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## Pretoria's U.S. Lobby Tied to 'New Right'

[AN] WASHINGTON, D.C.—With the 1986 elections and a new session of Congress drawing near, the South African government has committed nearly \$1 million to three new lobbying firms with strong ties to the right wing of the Republican Party.

And as the anti-apartheid movement focuses its campaign on state and local fronts, South Africa's new lobbyists are activating their conservative networks to fight the divestment movement on its own turf. "There's a price to pay for attacking South Africa," says Michael Hathaway, a Capitol Hill veteran who recently signed a \$780,000, two-year contract with the Botha government. "There are voters out there who think it's wrong to attack South Africa."

Two of Pretoria's new lobbyists—William Keyes and Ronald Pearson—have kept their posts as top officials with political action committees that have contributed in the past to such standard bearers of the "New Right" as Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) and Rep. Jeremiah Denton (R-AL). Keyes, co-founder of the conservative Black PAC, blitzed North Carolina in 1984 with football heavyweight Roosevelt Grier on behalf of Helms' senatorial campaign. Pearson, a former national board member of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), now serves as executive director of the Conservative Victory Fund, a 13-year-old political action committee that helped finance the 1984 campaigns of more than 75 conservative Republicans.

A third new face among South Africa's lobbying corps, Hathaway, worked for more than a decade as an aide to Sen. James McClure, the conservative Idaho Republican who chairs the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee, which has jurisdiction over the country's strategic minerals policy.

All three lobbying firms have signed six-figure contracts with the South African Embassy since July. Keyes heads the newly formed International Public Affairs Consultants, Inc., which earns \$360,000 a year plus \$30,000 in expenses from the South African government. Pearson and his part-

ner, Richard Pipkin, signed a \$180,000, one-year contract with the embassy on behalf of their one-year-old firm, Pearson & Pipkin, Inc. Hathaway is sole owner of the newly incorporated United International Consultants, which will be paid \$360,000 annually for the next two years by Pretoria (see chart). He pays \$100,000 a year to consultant Joan (Jody) Baldwin, a former staffer with the Senate Republican Policy Committee and former Nixon Administration aide with 20 years of service to the GOP.

All three firms have impeccable right-wing credentials.

Keyes gained national attention late last month in a *Washington Post* article marking him as the black American who lobbies for South Africa's white minority government. He began earning his stripes as a black conservative in the late 1970s, however, working as a welfare policy expert with the American Conservative Union. After an unhappy two-year stint in the Reagan White House as a low-ranking domestic policy adviser, Keyes teamed up with veteran black conservative Jay Parker to form Black PAC. Parker has been on the South African government payroll for at least four years, earning \$36,000 annually as a lobbyist for tiny Venda, one of four territories declared independent by South Africa but unrecognized by the rest of the world.

Keyes, a native of Gastonia, N.C., pitched in to help with the 1984 Senatorial campaign of North Carolina's Jesse Helms, with Black PAC contributing \$1,000 to the effort. According to Federal Elections Commission records, Black PAC attracted \$21,120 in contributions in 1984. Among its recipients were the Republican campaigns of Californian Robert Dornan, Texan Phil Gramm and Thad Cochran of Mississippi.

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Keyes signed his \$390,000 contract with the Botha government in August, after first visiting South Africa, courtesy of the South Africa Foundation, and eventually meeting with the country's two top foreign affairs and information officials, Louis Nel, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Foreign Minister Roelof (Pik) Botha. His highly specific contract, making him Pretoria's chief liaison with black America, charges him with facilitating business ventures between black Americans and South Africa, organizing "fact-finding" trips to South Africa for key black journalists, arranging meetings with black news media for visiting South Africans, establishing exchange programs and helping black South Africans with university-level education in the U.S.

Perhaps least known in Washington circles among South Africa's new lobbyists is Pearson, who comes to the Pretoria payroll with a long activist history. As an undergraduate in 1971 at Brown University, he was named the New England representative of YAF. The following year he was executive secretary for the World Youth Crusade for Freedom and in 1973 served as national YAF board member. He worked for five years as an aide to former conservative Republican Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio and briefly for Rep. William Dannemeyer, a conservative Republican from Orange County, California. In 1980 he had a short stint as managing editor of a newsletter called the *Pink Sheet on the Left*.

Pearson & Pipkin have been paid at least \$12,000 in 1985 for consulting services by the Conservative Victory Fund, of which Pearson is executive director, according to the FEC. So far this year, the Fund has contributed roughly \$10,000 to eight Republicans, including Alabama's Jeremiah Denton. In 1984, the fund contributed more than \$30,000 to the campaigns of 77 conservative Republicans.

Among Pretoria's new lobbyists, the greatest store of Capitol Hill experience belongs to Hathaway and Baldwin. Hathaway first learned the ways of the Hill in 1972 as an aide to then-Rep. McClure. He followed McClure to the Senate and later became staff director of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee after McClure assumed the chairmanship of the committee. Baldwin has a long history with the Senate Republican Policy Committee, having served on its staff from 1959 to 1962, and again from 1973 to 1981. The next year she became deputy staff director and

editor of the committee's newsletter.

Hathaway explained in a telephone interview that he and Baldwin will take charge of lobbying the Senate on behalf of the South Africans, while the House of Representatives will be Pearson's responsibility. But he noted that educating Capitol Hill is just a small part of the job facing Pretoria's lobbyists.

"We will definitely be getting into divestment at the state and local level," Hathaway said. An ardent anti-communist, he feels strongly that state and local politicians cannot adopt sanctions against South Africa without facing the consequences. "It's not a free issue. There's a price to pay for South Africa."

Hathaway is a strong supporter of the P.W. Botha administration. As an aide to McClure, whose interest in strategic minerals stems from Idaho's mining industry as well as his post as head of the Senate's energy policymaking body, Hathaway has long been familiar with South Africa and its role as a supplier of strategic minerals. He is adamant in asserting that these resources, along with Pretoria's tough anti-Soviet stance, should guarantee the white government American support.

"I want to help stop this U.S. trend of dumping on someone who's pro-U.S. and anti-Soviet. Here you have an anti-Soviet government [Botha] that's trying to end apartheid, and every time they take a step they get kicked in the teeth."

Just back from a two-week trip to South Africa, where his appointments with blacks were arranged by the authorities and included meetings with the mayor of Soweto and Chief Gatsha Buthelezi ("a possible future president of South Africa"), Hathaway maintains that the alternative to Botha's reformist approach "is a bloody revolution and Marxist dictatorship, *a la* Nicaragua and the Sandinistas." He contends that supporters of sanctions against South Africa seek the overthrow of Botha and favor "an Angola-type government." According to Hathaway, recent Congressional testimony by Randall Robinson, executive director of the black lobbying group TransAfrica, "exposed his alternative motives—support for Cuban troops against blacks in Angola."

Hathaway also is convinced that the Democratic Party intends to use South Africa as a major foreign policy issue in the 1986 elections. The sanctions bill passed earlier this year by Congress is "not an anti-South Africa bill, but an anti-Republican and anti-Ronald Reagan bill," he says. In response, Hathaway and his fellow lobbyists will be gearing up to gain voter support for the Botha government. "There are voters out there," he warns, "who think it's wrong to attack South Africa."

—Anne Newman ■

**FEEES PAID TO U.S. AGENTS**  
by South African Government, Homelands and Corporations

<i>Agent</i>	<i>Foreign Principal</i>	<i>Fees/Salaries</i>
John P. Sears	S. A. Embassy	\$500,000/yr. + 30,000 expenses
International Public Affairs Consultants, Inc. (William Keyes)	S. A. Embassy	\$360,000/yr + 30,000 expenses
United International Consultants (Michael Hathaway, Joan Baldwin)	S. A. Embassy	\$360,000/yr (2 yrs) + 30,000 expenses
Smathers, Hickey & Riley	S. A. Embassy	\$300,000/yr + 30,000 expenses
Pearson & Pipkin, Inc.	S. A. Embassy	\$180,000/yr + 15,000 expenses
Public Service Audience Planners	S. A. Embassy S. A. Tourist Board	\$ 27,153.22 \$ 61,007.72 (fees for 9/84-8/85)
William Hecht and Associates, Inc.	S. A. Dept's. of Foreign Affairs, Information	\$192,465.27 (fees for 9/84-2/85) (contract ends 2/85)
Global USA, Inc. (Michael J. Farrell, John M. Nugent, Raymond T. Waldmann)	Bophuthatswana	\$112,500.00 (fees for 1/85-7/85)
Donald G. Johnson Co.	Ciskei	\$ 23,083.76 (fees for 9/84-2/85)
Republic of Transkei Washington Bureau	Transkei	\$120,458.79 (fees for 10/84-3/85)
Kenneth Howard Towsey	Transkei	\$ 10,233.79 (fees for 12/84-6/85)
Jay Parker & Associates	Venda	\$ 34,399.24 (fees for 11/84-4/85)
Kirkpatrick & Lockhart (Peter B. Teeley)	International Gold Corp. Ltd.	\$165,000.00/yr + expenses

*Source: U.S. Dept. of Justice, Foreign Agents Act Registration Records*

[AN] With anti-apartheid activity at a new height, South Africa is spending more than \$2 million this year on U.S. lobbyists and public relations firms, according to records on file with the Department of Justice. The list of those working for the Pretoria government and the four black homelands it has declared to be independent includes some familiar names, as well as a new group with extensive right-wing connections.

The "old-timers" are two Washington-based law firms, one with Republican and the other with Democratic connections. John Sears, who was manager of the 1980 Reagan for President campaign until a falling out with other key aides, retains his standing as Pretoria's top paid agent. Smathers, Hickey and Riley—with senior partner George Smathers, a former U.S. senator from Florida—continues after more than five years of work as a key part of South Africa's lobbying team. The firm recently changed its name from Smathers, Symington and Herlong after the departure of Missouri Democrat and former House member James Symington.

Officially retired from this lobbying corps is the law firm of Shipley, Smoak, Henry and Holdgrieve, which represented the South African Administrator General in Namibia under the name of the U.S.-South West Africa/Namibia Trade and Cultural Council. Although Shipley and Smoak continue their association with Namibian politicians, they have formally notified the Justice Department of the termination of their contract with the Namibian administration.

The following table does not include an accounting of the South African government's own public relations efforts, nor those of private companies such as the International Gold Corp., the major South African trader in gold and Kruggerand gold coins that has reported expenditures of more than \$11 million in the first half of 1985 for its trading business and lobbying. Among the government's initiatives are the distribution of informational materials free to school libraries and other institutions, including most recently a 20-page color brochure ("South Africa: Mainstay of Southern Africa") arguing against sanctions and divestment. ■