



AP

Young (right) talks with Kaunda: 'I learned how to make the system work for us'

Carter's 'Point Man'

As Andrew Young strolled through the old slaving port of Zanzibar last week, Muslim women in flowing black robes and men in Western-style slacks smiled and waved at him. Later, he dropped in at a "people's club" and danced a few steps of what an aide described as "a sort of stiff Hustle." America's first black ambassador to the United Nations was on a low-key mission. "I have come to listen," he said. "I bring no solutions." Young, 44, did meet with some important African leaders, including Zambia's President Kenneth Kaunda and Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, and he bluntly attacked the white Prime Minister of Rhodesia, Ian Smith. "I take the view that Smith is an outlaw," he told *NEWSWEEK*'s Loren Jenkins. "But I accept that he is in power and has to be dealt with, because there is no one else to take his place."

The remark was typical of Andrew Young—an outspoken commitment to his beliefs coupled with a realistic willingness to deal with things as they are. Those qualities, plus his political support of Jimmy Carter's Presidential campaign, have given him an almost unique relationship with Carter. At Young's swearing-in two weeks ago, the President declared: "I have never said it about anyone else—of all the people I have ever known in public service, Andy Young is the best . . . His status will be equal to that of the Secretary of State or the Secretary of the Treasury or anyone else." But the new ambassador also set an unenviable record of a sort: his free-swinging statements on Vietnam, Rhodesia and Angola forced Secretary of State Cyrus Vance to rebut publicly his views three times in one week.

Even before taking the U.N. post, it was evident that Young would never be—as he himself put it—a meek "White House nigger." Brought up in a mostly white neighborhood in New Orleans as the son of a prosperous dentist, he converted to the civil-rights cause only after his ordination as a minister in the United Church of Christ. One of Martin Luther King's top lieutenants during the ugly days of Birmingham and Selma, he became known as a man who could deal with people on all sides of an issue without compromising his own principles. "One of the things I learned from Dr. King was tactics," he has said. "I learned how to make the system work for us." In 1972 he became the first black congressman from Georgia since Reconstruction, and there are those—Young apparently among them—who think his political prospects could extend all the way to the White House. When he was considering Carter's U.N. offer, some of his black allies opposed the move. "Don't do it," cabled fellow Georgian Julian Bond. "We need you in Congress."

Style: Young already has made his presence felt at the U.N. He ruffled feathers in the Foreign Service by replacing all four of his ambassadorial-rank assistants and promised to add women and minorities to his staff. There also will be a sharp change in diplomatic style from the days of Henry Kissinger and Daniel Patrick Moynihan. "Maybe the single most important dynamic in today's foreign relations is racism," he told *NEWSWEEK*'s Vern E. Smith last December. "Kissinger had no understanding of that and that was the reason he misjudged the African situation."

Already, Young is a celebrity at the

U.N., and he may attain star quality next month when the presidency of the Security Council rotates to him, possibly in time for debates on the Middle East and Africa. But many professional U.S. diplomats worry about his impulsive, outspoken ways. Before he was sworn in, Young said the Administration favored Vietnam's admission to the U.N. The next day, the State Department repeated an earlier, carefully tuned statement by Vance that the U.S. merely looked forward to talks with Hanoi on normalizing relations. Next, Young declared that Rhodesia would resume its stalled negotiations with black militants if South Africa ordered it to do so. At a news conference, Vance responded drily: "I don't think it's that simple." Then Young said in a TV interview that "in a certain sense" Cuban troops had brought "a certain stability and order" to Angola. Re-

celebration marking the formal merger between the ruling political parties of Tanzania and its island of Zanzibar. The event had been oversold. Young arrived a day early for the party, and for various reasons, the leaders of several important countries—including Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Kenya—failed to show up at all. Ethiopia's Chief of State had been planning to come but was shot to death in Addis Ababa (page 48). But Young's assignment was mainly to listen and show the flag, as Vice President Walter Mondale had been doing in Western Europe and Japan and as Secretary Vance is scheduled to do next week in the Middle East. In Zanzibar, Nyerere and Kaunda expressed their joint concern over the breakdown in the Rhodesian negotiations. "If there is to be peace, the United States must come in and help us," said Kaunda. "If they don't, then the

Searching for Black Roots

This week Andrew Young travels to Nigeria to visit the World Black and African Festival of Arts and Culture—Festac, for short. The month-long festival already has become a seminal event for thousands of Africans and hundreds of American blacks. From Lagos, NEWSWEEK's James Pringle reports:

American Ambassador Donald Easum had just delivered a graceful little welcoming speech at a reception in his home when an elderly black woman from the U.S. stepped up and grabbed the microphone. "That's all very well, Ambassador," she told him. "But what you should be doing is apologizing for taking us away as slaves from West Africa in the first place." Then the woman, a relatively light-skinned New Yorker who calls herself Queen Mother Moore, turned to the mostly white diplomatic corps and added: "You even robbed me of my black complexion by raping my ancestors."

After a moment of embarrassed silence, Easum broke the tension by applauding politely. As conversation resumed, some of the blacks congratulated Queen Mother Moore, while others apologized to the host. The ambivalence was understandable. Most of the American blacks at the festival had read Alex Haley's book, "Roots," and for some of them the incident at the ambassador's house summed up the joys and pains—and the divided loyalties—produced by "going home" to Africa.

This second edition of Festac (the first was held in 1966) attracted 15,000 participants from 57 lands to

an exuberant celebration of black dance, music and culture. For 500 Americans, it brought the shock of recognition. "My ancestors came from somewhere right here!" exclaimed Omar Kali, a 49-year-old trapeze artist from Watts. "It is like I am fitting in with a lost land I always knew about." A California girl walking through a Lagos slum spotted some black children playing a clapping-and-dancing game. "I couldn't believe my eyes," she told me. "I played that game as a little girl in Sacramento. No white American could ever know about it." Nadi Qamar, a New York musician in his 60s, was rapturous. "The experience is changing my life and will change my music in ways I can't describe," he said. "The drums, the birds, the breeze in the coconut palms—and all those people in the stadium shouting: 'Welcome home, black Americans. Come home'."

"It was rough at first," said Michael Pugh of Chicago as he sat in the doorway



Bruno Barbey—Magnum

U.S. delegates marching at Festac: Joy, pain and divided loyalties about 'going home'

torted Vance: "I think the presence of any outside forces is not helpful."

Complains a State Department hand: "Young has the best intentions in the world, but he doesn't realize yet that when he comes out with these blockbusters, he may be undoing the work we've been doing, bit by bit, for months or years." At a private discussion two weeks ago among Young, Carter, Vance and national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, the Secretary of State patiently explained to Young that his new role required tact and discretion. But Young is not contrite. He regards himself as a "point man" in the making of policy. "President Carter said he wanted a foreign policy that is not conducted in secret," he told NEWSWEEK's Jenkins. "I think that means involving the American people in the foreign-policy debate. I can do that through some of the things I say."

Young broke little ground in Africa last week. The pretext for his trip was a

armed struggle will continue and we will win anyway."

Young warned that "there has to be a negotiated settlement because the only alternative is large-scale death and destruction." The Administration had not yet worked out a detailed approach to the problem of southern Africa. Speaking of the expectations of Black African leaders, Young said: "I hope you don't expect too much, but I hope you get a hell of a lot." As for his own expectations, Young clearly did not intend to be stifled by the constraints of traditional diplomacy. During the meeting with Carter and his advisers, Young reportedly told Brzezinski that he hoped his style would not cause problems. Brzezinski replied that if it ever did, he would simply pick up the phone and say so. "So far, he has not telephoned," reported Young with a disarming smile.

—RAYMOND CARROLL with LOREN JENKINS in Zanzibar and SCOTT SULLIVAN in Washington

of his apartment in the unfinished Festac Village, 6 miles outside Lagos. "You can't drink the water, the plumbing doesn't work and there's the same chicken and rice and yams for every meal." Other Americans found it hard to take the pounding heat, the noise, the smells, the thieving and venality and the xenophobia of Nigeria's military dictatorship. A young woman who helped organize the American delegation was disgusted. "I think in America we blacks have got the best shake, I really do," she said. "People going to the bathroom in the streets—that really flipped me out. And look at those rich Nigerians. Where do they get all those Mercedeses?"

The Americans, like many visiting Africans, were horrified by a bizarre episode during the opening ceremonies at the National Stadium in Lagos. High up in a jam-packed balcony grandstand, several spectators, possibly pickpockets, were snatched off their feet, passed over the heads of the audience and thrown onto the stadium floor; reportedly, some of them were killed. Finally an official used the public-address system to plead over and over: "Stop throwing human beings! Will you please stop throwing human beings!"

Loyalties: Festac had been delayed for years by a series of crises in Nigeria—a civil war, a coup, an attempted coup, mismanagement of construction work and charges of wholesale bribery. The hard-fisted government of Gen. Olusegun Obasanjo, who took over after his predecessor was assassinated last year, remained fearful of foreign influence. Some Nigerian officials tried, unsuccessfully, to keep Arab delegations out of the festival on the ground that they weren't sufficiently African. And Nigerian newspapers warned that the U.S. delegation contained CIA agents who were out to "destroy the unity of black peoples." That charge so outraged black activist Ron Karenga that he denounced it publicly during a colloquium on black civilization. "Africans must stop generalizing about the loyalties and motives of Afro-Americans, including the widespread suspicion of black Americans being CIA agents," he declared.

While the Americans were searching for their roots, many Africans were looking inward to see what was wrong with their own societies. "If man originated in Africa, we should ask ourselves why we in Africa are lagging behind," said Prof. L.H. Ofori-Appiah of Ghana. He predicted that the last pockets of colonial rule in Africa would be eliminated by the end of the decade. "Then the causes for slogan-shouting will diminish, but the basic reasons for Africa's underdevelopment economically and intellectually will remain." Several speakers at the colloquium argued that government-run universities should grant scholars more intellectual freedom. To that, a Sierra Leone Government official replied: "He who pays the piper calls the tune." Then a delegate from Gambia, Haley's ances-

tral home and one of Africa's few democracies, asked for a resolution demanding amnesty for imprisoned African intellectuals. There was polite applause, but no action was taken.

For all that, Festac was a hit. Its Nigerian military administrators reduced the price of the cheapest seats from \$5 to 80 cents. There were lively performances by the Mighty Sparrow, a calypso singer from Trinidad, and 7-foot-tall Tutsi dancers from Burundi. A fertility dance by girls from the Ivory Coast—who defied a Nigerian Government ban on nudity by baring their breasts—drew sellout crowds. The early American performances were not a great success. As the audience drifted away from one amateurish ballet, a black American shouted: "You don't represent the black struggle—you represent the State Department." But such superstars



Pana-India—Authenticated News International

Ram and Mrs. Gandhi: After nineteen months, a complaint about 'despotism'

as Stevie Wonder and Roberta Flack were expected this week, and the U.S. image was likely to improve with the arrival of Ambassador Young.

Elation: For many Americans, the late-night rap sessions with African delegates were the highlight of their stay. Said one girl who had done her hair up in Nigerian-style corn rows: "Who will remember in a couple of years the open sewers, bad food, poor plumbing, no hot water, even no water at all? What I'll always remember is inter-relating with blacks from all over the world." Still, some Americans concluded that they had not fully "come home." "For black Americans going to Africa—like Jews to Israel—there is at first a sense of elation," said an actor from Harlem. "But in the end you know you are more American than African. The empathy and the sense of brotherhood are real, but ultimately you realize that you are different—a foreigner just as much as a Ghanaian is a foreigner in Nigeria."