

AFRICA NEWS

A Weekly Digest of African Affairs

THE U.S. AND AFRICA: 1981 Part II

[AN] Officials of the Reagan administration have given sufficient indications of future policy to deeply alarm African countries, and to lead to a breakdown in the early, diplomatically muted criticism.

African countries are visibly and outspokenly outraged, and the European allies of the United States, while still not moved to public statements, are raising serious questions in private.

Most upsetting have been strong indications of U.S. tilt toward closer ties with South Africa, beginning with President Reagan's warm remarks about an "old ally" in a March 3 television interview, and continuing with series of other disturbing developments. These include:

- the visit of senior South African military officials to the United States and their "unauthorized" meeting with U.S. UN ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick;
- the withdrawal of U.S. aid to Mozambique after the expulsion of U.S. diplomats from that country for alleged involvement in a CIA intelligence-gathering operation (which may have supplied information on South Africa);
- the apparent U.S. abandonment of efforts to bring about a diplomatic solution in Namibia;
- the administration request to Congress for repeal of the 'Clark amendment' banning U.S. intervention in Angola;
- and an expected visit to the United States of South African-linked Angolan guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi, head of UNITA.

On March 24, the fifty-nation Africa group at the United Nations issued a statement strongly criticizing the emerging direction of United States policy toward South Africa, noting that stepped-up South African attacks on its neighbors coincided with the support shown by the U.S. to South Africa.

A few days earlier Nigeria's President Shehu Shagari warned that arming UNITA rebels "would be in defiance of not only Angola but all of Africa."

Already in response to Reagan's early March comments, the west African press — from both French and English speaking countries — has been giving wide coverage to the new policy tilt and universally denouncing it. And on March 15 the *Daily News* of Tanzania ran a scathing editorial which commented that the new administration apparently thinks "that by supporting racism, the invasion of free African states by South Africa, and the ambitions of a South African puppet, America can convince Africa that it is dedicated to the support of freedom and democracy."

Receiving less public attention, but also deeply upsetting to African countries, has been the U.S. stand on a number of development issues, particularly the abrupt abandonment of the almost-concluded talks on the Law of the Sea, and planned cutbacks in funding for development banks, including the World Bank.

It can hardly be expected that the U.S. would respond to the criticism of a country like Tanzania, which has little economic or geopolitical weight to throw around. African efforts to slow the rush of policy toward the right, however, also have a powerful advocate in Nigerian President Shehu Shagari, who took his message to London on a state visit from March 17 through 20, followed by three days of private talks. President Shagari, speaking in London, warned the United States

against tilting toward South Africa, while saying that his government was still willing to give the new administration the benefit of the doubt until its policy is formally announced. Privately, the Nigerian president urged his British hosts to add their pressure to moderate U.S. policy toward southern Africa.

While Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher largely shames President Reagan's conservative views on economic policy and world affairs, the British government has already been active behind the scenes in urging Western sensitivity to African concerns. The reason is clear: British interests in continuing close economic ties with Nigeria are massive.

In 1980 Nigeria led South Africa as Britain's major export market in Africa by almost \$500 million, buying some \$2.7 billion worth of British goods. Since Britain buys only a small amount from Nigeria, having its own North Sea oil, there is also a massive trade imbalance in Britain's favor of some \$2.3 billion. And while Britain holds some 20% of the Nigerian market and some 40% of all foreign investment in the country, British businessmen are worried that in major capital projects, French, German, Italian, Japanese and even Soviet firms have been outstripping them.

In February, British and Nigerian negotiators reached agreement on compensation of some \$125 million for assets of the British Petroleum interests in Nigeria, which were nationalized in August 1979 in protest to British ties with South Africa — and in what was generally assumed to be a move to pressure Britain on the negotiations then going on over Zimbabwe.

Britain's responsiveness to this rather sharp nudge and its opposition to the Reagan tilt — while still opposing African calls for sanctions against South Africa — is broadly reflective of Western European views on Africa. These contrast sharply with the new United States emphasis on giving priority to confrontation with the Soviet Union and its 'surrogates.' The Western European countries, the most powerful external economic influence in Africa, rather emphasize the usefulness of doing business with and maintaining friendly relations with the full range of African countries, regardless of ideology.

All north African countries have close economic ties with Western Europe, and of sub-Saharan Africa, only Angola and Mozambique are not yet adherents of the Lome convention linking African, Caribbean and Pacific countries to the European Economic Community. And if these two are not yet members, it is not as a result of European opposition to the Marxist-Leninist policies of their ruling political parties, but rather because Angola and Mozambique are carefully scrutinizing the fine print before entering into any definitive agreement.

The European countries are particularly concerned that the U.S. not totally abandon the diplomatic route and fall in with South African plans on the future of Namibia. In a characteristic statement, the influential *Financial Times* of London argued that alternatives to sanctions "will have to be found if the West is to head off the growing pressure and maintain a credible role in black Africa. [This] will not be achieved without U.S. pressure on Pretoria. President Reagan must be encouraged in this direction."

European officials feel that Assistant Secretary of

State for Africa Chester Crocker is sympathetic to their 'moderate' approach, but they fear the U.S. may be rapidly pushed by the ultra-right within the administration, and in Congress into such an identification with Pretoria that any hope for continued good ties with independent Africa would be lost.

This fear is fed by the signals so far of a tilt toward Pretoria, and by two Reagan appointments: Ernest Lefever for the State Department human rights post, and Carl Gershman, a strong advocate of U.S. support for UNITA in Angola, as deputy to UN Ambassador Jeanne Kirkpatrick. The choices are being interpreted in part as a *quid pro quo* — a prize for the political right in compensation for Jesse Helms' acceptance of the 'moderate' Crocker nomination for the Africa post.

The European concern is shared by many of the leaders of major U.S. corporations with substantial interests in Western Europe and Africa. They also hope for increased profits from new investment and trade with Nigeria and other African countries. Many companies, for example, are vying for a major share of the more than \$18 billion that Nigeria plans to spend over the next five years in agricultural development.

A joint Agricultural Consultative Committee of 26 major agri-business firms, formed last year, is expected to visit Nigeria in May. These companies are hoping that exports of U.S. food will be supplemented by massive exports of agricultural technology and expertise — one area in which the U.S. is on stronger competitive grounds with the Western Europeans and Japanese. But a major confrontation with Nigeria over southern Africa could lead to a drastic reduction in these opportunities.

Among the companies most active in opposing a U.S. tilt toward South Africa is Gulf Oil, which has investments in both Angola and in west Africa, particularly Nigeria. Melvin Hill, president of Gulf Oil Exploration and Production Company, testified before the House Subcommittee on Africa in September on Gulf's operations in Angola, stressing their good relations with the government and noting that to Gulf's knowledge only three governments — the U.S., the People's Republic of China, and Senegal — still withhold recognition from the MPLA-Labour Party government of Angola.

Hill is scheduled to testify again before the House Subcommittee this week, and he will likely comment on both the Angolan situation and the broader U.S. economic and political interest in Africa. Though other companies have been reluctant to take a public stance, *Africa News* has learned that a major behind-the-scenes effort is under way by a number of firms to communicate complaints to administration officials and Congress regarding Africa policy.

The success of these efforts is unpredictable. Some impact is apparent in the U.S. pledge last week at the conference held on aid to Zimbabwe in Salisbury. New AID Administrator Peter Peterson expressed the U.S. intent to maintain the level of commitment at the \$75 million per year level projected by the Carter administration, bringing the total three-year amount to \$225 million.

Opponents of the prospective tilt toward South Africa, however, are concerned that the Reagan administration, mistakenly,

does not take African threats seriously. The first major test may come soon, with the arrival — postponed several times, but expected momentarily — of Jonas Savimbi in Washington.

Local Pioneer Lawyers And Judges Honored

The North Carolina Association of Black Lawyers honored several pioneer lawyers and judges from Durham and across North Carolina. The Honorable Matthew J. Perry, federal district judge from South Carolina was the speaker. Volume One in the *Chronicle of Black Lawyers in North Carolina* honored those whom the NCABL called "The Pioneers: 1865-1950" at its first such banquet March 27 at 7:30 p.m. in the W.G. Pearson Dining Hall on North Carolina Central University campus.

Special recognition was given to Conrad Odelle Pearson as a senior living pioneer, and to the late Robert McCants, Caswell Jerry Gates and M. Hugh Thompson. Recognition was also given to the late P.S. Escoffery.

The late Cecil A. McCoy, Edward R. Avant and John H. Wheeler were also honored as pioneer lawyers, as well as Albert Louis Turner, first dean of the NCCU Law School. Family members were given the Awards for them.

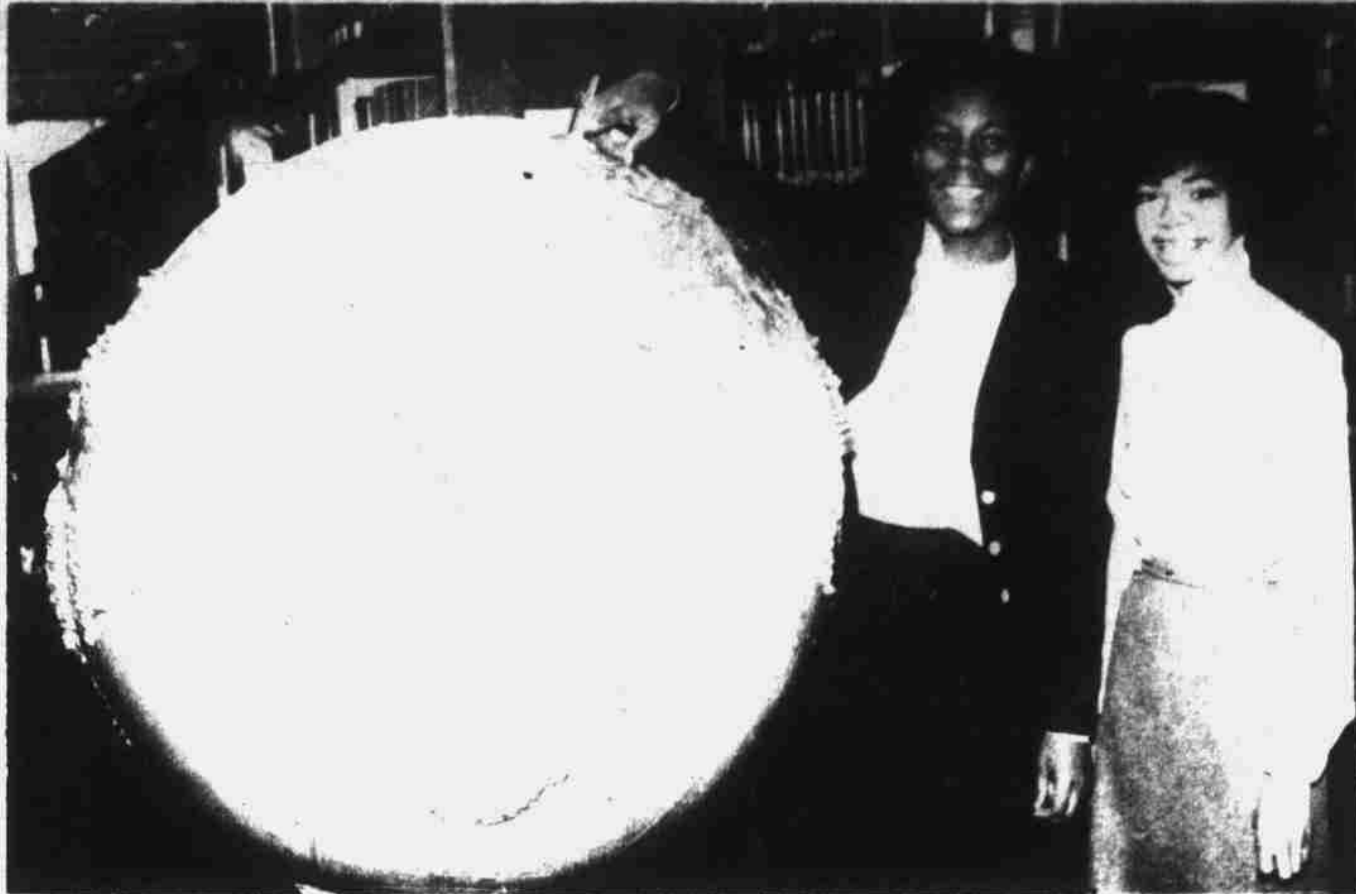
Living Durham lawyers honored in addition to Pearson include LeMarquis DeJarnon, former dean and professor of law at NCCU; Milton E. Johnson, former practicing attorney and teacher, C.C. Spaulding, Jr., former vice president and general counsel of North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company, and J.J. Sansom, president of Mechanics and Farmers Bank.

Black judges from Durham, past and present, who were honored included the Honorable Charles L. Becton, North Carolina Court of Appeals, Honorable Richard D. Erwin, former Court of Appeals and currently U.S. District Court Judge of the Middle District, Honorable Karen B. Galloway, District Court, 14th Judicial District, Honorable W.G. Pearson, II, District Court, 14th Judicial District and Honorable Ronald Barbee, former Superior Court Special Judge.

Attorney G.K. Butterfield, Jr., of Wilson, is president of the 300 member N.C. Association of Black Lawyers. Butterfield emphasized that "Today's younger black lawyers owe a great debt of gratitude to the pioneers who paved the way making possible many of the benefits black lawyers and black people enjoy today."

F.B. McKissick of Oxford, chairman of the Program Committee, pointed out that the program recognized "the tremendous struggles older lawyers had to try to achieve a measure of dignity in the profession personally, as they pursued the unpopular cause of 'due process of law' and equal justice for black people. This tribute is long overdue," he added.

Charles E. Daye, of Durham, the Association's executive secretary, said he believes "The *Chronicle* is a significant historical document, that makes a real beginning to collect and preserve a vital part of black history, not just for lawyers, but for everyone. This document starts with the Reconstruction Period and traces black lawyers up to 1950. We hope to add to that history year by year until



Two students attending St. Augustine's College have been chosen as French Scholars and will participate in the Alma College program to Paris, France. Shown left to right observing a world globe are Miss Audrey Croston and Miss JoAnne Brown. They will be studying at Alliance Francaise in Paris this summer from July to August. Miss Audrey Croston is a sophomore French major from Seymour Johnson AFB and Miss JoAnne Brown, a junior French and Spanish major, hails from Petersburg, Virginia.

King's Rags To Riches Message Needed

By Timothy Tyler
(Timothy Tyler is a Howard University student and communications major who heard Don King speak recently at the university. The articles describes his impressions.) (Don King's message was carried on the front page of The Carolina Times' issue of April 4.)

A socially-handicapped black man: no education, criminal, ex-convict, numbers runner and probably a number of other

we have a full and complete record."

typical criminal traits of a large number of black men. He does not stand a chance of survival in these capitalistic United States. He has already chosen his future. He will probably die before age 50, or spend the rest of his life in jail because he is a loser.

Mr. Don King: no education, criminal, ex-convict, numbers runner, a black man, a millionaire, articulate, character, educated, smart, all in all in this society's terminology a winner. From these descriptions come probably the best of the rags

to riches stories. Probably a movie and several books on the man. Of course, this story is highly publicized, and probably as well known as Christopher Columbus is by most poor inner city black children. No this is not the case.

Mr. Don King, he is not your typical American millionaire, Mr. King is not the former college student who majored in engineering, who invented the first car, or the first man to split the atom to produce the atom bomb. He is (or should be) based on his social background,

a discouraged poor black man. One would automatically think this if one were to investigate Mr. King's social background. Mr. King has put a serious dent in the wall of the capitalistic system which insists, demands, and with no exceptions, says you must be educated to become a money-maker in the U.S.

Mr. King, in my past opinion, was just someone who occasionally accidentally wandered past the television cameras at an Ali fight. Not much more than your usual "biters" (Continued From Page 15)

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