

AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL

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Mozambique: Marketing RENAMO

The South African Directorate of Military Intelligence is pushing ahead with a new strategy to build support for the Mozambique National Resistance (MNR or RENAMO), whose international reputation has been seriously damaged by a United States State Department report estimating it to have caused 100,000 deaths and comparing it to Pol Pot's *Khmer Rouge*.

This is not a straight case of South Africa being for RENAMO and the USA against. Not all parts of the US government support the State Department anti-RENAMO line, while not all parts of the South African government approve of the destabilisation of Mozambique via RENAMO. 'Pik' Botha's foreign ministry in particular wishes to normalise relations with Mozambique. But RENAMO has a powerful advocate in the person of South African military intelligence chief Major-General C.J. van Tonder, who pioneered support for RENAMO in the early 1980s and swears he will not let them go. Van Tonder regards Pik Botha as a traitor at worst, naive at best.

In effect, South Africa is simultaneously for and against RENAMO. The same is true, in a less spectacular way, of the USA. State Department Africanists headed by Dr Chester Crocker support the government in Maputo and denounce RENAMO. But some of the US conservative groups which support RENAMO, and even supply it with equipment, give every appearance of being manipulated by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) or other parts of the US intelligence community. CIA motives probably include a mixture of anti-communism and a wish to wrest control of RENAMO from the South Africans, since van Tonder will never leave Mozambique in peace as long as he controls RENAMO. The element of South African-CIA competition in this sphere has already resulted in a string of deaths and defections inside RENAMO.

Van Tonder's idea now is to repair the damage inflicted on RENAMO by the US State Department in the damning report it commissioned from Robert Gersony. This involves building an image of RENAMO leader Afonso Dhlakama as a charismatic crusader, Jonas Savimbi-style. To this end, Dhlak-

ama has been undergoing intensive coaching at a base in the Transvaal, learning how to speak, dress and behave when dealing with journalists and foreign dignitaries. His patrons are launching a new publicity drive in the USA and Europe, planned to culminate in a world tour by Dhlakama. RENAMO might then win back the support of US, West German and Portuguese conservatives who have been frightened off by its bad press. South African secret servicemen teaching Dhlakama to be articulate and televisional have an uphill job since he is no genius.

Dhlakama is seldom in his Mozambican bush headquarters, which have come under pressure from a Mozambican, Tanzanian and Zimbabwean military push. He is occasionally spirited into Mozambique to give interviews to important US newspapers, such as a series he gave in late July to journalists from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post* and others.

The July press interviews were a significant step in selling Dhlakama. Four US journalists took off from Johannesburg in a US-registered Aztec 8-seater aircraft flown by a South African pilot. It travelled first to Blantyre in Malawi and then, with a Malawian-based RENAMO agent on board, to Dhlakama's headquarters inside Mozambique.

Officially, the South African Defence Force (SADF) did not know the flight's ultimate destination, but there was an unofficial - and hence deniable - understanding between the owner of the aircraft and a SADF contact. The aircraft also carried batteries, radio equipment and food provided by RENAMO agents in Malawi.

The trip was set up by a US-based pro-RENAMO lobby called Freedom Inc. Its executive director is Robert C. Mackenzie. A veteran anti-communist, Mackenzie was wounded in the Vietnam war before volunteering to serve with Rhodesian Special Forces. He helped to run RENAMO shortly after its creation by Rhodesian intelligence. Like many of his colleagues he went to South Africa in 1980 and joined South African special forces to do the same job (AC Vol 28 No 24). He is believed to remain close to his former commanding officer in Rhodesia, Garth Barrett, who later became the commanding officer

WHO IS HARRY SCHULTZ?

The Aztec aircraft which took journalists and supplies to Afonso Dhlakama in July was paid for by Harry Schultz of the US-based Freedom Inc. Despite sometimes using a Paraguayan passport and currently living in Monaco, Schultz is a US national.

Schultz publishes an investment newsletter, *The Schultz Investment Letter*, and is known for his eccentric advocacy of gold as a world currency. He is close to the Freedom Foundation in South Africa. His wife Dawn is South African. He used to live in London's fashionable Chelsea district, where he was known as Sir Harry David Schultz. His newsletter, although concentrating on investment advice, has also promoted the High Frontiers Space Program run by General Daniel Graham, former head of the US Defence Intelligence Agency, who has good contacts in South African intelligence and is a frequent visitor to Pretoria.

Schultz is a member of an extraordinary number of arcane organisations, including:

1. President of the International Investment Letter Association (USA).
2. Member of the advisory board of the World Gold Association (USA).
3. Member of the Economic Research Council, London.

4. Member of the National Committee for Monetary Reform (USA).

5. Chartered member of the National Association of Investment Advisory Publishers (USA).

6. Member of the advisory board of the National Taxpayers' Union (USA).

7. Member of the advisory board of the Free Market Foundation, Johannesburg.

8. Member of the National Press Club, Washington DC.

9. Member of the US Coalition for Peace Through Security.

10. Member of the California-based Institute for Sound Money.

Despite his background as a wacky political economist, Schultz has also dabbled in foreign affairs before. In 1980 he was a leading supporter and financier of the secessionist movement led by Jimmy Stevens on the island of Espiritu Sanctu in the New Hebrides. This support was channelled through the Phoenix Foundation, an obscure institute run by Schultz and the Dutch-born US national Robert Doorn from an address in Amsterdam. Schultz and Doorn are long-standing associates. Doorn is in fact the founder and president of the World Gold Association, which in 1980 designated Schultz 'Man of the Year'.

of 1 Reconnaissance Commando (1 Recce) in South Africa and is a godfather of South African clandestine operations. Mackenzie now lives in the USA once more where, apart from running Freedom Inc., he contributes articles to the mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune* under the pseudonyms Bob McKenna and Bob Jordan.

US supporters communicate with RENAMO via Malawi more easily than ever, following the installation of new radio equipment and computers in RENAMO's bush headquarters. Thus the July flight carried solar-energy battery-chargers, word-processors and printers linked to the TR-48 radios used by RENAMO. Telephone messages from Blantyre are picked up by the radios and can interface with printers used in the shifting RENAMO headquarters.

The leading US supporter of RENAMO is Thomas Schaaf, also a former resident of Rhodesia. Even in the 1970s, he had extraordinary access to the movement despite its being jealousy guarded by Rhodesian intelligence. In fact, in 1979 he worked with Mackenzie in support of RENAMO. He stayed on in Zimbabwe after independence and was finally asked to leave on account of his pro-RENAMO activities on the Mozambique-Zimbabwe border (AC Vol 28 No 6). Schaaf is executive director of the Washington-based Mozambique Research Centre, closely connected to the Heritage Foundation. He has good contacts with the British company Lonrho, which has great influence in the region. But British intelligence seems to be hostile to RENAMO, not least because it is holding an alleged British secret agent, Nicholas de la Casa. Schaaf also has good contacts among Christian fundamentalist missionaries who have been active in border regions of Mozambique and Zimbabwe, simultaneously preaching the word of God and support for RENAMO.

Schaaf has good contacts with ideologues close to President Ronald Reagan. He and Robert Mackenzie of Freedom Inc. visited Gorongosa in September 1986, taking with them knives, radios and other supplies, just one month after a RENAMO represen-

tative had met the then White House director of communications Pat Buchanan to solicit US government aid. This was the nearest RENAMO ever got to an open meeting in the White House. James Blanchard, a Louisiana businessman, has been supplying RENAMO with an estimated \$3,000-worth of supplies per month since 1986. Jack Wheeler, director of the California-based Freedom Research Foundation, also visited RENAMO in June 1985 and spoke to Colonel Oliver North about helping the movement.

There is a degree of simple idealism in all this. But it appears, too, that US intelligence is continuing with the strategy masterminded by the late CIA director William Casey of not using the CIA for the most delicate operations, but sub-contracting them to private-sector interests with good security connections. This often includes ex-generals such as Richard Secord of Irangate fame and John Singlaub, implicated in a 1987 plan to overthrow the government of the Seychelles (AC Vol 28 No 22). The USA for years gave illegal support to Jonas Savimbi in Angola by this means. Now the US government can remain in touch with RENAMO via people like Thomas Schaaf. All very deniable.

Although US interests have direct communications to Dhlakama via Malawi, the real godfathers remain the South African military, since they are uniquely placed to provide major support. Since the signature of a tripartite agreement between South Africa, Mozambique and Portugal concerning the Cahora Bassa dam, the Pretoria foreign ministry has been making extra efforts to dissuade the military from aiding the MNR. We hear they have even used the security man-politician-businessman Craig Williamson (AC, passim) to try and sabotage military plans to make promotional films about Dhlakama. The military are responding by seeking closer links with the US right so as to make the selling of Dhlakama appear a US operation of which the SADF is innocent. Deniable, very ●