

**TERMINATORS, CRUSADERS AND GLADIATORS: (Private and Public)
Western Support for Renamo and Unita***

A paper for the ECASAAMA Conference
Bonn, December 1988**

**Prepared by Prexy Nesbitt, Consultant
Mozambique Government**

*The title is rooted in the stance of conservative hardliners in the Reagan "State Department: "we're not satisfied with the eating of Grenada. (we) would like to be able to do Nicaragua" (and Africa) too! The title is also derived from the crusade-like nature of Western anti-communism and from the manner in which Third World peoples, especially children, are being coaxed and recruited into the feature roles for today's wars, becoming a type of 21st century gladiator. See Sanders, Jerry, "Terminators", Mother Jones, X, 7, August/September, 1985: 36-41.

**This paper is a revised version of the original presented in December 1988 in Germany. The author wishes to express his thanks to Jeanne Martinelli, Amy Munice, Faith Smith, and Beth Howell who assisted in the preparation of this paper.

The Southern African liberation movements, especially FRELIMO in Mozambique, the MPLA in Angola and the PAIGC in Portuguese Guinea, have long posed a particular problem for Western, especially USA, governments.

A recently de-classified US State Department document dated December 1971 points out that from the early 1960's onwards in an effort to "influence the direction and pace of events in Africa as a whole", the US government adopted several programs. The aims of the programs, the Southern African Students Program (SASP) and the East African Training Program (EATP) were: (1) "to train Southern African refugees in occupations other than armed insurgency and encourage non-violent solutions"; and (2) "to encourage the various liberation movements away from over-dependence on Sino-Soviet assistance." The same memorandum, drafted about the same time that the US government was giving colonial Portugal \$436 million in bilateral assistance, further points out that US relations with African liberation movements merited ongoing attention and planning. From the 70's throughout the 1980's the Southern African liberation movements have been the subject of constant attention by the US government. As recently as 1988, President-elect George Bush called liberation movements "the war in the shadows." He said that the shadows war "is our most active threat for the remainder of the this century."

Ronald Reagan's first Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, stated this view very clearly immediately after taking control of the US State Department in 1981:

The so-called wars of national liberation are putting in jeopardy our ability to influence world events...and to assure access to raw materials. (Interview with Alexander Haig, Time, March 16, 1981, p.25)

Ray Cline, member of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL), former Deputy Director and Operations Chief of the CIA, asserted at the state of the Reagan administration's second term that "the most urgent task of all for the United States in the troubled world of the 1980's is to find the way and the will to stop wars of national liberation." Cline, a close friend to the South African Defense Force (SADF) continued on to say that the South Africans had shown the way; with a strong government and lots of economic resources, "they had really pinned back the ears of the 'liberation movement' down there." ¹

Of course, subsequent events have shown that South Africa has not succeeded in its objective and that Ray Cline is not a very good social scientist.

My main point, however, is to show the preoccupation of Western governments, especially the USA, with finding ways to terminate or, at the very least, to manage national liberation movements or the crises they create. The Carter administration's Zbigniew Brzezinski related the trilateralist principle of

¹ Sanders, Jerry, "Terminators," Mother Jones, August/September, 1985, p.39.

managing liberation movements when he told a 1979 convention of US newspaper editors:

In the mushrooming cities of the Third World, congested and rootless populations are more susceptible than ever to political mobilization. Nationalism is increasingly imbued with ideological content, intensifying the desire to assert both national and social goals.

Cumulatively, traditional global relationships are undergoing profound changes in a context of extraordinary diversity. The role of the United States in that context is paramount, but no longer predominant.

It follows that our central goal must be to import positive direction to change by creating for it a stable and increasingly cooperative framework.²

The same type of thrust is evidenced in a recent editorial of the 'liberal' Washington Post (November 13, 1988) newspaper when it concludes that a major "gain" in the current negotiations over Namibia/Angola will be that "the United States, from being marginalized in Southern Africa, is emerging as the essential outside designer and expeditor of change."

The experience and the result of the Vietnam War has ushered in a new stage in US worldwide interventions against national liberation movements and socialist struggles. The legacy of the Vietnam War in the USA and the history of democratic opposition to imperial and racist adventures throughout the world have created a situation where the USA in particular has had to adopt

² Nesbitt, Prexy, "Trilateralism and the Rhodesian Problem: An Effort at Managing the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle," in Sklor, Holly, ed., Trilateralism, South End Press, Boston, 1980, p. 394-5.

new modes of intervention and/or management.

Policy analysts and decision makers in the US, and West in general, view the world as "in flux." Increasingly, rather than gearing up for conventional military wars, Western strategists and planners are mobilizing for what is dubbed "Low Intensity Conflict" (LIC) in the Third World environs of the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America. Along with the trend towards more funds for "Star Wars" or the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is an equally important trend towards planning and mobilizing for LIC activities in the Third World.

What precisely is meant by LIC? A recent edition of the Christian Science Monitor explained it most simply when it noted that:

Since World War II...(LIC)...has usually taken place in the Third World. US involvement in low intensity conflict can take the form of aid to friendly governments fighting rebels, aid to friendly rebel movements fighting unfriendly governments, and counterterrorist actions.³

LIC is a 'total strategy' for the Third World. It weds military programs to humanitarian programs to economic and psychological projects. It is how to wage war invisibly, or wage war and not

³ "Low intensity" for whom? Is it "low intensity" for the 90,000+ persons "disappeared" in Latin America since 1978? See Goodrich, Lawrence, "US Defense Must Catch Up With Changing World", Christian Science Monitor, Friday, November 25, 1988, p.3-4. See also the major document formulating LIC: Discriminate Deterrence, Report of the Commission on Integrated Long Term Strategy, January 1988. Chaired by Fred Ikle and Albert Wohlstetter, Commission members include: Anne Armstrong, Zbigniew Brezinski, Samuel P. Huntington and Henry Kissinger.

call it war; how to kill large numbers of people without having to pay the political cost of having your own forces shipped back in zippered body bags. And above all, the LIC strategy weaves all these activities together in the same quilt and titles it "defending freedom".

London's prestigious Financial Times (Friday, April 4, 1986) in an article entitled "Reagan's New Freedom Tide," quoted Time magazine as defining the new US rules of engagement in the following way:

"American boys should not be seen dying on the nightly news. Wars should be over in three days or less, or before Congress invokes the War Powers Act. Victory must be assured in advance and the American public must be all for it from the outset."

In the US today, tremendous effort is going into implementing this new approach. In early 1987 Ronald Reagan signed legislation setting up a Board for Low Intensity Conflict (within the National Security Council chaired by Black American National Security Council adviser, Colin Powell). Spending on the Pentagon's Special Operations Forces (SOF) reached a new high at \$1.7 billion in 1987. During Ronald Reagan's first term military aid to Sub-Saharan Africa doubled while development aid increased only seventeen percent. From 1981-1986 the US Department of Defense spent more than \$11 billion expanding its long-range airlift capacities. Starting in 1988 it will spend \$35 billion to purchase C-17 Transports which are the best

aircraft for the "austere airfields and shorter runways likely to be found in the Third World."⁴

The San Jose Mercury News pointed out earlier this year that "over the next three years the Pentagon plans to spend an additional \$8 billion to revitalize and equip its special forces for deployment in low intensity conflicts."⁵

The key component of LIC is the war to win the hearts and minds of the populace; it is the effort to take away the sea in which the guerrilla must swim. Course 0-47 on urban counter-insurgency operations of the US Army School in the Panama Canal Zone instructed soldiers on how to identify liberation movement guerrillas:

The refusal of peasants to pay rents, taxes, or agricultural loans or any difficulty in collecting these will indicate the existence of an active insurrection that has succeeded in convincing the peasants of the injustices of the present system, and is directing or instigating them to disobey its precepts...Hostility on the part of the local population to the government forces, in contrast to their amiable or neutral attitude in the past. This can indicate a change of loyalty or of behavior inspired by fear, often manifested by children refusing to fraternize with members of the internal-security forces.⁶

⁴Goose, Stephen, "Low-Intensity Warfare: The Warriors and their Weapons," in Klare, Kornbluh, ed., Low Intensity Warfare: Counterinsurgency, Proinsurgency, and Antiterrorism in the Eighties, Pantheon Books, New York, 1988, p.107.

⁵Kornbluh, Peter and Klare, Michael, "Have guns, will travel: US strategy in the Third World Invites Disaster," San Jose Mercury News, February 21, 1988.

⁶As quoted in Sklar, Holly, Washington's War on Nicaragua, South End Press, Boston, 1988, p. 85.

A parallel course on "Population Protection and Resources Management" at the US Army Institute for Military Assistance at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, one which could just have easily emerged from an SADF training program in the northern Transvaal, offered advice to Latin Americans on how to deal with subversion: "(one) utilizes such techniques as a national identity card system, search operations, checkpoints, curfews and block controls to monitor the movement of people and goods...but since by their nature most of these measures are rather harsh...(one) should also use the mass media and propaganda for a PSYOPS (psychological operations) campaign to convince the population that these harsh methods are for their own good."⁷

Angola represents an application of the LIC-type interventionist strategy by the United States into Southern Africa. A minimum of thirty million dollars (including Stinger armed missiles) in United States covert aid went to South Africa-backed UNITA during the period of 1986-87 and it is conceivable that millions more went via private contractors (such as the Nugan Hand Bank in Australia) during the 1976-86 period when official US involvement was legally prohibited by the US Senate's Clark Amendment. In fact, John Stockwell, former CIA station chief in Angola during 1975-76, speculates that 30 million dollars would be meaningless in terms of covert funds for

⁷ IBID, p. 85

destabilization in Angola. Stockwell further believes it more likely that UNITA has received hundreds of millions not only in US CIA covert funds but also from the arms sales to Iran and from money raised by the USA in Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Brunei.⁸ Stockwell's assertion is supported by recent evidence that has come from the Iran-Contragate scandal. Theodore Shackley, one of the former CIA Bay of Pigs commanders and station chief in Saigon once suggested to a 1983 symposium on low intensity conflict that "a special (secret) mechanism of government be established so as to control all special operations and their assets." He had particularly in mind the African targets of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and the Western Sahara.⁹

Evidence from the Israeli dimensions of the Iran-Contragate enterprise also points to auxiliary funding for UNITA:

Outside Central America, some of the Iran money may also have been diverted to purchase anti-aircraft missiles from Israel for the Afghan rebels. The same bank account may have also financed military shipments from China. That material reportedly went both to Afghanistan and, via the Portuguese territory of Macao, to the former Portuguese colony of Angola to help the UNITA guerrilla movement. A growing body of evidence suggests that the administration's private contractors circumvented the Clark

⁸ "Angola: Irangate Funds for UNITA?" West Africa, February 2, 1987, p. 288.

⁹ As quoted in National Security Archive, The Chronology, Warner Books, New York, 1987, p.25.

Amendment barring aid to UNITA in the same way that they bypassed the Boland Amendment regarding the contras.¹⁰

Additional, secret arms shipments, using various flight paths and foreign companies like St. Lucia Airways so as to avoid US law banning the direct delivery of arms to South Africa, have been a consistent part of US support to Angola.

Europe, too, has often served as a back door entry for Savimbi to get finances, arms and supplies. The late Franz Joseph Strauss was a key Savimbiite. The Hans Seidel Foundation in West Germany bore all the costs of setting up a UNITA office. British M-16 personnel like Ivan Davies worked along with their CIA counter parts as early as 1975 to support Savimbi. Savimbi called as well on long time British Friends like Robert Moss of The Economist, Fred Bridgeland and Lord Chalfont. Gordon Winter's book, Inside Boss, tells us that secret service and former OAS-types in both France and Belgium were important sources of arms and munitions transfers to UNITA. Marcel Pruwer, famed Belgian diamond dealer, is another long time friend of Savimbi, like numerous Swiss church bureaucrats, bankers and academics, who became close to Savimbi during his sojourn in Switzerland. Another Belgian operative, a well-known figure in Europe's right wing circles, is Nicholas de Kerchove who has consistently arranged weapons shipments to UNITA via various

¹⁰Taken from Hunter, Marshall and Scott, The Iran Contra Connection: Secret Teams and Covert Operations in the Reagan Era, South End Press, Boston, 1987, p. 185.

Zairois connections. Belgium is rich with Savimbi-Mobutu, Mobutu-Savimbi modes and conduits.

A key element of South Africa-backed UNITA's war is its public relations campaign in Western countries, especially its effort to win the hearts and minds of people in Western Europe and in the United States, especially Black Americans. UNITA has spent at least 1.5 million since 1985 to inflame black opinion in America beginning with financial and other bribes to many Black American notables to make trips to alleged UNITA territory in Angola. In 1986, UNITA hired the public relations firm, Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly to both arrange visits to UNITA camps and to create a positive public image for UNITA. One of the associates of this firm was Lee Atwater who recently headed the Bush Presidential campaign and is now designated by President-elect Bush as the new head of the Republican National Committee. Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly and other individual publicists and personalities like Florence Tate (former press director for Mayor Barry of Washington, D.C.) and comedian Dick Gregory teamed up with conservative Black organizations and others¹¹ to saturate the Black American community, (especially the church community) with the idea that UNITA was the only true Angolan government! And that President Savimbi was the only truly Black Angolan leader!! This public campaign besides playing to ignorance of

¹¹ For a partial listing of key US groups and individuals supporting UNITA in the USA, see the appendices, Appendix I.

African realities and racial chauvinism, also appealed to residual US anti-communism in as much as it constantly blasted Cuban mercenaries and Cuban adventurism in Angola.¹²

These campaigns of disinformation about the Angolan situation have been spearheaded by an assortment of pro-UNITA organizations that have mushroomed in recent years and have provided vehicles for the most reactionary people in the Black American communities (many of which are renown former civil rights leaders) to lead the ill-informed astray. One example is Rev. Maurice Dawkins, previous president of the Los Angeles NAACP. Dawkins utilized his Government Relations International public policy firm to create the so-called Black Americans for Peace and Democracy in Angola and subsequently, the "Prayers for Peace" campaigns that renown Black comedian and activist Dick Gregory and others joined in on. While claiming to often ill-informed Black Americans that their desire was to end Black fratricide, Dawkins and the "Prayers for Peace" campaign urged negotiations between the MPLA and UNITA thereby implying a legitimacy for Savimbi and his Apartheid backed forces. Dawkins and the Black Americans for Peace and Democracy in Angola have stated that their key objective is to organize the Congressional Black Caucus in support of UNITA. They have, however, concentrated their organizing efforts in going to the

¹² See appendices for sample of anti-Cuban literature, Appendix II.

USA countryside to talk to Black leaders whom they see as more open to argument and not as misinformed as people on Capitol Hill!

The systematic campaign of recent years to take UNITA's case directly to the Black American community began in March 1987. UNITA's Foreign Secretary, Tito Chingunji, toured a number of Alabama churches, colleges and cities to preach the gospel about UNITA's self-proclaimed quest for peace, reconciliation and free elections. Chingunji blamed all of the maiming and killing in Angola on white Soviets and Cubans. Wherever Chingunji went he met Alabamans who knew nothing of UNITA except what they were being told by UNITA representatives. Chingunji then visited Miami, Florida where the large Cuban exile community had already primed Black church leaders to follow pro-UNITA sentiment. Members of the Cuban exile community, led by organizations like the Cuban American National Foundation and assisted by the US radio station, Radio Marti, had previously secured support for UNITA through political pressure on their Congressional Representatives and Senators including Bob Graham, Lawton Chiles, Claude Pepper, and Dante Fascell.

The recent '88 Savimbi tour of New York, Washington and a number of cities in the deep South may have had similar objectives as the earlier work vis-a-vis orchestrating Black American public opinion but clearly not with the same result. Savimbi's trip was arranged by the Committee for a Free Angola, a Washington-based organization, key to the functioning of UNITA

support work in the USA. His tour coincided with Congressional debate on increased sanctions against South Africa. A highlight of Savimbi's visit was a meeting with President Ronald Reagan who had just within the last year refused to meet with members of the Frontline States.

Another planned highlight of the trip was Savimbi being awarded the Medgar Evers Humanitarian Award by Charles Evers, Mayor of Fayette, Mississippi and former associate of Dr. Martin Luther King. Charles Evers had previously visited Savimbi headquarters in Angola and returned to the US to arrange for his city of Fayette to become a sister city to Jamba, the Savimbi stronghold. Evers also pledged medical supplies and two ambulances to the UNITA cause and became a vocal spokesman in support of UNITA. Insight into Evers' avid support for Savimbi and UNITA comes from knowing that the Reagan Administration granted \$191,000 to a foundation headed by Evers. In his political career, Evers had previously found it appropriate to endorse some of the most right wing elements for political office ranging from George Wallace for President to Klansman Jimmy Swan for Governor of the state of Mississippi.¹³ His political travels through the years also led Evers to be photographed

¹³ According to one of Mississippi's leading black newspapers, The Jackson Advocate, Klansman Swan is alleged to believe that "the solution to the race problem is to make the niggers marry the Jews to teach the Jews some humility and the niggers some sense." Tisdale, Charles "Savimbi Met by Protestors in Jackson; Evers Blasted by Critics," Jackson Advocate, July 6, 1988, p. 8A.

announcing his friendship with former Klan Dragon McDaniels, to visit post-Watergate Richard Nixon at San Clemente, and to endorse Ronald Reagan for President.

Unlike Chingunji's largely unchallenged tour of Alabama in 1987, the outcry surrounding Savimbi's receipt of the Medgar Evers Award and subsequent tour of Mississippi successfully challenged suggestions of Savimbi and UNITA's legitimacy, especially among Black Americans. Myrlie Evers, widow of the slain Civil Rights leader Medgar Evers, brother to Charles Evers, led the outcry against Savimbi, calling him one of Apartheid's agents, stating that her late husband would never have approved of picking Savimbi for the award. Press throughout the US picked up on the controversy and Black American opposition to Savimbi which included: TransAfrica, Mayor Andrew Young of Atlanta, Jesse Jackson, the Organization of African Unity, the Black Congressional Caucus, NAACP, SCLC, and the National Urban League. The Mayor of Vicksburg, Mississippi cancelled his city's invitation to Savimbi publicly stating that he had been misled by Charles Evers into thinking that Savimbi was President of Angola. Wherever Savimbi went to speak, protestors were prominent and vocal in publicizing Savimbi's links to South Africa and Apartheid's forces. Whereas previous pro-UNITA public relations efforts went unchallenged, a new resistance to UNITA and its disinformation campaigns, especially among Black Americans had

emerged. As Randall Robinson told a packed June 23rd press conference:

Aid to Savimbi is aid to South Africa. We are coming together to make sure the American people, and especially the Black community, understand that Jonas Savimbi is doing South Africa's dirty work in Angola.¹⁴

Indeed, fighting for the hearts and minds of Black Americans on the terrain of support for Southern African struggles promises to be one of the hottest battlegrounds between progressive and reactionary forces in the United States in the years to come. Since 1980, CAUSA (a right-wing organization founded by the Unification Church's Sun Myung Moon to fight communism worldwide) using various budgeted funds, has made significant inroads into Black churches, often allying with American civil rights veterans such as Martin Luther King's former associates Ralph Abernathy and James Bevel among others and former Black Panthers such as Eldridge Cleaver. UNITA often profits from this work done by Moon, who is also the owner of the Washington Times. But consistently the drift of some Black American leaders to the right has not gone unchallenged. For example, in 1987 when Atlanta's Mayor Andrew Young sought to bring the Guatemalan Police force to Atlanta for public relations training without any recognition that Guatemala was a regime with one of the worst human rights records extant, it was the petition campaign by the

¹⁴"Black Leaders Denounce Savimbi During US Visit," Angola Update, II, 2, October, 1988, p. 1.

Congressional Black Caucus, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition and others that forced Young to reverse his invitation. As will be argued later, we see that US-sponsored LIC and related operations can be derailed or at least ham-strung when operations which are unknown to the American public come to see the light of day.

The fact remains, however, that besides the 1985 repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting US assistance to rebels in Angola, the US Congress has voted the following into law in recent years:

*The Grassley Amendment, H.R. 5300, denying foreign tax credits on income from foreign nations with which the US has no diplomatic relations or nations which provide support for international terrorism;

*The Proxmire-McCollum Amendment, H.R. 5548, prohibiting the US Export-Import Bank from new lending to the MPLA government;

*The Courtes Amendment, H.R. 4428, prohibiting the purchase by the US Department of Defense of Angolan petroleum products from companies producing oil in Angola;

*The DeConcini Resolution, S.Res. 381, requesting the President to block business transactions that conflict with US security interests in Angola.

These US governmental legislative actions (and the non-binding Senate resolution of May 1987 passed by 94-0, that trade with Angola be stopped!) are the product of -- we reluctantly admit-- effective pro-UNITA organizing in the US. They are the product of a campaign by UNITA and its allies which has both saturated the US Congress and has reached out extensively at the grassroots

level. The campaign targeted and reached Southern States like Mississippi, Alabama and Florida. It lobbied the state legislatures of California, New Jersey, Oklahoma and Texas to pass resolutions condemning Angola and heralding Jonas Savimbi and UNITA. Spending hundreds of thousands of dollars it made contacts and "blitzed" Black American church conferences, the National Conference of Black State Legislators, the National Black Business League and the national conferences of various Black civil rights organizations.

Working closely with the extremely polished, rich, and well-connected Black, Manafort, Stone, and Kelly (BMSK) public relations firm, UNITA personnel approached journalists, public officials and/or their aids throughout Washington and in neighboring states as well. Thousands of pamphlets, books, letters, photographs, slide shows and Savimbi memorabilia were distributed. Their objective in Washington was as Savimbi stated it, "to make UNITA a household word so that we can see millions of dollars in congressional aid pour in."¹⁵

Further, the public relations and legislative initiatives coupled with the covert assistance and diplomatic maneuvering constituted a winning USA war machine for UNITA. The campaign to legitimize Savimbi, the legislative triumphs, the portrayal of

¹⁵ For more information on this critical relationship between Savimbi and the BMSK firm see: Ladd, Christopher, "Black Manafort's Sweet Savimbi Connection," Legal Times (Newspaper), May 18, 1987, p. 1. For a list of what BMSK did for UNITA according to required US Justice Department forms see the appendices, Appendix III and IIIA.

the US as a disinterested moderator and the subsequent developments in the Angola/Namibia peace talks, all are seen as a regional victory for the Reagan administration. And with an ominous note for Mozambique -- it is seen as a victory in which the US achieved peace and stability even while it openly armed and supported its player, UNITA. As journalist Robert Greenberger pointed out and National Security Adviser, Black American Colin Powell elaborated in words which must have been titillating for Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, Chester Crocker, architect of the Angola strategy:

"In stark contrast to its failed efforts in Central America, the Reagan administration used diplomacy and covert assistance successfully in Southern Africa...(But) 'It was only after the United States began military aid to the UNITA freedom fighters in 1986 that the Angolan regime started to take seriously the idea of a negotiated settlement', said Lt. General Colin Powell, President Reagan's National Security Adviser.¹⁶

But it is yet another arm of these new modes of intervention which is today the significant harbinger of the truly pervasive policies, financing and activities. What I am referring to is what I call privatized intervention. It is probably the pattern for the future and it is what the New York-based alternative weekly, The Nation, described as "a permanent funding network of foreign governments, political parties and private institutions

¹⁶ Greenberger, Robert, "Diplomatic Success in Southern Africa Provides lesson US Policy Makers," The Wall Street Journal, Monday, Oct. 31, 1988.

whose purpose is to support global counter-revolution without being subject to the vagaries of local elections, charges of officials or the whims of public opinion in any one country."¹⁷

One particular arena in which this complex of privatized terminators likes to operate is that of humanitarian assistance and disaster relief. In Central America today, especially El Salvador and Honduras, food assistance and humanitarian aid are being used as instruments of LIC warfare. Food, tents, tools and medicines are being distributed by groups like the Knights of Malta, Friends of the Americas or Air Commando Association, all tax-exempt organizations as part of civic humanitarian initiatives. On the surface they seem to be simply not-for-profit non-governmental organizations (NGO's) but in fact they are essential allies to the military within a strategy that calls for increased emphasis on counter-penetration by civic and humanitarian channels. As a 1987 US Senate Committee report bluntly stated:

¹⁷ "Secret Wars" The Core of the Crisis," editorial, The Nation, December 13, 1986, p. 660. An article in the Nation of September 26, 1988 pointed out that this network may resort to any means possible. It describes how on a recent trip to South Africa, Conservative Caucus chair, Howard Phillips and Donald McAlvany of a US precious metals firm and television show advocated killing Bishop Desmond Tutu! "The least you can do is remove the idiot's passport and not let him travel over to our country and somebody might want to even shoot him," said McAlvany, a born-again Christian to a Durban (South Africa) audience.'

The provision of humanitarian aid and civic assistance activities to the civilian populace of developing foreign countries potentially confronted with low intensity conflict should be explicitly recognized as a valid military mission.¹⁸

The story of the Paralife Ministries in El Salvador (quoted below) illustrates fully the usefulness of the humanitarian weapon for the Salvadoran government. It stands also as an almost total parallel to the 1987 story of Australian missionary Ian Grey and his work with the American Shekinah Ministries which operated with the MNR in Mozambique and Malawi:

Paralife Ministries: In El Salvador, Paralife representatives frequently associate with US and Salvadoran military and government officials. The organization closely cooperates with the military-controlled resettlement program for displaced families. According to its June 1986 newsletter: "God sends many ministries to El Salvador to achieve His own specific purpose... One such ministry...completed an eight-day tour of twelve military bases. Over 3,700 men, whose average age was 18, heard from an ex-soldier (Vietnam veteran) how much God loves the soldier...He explained that killing for the joy of it was wrong, but killing because it was necessary to fight against an anti-Christ system, communism, was not only right, but a duty of every Christian."¹⁹

Another area, perhaps the major one in Europe, in which the USA's new intervenors have been lately operating is the financing and creating of right wing think tanks, foundations, institutes

¹⁸ As quoted in The Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, Public and Private Humanitarian Aid, Legal and Ethical Issues: A Policy Report, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1988, p. 6.

¹⁹ IBID, p. 13.

and research centers. An issue of The Observer of London noted earlier this fall that:

Large sums of foreign money have been pumped into an extraordinary epidemic of new 'institutes' and 'foundations', staffed by young British right-wingers.²⁰

The purpose of these new formations is to campaign on behalf of the MNR in Western Europe. Four particular new groupings in Europe are: 1) The International Freedom Foundation (IFF); 2) Western Goals (UK WG); and 3) The International Society of Human Rights (ISHR) and 4) the Mozambique Solidarity Campaign. The first three are linked to US organizations, most notably the Heritage Foundation and the Western Goals Foundation, the latter being indirectly linked to the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and its American chapter, the United States Council for World Freedom (USCWF).

Who are these groups? What do they represent? What is the general pattern of Western governmental and non-governmental support for RENAMO? What should be the response of those of us in solidarity with Mozambique and Angola?

The key country in Europe targeted thus far by these organizations is Great Britain. Part of their purpose in Britain is to get the Thatcher administration to change its current policy of aid to the FRELIMO government, including its military training programs.

²⁰ See Leigh, David and Lashmar, Paul, "Terrorist Supporters Woo Tories: The Propaganda Trial," The Observer, October 9, 1988 and Ivon, David "Touting for South Africa: International Freedom Foundation," Covert Action Information Bulletin, 31, Winter, 1989, p. 62-64.

But above all these particular groups hope to make Western public opinion (for they function as well, especially the International Society for Human Rights, in West Germany, Belgium, France, Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Norway, Sweden, Israel and Australia): 1) embrace the MNR as a movement with political legitimacy; and 2) create the image that credible political organizations and personalities support the "Bandidos Armados!!"

Thus, a major target population for these crusaders are parliamentarians, conservative, moderate, even liberal ones, but above all those who are respected by the general public whatever their political views. In pursuit of this group then MNR-supporting academics like an Andre Thomashausen of West Germany will write legitimizing articles, draft political programs and even a possible future MNR constitution, and write letters of introduction to various parliamentarians.

A group that is particularly vulnerable to the West's MNR crusaders are human rights activists. What is attempted often is to raise the question of alleged human rights abuses by the Mozambique government. Or another change is that the Mozambique government has persecuted churches and is anti-semitic. One example of a human rights-type group being manipulated by MNR supporters is Amnesty International. Hopefully, Amnesty's December 1988 recanting of its charges and its Secretary General's admission of error will lead to greater understanding of Mozambique's situation by many more Western human rights

activists, church and trade union leadership, and others not always conversant with the Southern African context.

Another important pattern of European support for the bandits and their killing in Mozambique is that of financing MNR activities. In Portugal there is the critical network of former colonialist settlers in Mozambique associated with people like Manuel Bulhosa. There is the Association of Businessmen from Mozambique. There is the infamous Jaime Nogueira Pinto who is alleged to be the connection between US foundations, financiers and both UNITA and MNR activities in Portugal. In Germany a key financing and organizational source is the Hans Seidel Foundation and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation. Another in Germany is the US-based Lyndon La Rouché organization. And in Britain it has been in the area of financing various conservative student groups, ergo the Federation of Conservative Students and long term right wing operations like Brian Crozier's Institute for the Study of Conflict that very wealthy conservative US organizations like the Heritage Foundation (its main backer being Coors Beer) and the world Anti-communist league have made the most inroads.

Western support for RENAMO and the desire of certain Western governments to eliminate FRELIMO take place, more and more, within a privatized setting. The crisis in Mozambique increasingly is an example of South African and Western use of both governmental and non-governmental vehicles of intervention.

An analysis of the list of US and European groups supporting RENAMO²¹ demonstrates that linked to the South African military's effort to destroy Mozambique is a Western constellation of forces, covert governmental but largely non-governmental which would like to see: 1) an end to a FRELIMO-led Mozambique; and 2) a replacement government -- not necessarily MNR -- but one which will be subservient to a political and social order in Southern Africa where Western capital and apartheid settler society -- possibly a modified one -- will continue to dominate.

Growing evidence indicates that there are various European military and security or ex-security personnel who are involved in supporting the MNR. Former MNR spokesperson in Lisbon, Paulo Oliveira, informs us that in Portugal the chief of the General Staff of the Portuguese Army, Lemos Ferreira, has both helped arrange journalists' visits to MNR people in Mozambique and organized the delivery of non-lethal military equipment from the Portuguese Armed Forces to the MNR at their training camps in Phalaborwa (Transvaal) South Africa. Also according to Oliveira, West Germany's Wolfgang Richter gave the late Evo Fernandes of the MNR one million marks to buy black market versions of the SAM-4 guided missile. Another former MNR head, Changuinga Chivaca

²¹For a partial listing of US and European groups and individuals supporting RENAMO or the Bandidos Armados, see the appendices, Appendix IV. See also Pear, Robert "Rightists in U.S. Aid Mozambique Rebels", New York Times, May 22, 1988, p. 1.

Joao, claimed at a November 1988 press conference that while the Bonn government did not support the MNR, its secret service, the BND, both gave the MNR funding and provided personal security for MNR Foreign Secretary Arturo Janeiro da Fonseca, a resident of Germany. Mr. Joao also noted various meetings which MNR's alleged leader Alfonso Dhlakama had conducted with MNR people in West Germany in both 1983 and more recently.

Recent new information indicates as well that, despite numerous long standing public denials, and despite the well-publicized US State Department's Garsony Report condemning MNR,²² Mozambique has been the victim of various CIA and other US government programs in support of the "Bandidos Armados". The lead article in December 2, 1988 issue of Africa Confidential states:

The United States government appears to be sponsoring not one but two covert operations in support of the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO or MNR)...

... ..
Of the two US networks operating in support of RENAMO today, one seems to be sponsored by elements in the Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) US military intelligence -- working through civilian contacts. The second operation bears the CIA hallmark. Serving US officials say that DIA and CIA have differing views on Mozambique. There are signs of mutual support

²²The full title of the Garsony Report is: Summary of Mozambican Refugee Accounts of Principally Conflict-Related Experience in Mozambique submitted to Ambassador Jonathan Moore, Director, Bureau for Refugee Programs and Dr. Chester Crocker, Assistant Secretary of African Affairs by Robert Garsony, US Department of State, Washington, D.C., April 1988.

between the rival camps in the USA and South Africa, US military men inclining towards their peers in South Africa and civilian siding with civilian.²³

Thus it is that Louisiana businessman James Blanchard's monthly \$3,000 contribution to MNR and the contributions of the End-Time Handmaidens and US citizen Harry Schultz living in Monaco and dozens of other business people (many ex-military and ex-intelligence) and church folks get coordinated and meshed together. Various conservative evangelical churches, some of them like Jimmy Swaggart Ministries or Shekinah Ministries having extensive relief networks inside Mozambique, are approached and solicited in the name of their particular anti-communist Christianity. Of course, these small, private, conservative, often racist churches with philosophies like that of Shekinah Ministries would be willing to share their resources and personnel with a US government run effort to fight godless atheism and communism. The President of Shekinah, the person responsible for recruiting Australian missionary Ian Grey (convicted in 1987 of running arms and communication equipment to RENAMO), Michael Howard wrote in a 1985 letter:

²³ "Mozambique: Plausible deniability," Africa Confidential, Vol. XXIX, No. 24, December 2, 1988, p. 1.

1. Mozambique is under legal control of an anti-Christian government.
2. The RENAMO (or MNR) forces are fighting communism...
3. Dhlakama, their President, says 'We need God, we want Jesus.'
4. We believe that it won't be long before RENAMO is one in full control of Mozambique, two years at the most.²⁴

Thus it is also that the story of Francisco Nota Moises, MNR information secretary recently granted entry into Canada, despite Canadian-government support for Mozambique, becomes more comprehensible. Moises, it could be speculated, as an MNR person with a background that included work for both the BBC and the US embassy in Swaziland, was a crucial "crusader" to get planted in the Canadian political milieu, an environment which was too involved (from a Canadian Conservative Party and US CIA point-of-view) in African solidarity work. Further, Moises was to play in Canada the same role against Mozambique that the Canadian renegade church group, the Angolan Concerns Committee of the United Church of Canada was playing in its advocacy against the People's Republic of Angola and for UNITA. Moises' presence in British Columbia may have been ordered by much more substantive quartermasters than the diminutive Dhlakama. The footdragging of Canadian authorities about deporting Moises may be the result of US governmental structures or surrogates for such structures making a deal which Canadian authorities simply could not refuse.

²⁴As quoted in Gifford Paul, The Religious Right in Southern Africa, Baobab Books, Harare, 1988, p. 79. This book is an extremely useful study.

In short, this new information corroborates arguments advanced earlier in this paper. It shows the use of privatized intervention joined to South African sponsorship for the destabilization and destruction of Mozambique. As the same Africa Confidential article points out:

Both strands of US covert action use techniques of deception perfected by William Casey, CIA director from 1980 to 1987. As the world now knows, he built a global network of surrogates to combat Soviet influence wherever it might lurk. Fundraisers for the secret network included arguments such as those of Brunel and Saudi Arabia and wealthy US citizens operating out of self-interest or idealism. Operations involved using private citizens with contacts to US intelligence, including retired generals, ex-Special Forces officers and former CIA men, foreign nationals and mercenaries. The World Anti-Communist League acted as a cover for official action on occasion.

To use jargon of the trade, the operations have 'plausible deniability'. They make maximum use of personnel and funds outside official payrolls and budgets. The RENAMO operation is, in fact, a relic of the world-wide semi-private network put in place by the late Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) director William Casey.²⁵

What should our response be? First, we have to educate our constituencies into seeing and internalizing the indivisibility of the South African struggle from the Southern Africa struggle. In the second instance we have to transform invisible networks of support for MNR and UNITA into exposed and highly visible networks. We have to work to de-legitimize RENAMO/UNITA and the

²⁵ Africa Confidential, op. cit.

organizations and people supporting them in the West. The television show last night here in the FRG is a good example of doing this. Further, we have to expose to our various peoples who the RENAMO/UNITA supporters are in terms of the roles that they play in their own countries. We have to show how their support of brutality and killing in Mozambique and Angola is a natural extension of the racism acts and activities of exploitation, and repression which they initiate, and help maintain at home. There should be no MNR or UNITA killers or their agents and supporters moving around the cities and villages of Europe, the USA, Canada and Australia with impunity and protection of exercising "their democratic rights", rights to kill and assist in killing people. We have the cultural, political and people means to stop them. Let us do so!! Finally, we have to make the People's Republic of Mozambique and Angola household words in the West and support for them a question of the mutuality of interests. Their struggle is our struggle should be the new international clarion call just as once (in a different but related era) "No Pasaran!" once was.

APPENDIX I

List of Key U.S. Based Organizations and Individuals Supporting UNITA

LOBBYISTS/PUBLICISTS/PR FIRMS

Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly (BMSK), Falls Church, VA	1.2 million since 1986
Florence Tate & Associates, Washington, D.C.	
Kenneth Barry Schochet, Washington, D.C.	\$19,500/3 mos
NAP International (part of BMSK), Alexandria, VA	\$100,000/6 mos
National Media International (part of BMSK), Alexandria, VA	
TKC International, Washington, D.C.	\$584,000/24 mos
Griffin Communications, Vienna, VA	\$21,200/12 mos
Clarence V. McKee, Esq., Washington, D.C.	\$171,000/12 mos
Keefe Company International, Washington, D.C.	\$100,000/12 mos
Constance Hilliard, Dallas Morning News, Dallas, TX	
Billy Joe Sly, Washington, D.C.	

REGISTERED AGENTS

Government Relations International (Maurice Dawkins), Washington, D.C.	\$303,000/18 mos
Free Angola Information Service, Washington, D.C.	
A.J. Hicks, Washington, D.C.	
National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), Washington, D.C.	\$565,518/12 mos
Margaret Calhoun, Arlington, VA	

ORGANIZATIONS/INSTITUTIONS

African Americans for Peace and Democracy in Angola, Washington, D.C.	
American Enterprise Institute	
American Expressions, Inc., Memphis, TN	\$33,000/3 mos

Angola Freedom Foundation (President, Kevin Callwood),
Washington, D.C.

Angola Peace Fund, Washington, D.C.

Black Americans for a Free Angola, Washington, D.C.

Black Americans for Peace and Democracy, Washington, D.C.
and Miami, FL

Black Americans United, Chicago, IL

Committee for a Free Angola

Conservative Caucus, Vienna, VA (Chairman, Howard Phillips)

Cuban American Foundation

Free Angola Foundation (name change to FAIS in 1986),
Washington, D.C. \$1,086,000/24 mos

Free Angola Information Services (FAIS), Washington, D.C.
publisher of Kwacha* News \$1.2 millin since
1986

Freedom House

Heritage Foundation

LUSO-American Development Foundation (funds Black, Manafort,
Stone and Kelly)

Washington Times

INDIVIDUALS

Prominent Personalities:

Jeanne Kirkpatrick, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations

Rev. Sun Myong Moon, owner of Washington Times

William Pascoe, Visiting Fellow, Heritage Foundation

Congress:

Sen. Dennis DeConcini (D-AZ)

Sen. Richard Shelby (D-AL)

Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-NY)

Sen. Bob Graham (D-FL)

Sen. Bob Kasten (R-WI)

Sen. Pete Wilson (R-CA)

Sen. Robert Dole (R-KS)

The Angola Task Force of the
House and Senate

Sen. William Armstrong (R-CO)
Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX)
Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah)
Sen. Claude Pepper (D-FL)
Sen. Steve Symms (R-ID)

Rep. Dante Fascell (D-FL)
Rep. Henry Hyde (R-IL)
Rep. Mark Siljander (R-MI)

Rep. Joe Gordon, Oklahoma House of Representatives

COMMUNITY AND BLACK AMERICAN LEADERS:

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Civil Rights leader, GA

Kwadwo Akpan

Malik Chaka

Charles Evers, Civil Rights leader, MS

Dick Gregory, entertainer

Mayor Johnny Ford, Alabama Conference of Black Mayors

Rev. Tedford Johnson, Canaan Baptist Church, Miami, FL

Rev. T.L. Lewis, Bethel Baptist Church, Birmingham, AL

Rev. James Rowe, New Bethel Baptist Church, Tulsa, OK

Mayor John Smith (Prichard, AL), Secretary General, World
Conference of Mayors

Hosea Williams, Civil Rights leader, GA

Public relations added to Savimbi's arsenal

THE WASHINGTON TIMES FOREIGN SERVICE

JAMBA, Angola — Four hours in an aging, World War II-vintage Dakota, which the pilots fly with the easy familiarity of airmen with hundreds of hours in the cockpit, followed by two hours in trucks plowing through the soft, sandy soil of southern Angola, brings a weary traveler to Jamba, the headquarters of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA guerrilla movement.

It's not luxury travel. The Dakota — which American soldiers knew as the C-47 and commercial passengers occasionally still know as the DC-3 — has no seats, only the hard benches of a plane once used for paratroopers.

Neither are there stewardesses. The fare is simple, sandwiches, Cokes and beer, as the plane lurches, slips and slides northwest from just outside Pretoria to an old Portuguese airstrip in southeast Angola. The fare runs to \$300, round trip.

Once on the ground, a jolting kidney-rattling ride in trucks or Toyota Land Cruisers finally brings one to Jamba.

A visitor soon discovers another weapon Mr. Savimbi has added to his arsenal of rifles, mortars and rockets — public relations.

His guerrilla army, built up over two decades of bush war, slowly is taking on the trappings of a regular military — often with the "hurry-up-and-wait" syndrome that has driven many a soldier to his wits' end.

Officers dealing with the press or other visitors often are dressed in crisp green or camouflaged uniforms and armed with walkie talkies. Whatever language is needed, a translator is found.

Jamba may be the "provisional



headquarters" of UNITA — the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola — but Mr. Savimbi leaves little doubt that his public relations efforts are big league. UNITA even has hired a California-based consulting firm to boost its image.

At press conferences, in addition to the bank of foreign television crews, UNITA's own video camera is carefully filming, a still photographer is hard at work, and the entire conference is taped.

An overhead projector has replaced the map board during the military briefing by Col. Peregrino Chindondo, who details in crisp, precise English UNITA's latest accomplishments.

Black-and-white photographs of captured government soldiers, downed helicopters and destroyed armored vehicles give the evidence of UNITA's success. A table laden with captured documents, equipment, and a machine gun reinforce the image that UNITA is a force to be reckoned with.

When Mr. Savimbi delivers a speech, a text is available in both English and Portuguese.

Well aware of the importance of television, Mr. Savimbi, during a recent speech delivered in Portuguese, repeated select sections in English. His speeches — political as they may be — are mercifully short, a measure that does not go un-

noticed by the foreign press.

And Mr. Savimbi always takes the time to meet with reporters, individually or in small groups, and converses easily in English, Portuguese, French and German.

With \$27 million in American aid on the line it pays to get your message across.

Along with the improved public relations effort in the past year, Jamba's guest facilities have sprouted and taken on a more sophisticated and permanent look as increasingly more persons make the trek to Angola.

Showers have been added to the reed-and-thatch huts, which house comfortable beds. Electricity had been installed a year ago.

Once-warm Cokes now are chilled by ice from a machine that was nonexistent just three months ago. And no matter how hot the African sun an orderly may be counted on to appear with a cool drink.

The orderlies, formerly dressed in civilian clothes, now sport UNITA T-shirts, red or black, with "Unidos Venceremos" — "United We Will Win" — emblazoned across the back.

A new mud-and-wattle dining hall is being built among the dozen or so huts where visitors stay.

Mr. Savimbi clearly is aware of his movement's image.

On a recent trip, copies of Mr. Savimbi's book of poetry, "Quando a Terra Voltar a Sorrir um Dia" — "When the Earth Smiles Again" — were handed out and signed by Mr. Savimbi with the flair of an author with a best seller.

But despite the convivial atmosphere UNITA provides, it is clear the visitor sees only what UNITA wants seen, and when. And while the bush war Mr. Savimbi has been waging for a decade against the Marxist MPLA government in Luanda bogs down in the upcoming rainy season, it is clear his PR effort will just be getting into full swing.

— Michael Sullivan

Appendix III

11. During this 6 month reporting period, have you engaged in any activities for or rendered any services to any foreign principal named in Items 8, 9, or 10 of this statement?

Yes x No

If yes, identify each such foreign principal and describe in full detail your activities and services:

U.N.I.T.A.

During the 6 month period ending December 14, 1987, Black, Manafort, Stone & Kelly Public Affairs Company assisted the client in the following areas:

1. Assisted UNITA in making its case to the Congress and the American public that UNITA was a legitimate political organization which deserved the moral, political and material support of the United States.
2. Assisted UNITA in developing and implementing strategies for securing favorable U.S. media coverage.
3. Assisted UNITA in making contact with American media organizations, both print and electronic..
4. Assisted UNITA in monitoring press reporting.
5. Assisted UNITA in making contact with private and academic organizations in order that UNITA's case might be better understood.
5. Monitored the progress of legislation proposed in the Congress to aid UNITA or to impose trade sanctions on the marxist regime.
7. Assisted UNITA in pressing for passage of legislation criticizing Angola for not holding free elections.
3. Assisted UNITA in making contacts with Administration and Congressional officials and Congressional staff.

APPENDIX IV

List of Key U.S. Based Individuals and Organizations that Support RENAMO

About My Father's Business, Inc., Lexington, KY

American Freedom International; Dennis Hoffman, Executive Director

Americans For Tax Reform; Grover Norquist, President

David Balsiger, President, RAMBOC, and Publisher, Family Protection Scoreboard

Bashore International, linked to American Constitution Committee,
Director: Judy Campbell Bashore

James U. Blanchard, Louisiana businessman, allegedly gives MNR \$3,000
a month worth of supplies

Pat Buchanan, syndicated columnist and White House Advisor for President
Reagan

The Believers Church, Coalinga, CA

Charles Breece, Jacksonville, FL, interested in getting food supplies to
RENAMO

Christ for the Nations, Dallas, TX, headed by Gordon Lindsay

Coalitions for America

Conservative Action Foundation (CAF)

The Conservative Caucus; Howard Phillips, National Director

Cuban American National Foundation

End-Time Handmaidens, Jasper, Arkansas

Family Protection Scoreboard, publication of RAMBOC, Costa Mesa, CA

Free Congress Research and Education Foundation; Connie Marshner

Free The Eagle; Daniel Elynn and Kristina Arriaga

Freedom, Inc., Valley Center, CA

Freedom Research Foundation, LaJolla, CA

Friends of Mozambique; Arturo Vilankulu

Frontline Fellowship; Peter Hammond, Director; Cape Town, South Africa

Fund for Africa's Future, Director: Phillips Nicolaides, from White House NSC staff

Good News Communications, Atlanta, GA

General Daniel Graham

Dr. Thomas H. Henrickson, Senior Fellow, Hoover Institute

Heritage Foundation; William Pascoe, Washington, D.C.

High Frontier, lobbying branch of Star Wars Campaign run by ex-CIA Deputy Director, Daniel Graham

Reverend Michael T. Howard, Director, Shekinah Ministries

International Freedom Foundation, Bruce Rickerson

International Society for Human Rights

Lew Lehrman and Citizens for America (also support UNITA)

Robert C. Mackenzie, Director, Freedom, Inc; former mercenary for Rhodesia and South Africa

Mozambique Information Office (RENAMO's key propaganda outlet) Washington, D.C., Tom Schaaf

Mozambique Research Center, Tom Schaaf, Lobbyist/Luis Serapiao, Howard University

Don Normand and Ministries, Melrose, FL, raises funds for Shekinah Ministries

National Association of Religious Broadcasters

Representative Dan Burton (R-IN)

Representative Phillip Crane (R-IL)

Representative Jack Kemp (R-NY), retired

Restore A More Benevolent Order Coalition (RAMBOC), Costa Mesa, CA

Bruce Rickerson, International Freedom Foundation, writes for the Washington Times, did a series attacking TransAfrica's alleged Cuban links

Reverend Pat Robertson, Assemblies of God

RUFFPAC, Howard J. Ruff, Chairman

Tom Schaaf, ex-missionary, Director of Mozambique Research Center, a key international operative for MNR

Harry Schultz, U.S. citizen living in Monaco, finances MNR activities and press trips, also publishes Schultz Investment Newsletter

Senator Robert Dole (R-KS)

Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC)

Senator Bob Kasten (R-WI)

Luis B. Serapiao, Political Science Department, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Shekinah Ministries; Jacksonville, FL. Director, Michael Howard

Soldier of Fortune Magazine

Reverend Jimmy Swaggart

U.S. Council for World Freedom; a group that is the U.S. contact for WACL as well as the "umbrella" for various smaller right-wing groups

Washington Times, newspaper; Rev. Sun Myong Moon

Western Goals Foundation, Alexandria, VA

Jack Wheeler, Director, Freedom Research Foundation

World Anti-Communist League, the "umbrella" organization for an international coalition of anti-communist groups; General John K. Singlaub

World Missionary Assistance Plan (World MAP), CA

Other supporters or potential supporters: Charles Evers (community leader, MS), Dick Gregory (comedian), and Mayor Johnny Ford, Alabama Conference of Black Mayors

*Organizations and individuals heading these groups are cross-listed when available

(NOV. 1988)