban Street Survival. From Pretoria, Al J. Venter will report on "chaos in Africa" and the fight of South Africa against "communist-sponsored 'liberation fighters'".

Notwithstanding his enthusiasm for Rhodesia's "nasty, violent and cruel" war, Brown doubts that the outcome will favor the whites. To quote from his article in Knight magazine, "Sometimes good fighting is not enough. The blood of the soldier seldom outweighs the breath of the politician on the scales of history."

#### SANCTIONS BILL EMERGES FROM COMMITTEE

On July 9th the House International Relations Committee voted to report favorably the Rhodesian sanctions bill (HR 1287). The bill would repeal the "Byrd Amendment", which allows the United States to import chrome and other minerals from Rhodesian in violation of the U.N. sanctions program against that country. As passed by the Committee, the legislation also includes a provision requiring certification of steel mill imports to the U.S. to insure that they contain no Rhodesian chromium. The amendment is designed to strengthen international compliance with sanctions, and to protect the U.S. steel industry and its workers from any competition from illegal users of Rhodesian chrome.

The vote in Committee was 17 to 8. Favoring the bill were Representatives Fraser (the bill's manager in Committee); Diggs, Biester, and Buchanan (with Fraser, the bill's original sponsors): Fascell, Riegle, Ryan, Nix, Rosenthal, Hamilton, Bingham, Solarz, Collins, Findley, and Whalen (co-sponsors): and Morgan and Charles Wilson. Opposed were Zablocki, Yatron, Broomfield, Derwinski, du Pont, Winn, Gilman and Lagomarsino. There were 12 absentees.

The sanctions bill still faces two further steps before reaching the floor. First, Speaker Carl Albert must decide whether to allow the House Armed Services Committee to consider the measure also. Fraser and others argue that such sequential referral will not provide further consideration of the bill's merits, but serve only to obstruct the legislation, since the Armed Services Committee is decidedly unfriendly to sanctions. The Speaker will probably impose a time limit on sequential referral if he does grant it, since he promised Fraser expeditious handling of the bill at the close of the last Congress.

In light of these considerations, it is unclear at this point when the bill will come to a vote before the full House. It is conceivable, but highly unlikely, that the measure will reach the floor by the end of July; more likely, it will be considered after the Aug 2 - Sept. 7 recess. Pressure from concerned citizens on their local Representatives will be crucial to the bill's success or failure in the House.

The Washington Office on Africa has recently prepared an updated summary of the arguments in favor of HR 1287. Anyone may request a copy now; we will, however, be mailing the material to you as soon as the legislative schedule is clear. In any case, you should be receiving it by late July, with an explanatory legislative bulletin to facilitate communication with your Representative during the recess.

#### SOUTH AFRICA'S CHIEF PROPAGANDIST VISITS U.S. IN JUNE

South African Minister of Information and Interior, Dr. Cornelius Mulder, paid his second visit to the United States in as many years during June. While the stated purpose of the visit was to meet with Information Department officials assigned to several U.S. cities, Mulder's main objective as South Africa's chief propagandist was to make personal contacts with "opinion formers and decision-takers" on the east and west coast.

Mulder's current six-week trip to western and Asian countries is part of an expanding, no-holds-barred campaign by South Africa to white-wash Apartheid and sell South Africa's friendship and strategic importance to any non-Communist country which will buy it.

Mulder's recent U.S. trip was marked by considerable secretiveness. From the available information, it appears that Mulder was somewhat less successful in making significant new political contacts than he was in January, 1974, when he met with then-Vice President Ford, an official responsible for international military affairs at the Pentagon, and Congressional leaders of both parties. However, the visit demonstrated that Mulder is developing a cadre of politicians and newsmen who can perhaps prepare the way for future inroads.

Mulder was also the target of public protest for the first time in this country. When he spoke at the World Affairs Council in Los Angeles, about 120 demonstrators picketed and distributed pamphlets exposing the true nature of the Minister and his message. The protestors, who included CORE members and faculty and students from several university campuses (among others), were able to get almost three minutes of prime news coverage on television. Mulder received only 40 seconds. Two Black Los Angeles City Council members who were to have sat with Mulder at the World Affairs Council meeting decided not to associate themselves with an official of the South African Government.

Mulder made his main public pitch in a speech before the National Press Club in Washington on June 10, which was broadcast live over more than 600 public radio stations across the country. His overall objective was to make South Africa appear to be a liberal country as open to criticism and improvement of its "race problems" as the United States. Mulder's central message was an invitation to any western country to fill the military vacuum left by the British Navy withdrawal from Simonstown, which he claimed would require no support for Apartheid. As he said at the

Press Club, "Our Navy has expanded to an extent where it satisfies our medium power needs. We do not need others to do our work, but we do require our friends in the Western world to shoulder their own responsibilities in the oceans around us."

Mulder also made a point of announcing that the Transkei "bantustan" will be "fully independent" next year, claiming that it "will be a sovereign country, as independent as Australia or France." While several questioners tried to expose this and other flagrantly untrue apologies for Apartheid, Mulder went through most of the questioning smoothly, since there was no chance for follow-up questions or rebuttal.

Mulder claimed in an interview in New York that "the general climate /of opinion about South Africa / is much better than it was 18 months ago," and that South Africa's "detente" moves have paid off. The Minister told South African reporters that American opinion towards South Africa had grown "more open and more receptive," and that Americans were prepared to his country's "integrity, sincerity and honesty."

In Washington, Mulder met with Assistant Secretary Nathaniel Davis, although a circuitous effort to met with a lower-ranking policy planner failed. While there has been no indication that Mulder met with officials at the Pentagon, he may have met with Navy personnel during a four-day otherwise unexplained stay in Honolulu, which is the headquarters for CINCPAC, the Navy Pacific command which is responsible for the Indian Ocean.

Mulder also met with several dozen members of Congress. Senator Goldwater hosted a dinner for him where he met with Senators who were for the most part already sympathetic to South Africa. Democratic Congressman John Dent, a newly-won friend of South Africa since his Easter tour there arranged by the Ministry of Information, hosted a luncheon on the Hill of 18 House members and 26 staff people, including several liberals and several members of the Congressional Black Caucus. Of all his political contacts in the U.S., Mulder singled out the Black Caucus members for comment to South African press and in the government organ, South African Digest. He claimed that "they asked penetrating and critical questions ... but I was happy with the outcome. It showed that we are willing to meet people who are not normally cordial to us." A number of Caucus members opposed meeting with Mulder because they foresaw that the South Africans would use the meeting precisely for this propaganda purpose, without any offsetting benefit to South African or American blacks.

Although Mulder will probably not be back in the United States for another year, his staff will undoubtedly continue South Africa's propaganda effort through an \$80,000 a year lobbying operation in Washington, a growing visitors program and an expensive series of newspaper ads. On May 23, the Information Ministry reported that it spent \$269,000 for the "current year" on advertising in the U.S., Britain and Austria. Ads in seven major newspapers and three major news magazines in the U.S. probably account for the bulk of this budget.

#### U.S. URANIUM SHIPMENTS TO SOUTH AFRICA OPPOSED

Congressman Les Aspin of Wisconsin revealed in April that U.S. companies have sold South Africa enriched uranium and nuclear technology useful for building nuclear weapons, with the full knowledge and approval of the U.S. government. Aspin opposed the shipments, saying "South Africa has the fear to want to build a bomb, and it has the technical skill to be able to build a bomb. All it needs is weapons-grade uranium, and the U.S. government is now supplying that." Aspin expressed

concern that the U.S. could not exert effective safeguard controls over how South Africa used the uranium, citing South Africa's failure to sign the Nuclear Weapons Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Aspin's revelation came in the wake of an announcement by South African Prime Minister Vorster that a pilot uranium enrichment plant had just been successfully completed at Pelindaba near Pretoria. The plant uses a unique enrichment process which is reputed to require less capital, but more energy, than the U.S. process. This nuclear development gives South Africa an important boost. Experts agree that once a country develops uranium enrichment techniques, it is a fairly simple step to develop nuclear weapons. Thus South Africa could gain the psychological and military advantage of being the only sub-Saharan African country with nuclear weapons capability. South Africa's large uranium reserves (which place it among the top three sources in the world, along with the U.S. and Canada), and the new technique to enrich it give it another important lever, since the export market for enriched uranium will soar as industrialized countries begin to depend more heavily on nuclear energy. A.J.A. Roux, President of South Africa's Atomic Energy Board, estimates that his country will earn \$375 million in foreign exchange annually from enriched uranium sales by 1986. The Board's Vice President adds, "We now have a bargaining position equal to that of an Arab country with a lot of oil." A U.S. Government scientist confirms this judgement: "Within twenty years we could be as dependent on South Africa for our energy as we are on the oil producers today."

Prime Minister Vorster expressed pride that the pilot project was completed "without assistance from foreign countries" but the facts suggest a different picture. A U.S. company, U.S. Nuclear Corporation of Oak Ridge, Tenn., provided the enriched uranium for the plant, and IBM and Foxboro Corporation of Foxboro, Mass provided some of the technological equipment. According to the April 12 Johannesburg Star, the large-scale enrichment plant next on the South African agenda "will be developed in co-operation with friendly outside interests ... because of the capital costs involved."

Two days after the uranium shipments to South Africa were revealed, Congressman Charles Diggs introduced a bill aimed at South Africa, prohibiting the transfer of nuclear materials and technology to countries which have not ratified the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Congressman Dodd of Connecticut and Senator Henry Jackson (a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, to which Diggs' bill was referred) have come out against the uranium shipments to South Africa.

Senator Pastore, Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, and Representative Price, the Vice-Chairman, immediately supported the shipments. Price said that "the export of U.S. nuclear technology, materials and facilities is a major factor in our constant battle to develop a favorable balance of payments" and said that South Africa could produce a nuclear weapon without the assistance of the United States if it wanted to.

Meanwhile, on June 20th Representative Clarence Long (D - Md.) offered an amendment to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission appropriations bill, containing prohibitions even stronger than those in the Diggs bill. After a brief debate, his amendment was defeated by a vote of 139 to 117.

Congressman Diggs plans to continue his concern in the matter however, and will include an investigation into U.S. - South African nuclear relations in hearings on South Africa scheduled for late July.

## SENATOR CLARK HOLDS HEARINGS ON SOUTHERN AFIRCA

In June the newly-organized Subcommittee on Africa of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee began a series of hearings on southern Africa. The hearings are designed to provide "introductory information" about the region and U.S. policy towards it for the Subcommittee, and especially for its new Chairman, Senator Dick Clark (D - Iowa).

Sessions have already been held on Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia, with both scholars and Administration officials - including the controversial new Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Nathaniel Davis - as witnesses. A few public witnesses have also requested to testify.

In his several appearances before the Subcommittee, Davis has shown himself to be a master of obfuscation. In lengthy questioning from Clark on whether the United States is considering giving aid to Mozambique to compensate for the likely cut-off of Rhodesian trade, Davis refused to go beyond saying that the U.S. "desires to be helpful to Mozambique." His vague answers serve to conceal what Secretary Kissinger's intentions may be in the area, and to give Kissinger and himself considerable flexibility to maneuver without contradicting his public posture.

Senator Clark has shown himself to be a deft questioner, and an informed, receptive chairman, committed to a policy of fostering majority rule in southern Africa. For instance, he has called for U.S. contribution to a multi-lateral fund compensating Mozambique if that new nation closes its borders to sanctions-breaking Rhodesian trade. He responded with concern to the evidence of lax enforcement of sanctions by the U.S. government, presented in testimony by Edgar Lockwood of the Washington Office on Africa. In the Angola hearings, one witness called for an investigation of Gulf Oil's possible role in the current turmoil there; Clark interrupted to say he considered the proposal "a wise one," and would take it up with the Subcommittee on Multinationals, of which he is also a member.

Future hearings will deal with South Africa and Namibia (July 23,24), and an "overview" of the southern Africa region (July 28-29). Persons or groups interested in testifying should contact the Subcommittee, in care of Senator Clark's office (404 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, Attn. Marianne Albertson).