

There is hope and a sort of mystical grip on world leaders here at the United Nations. At this 37th meeting of the General Assembly some of the countries of the world have sent their heads of state, and certainly their foreign ministers, in most instances. This is proof of their faith in this body as the conflicts in so many vises beset them all.

While I am fascinated by the optimism of many of these dedicated diplomats, I am also deeply disturbed by the negative outlook of an outspoken few.

To come to New York is both a privilege and an honor for the high and mighty as well as for the little low rung attache getting his first experience on this world stage.

I watch the first time Africans especially, in their U.S.-purchased wardrobes for the occasion. Tags and creases often betray the newness of their clothing. They welcome any glance, nod or hello eagerly. I try to speak to most, inquire where they are from or how they enjoy New York. Often their French may floor me, but being a demanding American on language, I steer the conversation to English. Of course, I observe and talk with the Arabs, the Caribbeans and representatives of the Island States from the South Pacific and the Asians as well. I pass up the West Europeans and many other white-led delegates for they have the media on their side and as I have sworn my oath to espouse those of the Third World.

The 150 plus nations with membership in the United Nations have their special groupings which meet in their own collective self-interest to cope with the United Nations agenda and to effect strategy for their region or cause. The permanent representatives reserve the major meetings for themselves or their deputies and counselors. The lower officials work with the various committees of which there are several. Some have numbers, others just designated names which are referred to by letters. It is mind-boggling to me to be on top of all these committees. But the United Nations is a huge movement tackling a myriad of concerns and problems. It must accommodate compelling reality and fancied notions almost simultaneously. More are noteworthy patterns which time has rendered practical and are traditional.

The big powers draw a full house. When the United States Secretary of State, George Schultz, spoke recently, the delegates newsmen paid attention. Russia's Andrei Gromyko ran neck and neck with our American spokesman. China had an equal turnout when its Foreign Minister, Huang Hua, addressed the Assembly. Pragmatism dictates that the little and underdeveloped states know the positions of the United States, the Soviet Union, and the Republic of China, for these are the powerful who influence their almost total existence.

The Third world countries can only expect their friends to be in their seats when their turn comes. However, even the smallest, poorest and least influential may pour out words of wisdom and determination in concert with others of their kind. Strangely enough, the delegates, except for their friends and the big powers, move in and out of the chamber at will.

From the least powerful, I herewith take the liberty to quote many of them as they assailed those who disrespect the United Nations; international law and thereby the peace. Their status comprises over four-fifths of the United Nations:

THEIR WORDS

Akakpo-Ahiyano, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, Togo, West Africa.

NAMIBIA: "By its dilatory maneuvers, Pretoria is doing everything to hold up Namibia's independence. Using the impunity it enjoys, the Government of South Africa is bent on systematically destroying the already fragile infrastructures of the independent countries of southern Africa."

THE PLO: "The Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in committing itself behind its leader Yasser Arafat to the realistic process of peace, will once again furnish proof of its maturity and acute sense of its responsibilities."

Ciad Essebsi, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Tunisia, North Africa.

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER: "The steady deterioration of the economic conditions of the developing countries does not seem to be of much concern to the industrialized countries, which claiming domestic economic difficulties, obstruct change and oppose reform."

"...Urgent change is nonetheless greatly needed in order to restructure international economic relations on the bases of justice, equity and sovereign equality, in accordance with the objectives of the New International Economic Order."

Basil Ince, Minister for External Affairs, Trinidad and Tobago (The Caribbean)

"FOR THE CARIBBEAN the past year has been particularly difficult. Not only did the recession continue to decrease the demand for tourism, the primary source of foreign exchange for many countries, but the major exports — sugar, petroleum, bauxite/alumina and bananas — also faced softening or declining markets. They will

need the support of the multilateral financial institutions if this gap is to be bridged. We therefore view with some concern the decision of the World Bank to adopt a variable interest rate policy and to introduce a front-end lending fee which will make project financing much more difficult and painful. Without lower and more stable interest rates, initiatives designed to encourage investment in the Caribbean will not be meaningful."

Moustapha Niasse, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senegal, West Africa.

ON AFGHANISTAN: "With regard to Afghanistan, my country has been following with sustained interest the efforts made by the United Nations Secretary General to achieve an acceptable solution to this problem in the true interest of this sorely tried brother people. We remain ready, in the name of solidarity among nations and the principles contained in the Charter, to contribute to these peace efforts within the limits of our modest possibilities, convinced as we are that a stubborn desire to find a solution by force will simply pointlessly prolong the tragedy of the people of Afghanistan and serve only to increase tension among the States of the region."

ON PALESTINE, PLO, LEBANON: "As it hails the courage and determination with which the valiant Palestinian patriots continue to resist the repeated assaults of the Israeli aggressor, my country, Senegal, wishes solemnly to reaffirm here its constant and unwavering support of the Palestinian cause, under the guidance of its genuine legitimate representative, the PLO, courageously led by Yasser Arafat, to whom I wish here, on behalf of my country, to pay a heartfelt tribute for the admirable and victorious way in which for several weeks he organized the heroic Palestinian resistance in West Beirut. To that I add the support of the Senegalese people for the brother people of Lebanon which, through its dignity and spirit of self-sacrifice, is providing the world a living example of its genius and capacity for survival..."

"The committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, over which my country has the honor to preside, long ago outlined the framework for a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East question."

Sheikh Sabab Al-Jaber Al-Sabah, Dep Prime Minister and Minister Foreign Affairs, Kuwait, Persian Gulf.

IRAN-IRAQ CONFLICT: "Kuwait views with great concern the ongoing war between two Moslem neighbors, Iraq and Iran, which has exhausted, over a period of more than two years, the great potential of their human and economic resources and has exposed the area more than ever before to the possibility of intervention by foreign powers attempting to impose their hegemony and their influence and to interfere in the area's internal affairs."

"Kuwait commends the positive initiative of fraternal Iraq concerning the withdrawal of its forces to the international borders and the cessation of hostilities. It views this as an honest and genuine contribution on the part of Iraq to put a quick end to the war. We are still hopeful that neighboring Moslem Iran will follow Iraq's example in this respect..."

MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA: "The Middle East is plagued by an aggressive and racist Zionist regime, while the African continent is plagued by a similar racist regime that is still being imposed on the people of South Africa and Namibia despite all the international attempts to find a just and honorable solution to their problems."

NAMIBIA - APARTHEID: "Kuwait reiterates its support and solidarity with the people of Namibia in their just struggle and with the black majority in South Africa as it struggles against the policies of discrimination and apartheid being pursued by the white minority in that country. We salute and support the front-line States and the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) for their political perseverance in attempting to find a peaceful settlement to the problem of Namibia. We also condemn the perverted methods used by the racist regime in South Africa in its attempts to obstruct a peaceful settlement to that problem. Kuwait would also urge the Western nations to exert the utmost pressure on South Africa in order to force it to respond positively to international efforts to achieve a comprehensive and just settlement to the situation in southern Africa."

Archibald Mogwe, Minister of External Affairs, Southern Africa, Botswana.

THE FALKLANDS: "The position of my country regarding the Falklands crisis has already been made clear. It does no harm to reiterate it here. Botswana does not accept the use of armed intervention to enforce territorial claims. Our condemnation of such action by Argentina was therefore without prejudice to the merits or otherwise of its claim. We do not regard the Falklands as an integral part of Britain, some 8,000 miles away. Such a concept belongs to the imperialism of by-gone centuries. Our view is



that the Falklands is a colony of Britain."

ON NAMIBIA: "My country, one of the front-line States bordering on Namibia, continues to call for the immediate implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) as the generally accepted peaceful means of ensuring the attainment of independence by that United Nations Territory. Negotiations relating to outstanding issues relevant to that resolution have been successfully concluded. The process leading to the liberation of Namibia should be unhindered. My country looks forward with the most fervent hopes of seeing a liberated, free, independent and sovereign Namibia assume its rightful place in this Assembly at its 38th session..."

"But the accession of Namibia to independence will not in itself bring peace to the southern African region as long as apartheid and racism continue to be the fundamental tenets of South Africa's philosophy of government..."

"Our undying refrain is the continuing call urging South Africa to engage in meaningful dialogue with the recognized leaders of all the citizens of that country and to work out a solution acceptable to all."

Jose Lopez Portillo, President of Mexico.

SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS: "Mexico has always been active in and committed to the United Nations, not with the idea that it may be the last resort for the prevention of total destruction but because it is the best means available to us to halt the process that could lead to such an outcome..."

"This makes it essential to bring together the two fundamental areas of negotiation for which the world is waiting: that which will lead to detente between the two superpowers and that which will reorganize relationships among countries with different levels of development. The two conflicts, between East and West and North and South, have, we would repeat, crucified all mankind. Only through a convergence of both areas of negotiations can there be established a new international order, one that includes the process of political decolonization and the fundamental challenge facing international society — economic decolonization. Both types of decolonization are mutations attesting to the most profound potential of human being — the attainment of his own dignity."

NEW ECONOMIC ORDER: "But Mexico's most constant concern and task in the international sphere is the transition to a new economic order."

"We have stressed that the entire gamut of economic relations between the developing countries and the industrialized world must be transformed. Those relations have figured on the agendas of many international conferences, but the progress made has not been particularly encouraging. It was therefore our thought to convene a summit meeting of the main industrialized countries and a representative number of developing nations. The idea was for Heads of State and Government, rather than negotiating topic by topic, to show their firm political will to take a qualitatively significant step in the stalled negotiations by acknowledging the need to seek this essential new order."

ENERGY AND OIL: "The world energy plan is still a good method for the achievement of the New International Economic Order."

"Even during the present crisis Venezuela and Mexico have moved forward and set an example by reaffirming and renewing the San Jose Agreement to help the countries of Central America and the Caribbean by guaranteeing their supplies of oil and by creating soft loan funds for their development. The \$700 million that Mexico alone has earmarked to date for that purpose is granted unconditionally and without distinction and equals the amount that the United States plans to allocate for the same region."

Paulo Teixeira Jorge, Minister for External Relations, Angola, Southern Africa.

CUBAN TROOPS: "It is therefore fitting to recall that, at the end of the month of August 1981, at a lunch offered to the foreign press accredited in South Africa, and at the very moment when a large-scale aggression was being perpetrated against the People's Republic of Angola, the South African Prime Minister declared that, 'The Cubans represent no threat to South Africa' and that South Africa 'does not regard the withdrawal of the Cubans from Angola as a prior condition to the peaceful solution of the Namibian question'."

"Nevertheless, it is surprising but significant that a certain number of those who express their concern about the presence of the Cuban internationalist forces in the People's Republic of Angola show no such concern in respect of the illegal occupation for more than a year of a part of the territory of Angola by the racist and fascist South African troops. What moral can be drawn from that?"

"And yet, in the course of these last nine months, the South African army has carried out 580 reconnaissance flights, 18 air bombardments, 96 landings of troops from helicopters and several sabotage and reprisal actions against the civilian population. The Angolan armed forces have suffered 31 dead, 65 wounded and 38 missing, while the enemy forces have suffered 39 dead. Seven South African aircraft and three helicopters have been shot down..."

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"May I be allowed to remind this Assembly of the enormous sacrifices which the heroic people of Angola have already made and the extremely high price it is paying in thousands of lost human lives and material damage amounting to more than \$7.5 billion."

REGARDING OAU: "With regard to the temporary difficulties now being experienced by the Organization of African Unity, we consider that any problems that might affect us should be discussed by us alone, within our continental organization, and without any interference from outside Africa, as has been noted. The fact that the 38th regular session of the Council of Ministers and the 19th OAU summit at Tripoli were obstructed is a part of the strategy of American imperialism and some of its allies aimed at subjugating or paralyzing international bodies which play an active role in the struggle for the political and economic independence of peoples. We are absolutely convinced that this monetary crisis will soon be overcome."

United Nations Black Americans Must Take Ad

By Curtis T. Pe

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SEVEN YEARS OF SACRIFICE: "Next month the Angolan people will celebrate the seventh anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, under the dynamic and visionary leadership of Comrade Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and President of the Republic. Important results have already been achieved in consolidating the Angolan revolutionary process, in setting up the structures of the party, in strengthening national unity and defense and in laying the foundations for a socialist society in the People's Republic of Angola. Unfortunately, however, the Angolan Government has had to devote most of its human and material resources to the defense of its national sovereignty and territorial integrity, because of the continuous acts of aggression by the racist and fascist regime of Pretoria. This has seriously affected the economic and social development we had planned, but if we are to attain that paramount goal, the undeclared war against us must be brought to an end. We need peace, and we dare to hope that that peace so fervently desired by the Angolan people will be attained in the coming year."

"The struggle continues. Victory is certain."

Sheikh Al-Hegan, Saudi Arabia.

ARMS RACE: "The arms race and the magnitude of the resulting expenditure has increased tension in the world, and that has forced many countries, and the developing countries in particular, to devote a great portion of their limited resources to defense, at the expense of their progress and economic and social development. We hope that the efforts which the international com-

munity expects this Organization to exert and the positive role that it can play in this respect will lead to concrete progress which will protect humanity from the danger to which it is exposed and spare the developing countries the conflicts and struggles for influence that have become a danger to humanity in general."

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER: "One of the important goals of our contemporary world and for the future is the establishment of a new and more equitable international economic order which will meet the aspirations of the peoples of the world to higher standards of living and a better life. In order to establish such a system, we must grapple with the many important economic subjects that demand our attention."

AFGHANISTAN: "One of the important questions facing the international community and requiring an effective, urgent solution, is that of Afghanistan. The continued interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan constitutes a flagrant violation by a super-power of the sovereignty and independence of a small, non-aligned country. Today, after almost three years of Soviet in-

the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to establish a State on its own territory and under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, its sole legitimate representative. This is in accordance with the principles of right and justice and the resolutions of the United Nations. Thus, at a time when the Arab nation reaffirms by its resolutions of Fez its will to establish peace based on justice, Israel proves, through its conduct, that it does not wish peace but rather seeks more expansion and more occupation of territory. It has become crystal clear that Israel is not the party that seeks security. Those who look forward to security are the Arabs."

Lameck H.K. Goma, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Zambia, Southern Africa.

ON CYPRUS: "We remain steadfast in support of the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We call for meaningful progress in the intercommunal talks and for an early agreement on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Cyprus."

GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS:



terference in Afghanistan — coupled with continuous acts of aggression against the Afghan people, against mosques and peaceful villages, bombardment with incendiary bombs, the use of chemical warfare, and violations of the most elementary principles of human rights — we once again urge the Soviet Union to withdraw from Afghanistan so that the fraternal Afghan people may regain its freedom and independence and have the final say in the choice of its regime and representatives and so that it may exercise sovereignty over its own land."

JERUSALEM: "If Palestine is our primary cause, the Holy Jerusalem is its essence. In this connection, Saudi Arabia, on its own behalf and on behalf of the Islamic countries which are members of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, reaffirms its determination to preserve the Islamic Arab character of Jerusalem and to return the Holy City to Arab sovereignty, under which it was always a meeting point, for all believers in the three revealed religions and a place of hope, tolerance and coexistence for the followers of the various religions."

FEZ AND PEACE: "The resolutions of the Fez summit conference reaffirmed the Arab will for peace based on right and justice because it took into account the situation in the area and that involved the principles and bases which could be an objective starting point for establishing a just and lasting peace. Foremost among those principles is

"My delegation firmly believes that institutional changes and structural reforms in the world economy which could contribute to lasting solutions to our current problems can only result from a global and integrated approach to these problems. The global negotiations, which were decided upon by the General Assembly in its Resolution 34/138, offer the best chance to the international community to achieve the desired objectives. It is through meaningful interdependence and collective action that economic progress will be achieved. We hope that global negotiations will be launched in the not too distant future and that they will result in concrete measures which all countries will find it easy to adopt, and thereby bring about the necessary structural changes leading to the establishment of a new international economic order."

NAMIBIA: "It is the firm view of my Government that the momentum which has been generated in regard to the independence of Namibia should not be lost. We wish to see the implementation process begin without further delay. South Africa should not be given any pretext to frustrate further the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We would, therefore, utter a caution against the introduction of extraneous issues which would have the effect of delaying the independence of Namibia. In this regard, we reject the linkage that is being insisted upon between Namibia's independence and the presence of Cuban forces in Angola. There