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### FLDERAL LIECTION COMMISSION

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### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

WASHINGTON D.C. 20463

December 13, 1979

### CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Ms. Christina M. Cerna 1435 Fourth Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024

Re: MUR 1014

Dear Ms. Cerna:

On December 7, 1979, the Commission found no reason to believe that Senator Roger W. Jepsen or the Friends of Roger Jepsen violated 2 U.S.C. § 44le and § 44lf. This determination was made due to a lack of substantiated facts in your complaint.

Should further information come to your attention which you believe constitutes a violation of the Act, please so notify us.

Sincerely

Charles N. Steele General Counsel

CERTIFIED MAIL RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED Ms. Christina M. Cerna 1435 Fourth Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024 10 MUR 1014 Re: Dear Ms. Cerna: , 1979, the Commission found no reason On to believe that Senator Royer W. Jepsen or the Friends of Roger Jepsen violated 2 U.S.C. § 441e and § 441f. This determination was made due to a lack of substantiated facts in your complaint. Should further information come to your attention which you believe constitutes a violation of the Act, please so notify us. Sincerely, CHARLES W. Steele Acting General Counsel

### BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

)	MUR	1014
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### CERTIFICATION

I, Marjorie W. Emmons, Secretary to the Federal Election Commission, do hereby certify that on December 7, 1979, the Commission decided by a vote of 6-0 to take the following actions regarding the above-captioned matter:

- 1. Find NO REASON TO BELIEVE that Senator Roger W. Jepsen or the Friends of Roger Jepsen violated 2 U.S.C. §441e or 2 U.S.C. §441f.
- Send the letter attached to the First General Counsel's Report dated December 4, 1979.
- 3. Close the file.

Voting for this determination were Commissioners Aikens, Friedersdorf, Harris, McGarry, Reiche, and Tiernan.

Attest:

Date

Marjorie W. Emmons Secretary to the Commission

December 4, 1979 MEMORANDUM To: Marjorie W. Emmons Elissa T. GArr FROM: SUBJLCT: MUR 1014 Please have the attached First CC Report on MUR 1014 distributed to the Commission on a 48 hour tally basis. Thank you. **C.** CE

EDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

### FIRST GENERAL COUNSEL'S REPORT

DATE AND TIME OF TRANSMITTAL BY OGC TO COMMISSION 12.4-79

MUR NO. 1014
DATE COMPLAINT RECIEVED
BY OGC 8/13/79

STAFF MEMBER(S) Donaldson

COMPLAINANT'S NAME: Christina M. Cerna

RESPONDENT'S NAME: Roger W. Jepsen

Friends of Roger Jepsen

RELEVANT STATUTE: 2 U.S.C. § 441e

2 U.S.C. § 441f

INTERNAL REPORTS CHECKED: Friends of Roger Jepsen

C FEDERAL AGENCIES CHECKED:

### SUMMARY OF ALLEGATIONS

Christina M. Cerna, in a letter dated August 9, 1979, (Attachment I) has alleged that the South African government contributed \$250,000 to Roger W. Jepsen's 1978 Senate campaign which unseated Senator Dick Clark of Iowa.

### EVIDENCE AND ANALYSIS

Ms. Cerna's allegations are based on several newspaper articles which deal with Eschel Rhoodie's assertions that the South African government interferred in the Iowan senatorial election. Ms. Cerna states that to the best of her knowledge, the facts as stated in the newspaper articles are true.

Ms. Cerna submitted an almost identical complaint on May 8, 1979, which was the subject of MUR 971. The Commission, on June 13, 1979, closed MUR 971 on the basis that Ms. Cerna provided no documentation of her allegations other than a New York Times article; and she had no personal knowledge of the facts of the matter.

- 2 -Ms. Cerna has attached several additional newspaper articles in this complaint alleging South African support of Senator Jepsen's campaign; however, there are no substantial facts in the articles on which the Commission could develop a case. There are no details as to how the South African government funneled the money to Senator Jepsen and there is no mention of any specific individuals who acted as agents or conduits for the South African government. The reports filed by Senator Jepsen and his principal campaign committee do not reveal any unusual contributions or loan activity of the nature described. According to Craig Donsanto of the Justice Department, there is no Justice Department investigation of these allegations as stated in the Newsweek article. Based on the lack of substantial evidence in the attached newspaper articles, it does not appear that the Commission should proceed against Senator Roger W. Jepsen or his campaign committee. RECOMMENDATION Find no reason to believe that Senator Roger W. Jepsen or the Friends of Roger Jepsen violated 2 U.S.C. §44le or 2 U.S.C. §44lf. Send the attached letter. Close the file. Attachments Complaint from Cerna Letter to Cerna

MCR 1014 ASSIRTED ON 1235 4th Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024 Tel: (home) 488-4883 73 /13 13 (ouffice) 1789-6011 Mr. Hai Ponder Assistant General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 E Street, N.W. 3000 Mashington, D.C. 20463 Dear Mr. Ponder: I hereby wish to file a complaint with the Rederal Election Commission surrange to fary 114 of the Commission's Regulations, provided that the tacts, in true, constitute a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (2 U.S.C. 432 et seq.). My complaint is based on Mr. Escael Rhoodie's assertions that the South African Government interfered in the lowan senatorial election process in the United States Last year with the purpose of defeating the incumbent Senator Dick Clark. I believe the facts as stated are true to the best of my knowledge that Mr. Eachel Rhoodie headed South Africa's approximately \$74 million covert propaganda campaign which involved bribery of overseas opinion. In a BBC television interview on March 21,1979, Mr. Rhoodie stated that he has taped recollections of his knowledge of the affair and complete records of all 130 secret influence buying projects. In an attempt to merchandise these tapes a "synopsis" of the information contained therein was prepared which was distributed to news agencies to encourage them to pay \$200,000 for the tapes and documents. This symposis contends that South Africa's agents in the United States poured \$250,000 into the campaign that unscated Senator Dick Clark. It is also contended that South Africa secretly became a major financial backer of Schator Roger W. Jepsen, the Republican who won the lowa election. These acts, if true, would violate Sections 441 e and/ or 441 F of the Act, prohibiting contributions by foreign nuttontis or contributions in the name of apother. Encloses please tind various apporting press accounts. I me nor a condition, nor im a filling this companion on behalf of or at the remest or succession of a candidate. Sincerely yours. Militaria Al. Cercia מוס בתוכים בשל בשל בשל מוס בתוספות מוספות 9 Christian M. Jerma fother Public 17 C-maisson Laure Oct 14, 1900

## Rinodie Asserto Cointon Formers In U.S. Were Paid by South Af

### Continued From Paire Al

mant in Youth Africa's Information? a miltry, was intervalsed baturday by) David Dimbleby of the British Broadcast \$1 ing Corporation at a secret location on the continent. The interview was broadcast tonight.

Mr. Dimbleby acted, in effect, as an intermediary between Mr. Rhoxlie and several European and American news orgamzations, including The New York Times, that had expressed an interest in obtaining rights to 41 tape recordings in which the South African reportedly spelled out his operations in detail. The negotiations collapsed when Mr. Ehoodie demanded \$200,000 and when he was persuaded, for the moment at least, to keep the tapes locked in a bank vault.

But during negotiations over the tapes, summaries of some of the all-gations! said to be on them were made available to l tions attributed to South Africa by the material were these:

"Secretly becoming a major financial! backer of Senator Roger W. Jepsen of! Iowa, the Republican who last ve ir up et: Dick Clark, a Democrat and one of South! Africa's most persistent and influential;

American foes.

Supplying a substantial share of the capital that enabled John P. McGoff to! enake in annacem gul bid for the Section of little tension his televicion in cerebey. action State and a lancerson bodd in Their Denament Junion.

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· Paving for the establishment of

ervert in the many of the amount named to. was was, and was rempert of the tabane of Parin ament.

"Becoming involved in the establishment of news agencies or newspapers in t France, it aya and the Northerlands.

### Norwegian Press Reports

Norwegian newspapers reported independently today that investigators of the scandal there have evidence that South Africa paid 200,000 kroner — about \$40,000 — to Anders Lange, a right-wing Norwegian businessman, to help him start a political party in 1973 after a visit to Pretoria.

Mr. Lange's party won four seats in Norway's Parliament and held them until 18 months ago, giving South Africa its only effective voice in Scandinavia. Mr. Lange and his wife are both dead, but Carl Hagen, the party's present leader, said in a telephone interview from Oslo that he was sure "nothing on that scale" had been given.

"A lesser amount, 20,000 kroner maybe, fair enough," Mr. Hagen com-mented. "But a larger amount we would have noticed, and he sent me out in June the news organizations. Ameng the acti 1975 to borrow money from a bank to finance our · pecial election newspaper.'

Tor Petter Kroshy, Mr. Lange's secretary at the time, said Mr. Lange he told him in April 1973, just before the new party was established, that he had received a "gift" of 20,000-kroner -\$4,000 -- from an unidentified foreign source.

### Less Specific Allegations

But Mr. Rhoodie avoided such specific!

He alieded to als ministry's activities? Critism, laying that he and "facet \*Mailing learns of an expression of memory to be made constitution and some reminent but sets of the American factors in we first test of incorporate countries; novembers on the test of the American factors in we first test of incorporate countries; novembers on the mass of the factors of t of the total access were sampled they and spligger include representative and the then consin most that measure of Permannost mousa black of their pay accuracy and abunity 59 OF "O. 107 ......

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## U.S. CITIZENS BRIBED SOUTH AFRICAN SAYS

Rhoodie Tells Interviewer on BBC 'Opinion Formers' Were Paid

Special to The New York Tenes

LONDON; March 21 - Percel M Rhoodie, the central figure in the South African bribery scandal, has declared in an interview that the United States was one of the principal countries where his Covernment paid "opinion formers or ! decision takers" to express pre-South African views.

An an interview with the British Dress. casting Corporation, he denied that South Africa had paid Americans in office by anot that it had contributed to polytest companies. He said South Africa had paid union leaders to cooperate but is fused to say where.

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### Other Countries Montionesi

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Mr. shoods, bridery in comet no.

Continued on Page A12, Column :

## French Court Rules That Figure In S. Africa Scandal Be Returned

Reuter

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, France, Aug. 8—Three French judges said today that Eschel Rhoodie, who disclosed South Africa's use of covert funds to buy influence, should be sent home to face fraud and theft charges.

They dismissed his contention that political charges might be brought against him in South Africa and sent him back to jail to await a government decision on their recommendation.

Rhoodie's lawyers immediately anmeaneed they would rise of a dreatetenery seaton and a return to fail,
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British convention signed when South Africa was a British colony.

Rhoodie brought on the funds scandal, and the eventual resignation of President John Vorster, by charging that leading South African figures took part in a secret attempt to buy influence in domestic and foreign newspapers.

He was arrested at his French Riviera home last month on a warrant issued by South Africa.

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Prosecutors allered yesterday that Rhoodie measurementated No.000. To the local line was a may not of money of personality note ben't agents.

Throotic with an an interview cuptistical foday in the platen weakly mancame throwing that he wan diameter wats by South Almein heart surgeon which have a more to many at the wester feature determine.

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## South African Role in Iowa Voting Charged

### By WENDELL RAWLS Jr.

A former official in South Africa's Information Ministry who has been in hidin the Europe reportedly has said that his country interfered in the electoral process in the United States last year with the aim or defeating Senator Dick Clark, a liberal lowa Democrat.

The allegation is one of many that the forcer educati, Formel M. Rheome, n. said to have included in papers and ill table recordings that he has and would document South Africa's secret multimitlipa-collar companen to influence lawmakers, journalists and news outlets) around the world.

Although he has held the documents and recordings for sale or for protection; against represal, some of his allegations! were summarized for news organizations that sould to option access to the materi-

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succes of Min Denember of the form unare themicum alarmatemistics r eri empere, 1943 entition rest. said to the fitting posture that yet it is

sponse." Speaking of Mr. Rhoodie, he test against Mr. van Rooven's action commented, "He is just some kook running around the world with some supposed tape recordings for sale for \$200,to believe that there was absolutely no

Couth Africa supplied a substantial; har tof the capital that enabled a news-

ments to prominent inter leaders in the Ford, but the most political of the United States early in 1977 to persuade speeches, according to Mr. Elsenia . Wes them not to take part in a weeklong ship- delivered by Mr. McGoff, who a control

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completely ridiculous and totally faise, I African charge d'affaires to the State Dedon't want to dignify it with any big re- partment, where he delivered after if pro-

According to sources familier with the case, the State Department also : at a confidential cable to South Africa partieur. 60." He added that he had "every reason ing the fact that Mr. van Rooven had the jected himself into the American cie-money put into my campaign from South foret process, and complaining that he "had made disparaging remarks asset Senator Clark."

The following summer, Mr. business paper problemer. John P. McCoff, tol was the only lower to attend a his recan make an unsuccession bid for The Wash-) gention in Housen spendared on the ington Star in 1975 and a successful one! South African Foreign Trade Of these for The Sacramento Union in California. I tion. The featured apeaker at the contemp CSouth Arrica made large cash pay-1 tion was former President a strucping breckade of South Africa organized | Senator Clark and interrupted him of the by the International Confederation of ask whether anyone from lews was Free Trade Unions. present, Mr. Bismus soid be had our of his gang and was invited to talk with his Acti fatter the sees on.

### Comm Alticans Atterned Merchet

Mr. Bisonus said that 20 to . African Labra Famon 124 to a co the convenient, along the hours has antale sor Sydney 5. Japan . v. tion, the Slow short trades to the dien und Proposente Cauli Alfi

The manage the was discussed. at the concernon ofthe moon. this does not been attack to the ten rote." "e som that to run product Clark remared by the 14 marine thing to goodseners. were was alter expressed sie. had urited the South Africans to the from e-moming involved in the chiralt and and by fact curtain that they and the mowth importanted to 0.

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lowax loser Clark (top) and winner Jepsen with their wives on Election Day 1978 's spreading scandal Rhoodie on the air.

## THMG SOME FRIENDS

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Police 15 in his threat " Denouncing his for A work, a Johannesburg newspaper said there And a provided that ast were I shall and a course there is a "contemptible," I was "albertions" that South Africa had Versian and "Control wait until Dr. Rhowds. and the Blandhes before I react "

and the same treatment necessfully to said the state of the Stand British news The second During by hist or Pleasure denied "categorically end to a spirit and been bashed, but be the analytical tolinflact. angular to sources fatheritar the state and tion. South Africa. the state of two to, set in report Senatored cost small mount John Lumps.

a district, and a

contributed nearly \$4 million to Ford's 1976 cana ren, possibly "through a front conparx 2 X Ford campaign official called the The pesterous."

In 2011, McCost offered to buy The Wash the ton Star for \$28 andhon Sources in Protothat her ailized that \$6 million was to come from Photone's secret fund. McG il was wenter thy outrad for the Star, and instead he from an Tis. S. cramento Union for \$8 million. II the curchised an interest in UPH'S Vini d. Press. International Television Service a London-o sed firm cowned jointly of the art Maximus ITV getwork other car as a stance successful a "South Mana of Cascott, and torough sound of t CPULL are unit. Il Mexicol also a has the first manufactory or, that he records a which is a fundamental and a drive Mona-Local Salaments Union and in South afficientness like any ofand some same was

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on S can then the rapped three country of the country of the property we were carried to the country of the cou

'MORALITY FLIES OUT': South Alma's secre! propaganda operation began in 1972, when a Mulder appointed Rhoodie as his top civil service aide in the Information Department Logether with state security chief Hendrik van den Bergh they aflegediy planned to promote apartheid at home and detend it abroad without undue regard for legal strictures. "When you want to get a fair hearing in the world," Rhoodie and last week, "moratay thesout of the window." About half of the \$74 million fund was spent in South Africa to it. nance a pro-government newspaper. The Citizen, and a blick magazine, Pace Rhoodie alsoworked to establish a appion and beach had in neighboring Black Africa, netably in the Inous Court

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Rhoodic fried to wan influence in Unrope as well, but the heavy handed methods that worked in Africa were somewhat he is successful trere. In Britain, South, Miscritis hope date bay London's Daly Express, and made in unraccessful bid for the London Evening.

Standard, Dorring as BBC interview. Rhoosing also outed that povoils had been made to inought on out. MP in remain to a morphatic that South. Mriea count use to destupt the British and particular movement. Whitehald is informaticated by the enables. "At this sout," and one character, "the British Government has no plans to investigate any of lithes such and made in, is they increase of these such and made in, is they increase of these such and made in, is they increase of these such and made in, is they increase of the content.

In Langue, Rhoone succeeded in covertis mming, only work a Pages from that published havet many med South Africa and game! control of the Jamous Craurt Millian restauant bundle But the Minhamers tank a telerigithe major regularistic plants they sought. neutring the magazin's ET spress and Pig-March, Apparently the south African grop in indiceparation, conted its only useful Forthold in Sorvay Norwegian newspapers harver last week that in 1873 Proporta and \$40,000 to Anders Lange, a right win for who used the seed money to start a political parts. 1 that won tour seats in Parhament, giving South Africa its only real political voice in all of Scandinavia. Lange has since died and his party has lost all ef its seats.

"I am not prepared to accept the situation where I am the only scapegoat," Rhoodie told the BBC. From his arser al of tapes and documents, he displayed one term, a photostat of a top secret letter from M iddet to I mance Minister Owen Horwood remesting the allocation of \$9 milion for broady defined secret projects such as "front organizations" and "collaborators." Last week Perwood admitted countersening the letter and thereby releasing the finds. But he agreed that he had approved of the secret projects themselves. He accused Rhoodier of "treas acar unitables country."

Botha issued his own statement a knowledging that he and his Cabinet knew of the Information Department's secret projects—but renerating that be had a ever known of any illeral schemes. Still, Rhoodie, who was hyper

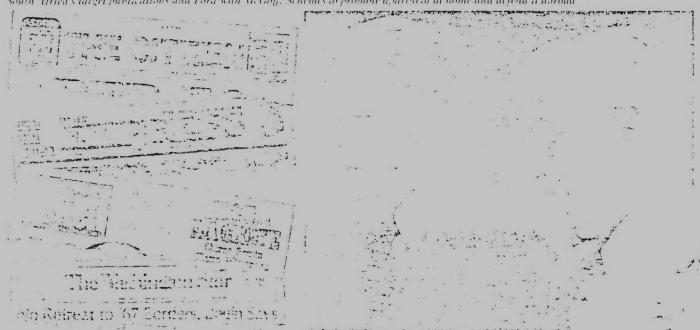
dirt to arrenten Both i's pos unment. This is the knows that if he can retrase history and intermediate whose that if he can retrase history and intermediate. The conference is the focument of the Horwood's name on it—ostoree Botha at a new election. Rhoodie will have a strong orthanium position. I and a South Alica is source in Lendon. The conference holder is unanter his safe return to South Alica in return for his sichaes.

Botha's problems multipled last and when a Johannesburg lawyer manea lawyer Ludon sharp's that German merce in its had been paid 500,000 to Kill a South Attacks point and his wife in 1977 Res . . . South Africas aid the pour ain, Robert Sput, had learned that gold binhen was that a mandiscounted the country in a main than with it proparanta campaign, fladort, aid his circus. parata salary Excell, had arreary from a robotated by documents [and] vilues as that the killers had been flown from British to Johannesburg to do the job. The lawyer said Excell now feared for his life and wanted to testify before the Frasmus Commission, a panel set up by Botha to investigate the Information Department scandal

GROWING DREAD: Last week Botha issued a "direct repudiation" of Rhoodie's key citates that Mulder had informed the Cabinet also in the secret projects he and Rhoodie were carrying out. But the controversy was far from over Botha's next big challenge could come from his own Erasmus Commission, which was scheduled to deliver a preliminary apport late this week. There was a growing apprehension in the Cabinet that the panel might name new names of South Africans and pessools of some of the country's US friends. In acceptable, Pieter Botha seemest to have loss all contrology what would come pext

STEVEN STPANSER with PLHER YOUNGHESBAND in Cigor Lown LANE WHILMORE in Wissian Proc ANTHONY COLLINGS on Lordon in Observa-

South Africa's target publications and Ford with McGoff: Schemes to promote apartheid at home and defend it abroad



BBC Airs Document on Funding

# Ribodie: Cabinet Initiated Secret Projects

By Leonard Downie Jr. Wasnington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, March 21-Former South African information official Eschel Rhoodie said in a BBC television interview tonight that South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha "inifiated at Cabinet level" at least two secret projeets in a continuing multimillion dollar camparin to buy foreign support for South Africa.

Rhoodie also said that 60 to 65 secret incluence-baying projects thave been reapproved by the administration of Mr. P. W. Botha and therefore are ongoing operations' and that Finance Minister Owen Harwood signed a secret document approving the expenditure of approximately 39 million to fund the projects for the current useal year.

A photostat copy of that document, upmen in Arrivan, and then to the office amount. cerality to a ROP count from the document

--marked "top secret" and dated May 12, 1970 -is a letter to Horwood from then information minister Connie Mulder, Rhoodie's boss,

In the letter, Mulder advises Horwood that "The Department of Information is intensity: to allocate the money which you are mak as available to 2 in the current financial year for a list or doms including "distributors and publications, conferences, front organizations, collaborators, advertisements, liaison services. lobby ists, in situtions and foundations, new, and photo ervices, film production and ditribution, economic action, guests, trips and other matters which are related to this.

The deciment also bears Horwood's signa ture at the notion, which Rhoodie sold indieated his approval or the cent present size. Booth and formed have defined any or seek them in or a correction of the influence back to

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### RHOODIE, From A1

campaign, and Botha has vowed to resign and call new national elections if it is shown that he or any member of his Cabinet is involved.

amount retused to further identive the secret projects listed in the document, but he told BBC corre spondent David Dimbleby that the money about \$100 million since 1973 was used "to establish organizations and institutes and to support froms and individuals to persuade them to back South Airica on certain important issues."

Contrary to press speculation, newever, Rhoodie said no payments were made to U.S. politicians, "In the case of the Landberg with the bald, "I can state enteromentiv this police and this

the refu of to rule out or comment on the possibility that money was secretly spent in the United States on lobbyists, or front organizations for South Africa or on efforts to disredt and remove from office poli-ticians who were slaunch opponents

Rigidite did say that money was 'some newspaper people" and for "disa formation" efforts to sabotage antiapartheid organizations and campaigns, but he refused to identify the countries in which these payments were made.

"There were certain individual calles," Rhoodie said, "where we had used money to persuade a person who would perhaps normally have been ant: South Mirica at least to adopt a more neutral attitude. Or, if he had been lukewarm or neutral toward South Africa, to adopt a more positive attitude or perhaps to keep us informed of the developments taking place in anti-South African organizations."

Asked who those people were, illoudie said. "Those would be people whom you would classify among the an hymnormers and decision tokers, 1 suppo Sthat would the fade Solick into and some newspaper people,"

centy in the case or British did Discours nextrangly the specific aspects o the shapes se van from 1973 until astrein a the top civil servant anthe Artificer or Scotti Africa's intorminion Ministry. Telegraph and and and the land on Parker new with the few and respect to the few and respect to the consideration of the constant of the constan

ered parena in the Pulsenal newspaper in the real interest to the source secretly he said of the unconsummated deal "became don't time there would have ers no any lenance of lanceess of the South America Department of Insormatter and made an open approach."

A aid of his operation and also tried to limable an attempt by newsraper man camer John Michael to buy 110 Washington Star, as has been

reported. Rheodie said only that "I don't think there has been any agmission on my part or anybody else's part that this is true."

Former prime minister John Vor ster, who is now South Africa president, or ceremonial head of state, "knew of every major project in which we were ever involved," Rhoodie said, "so did Horwood, and these were reported to them in detail. on an annual basis. They knew arout it. They could have stopped anything if they wanted to."

Rhoodie said that others also roud testify to the personal involvement of Botha, the tormer defen e immster who is now prime minuter in "at least two or three project ," despine Botha's denials.

"There are at least 20 officials in the Department of Defense who were involved in one of those projects." Rhoodie said. "There were outside agencies involved in one of those projects. I cannot see the prime minister the state of the s making such a denial."

aking such a demail.

Rhoodie said he would emerge from hiding in Europe to go back to South Africa only if the entire affair were aired publicly in a court of law where his lawyers could cross-examine Vorster. Botha and members of the Cabinet. But he said he did not think "there is any chance of that happen

Instead, Rhoodie said he intends to stay, with the help of "some irrends left in the outside world" countries from which he cannot be extradited to South Mrica, He said be has local recollections of his knowledge of all in and comments records of the segget in thrence busing project - with "amounts of money spent, names of people, the summary of the projects of (and) who received what" -safely aidden in a bank vault "somewhere in Europe."

-He will not release the documents or the tapes, he said, because of the Margaret "disastrons consequences" for Souta
Africa and its "relativity with a value before Western countries" to take a he is aire and tree

"If I were to use an annatural roots of the residence of the Of the delication of the same Virginianel at vide conserva-on irroge that illustra-winest review to the transition of tensioners would some transitions South Arrent authoritie. Have a such a warrant authoritie.

ued a warrant for Phoodie characted him with tranquier." verting some of the secret conmoney to rear estate investments of

Rhoodle, dressed in a lasmorate dark Mae suit, appeared to and ic cased ont in the anti-rytem, which have taged last Saturday in a notetile to the an undisclosed managements operate britisen. DDC officials said no made was part to filosome, who the maornaming asked for specific ornate at for access to my tages and documents

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Dr. Eschet Rhoodie (left) and BBC announcer David Dimbleby during the taping of a special program recently.

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• That South Africa was involved in the emphasis and they are needed to newspapers in I thince, Henya and the Nether lands

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get companies to with remain wet-ment in South Africa. Who is a co-clared, two would profe with a for a notices and documents. In the first meeting so that the color professor with a tknow what was no tagen. Rhoodie fold Dime I we that he had documents bearing the state that of South African cooks through et the

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But Rhoodie said in the interview, "I don't intend to go back to South Africa and I don't want to go back

against my will."
He said his lawyers had instructions of what to do if he were to be taken back to South Africa by force or imprisoned on trumped up charges.

Before launching his operations,

Rhoodse and he had so am some da marist analysis of South Africa's image in 16 major countries at a coll many hundreds of them ande of

'It was obvious." he continued. "that the effort to isolate fout". Mirica and to strenge South Africa was increasing lifetimly by the month, end it was estendicibilitial South Africa as will have certain avenues of communication with the world through the me ia '

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had been sitted in the line to least two lines of the total partity and the other whole of the by the large management attacks.

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The interviewer resunded ithorate that south African Robert bout and his wife are teneved blied a cause they are a secret blied a cause they are a secret blied a cause information he possessed could endanger his own life. The transfer replied. If depends on whether whoever leads at the sort of the reaction is good, as the sort of the reaction is good, as the terribly emparrassed or frightened by the dual a rassed or trightened by the anchosure. I would like to think I don't have the kind of intermution that could provide a month a for murauf

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In any case, the records reveal that Sourh Arrings men in Weshington and New York give mostly modest amounts to politicians or all parties and persuation. They are the sout of thes talt men regularly dealing and publishes must pay to stay in the cuto.

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Research for this action is con-tributed by Villago Hamilton

The second secon e i sitt 2.1 MUR 1014 mmission found no ceasem W. Jepsen or the Frier 1 . ... 441e and § 441f. This ack of substantiated facts ... to your attention Colation of the act, N. Stoele Ameral Counsel



### FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

B25 k SIRHT NW WyshNGION DC (20163

August 15, 1979

CERTIFIED MAIL
RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

Christina M. Cerna 1435 4th Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024

Dear Ms. Cerna:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your complaint of August 9, 1979, alleging violations of the Federal Election Campaign Laws. A staff member has been assigned to analyze your allegations. A recommendation to the Federal Election Commission as to how this matter should be handled will be made shortly. You will be notified as soon as the Commission determines what action should be taken. For your information, we have attached a brief description of the Commission's preliminary procedures for handling complaints.

Sincerely,

Hal Ponder

Assistant General Counsel

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(111435 4th Street, S.W. Washington, D.C. 20024 MUR1014 Tel: (home) 488-4883 13 AUG 17 (office) 789-6011 Mr. Hal Ponder Assistant General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463 50001 Dear Mr. Ponder: I hereby wish to file a complaint with the Federal Election Commission pursuant to Part 111 of the Commission's Regulations, provided that the facts, if true, constitute a violation of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (2 U.S.C. 432 et seq.). My complaint is based on Mr. Eschel Rhoodie's assertions that the South African Government interfered in the lowan senatorial election process in the United States last year with the purpose of defeating the incumbent Senator Dick Clark. I believe the facts as stated are true to the best of my knowledge that Mr. Eschel Rhoodie headed South Africa's approximately \$74 million covert propaganda campaign which involved bribery of overseas opinion. In a BBC television interview on March 21,1979, Mr. Rhoodie stated that he has taped recollections of his knowledge of the affair and complete records of all 130 secret influence buying projects. In an attempt to merchandise these tapes a "synopsis" of the information contained therein was prepared which was distributed to news agencies to encourage them to pay \$200,000 for the tapes and documents. This synopsis contends that South Africa's agents in the United States poured \$250,000 into the campaign that unseated Senator Dick Clark. It is also contended that South Africa secretly became a major financial backer of Senator Roger W. Jepsen, the Republican who won the lowa election. These acts, if true, would violate Sections 441 e and/ or 441 F of the Act, prohibiting contributions by foreign nationals or contributions in the name of another. Enclosed please find various supporting press accounts. I am not a candidate, nor am I filing this complaint on behalf of or at the request or suggestion of a candidate. Sincerely yours, Sworp and subscribed to before no Millitaria M. Cerma Enclosurem this /cl day of law 1 19 19 Christina M. Cerna Frank W. Loops Motary Public 19 Commission Expires Oct. 14, 1980

## U.S. CITIZENS BRIBED, SOUTH AFRICAN SAYS

Rhoodie Tells Interviewer on BBC 'Opinion Formers' Were Paid

By R. W. APPLE Jr. 3 27
Special to The New York times

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LONDON, March 21 — Eschel M. Rhoodie, the central figure in the South African bribery scandal, has declared in an interview that the United States was one of the principal countries where his Government paid "opinion formers and decision takers" to express pro-South = African views.

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation, he denied that South Africa had paid Americans in office but not that it had contributed to political campaigns. He said South Africa had paid union leaders to cooperate but refused to say where.

Mr. Rhoodie said that revealing "the nature of the operations, the methods that were used and the people that were involved would have disastrous consequences" for South Africa and "a number of major Western countries." But he gave only a general outline of the operations and named no names.

### Other Countries Mentioned

He hinted broadly, however, that South Africa had secretly paid members of the British Parliament for information about the activities of groups opposed to apartheid — activities that South Africa then tried to disrupt. He said his work had involved France, West Germany and Japan as well as the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Rhoodie, formerly the chief civil

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

### Rhoodie Asserts 'Opinion Formers' In U.S. Were Paid by South Africa

### Continued From Page A1

servant in South Africa's Information Ministry, was interviewed Saturday by David Dimbleby of the British Broadcasting Corporation at a secret location on the continent. The interview was broadcast

tonight.

Mr. Dimbleby acted, in effect, as an intermediary between Mr. Rhoodie and several European and American news organizations, including The New York Times, that had expressed an interest in obtaining rights to 41 tape recordings in which the South African reportedly spelled out his operations in detail. The negotiations collapsed when Mr. Rhoodie demanded \$200,000 and when he was persuaded, for the moment at least, to keep the tapes locked in a bank vault.

But during negotiations over the tapes. summaries of some of the allegations said to be on them were made available to the news organizations. Among the actions attributed to South Africa by the

material were these:

Secretly becoming a major financial backer of Senator Roger W. Jepsen of Iowa, the Republican who last year upset Dick Clark, a Democrat and one of South Africa's most persistent and influential American foes

Supplying a substantial share of the capital that enabled John P. McGoff to make an unsuccessful bid for The Washington Star and a successful bid for The

Sacramento Union

Making large cash payments to prominent leaders of the American labor movement early in 1977 to persuade them not to join a one-week shipping blockade of South Africa organized by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

¶Giving arms and money to Gen. Odumegwu Ojukwu in an effort to sustain his unsuccessful Biafran rebellion against the Nigerian Government in 1968 and 1969, and it may have financed several black Rhodesian leaders.

Paying for the establishment of a right-wing political party in Norway that won four seats in Parliament in 1973.

Maintaining "arrangements" Labor members of Parliament in Britain, with a Conservative member who has served in the House of Commons here for many years, and with members of the Jananese Parliament

Becoming involved in the establishment of news agencies or newspapers in France, Kenya and the Netherlands.

### Norwegian Press Reports

Norwegian newspapers reported independently today that investigators of the scandal there have evidence that South Africa paid 200,000 kroner — about \$40,000 — to Anders Lange, a right-wing Norwegian businessman, to help him start a political party in 1973 after a visit to Pretoria.

Mr. Lange's party won four seats in Norway's Parliament and held them until 18 months ago, giving South Africa its only effective voice in Scandinavia. Mr. Lange and his wife are both dead, but Carl Hagen, the party's present leader, said in a telephone interview from Oslo that he was sure "nothing on that scale"

had been given.

"A lesser amount, 20,000 kroner maybe, fair enough," Mr. Hagen commented. "But a larger amount we would have noticed, and he sent me out in June 1973 to borrow money from a bank to finance our special election newspaper."

Tor Petter Krosby, Mr. Lange's secretary at the time, said Mr. Lange had told him in April 1973, just before the new party was established, that he had received a "gift" of 20,000-kroner -\$4,000 - from an unidentified foreign source.

### Less Specific Allegations

But Mr. Rhoodie avoided such specific allegations in his television interview.

He alluded to his ministry's activities in Britain, saying that he had "used money to persuade politicians and some newspaper people" in several countries either to back South Africa or to take a less hostile stand against it. He then confirmed that members of Parliament had been among them but declined to identify their nationality

He said his Government had once considered a covert attempt to buy an unnamed British national newspaper. He did not say whether a bid was made.

He said South Africa did try to disrupt activities here by groups opposed to apartheid. "If a certain organization, for example, was out to arrange an anti-South African rally or was trying to get companies to withdraw investment in South Africa," Mr. Rhoodie declared, 'we would perhaps send out notices and documents canceling the meeting so that the other party wouldn't know what was

## S. African Claims Influence Buying Try in U.S.

LONDON — Eschel M. Rhoodie, the entral figure in South Africa's affuence-buying scandal, claimed ist night the United States was one of re principal countries where his govrnment paid "opinion formers and ecision takers" to express pro-South frican views.

He categorically denied in an internew aired by the British Broadcasting Corp. that South Africa had paid. S. office holders but not that it had tade investments in political cam-iigns. He acknowledged that South trica had paid trade union leaders or their cooperation but refused to

Rhoodie, formerly the chief civil rvant in the South African informaon ministry, was interviewed by avid Dimbleby of the BBC earlier at

secret location in Europe. BREAKING A LONG silence, hoodie said that revelation of "the ature of the operations, the methods iat were used and the people that ere involved would have disastrous insequences" for South Africa and i number of major Western coun-

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Oimbleby had acted as an agent for yeral European and U.S. news orgaations, including The New York mes, which had expressed an intert in obtaining rights to 41 tape ordings in which Rhoodie reportfly spells out his operations in de-

NEGOTIATIONS collapsed nen Rhoodie demanded \$200,000 and hen he was persuaded, for the mo-ent at least, to keep the tapes locked

a bank vault. In the House of Commons yester iv, a Labor Party member urged ritain's foreign minister, David sen, to make Rhoodie an offer of 00 000 to obtain the tapes.

During the course of the talks with e news organizations, some of the ped material was made available mong the allegations in that ma-

That South Africa was a major nancial backer of Sen Roger Jepson Iowa, the Republican who last year set Dick Clark, one of South Africa's est persistent and influential U.S.

Jepsen said last night the allegation arrysen said last night the allegation as "completely ridiculous and tally false." Speaking of Rhoodie, he id. He is just some kook running cand the world with some supposed percordings for sale for \$200,000." That South Africa supplied a substitud share of the capital that enaid publisher John P. McGoff to ake an unsuccessful bid for the abungton Star McGoff has called

a-hington Star McGoff has called th claims "utter nonsense."
In last night's BBC interview, odie said, "I don't think the atormation) Ministry has ever matted trying to buy The Washing-

Star I certainly have never done But he admitted it was the kind of That South Africa made large cash



Dr. Eschel Rhoodie (left) and BBC announcer David Dimbleby during the taping of a special program recently.

U.S. labor movement early in 1977 to persuade them not to take part in a one week shipping blockade of South Africa organized by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

· That South Africa had "arrange ments" of various kinds with Labor Members of Parliament in Britain, with a titled Conservative member who has served in the House of Com mons here for almost 30 years, and with members of the Japanese diet as

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RHOODIE ALLUDED to Information Ministry activities in Great Britain

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RHOODIE INDICATED that he in tended to use the documents weapon to guarantee his own safety as well as that of his family

South Africa's prime minister, Pieter W Botha, maintained that none of Rhoodie's allegations was worth any substance unless tested in a court

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Rhoodie said he had commissioned a market analysis of South Africa's of many hundreds of thousands of

obvious," he continued. that the effort to isolate South Africa and to silence South Africa was inreasing literally by the month, and it was essential that South Africa should have certain avenues of communication with the world through the media"

Rhoodie again challenged state-ments by the Prime Minister Botha that only Pricodic and the former minister of internation, Cornelius

Milder had been avolved in bribery.
Phoodic insisted that Botha himself had been after its involved" in at least two of the as ret projects—one partly and the other wholly financed.

by the Internation Ministry
The interviewer reminded Rhoodle that worth Mr. an Robert Smit and his wife were beheved killed because they knew two much about the affair, and asked whether he leared the information, he passessed could endanger his with life. Rhoodie replied. It depends on whether whoever books at the sort of information is a ring to bel terribly embar-lassed is the Proced by the disclo-ure I would be bothink I don't have the kind of internation, that could be vide a metric for murder



## Pretoria Puffery Is PR Firm's Plum

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These samples are called from internal activity reports at Sidne. S. Barot. & Co. that were made available to The Washin, ton Post. Baron is the Madison Avenue table relations man warm \$650,000 (co.); so that with the aparthera regime has just been renewed for another 12 movems.

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that their New York access had reached Meany, implying that the such than he were access had reached Meany, implying that the such Meany's office thatik denies that their hiss ever stoke with any high from Baron's slop about the boycott.

Finere is little doubt that Rhoodie mounted belder ventures to promote South Africa's cause. He reportedly turned over \$11.5 million to a Michican publisher, John McGoff, to buy The Washington Star. The ploy failed, but then so did many of the chores attempted by Rhoodie's man on Madison Avenue.

In June 1977, Baron and his team set up an elaborate "serunar" at the Hilton Hotel in Bite NY to persuada select proup of businessmen that an investment bonanza awaited them in South Africa Henry Kissinger was supposed to come for \$10,000, but did not. The flusinessmen had to settle for former treasure secretary William Sinson, and at the same price

Even more disturbars, the "semnar" led to a rupture between Baron and one of his prize collaborators. Andrew Hatcher. He had been the black assistant press secretary for presidents Kennedy and Johnson.

Hatcher had hired the notel's "Water Room" for the Latherinz, un aware that this was simply the vacant space around the swimminz poolsomething less than the advertised privacy. Baron, according to those present dressed down Hatcher in our razed tones. Today, however, Baron lissists their carting was "amurable" and he has in ab regard for Andy."

Anothe siminar" in Houston last June diew Gerald Ford for the standard \$10000 This could well be the source of Uncould's Juck Homer" stancesting that no less turn a presidential candidate has cen or his slush rund's payroll.

Seminars to promate investment in the limit is useful exceptione of the control o

- When he is a marker payfix at the art of the art of the art to attend to the art of the art of ABC.
- Explained to House S, easer Trail O'Ned; and other permission that a proposed inquiry little South Masket lebbling would be beautiful programture.

 Arranged a US tour for Sidnes Marce. South African miler. "Please do not underestimate the importance of this project."

- Developing a plan with Donald de Kieffer (principal South African lobbyist in Washington) to extend equal time" doctrine on television to nations that think themselves untarriv treated.
- Arranging South African trip for three "distinguished" Jewish leaders.
   Even little things often went wrong, and with the most innocuous activities.

The black millionaire's son decided not to go to Deerfield.

Runner Maree came up with an injured thigh.

But other activities at least sounded more fruitful.

- Continuing to contact members of the new Democratic Party administration.
- Monitored anti-apartheid rails in Herald Square.
- Lunch with Readers' Digest reporter re trip to Transfel.

On one thing everybody in the same insists; nobody pumped South African money into American political races. Indeed, that can be a jail able offense.

Over the phone from New York, Baron was emphatic. "We never funneled a single penny for South Africa or any other client for political purposes."

In Washington, de Kieffer, the chief lobbyist, was equally firm. "I plan to be around a long time," the 33-yearold lawyer said. "That kind of stuff is bush."

rubile records show that South Micros U.S. agents did and do consider to politicians—but always in their own name That is lawful. What they can not do on pain of a year in jail is serve as a conduit for a foreign government's money.

The distinction is a bit fine spun.

Let Baron and his staff or de Kreiter and his partners give their did a less partners give their did a less partners as well as from all their circuits.

in any case, the records reveal that South Arrica's mention Washington and New York give mostly modest amounts to politicians of all parties and persuasion. They are the sort of staces that menticularly dealing with politicians must pay to stay or the each

Mhoodie's hints to the otherwise bive received their richest treatment ... a "synopsis" prepared by his

triends and distributed to news ora izations in hope that they would pay \$200,000 for the former official's tage recordings and documents.

Inis promure or trailer contends that Pretoria's agents in the United States poured \$250,000 into the campulation of the california Democration of the BBC sair, however, Rhoodie was careful to name to names and stated categorically that none of Pretoria's funds went directly to politicians.

Whether the synopsis is another "Jack Horner" or whether Rhoodie reads does have the goods buried away as anybody's guess.

With Hatcher zone, Baron says of flow deals rentirely in economic a touty on behalf of South Africa, leaving ledislative contacts entirely to de Kieffer, "When Andy was with me, we did broader PR work," he wadds.

From so Baron's report filed on July 23 sekrowledges that he was engaged in "general legislative interests relating to U.S. South African economic and investment interests." More specifically he was fighting an amendment that would bar subsidized Export-Import Bank loans for exports to South Africa.

Baron, moreover, keeps a former House member New York Republean Selmour Halpern, on his team as an executive vice president.

The Jack Horners, no doubt, continue. More items from reports labeled "Political Activities" and the like.

- Charitied misunderstanding" and misconceptions" on the part of many congressmen about South Africa's racial and political problems.
- Conferred with Mountain re - 2012 to Capitana seminar elle noise west
- Initiated effort to place ad re Transkei in Fbony magazine. (It was

a man who knows Baron's operation his standardized PR. A certain an unit may be 50 percent, must be made as a second by the seco

ner plan

Research in this article was contributed by Valarie Thomas. Lister

### **BBC Airs Document on Funding**

## Rhoodie: Cabinet Initiated Secret Projects

By Leonard Downie Jr. Washington Post Foreign Service

LONDON, March 21—Former South African information official Eschel Rhoodie said in a BBC television interview tonight that South African Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha "initiated at Cabinet level" at least two secret projects in a continuing multimillion-dollar campaign to buy foreign support for South Africa.

Rhoodic also said that 60 to 65 secret influence-buying projects "have been reapproved by the administration of Mr. P. W. Botha and therefore are ongoing operations" and that Finance Minister Owen Horwood signed a secret document approving the expenditure of approximately \$9 million to fund the projects for the current fiscal year.

A photostat copy of that document, written to Merkaans and given to the BBC by Rhoodie, who shown on the screen during the interview. Accordant to a BBC translation, the document -marked "top secret" and dated May 12, 1978

is a letter to Horwood from then information
minister Connie Mulder, Rhoodie's boss.

In the letter, Mulder advises Horwood that "The Department of Information is intending to allocate the money which you are making available to it in the current financial year" for a list of items including "distributors and publications, conferences, front organizations, collaborators, advertisements, liaison services, lobbyists, institutions and foundations, news and photo services, film production and distribution, economic action, guests, trips and other matters which are related to this."

The document also bears Horwood's signature at the bottom, which Rhoodie sald indicated his approval of the secret projects. Both Rotha and Horwood have denied any involvement in or knowledge of the influence-buying

See RHOODIE, A17, Col. 1

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## Rhoodie: Secret Projects Were Initiated by Cabinet

RHOODIE, From A1

cambella, and Botha has vowed to res in and call new national elections in it is snown that he or any member of his Cabinet is involved.

Rhoodie refused to further identich the secret projects listed in the document, but he told BBC correspondent David Dimbleby that the monet -about \$100 million since 1973 - was used the establish organizations and institutes and to support aroups and individuals to persuade them to back South Africa on certain important issues."

Contrary to press speculation, however, Rhoodie said no payments were made to U.S. politicians, "In the case of the United States," he said. "I can state categorically that we didn't make payments to politicians."

The refused to rule out or comment

He refused to rule out or comment on the possibility that money was secretly spent in the United States on lobbyists, or front organizations for South Africa or on efforts to disred: and remove from office politicials who were staunch opponents

Rhoodie did say that money was paid to "members of Parliament" and "some newspaper neonle" and for "disinformation" efforts to sabotage antiapartheid organizations and campaigns, but he refused to identify the countries in which these payments were made.

"There were certain individual cases." Rhoodie said, "where we had used money to persuade a person who would perhaps normally have been anti-South Africa at least to adopt a more neutral attitude. Or, if he had been lukewarm or neutral toward South Africa, to adopt a more positive attitude or perhaps to keep us informed of the developments taking place in anti-South African organizations."

Asked who those people were. Rhoodie said. "Those would be people whom you would classify among the eninion-formers and decision-takers. I suppose that would include politicians and some newspaper people."

Only in the case of Britain did lihoodie acknowledge specific aspects of the scheme he ran from 1973 until last year as the top civil servant, under Mulder, in South Africa's Information Ministry. He said antiapartheid groups in Britain were infiltrated and sabotaged.

He aso said his department considered pirchasing a national newspaper in British, but he would not name the raper. It had to be done secretly. The said of the unconsummated deal. The case don't think there would have been any chance of success if the South African Department of Intomission had made an open approach."

A kid if his operation had also the prinance an attempt by newslater hain owner John McGoff to buy The Washington Star, as has been reported. Rhoodie said only that I don't think there has been any admission on my part or anybody else's part that this is true."

Former prime minister John Vorster, who is now South Africa's president, or ceremonial head of state, "knew of every major project in which we were ever involved." Rhoodie said. "So did Horwood, and these were reported to them in detail on an annual basis. They knew about it. They could have stopped anything if they wanted to."

Rhoodie said that others also could testify to the personal involvement of Botha, the former defense minister who is now prime minister, in "at least two or three projects." despite

Botha's denials.

There are at least 20 officials in the Department of Defense who were involved in one of those projects." Rhoodie said. "There were outside agencies involved in one of those projects. I cannot see the prime minister making such a denial."

Rhoodie said he would emerge from hiding in Europe to go back to South Africa only if the entire affair were aired publicly in a court of law where his lawyers could cross-examine Vorster. Botha and members of the Cabinet. But he said he did not think there is any chance of that happen

Instead, Rhoodie said he intends to stay, with the help of "some friends left in the outside world" countries from which he cannot be extradited to South Africa. He said he has taxed recollections of his knowledge of the affair and complete records of all 130 secret influence having projects—with "amounts of money spent, names of people, the summary of the projects [and] who received what"—safely hidden in a bank vault "somewhere in Europe."

or the tapes, he said, because of the "disastrous consequences" for South Africa and its "relations with a humber of Western countries," so long as he is alive and free.

"If I were to die an unnatural death or if I were to be taken back to South Africa against my will or imprisoned on frumped up charges." Rhoode warned. "my lawyers have instructions what to do and I think the circumstances would be different."

South African authorities nave issued a warrant for Rhoodie's arrest charging him with fraudulently diverting some of the secret project money to real estate investments of

Rhoodie, dressed in a fashionable dark-blue suit, appeared fit and relaxed during the interfiew, which was taped last Saturday in a hotel room in an undisclosed European city outside Britain. BBC officials said no money was paid to Rhoodie, who they said originally asked for \$200,000 in return for access to his tapes and documents.







South Africa's spreading scandal: Rhoodic on the air, lowa's loser Clark stops and winner Jepsen with their wives on Flection Day 1978

## **BUYING SOME FRIENDS**

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Once he had been South Mix as wing wiked propagated to the last week I wing a Rhooshe emerged from a Europease had out to turn his pathetty standard and as he are for a last microration. See that the formation secretary linked with Propagate Minister Pieter Bother and Propagate Duving a middle white providing outs a talking providing outs talking charges of his syndemic Rhoosa and the white providing outs a landard of the University of the Charge Chicago and the Chicago an

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Secretar Letromesbag newspaper said there were all rations that South Africa had control to directly 84 million to Ford's 1976 campaign one possibly "through a front company of V Land company official called the best controls."

15 19 1 M. Gott offered to buy The Washwater. Start for a 25 million. Sources in Pretothe service of that 86 million was to come trans Remarks secret fund. McGoff was is a face. (addited for the Star, and instead he Searce 1 Sacramento Union for \$8 million H P International Television No bear Regarder based firm owned jointly by fift and Borran's HV network - that send-new tilm to s0 countries. "South Africa need to claim story and through something FPTING and do it." McGoff said in 19 11 i. . . . a.d. however, that he received some of the arching, and editor Donald trace I Sacrimento Union said: We free South Amean news like any other and W. do i't have any particular bias."

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## South African Role in Iowa Voting Charged

### By WENDELL RAWLS Jr.

A former official in South Africa's Information Ministry who has been in hiding in Europe reportedly has said that his country interfered in the electoral process in the United States last year with the aim of defeating Senator Dick Clark, a liberal Iowa Democrat.

The allegation is one of many that the former official, Eschel M. Rhoodie, is said to have included in papers and 41 tape recordings that he has said would document South Africa's secret multimillion-collar campaign to influence lawmakers, journalists and news outlets around the world.

Although he has held the documents and recordings for sale or for protection against reprisal, some of his allegations were summarized for news organizations that sought to obtain access to the materi-

Mr. Rhoodie is a central figure in what has become a major scandal in South Africa involving top Government officials. It has led to his resignation and those of the Minister of Information and the head of the Bureau of State Security, South Africa's secret police. They are accused of spending about \$73 million on some 170 clandestine projects as part of a propaganda effort on behalf of apartheid, South Africa's system of racial separa-

Senator Clark was defeated last November by a conservative Republican, Roger W. Jepsen. Senator Clark, as chairman of the Foreign Relations subcommittee on African Affairs, was a harsh critic of South Africa's racial policies and had urged economic sanctions against that country.

### Assertions in Rhoodle's Papers

Among the assertions that Mr. Rhoodie's material is said to include were the following:

"South Africa was a major financial backer of Mr. Jepsen. However, public records in the United States reflect no financial contribution from South African Government sources, and Senator Jepsen | said last night that the allegation was "50. Political Affairs, summoned the South

don't want to dignify it with any big response." Speaking of Mr. Rhoodie, he commented, "He is just some kook running around the world with some supposed tape recordings for sale for \$200,-000." He added that he had "every reason to believe that there was absolutely no money put into my campaign from South Africa.

South Africa supplied a substantial share of the capital that enabled a newspaper publisher, John P. McGoff, to make an unsuccessful bid for The Washington Star in 1975 and a successful one for The Sacramento Union in California.

South Africa made large cash payments to prominent labor leaders in the United States early in 1977 to persuade them not to take part in a weeklong shipping blockade of South Africa organized by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

In addition, The New York Times has learned independently that about 50 members of Congress or members of Congressional staffs have made trips to South Africa that were subsidized by the South African Government.

Although documentation Rhoodie's assertions is being withheld, the record of the Clark-Jepsen campaign disclosed a pattern of involvement by South Africans or people strongly supportive of South Africa.

### South African Visited Iowa

In the spring of 1978, just before the primary election in Iowa, a South African diplomat, Jan van Rooyen, visited the Iowa state capital, Des Moines, at the invitation of a conservative Republican state Senator, Stephen Bisenius. In the course of the visit, Mr. van Rooyen told a group of Iowans that he did not know why Senator Clark finds South Africa such a fine platform, rather than dealing with the real problems this state might;

The statement brought a quick reaction from the State Department. David D. Newson, Under Secretary of State for

completely ridiculous and totally false, I African chargé d'affaires to the State Department, where he delivered an oral protest against Mr. van Rooyen's actions.

According to sources familiar with the case, the State Department also sent a confidential cable to South Africa protesting the fact that Mr. van Rooven had injected himself into the American electoral process, and complaining that he 'had made disparaging remarks about Senator Clark."

The following summer, Mr. Bisenius was the only Iowan to attend a large convention in Houston sponsored by the South African Foreign Trade Organization. The featured speaker at the convention was former President Gerald R. Ford, but the most political of the speeches, according to Mr. Bisenius, was delivered by Mr. McGott, who castigated Senator Clark and interrupted himself to ask whether anyone from Iowa was present. Mr. Bisenius said he had raised his hand and was invited to talk with Mr. McGoff after the session.

### South Africans Attended Meeting

Mr. Bisenius said that 20 to 30 South African businessmen had also attended the convention, along with several representatives of Sydney S. Baron & Company Inc., the New York public-relations concern that represents South Africa in the United States.

He said that he was invariably greeted at the convention with the observation, "We don't get along with one of your Senators." He said that the desire to have Senator Clark replaced by someone more sympathetic to South Africa's point of view was often expressed. He said that he had urged the South Africans to refrain from becoming involved in the campaign, and said he felt certain that they did refrain from doing so.

Shortly after the Houston conference, Mr. Bisenius made a visit to South Airica that he described as a business trip, for which he said he paid his own expenses. The purpose of the trip, he said, was to see the South African labor force at work and to observe the South African coal-

gasification process.

# French Court Rules That Figure In S. Africa Scandal Be Returned

Neutra

AIX-EN-PROVENCE, France, Aug. 8—Three French judges said today that Eschel Rhoodic, who disclosed South Africa's use of covert funds to buy influence, should be sent home to face traud and theft charges.

They dismissed his contention that political charges mile; be brought against him in South Wiles and sent him back to jail to asket a overnment decision on their recommendation.

Rhoodie's lawyers interestately an named they would are at both the recommendation and a refusal of bad

South Arrica's to user information chief showed no emotion during the seven-minute hearing but the ruling brought a bitter outburs' from his wife Katie with whom he field South Africa last November

Nearly on tears he said "They could store me in the streets if that would say from it is all a charade to say that this is not political what else could it is but political?"

Transe and South Africa have no extraortion treat out the pidaes acted mass a 100 years of Franco

British convention signed when South Africa was a British colony.

Rhoodie brought on the funds scandal, and the eventual resignation of President John Vorster, by charging that leading South African figures took part in a secret attempt to buy influence in domestic and foreign newspapers

He was arrested at his French Riviera home last month on a warrant issued by South Africa.

Prosecutors alleged vesterday that Rhoodie misappropriated \$90,000. He missted this was repayment of money he personally paid secret agents.

Rhoodn said in an interview published today in the Dutch weekly magazine Elseviers that he had financed visits by South African heart surgeon Christiania Barnard to many of the world's leading statesmen.

He said he and Dr. Barnard, an oppoint of apartheid, got on well because both wanted to see a progte-sive veinse in South Africa's polph. He said Barnard helped combat inexcetts a pirst South Virga, including a possessed AFLCIO action last vein. Christina M. Cerna 1435 4th Street, S.W.; Washington, D.G. 20024

> Mr. Hal Ponder Assistant General Counsel Federal Election Commission 1325 K Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20463





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