

SPEECHES
WELCOMING THE DELEGATION
OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
BY THE U.N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY PRESIDENT
AND REPRESENTATIVES OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES
AT THE PLENARY MEETING OF THE
26TH SESSION OF THE U.N.
GENERAL ASSEMBLY
(NOVEMBER 15, 1971)

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING

SPEECHES

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SPEECH BY ADAM MALIK

President of the 26th Session of the General Assembly of
the United Nations

This morning the Delegation of the People's Republic of China is seated for the first time in the General Assembly. As President of the Assembly, I take great pleasure in welcoming that delegation. This is a historic occasion. The People's Republic of China is now beginning its participation in the work of the principal inter-governmental organization in the world today. Undoubtedly, by this participation the United Nations will be strengthened in its effectiveness.

Several representatives have indicated their wish to mark the occasion with statements of welcome. I call first on the representative of Kuwait to speak on behalf of the Asian states.

SPEECH BY ABDALLA YACCOUB BISHARA
Permanent Representative of KUWAIT to the U.N.
(on Behalf of the Asian States)

As Chairman of the Asian Group for the month of November, and as representative of Kuwait, it gives me great pleasure to welcome the Delegation of China to the United Nations as the sole representative of the great people of China.

On Monday, 25 October, the General Assembly voted overwhelmingly for the restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese people, after 22 years of unjust and unjustifiable obstruction. That evening of 25 October was a historic event in the annals of the United Nations and of the international community. At long last the General Assembly decided to right the wrongs inflicted upon the Chinese people. This was achieved because of the patience, discretion and wisdom which the government of Peking has demonstrated during the past two decades, and also because a new concept has emerged in international affairs: the concept of adhering to reality and accepting the dictates of facts.

The United Nations was, as diplomats acknowledged, artificial without China's participation. The burning issues that are looming over the world, such as disarmament, international security and peace, especially in Southeast Asia, could not be solved without the active

and constructive role of China. Neither the United Nations, in its quest for implementing its goals and purposes enshrined in the Charter, nor the countries of the world, with all their different systems and policies, could afford the absence of China.

Furthermore, the United Nations has become more universal now as an organization that reflects the policies of governments and the yearnings of the peoples of the world. The search for peace has gained a new impetus, the quest for constructive co-operation has achieved a leverage, and the trend towards rapprochement and detente has received a new boost. I am sure that the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will brighten the future of mankind in a new era in which dialogue will supplant confrontation, compromise will supersede fanaticism and accommodation will replace extremism.

One of the unfulfilled hopes of President Woodrow Wilson was to witness an era of, as he said, "open treaties openly arrived at". All of us yearn for that era.

May posterity record that the unattained hope of Woodrow Wilson was realized after China joined the United Nations and worked with others, vigorously and imaginatively, towards solving the problems that face mankind.

China's contribution to the civilization of the world is immense. It is the cradle of an ancient and modern culture that has inspired the world with ideals and added to its diverse wealth. Asian culture, with its diversity, its spiritual and moral values, owes a great deal to the inspiring drive of the Chinese towards human values.

On behalf of the Asian Group, and in the name of the Government of Kuwait, my delegation seizes this opportunity to congratulate the great Asian country, its people and all the leaders of China on this happy occasion. We look forward to co-operating with the Delegation of China in strengthening the ideals and the noble goals of the United Nations.

SPEECH BY MILAN KLUSAK
Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
(on Behalf of the East European States)

On behalf of the Delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I have the honour to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China on the occasion of its arrival at the United Nations to occupy the lawful seat of its country. I do this with a feeling of satisfaction since, after 22 years of obstinate and nefarious obstruction on the part of those who tried to prevent the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, at long last the United Nations has recognized and implemented the rights of the People's Republic of China. This just cause has prevailed and, as we have always stressed, this is above all in the interests of our organization itself.

We can only regret that, contrary to historical facts and the essential principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we had to fight so long to achieve this. This again confirms the fact that the Charter, its principles and purposes may not be infringed. Constant respect for the

principle of universality is continually progressing, and this is not only in the interests of the United Nations, but above all, in the interests of the peoples which this organization must serve.

The overwhelming majority of delegations of states members of the United Nations, at the 26th Session of the General Assembly, by their vote on 25 October 1971, finally settled the question of the full and unconditional restoration of the lawful rights of the only representative of China, the People's Republic of China, in the United Nations and in all bodies related to it, and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek elements who represent no one. The arrival of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations means a decisive step forward towards the creation of a wider basis for the activities of this organization.

In this connexion we should like to stress our firm conviction that we shall soon be able to achieve a solution of the pending problems which prevent implementation of the principle of universality in the United Nations. The governments of countries on behalf of which I am speaking have from the beginning firmly and consistently taken an uncompromising stand regarding the exclusive right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its lawful right as a founding member of the United Nations. This requirement was predicated on historical reality which was forged by the Chinese people through its triumphant revolutionary struggle in 1949. Historical developments have firmly proved the correctness of our view upon which our socialist countries constantly insisted as a matter of principle for over 22 years. It also confirmed how just was our position when our countries were stating that all efforts on the part of the United States

and its friends to prevent the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations only did harm to the work of the organization and to its effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace and security. Consideration of this question at the present Session of the General Assembly, and the struggle around the adoption of the resolution, confirmed ever more clearly the responsibility of the United States and those who supported its position for this lengthy delay in the solution of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Welcoming the Delegation of the People's Republic of China at the 26th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we should like to express the hope that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations and its bodies will increase the effectiveness of this organization, will contribute to the solution of problems relating to the strengthening of international peace and security and to disarmament, to redoubling our efforts in the common struggle of the progressive forces against imperialist aggression for the final liquidation of all remnants of colonialism and racism in all its guises and manifestations, for the developing and strengthening of friendship and co-operation among peoples.

SPEECH BY ROBERT FACK

Permanent Representative of the NETHERLANDS to the U.N.
(on Behalf of the West European and Other States)

On behalf of the delegations of the group of Western European and other states, including of course my own, it is my pleasure to join previous speakers in welcoming the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to these halls.

Whatever the attitudes and opinions of individual governments of the group of member states for which I speak today, there is a firm consensus amongst all of them that the General Assembly took a historic decision on the night of 25 October 1971 when it restored to the People's Republic of China its rights in the United Nations, and that the world organization we all cherish is now entering a new era.

The People's Republic of China has been a political reality for 22 years now and its government has been in effective control of China for all of this time and for all to see. The absence from our organization of the People's Republic of China has, as our Secretary-General has repeatedly reminded us, given an air of artificiality to the United Nations. Our organization is destined to be, in the words of the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" and it has been clear for some considerable time that no world organization can live up to

this basic purpose if it does not have in its midst the delegates of a great power representing not only hundreds of millions of human beings but also, and perhaps particularly, an ancient and venerable culture exercising vast influence in many parts of the world.

The presence of our distinguished colleagues of the People's Republic of China in these halls will undoubtedly enable the United Nations to tackle with more authority the grave international problems with which we are confronted, particularly if true statesmanship is displayed on all sides and if continued acceptance of the goals of the United Nations will be the guiding principle for the governments of all member states represented here.

The representatives of the group of Western European countries and other states salute the Delegation of the People's Republic of China because they feel that the presence of that delegation in the United Nations will make for a more realistic world organization. The participation of the People's Republic of China in the life and work of the United Nations will in our view constitute an important step in rendering our organization a truly universal world forum where all nations, large and small, can work in freedom and equality for the material and spiritual betterment of all peoples and for the preservation of civilized life on our planet.

If I may in conclusion add a few words on behalf of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I should like to say to our colleagues of the People's Republic of China that my delegation is looking forward to co-operating and exchanging views with them on a wide range of subjects not only during this Session of the General Assembly but also, of course, in the years to

come both within and outside the United Nations. My delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the Chinese delegation and hopes and expects that the participation of our new colleagues in our labours here will constitute a tremendous step forward in the field of world-wide co-operation.

SPEECH BY K.B. ANDERSEN
Minister for Foreign Affairs of DENMARK
(on Behalf of the Five Nordic States)

Mr. President,

On behalf of the governments of the five Nordic countries: Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark it is my privilege to welcome the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

Having been confronted for more than 20 years with the question of the participation of the world's most populous state in the United Nations, the world organization has decided, and with overwhelming majority, to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic.

To those of us who, during all these years, never failed to support the rights of the Government of the People's Republic to take the seat of China in the United Nations as the only government which can lawfully represent that country, this is a day of great satisfaction and feeling of accomplishment. We are convinced that China has a great contribution to make in all fields of the work of the United Nations.

The governments of the five Nordic countries are gratified that China can now play its proper role in the United Nations. We consider this to be of the greatest importance to the organization itself and to the endeav-

ours within the framework of the United Nations to safeguard international peace and security and promote co-operation among nations for the benefit of all mankind. The governments of Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark welcome the representatives of China to these urgent and exacting tasks. The five governments wish them the best of luck in their future endeavours in the United Nations and are looking forward to a fruitful co-operation.

Thank you, Mr. President.

SPEECH BY MEHDI MRANI ZENTAR
Permanent Representative of MOROCCO to the U.N.
(on Behalf of the Arab States)

Ever since the memorable evening of Monday, 25 October, the United Nations General Assembly has been patiently waiting to see the distinguished delegation which sits with us today, arrive and, after a short interval, finally occupy the seat of the People's Republic of China, of which it had been wrongly deprived for more than 20 years. This event is the significant result of the tireless efforts and the continued and determined action of all those in this Assembly who never ceased to believe that the universality of the United Nations was a necessary prerequisite for its success and who have always felt that the absence of that great country from the seat which was rightfully attributed to it was an act of injustice that could not be tolerated any longer without endangering the balance of our organization and compromising any concerted action of any dimensions at the international level, whether that action was concerned with international co-operation, economic development, commercial and human exchanges or — and with even more reason — the solution of problems of the neutralization of hegemonies, the rights of peoples to self-determination, general and complete disarmament and international peace and security.

Most of the Arab countries, including my own country, Morocco, have for many years had not only

established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, for that would have only a limited significance, but also relations of trust in the areas of co-operation and trade, which often constitute the best foundation for friendship. The Arab world has a just and humanitarian cause to defend. Thus, the Arab countries participate with conviction and determination side by side with the countries of the third world, of which they are an integral part, in the general struggle that those countries are carrying on for freedom, for the political, economic and social advancement of oppressed peoples, and for prosperity to be better shared throughout the world. We carry on our action in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the declaration on international security and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In that perspective we are happy to note that we very often find ourselves thinking and acting alike, in concert, with a large majority of countries of good will which are members of this organization.

The participation today of the People's Republic of China, which represents one quarter of all mankind, in our work and in our tremendous tasks constitutes a definite enrichment and a positive contribution to the actions of our organization for the advancement of peace throughout the world through the restoration of the lawful rights of all peoples, the elimination of aggressive policies and their consequences and, finally, greater well-being for all mankind through open, informed and equitable economic co-operation.

On this happy occasion, in conveying my congratulations on behalf of my group to the people and Government of the People's Republic of China I should like to convey

to the delegation that represents that country here a welcome to our midst and my wishes for success. I should like also to mention that I noted with pleasure that among the members of the delegation I find Mr. Huang Hua, who has already been a very distinguished and valued colleague of mine at the time of a previous period of service at the embassy in Cairo. I am sure our relations will be the same here in the United Nations when he serves as permanent representative. I should like to assure him that in my delegation and in those of many brother countries he will find the same consideration and the same open-hearted spirit and open-mindedness in the attainment of the objective of peaceful co-operation and friendship which is ours under the aegis of the United Nations Charter.

SPEECH BY GEORGE BUSH

Permanent Representative of the UNITED STATES OF
AMERICA to the U.N.
(as Host Country)

The United States joins in welcoming to the United Nations the representatives of the People's Republic of China, Vice-Foreign Minister Chiao, Ambassador Huang and their colleagues.

Their presence here makes the United Nations more reflective of the world as it now exists and we hope that it will contribute to the organization's potential for harmonizing the actions of nations. The issues of principle that divided the General Assembly in recent weeks were deeply felt and hard fought. Those differences should not obscure the proposition on which nearly all of us, including the United States, agreed: that the moment in history has arrived for the People's Republic of China to be in the United Nations.

The United States, whose people are linked by long ties of friendship with the great Chinese people, is confident that with renewed dedication to the principles of the Charter we can move toward peace and justice in the world. We shall not cease to work here with all who share that hope and who wish to co-operate in its realization.

SPEECH BY SAMI BAHOLLI

Permanent Representative of ALBANIA to the U.N.

Today is indeed an exceptional day for the United Nations. At this historical moment we celebrate the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, an event which casts a new and powerful light upon this Assembly. On this joyous occasion, the Delegation of Albania is happy to greet from the bottom of its heart the representatives of the fraternal Chinese people, to bid them welcome and to wish them full success in the work that they will accomplish in this organization.

The restoration of all the rights of the People's Republic of China and the presence of its delegation among us are the source of great and legitimate rejoicing for the Albanian delegation, for in them we see the final triumph of a just cause, and because our two brotherly peoples, our two countries, our two Parties and governments are bound together by an indestructible revolutionary friendship, by the immortal ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and by the common aims of revolution and of socialism, peace and international co-operation. The collaboration between our two delegations here will most certainly serve for further reinforcement of this true friendship between our peoples.

We from this rostrum salute the delegation of the glorious Chinese people, of the People's Republic of China, to which the eyes of all progressive peoples of the world are turned, as it is the most powerful defender of the cause of the freedom and independence of the peoples, and of their sovereign rights. The great People's China has scored tremendous victories in all fields of activity in the life of the country and has become the impregnable bastion of socialism and peace, the insurmountable barrier against the plans for hegemony of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

Everyone knows that, under the dictate of the United States of America this organization was guilty of a grave injustice committed against the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China in denying them, for 22 years in a row, their legitimate seat that had been usurped by the puppet clique of Chiang Kai-shek, rejected for ever by the Chinese people in the victory of their triumphant revolution. All this remains as a blot on the history of this organization but meanwhile, justice and truth have prevailed, rendering null and void the American conspiracy to impose on the organization a policy of "two Chinas" or of "one China, one Taiwan". In the face of the incontrovertible facts, in the face of the strength of the Chinese people and the ever-increasing role played by the People's Republic of China on the international stage, in the face also of its just revolutionary policy, the policy of hostility and isolation persistently pursued by the United States of America against the People's Republic of China has shamefully failed. Until not long ago the United States of America would not even agree to inscription on the agenda of the question of the restoration of the lawful

rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. But justice triumphed and the United States of America was isolated, and the representatives of the People's Republic of China today have occupied their seats among us in this Assembly. This is but one more proof of the fact that the United Nations cannot do without the great socialist China because, without its participation and the contribution it can make, no important international problem can find a just and effective solution. The People's Republic of Albania, ever since the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on 1 October, 1949 in Tien An Men Square, has consistently maintained that, despite all obstruction by its enemies, China would occupy the seat rightfully belonging to it in the United Nations. We have struggled for that cause in the firm conviction that victory would be ours, together with other peace-loving states. The majority of this Assembly has always been in heart and mind at the side of the Chinese people, at the side of the People's Republic of China in their just cause. This was clearly proved by the great victory of the resolution sponsored by Albania and 22 other states, which at the same time constituted the expression of the will and the persistent demand of all the peoples of the world.

In the telegram of congratulation addressed on that occasion, 26 October 1971, by the leader of the Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Haxhi Lleshi, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, to Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China,

Comrade Tung Pi-wu, and the Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Chou En-lai, we read, among other things, the following:

“The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique are a new and important victory for the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China on the international stage, another living affirmation of their incontestable prestige and authority and of the role and profound influence of the great People's China in the development of events in the world. It is the result of the triumphant march of the Chinese people, a people of 700 million, along the road of revolution and socialism under the leadership of its Communist Party headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Mao Tsetung, of the correct foreign policy of the People's Republic of China and of its resolute struggle in defence of the supreme sovereign interests of freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples and states.”

The 23 states co-sponsoring the resolution on the restoration of the rights of China are today justly proud to see the representatives of the Chinese people sitting in this Assembly, for this event at the same stage crowns with success their indefatigable efforts, their victorious struggle waged for years against the opponents of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. We are convinced that the small and middle-sized countries, the overwhelming majority of this Assembly, greet with great joy and love the representatives of the Chinese people. This is why the victory scored here by the peace-loving member states is an event important not only for the Chinese people but for all of us. It is a great achieve-

ment in their struggle for the future of the United Nations and it creates possibilities for saving this organization from further decline and for freeing it from the nefarious influence of the two great powers, for putting it back on the road of rehabilitation and regeneration so that it will be able to perform the duties incumbent upon it under the provisions of the Charter. The presence of the representatives of People's China here, as has often been emphasized in the debates in the General Assembly on this question, is a source of great encouragement for all peace-loving member states and is an incalculable contribution to the struggle being waged by them in defence of their rights, for safeguarding their freedom and independence against the policy of hegemony of the two big imperialist powers, and for international peace and security.

In conclusion, we wish to express once again to the Chinese delegation and, through it, to the people, the Party and the Government of the People's Republic of China, our warmest revolutionary greetings and the most cordial wishes of the Albanian people, of its Party of Labour, and of the Government of the People's Republic of Albania, on the occasion of this great victory. We wish them ever-increasing success in every field of socialist construction in their country and in the further strengthening of the authority and international prestige of the People's Republic of China, in the interests of international peace and co-operation.

SPEECH BY JACQUES KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET
Permanent Representative of FRANCE to the U.N.

Injustice and absurdity have finally ended now that China is in our midst in the seat which belongs to it.

We welcome, as is fitting, this very great country and this very great people.

We welcome it for its civilization, history, courage, dignity and the immense efforts it is making.

Among the greetings that France is happy to address to the People's Republic of China, friendship has its part, but there is also hope.

Friendship, because ever since General de Gaulle took the decision that his clear-sighted vision of the world's realities dictated to him, our relations, which are founded on age-old affinities and an equal desire for independence and security, have enabled us to understand each other better and be on good terms.

Hope, because the various dialogues which have already been started by so many nations will be enlarged and intensified within our organization.

Dialogue means, first, strict non-interference in the affairs of the other, that is, the rejection of conversion by conquest or intervention.

Here, each country can assert its differences, that is, the uniqueness of its concepts and culture and this is a valuable contribution to the international community when this diversity is coupled with a no less important desire for coexistence and co-operation and when in lieu of the confrontations and oppositions that divide the world there is substituted the conscience of solidarity of all nations in keeping with the challenges of modern times.

We think that by increasing relations between peoples we will be serving the cause of man, that is, the cause of progress and peace.

The presence of the People's Republic of China not only fills a great void; it opens the way for our organization to gain new impetus. Its presence must be beneficial for the United Nations and for China itself.

Our debates on problems vital for the future of mankind such as peace, disarmament, atomic power and development are going to take on universal dimensions which are fitting to their solution.

For the United Nations, as for each of our countries individually and collectively, it will be a new and very great opportunity.

We are convinced that the Chinese delegation will help us to seize this opportunity and will work with us to build a more peaceful, more just and more prosperous world.

SPEECH BY HUMBERTO DIAZ CASANUEVA
Permanent Representative of CHILE to the U.N.

I should like to announce that the Chairman of the Latin American Group will be taking the floor, but my delegation also wished to be allowed to speak.

The people and the Government of Chile greet the Delegation of the People's Republic of China with emotion and joy, this delegation which, after so many years of ostracism, persecution and injustice, has now met with historic redress, for the full measure of its rights in the United Nations has been restored to it as it serves in its capacity as the only and authentic representative of the Chinese people.

We welcome this development which augurs well for the destiny of our organization and the international community, and we see it as a victory for all the peoples of the world which bears with it a defeat of world capitalism, imperialism and reaction. The People's Republic of China has succeeded in reaching this Assembly through a lengthy and tiring process, in breaking the economic and political isolation that was imposed on it by hostile world forces very similar to those which in another era invaded China to dismember it, enslave it and bleed it white. In restoring its rights to that delegation, the will of nations — whether socialist or not — was a fundamental factor that came into play. Those countries were

convinced that we had reached a crucial point in history and that without the participation of China it is not possible to advance towards the solution of problems of such overriding importance as disarmament, decolonization and the growing gap between exceedingly poor and exceedingly wealthy countries.

The Chinese have come to the United Nations as if they were disembarking from the moon or from Mars — as remote or mythological beings — and people want to know how they dress, what they eat, what they think and what their dreams are. In truth, they are human beings like ourselves, who come from the remote depths of history but who already find themselves with a foothold on the future.

Let us think for a moment of the Chinese coolie of the illustrated books of our childhood, the cheapest and most exploited human flesh of the world very similar, sad to say, to millions upon millions of the proletariat of the present underdeveloped world victims of abjectness, exploitation and poverty. There are no longer any coolies in China and the mandarins and the omnipotent and exploiting foreigners have met their end. Today there has emerged a people of free men, dignified, solidly united, full of faith and revolutionary dynamism.

In extending a welcome to the representatives of one quarter of mankind, we are gratified that the United Nations has attained a degree of universality that will certainly increase its authority and efficiency. We trust that now, with the co-operation of China, that universality will extend even further and new nations will enter our organization, and we hope that those martyred peoples subject to the South African and Portuguese yoke will soon be

converted into free nations and will come to the United Nations, where we await their arrival anxiously, moved as we are by their suffering.

The people and Government of Chile, determined to take their own road to socialism, salute in the person of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China a great and historic socialist revolution. We salute a vast and powerful socialist country which stands side by side with the Soviet Union, another socialist giant and one of the pillars of human progress.

China, rising from the ruins of backwardness, destruction, famine, floods and epidemics, in a few short years has achieved extraordinary progress in agriculture and industry, in education and public health, in the conquest of space and of the atom — and also in the perfecting of the collective and individual morality.

The same men who built the Nanking Bridge, which was a tremendous technological achievement, put an end to corruption, opium, degeneracy, dissipation and imposed a healthy and austere style of life. The great Chilean poet Pablo Neruda, who has just been awarded the Nobel Prize, in his youth visited an opium den in a Chinese city before the triumph of the revolution. He wrote:

*“Aqui despues de heridos,
despues de ser no seres
sino pies,
despues de no ser hombres
sino brutos de carga,
despues de andar y andar
y sudar y sudar
y sudar sangre*

*aqui estaban ahora
solitarios, tendidos
bajo la corola del letargo.”*

We salute the leader of New China, Mao Tsetung, the revolutionary warrior of the Long March, the thinker, the poet, the inspiration and constant guide of his people, who transforms knowledge into subjective experience and imbues it with a permanent revolutionary attitude. Let us quote some of his poetry about the Long March: (spoke in English)

*Seeing under the sky only white
No green of cypress
The troops march in the snow
Peaks tower above them
The wind unfurls the red flags
As they climb over the mountain pass
Where are they going?
To the Kam River where wind sweeps up snow
The order of yesterday
To a lac of workers and peasants
Was to take Chian.*

We know that the People's Republic of China is joining in our work inspired by the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries of differing social systems on a basis of mutual respect, non-intervention in the domestic affairs of states, non-aggression, equality and mutual advantage. We know it is inspired by the Bandung spirit. We know it does not aspire to acquiring the prerogatives of a nuclear super-power, although it must assume its obligations as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council. We are convinced it will make a powerful contribution to international security

and effective peace and that it will help to satisfy the urgent needs of the underdeveloped countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Chile, from its position as a non-aligned country, salutes the People's Republic of China. We are opposed to military and political blocs, to spheres of influence, to satellites. We believe that international relations should be established not in terms of the interests of some great power but rather for the benefit of the entire world community. We believe it to be the duty of a non-aligned country to contribute to the relaxation of international tensions and to facilitate friendship and co-operation among all states, irrespective of its own regime. Accordingly Chile never will lend itself to anything that would widen differences between the two great socialist countries of the world, the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. On the contrary, we shall always be ready to facilitate co-operation between the two countries, knowing that their estrangement is a tragedy for the underdeveloped countries and that harmony and co-operation between them will constitute a decisive contribution to peace, progress and the strengthening of the United Nations. We know that imperialism alone benefits from their divergencies.

For Mao Tsetung, imperialism has a dual nature. It is at once a steel tiger and a paper tiger. Chile, like other small and dependent countries, is fighting for full sovereignty, for the recovery of its natural resources, for self-determination. But it finds itself fighting a powerful steel tiger which intimidates, coerces and hampers it.

Now that the United Nations is growing and becoming stronger, we trust that imperialism will be over-

thrown and that the exploitation of peoples will be replaced by mutual respect and international co-operation.

In offering our welcome to the People's Republic of China, in all frankness we wish to highlight the great responsibility that it is assuming in the eyes of history, as well as our own responsibility now that China sits in our midst. The United Nations is revitalized; it is acquiring new dimensions, and great expectations are born, for we hope that this organization will be transformed truly into the centre of world policy decision-making and for the guaranteeing of freedom, justice and the progress of peoples.

SPEECH BY NSANZE TERENCE
Permanent Representative of BURUNDI to the U.N.

I have the privilege to speak on behalf of the majority of African countries which were so kind as to entrust me with this task, which has been approved of by the Chairman of the African Group.

Speaking in the General Assembly on 13 October last, I was led to predict that the arrival of the People's Republic of China in this august Assembly would herald a new world equilibrium. On 22 October last, three days before the date which I called a "fateful date", and which was so indeed, I spoke as follows:

"We are thus on the threshold of a new world equilibrium, which will be all the more beneficial because the leaders of the People's Republic of China will teach us through their political virtues which, by contrast with their obvious gigantism in other areas, have put aside megalomania and chosen magnanimity instead." (1975th Meeting, pp. 38-40)

Today we celebrate the culmination of an event which yesterday was for some but a dream. The solemn nature of the restoration among us of the worthy representatives of the People's Republic of China appears to be the dawn of that new international balance. Nothing more than the pomp of this ceremony could confirm the preponderant role which I assigned to this organization

in the field of peace and security, when on 3 November in the First Committee I stated:

"Even those unhappy countries bisected or trisected because of foreign interference see in this organization the healthy possibility of unity and peace, a possibility to which they have the right to aspire. But," — I added, — "the very *raison d'être* of the United Nations itself, for itself and for all other countries, must obviously be transposed into the times we live in, and must be that which has always called for and sought the genius and the future of our (human) race." (a/c 1/pv 181, p. 36)

After a lapse of 22 years, the genius of China, which opens up a new political, social, economic and cultural — in other words, human — *modus vivendi*, gives rise to different reactions: It causes, here and there, surprise and irritation; in other quarters, admiration and satisfaction, which are expressed by torrents of articles and statements. If there was a time, before 1949, when various circles did not deal with China, except to express some commiseration for it, they are now in duty bound to deal with it without further ado. From now on, what China says and what it does, especially through the voice of its prestigious leaders, its position and its presumed intentions lead to many assessments, either bitter and ironic, or confident and laudatory, but, in any case, never indifferent. For world public opinion, that country has suddenly become one of the main actors in a play where there was the danger that it would be viewed as only a bit-player. As for the foreign states, whether they are from the allied camp, from the bloc of its opponents, or from the third world, they are witnessing a world which has embarked upon a political era where China,

again linking up the chain of time, from now on firmly guides its own destiny, and the best course is either to accept it or to profit by it.

From inside as from outside, foreign governments will soon see installed and at work in Peking a solid, homogeneous and self-assured power. From the dawn of the Republic, installed on 28 November 1966, the Government of Burundi, strengthening its national and international sovereignty, has been trying to inaugurate a new episode in its relations with the Government and people of the People's Republic of China. Bujumbura and Peking are working together, thanks to their recently renewed relations, to cement the ties which a monarchy plunged into inertia had attempted to break, which was to lead it to its final extinction and leave the living forces of the nation to deal it the final blow.

At this solemn moment when China is regaining its physiognomy and its scope in this organization, the African delegations, especially that of Burundi, address ardent wishes of welcome to the representatives of China. Their professional qualities, their thorough experience and skill in conducting international affairs are trumps and criteria which can lead us to predict their success and which classify them without the slightest doubt among the best and greatest diplomats and statesmen of their glorious country.

The African delegations which I have the privilege of representing here are happy to be able from now on closely to co-operate with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in order to safeguard peace and to co-operate within the framework of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The participation of

the lawful Delegation of China in the conduct of world affairs, the forthcoming rapprochement between Peking and Washington, and the everyday negotiations that will be undertaken in these halls will undoubtedly be the essence and the illustration of a general upsurge of our organization.

The United Nations, despite itself, had introduced in its policy the principle followed by the poor hero of the story who jumped into the sea lest he get wet. Even the gods and the fairy queens make mistakes, according to a Chinese proverb. Thanks to the accumulated wisdom, far-sightedness and lucidity of 131 states, our organization has succeeded in rising to the needs of international peace and security. A striking phenomenon occurred, which was only a way for the United Nations to come to terms with the powerful and irresistible tide leading the peoples for co-operation and inter-dependence. The decision of the President of the United States to undertake talks with the Peking government is certainly a most important step towards the historic conclusion reached on 25 October last.

Further, the decision taken by Washington to join all the states, which thought the presence of China in this forum indispensable has, in good time, shown acceptance of the interests and concerns of the whole universe undergoing a state of profound change.

This new era was acclaimed everywhere as a symbol of a break with an obsolete past. The ovations and the enthusiasm which China is now witnessing, for anyone who cares for the future of the United Nations, have quite a different significance than that expressed in the Spanish

proverb, according to which *cantaro nuevo hace buena agua* — “a new jug gives good water”.

This general enthusiasm is based on the full-fledged ability of China to help the United Nations better to take account of the pledges subscribed to when, in 1945, it signed, through one of its most illustrious leaders, His Excellency Tung Pi-wu, Vice-President of the People's Republic of China, the Charter of San Francisco.

My delegation deeply regrets the absence of one of the greatest artisans in this new chapter of the history of the United Nations, His Excellency U Thant, to whom we wish to reiterate our feelings of deep admiration for his universalist vision and role, cardinal virtues for a man entrusted with functions as complex as they are heavy. His personal presence would undoubtedly have enhanced the nature of this solemn occasion. We renew our ardent wish to him for his complete and rapid recovery, and we hope to see his speedy return among us.

Let us express the hope that, thanks to the new dynamics, betokened by this new phenomenon of planetary dimensions, our organization will devote itself with greater fervour to ensuring the primacy of peace. But this peace will only be authentic and will only be universal to the extent that it encompasses every aspect of human life, — the absence of war, the economic development of the third world, total decolonization of Africa, the eradication of apartheid and racism, and co-operation.

These are the Five Principles on which true peace and security must be built; the colossal Government of

the People's Republic of China has come in good time and most auspicious circumstances to add its competence and its tremendous resources in every field.

SPEECH BY JOSE LUIS MOLINA
Permanent Representative of COSTA RICA to the U.N.
(on Behalf of the Latin American States)

On behalf of the countries that are members of the Latin American Group that express their opinions through my voice today, I should like to express our common conviction that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work and activities of the organization will contribute to the solution of the serious problems which confront the United Nations and the international community as a whole.

In the vast tasks of disarmament, development, decolonization and the advancement and universal application of human rights, the participation of the People's Republic of China, whose representatives today for the first time are seated in our midst, will undoubtedly make a meaningful contribution and thus will help us to achieve our fundamental goal, which is to establish a just and lasting peace in the world.

SPEECH BY VERNON JOHNSON MWAANGA
Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of ZAMBIA to the U.N.

It is indeed with a sense of pride and duty that I mount this rostrum this morning. The seating of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China today is an occasion of great political and historic importance. The restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations marks the end of an era which was often characterized by drama, suspense, pressure and fiction. It marks the end of the old and out-dated politics of the past and the beginning of a new era of realism and hope.

It is really with an added sense of satisfaction that I warmly welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China led by its distinguished Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, and Ambassador Huang Hua, on behalf of the Government and people of Zambia. We wish to assure the Chinese delegation that we are willing and ready to cooperate with it at all times in our common search for solutions to problems which have beset the United Nations for many years.

China is not only a super-power but is also the most populous and important nation in the third world. We

are confident that it will play a positive, constructive and indispensable role in the work of the United Nations. We cannot escape the plain fact that from this day the United Nations is a new organization which will never be the same again. The balance of power, particularly in the Security Council has been substantially altered, never to be the same again.

Since the historic decision of the General Assembly on the night of 25 October, restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, a number of biased and one-sided articles have appeared in many American newspapers which have been deliberately distorted in order to cast serious doubts not only on our motives for having fought so hard to restore China's rights in the United Nations, but also on our conduct after the vote was announced. I am authorized to state in no uncertain terms that we are not accountable to any government apart from the Government of the Republic of Zambia. No one has the right to tell us when to rejoice and when not to rejoice; no one has the right to tell us when to smile and when not to smile, because this is a decision which falls exclusively within our competence. The American press coverage concerning our conduct was full of distortions, insinuations, innuendoes, half-truths and outright lies. However, I am glad to note that the foreign correspondents of news agencies and newspapers, with a few obvious exceptions, presented the world with a more balanced account of the events of 25 October.

We rejoiced then and we rejoice today because an unprecedented injustice against a great people of a great country, the People's Republic of China, has been cor-

rected after 22 years. My delegation does not suffer from a malicious enjoyment of other people's misfortunes or defeats. We have never looked at this historic decision in terms of victor or vanquished. Rather, we have looked at it as a victory for realism and a victory for the United Nations and the people of the world as a whole.

Once again, I warmly welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, a country which enjoys the best of relations with my own, relations which are based on practical co-operation and mutual respect. We request the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to convey to the Party, the people and the Government of China our respects and best wishes for their continued success in building the Chinese revolution. We are convinced that China's participation in the work of our organization will, contrary to the forecasts made by the prophets of doom, strengthen rather than weaken the United Nations.

SPEECH BY RICARDO ALARCON QUESADA

Permanent Representative of CUBA to the U.N.

It is a source of great joy to my delegation to attend this meeting of the General Assembly at which we are extending a welcome for the first time to the People's Republic of China and its delegation, which are joining in our work. Although they are, and for 22 years have been, the only legitimate representatives of a member state of this organization and a founding member, over that long period of history they have been deprived of the possibility of exercising its rights as a member of this organization. It is a source of particular satisfaction to the Cuban delegation because we are speaking in behalf of and as the representatives of the first country of this hemisphere in Latin America which recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful representative of that country — and this we did more than 11 years ago.

Since that time, my delegation has also fought actively within this Assembly to ensure that the inalienable rights as a member of this organization were restored to that government and people. Today, 22 years later, 22 years after the great Chinese revolution of 1949, its delegation has joined in the work of the United Nations. This fact is of a historical importance that no one can overlook. The Chinese people, after a long and heroic

struggle, overthrew the reactionary regime imposed and supported by foreign imperialism, and, in October 1949, set up the people's power. This fact marked the end of an era in which the Chinese people had been the victim of exploitation by foreign powers, had lived under the yoke of a feudal oligarchy which was in the pay of imperialism, and had been subjected to the conditions of poverty and backwardness which are inherent in any such situation.

Since 1949 the Chinese people has also come a long way towards overcoming the conditions of backwardness and poverty which it inherited from the imperialist era. Nonetheless, this organization for almost a quarter of a century was compelled to ignore this historical reality that could not be disguised. For 22 years an attempt was made here to keep on the bench which rightfully belongs to the People's Republic of China a group of renegades that were specifically the representatives of this past humiliation and subjugation to the foreigner. It ignored the historic decision of the people of China who, at the cost of great effort and sacrifice, had wiped out that reactionary regime once and for all. For that reason my delegation always asserted from this rostrum that the question that we were discussing was of great importance not only to the Chinese people, whose rights this Assembly was entitled to restore in full measure, but also to all peoples of the world. Because what was being discussed in the course of these 22 years was the right of peoples to make revolution, the right of peoples to wipe out inequitable social regimes imposed on them from abroad and to advance along the path to progress and justice.

The presence in our midst of the representatives of the People's Republic of China marks the end of an era of discrimination, of harassment and aggression against the Chinese people and their people's government, imposed on this Assembly and this organization by United States imperialism. The only cause of the fact that for 22 years the Chinese people were not represented in this forum, which was their inalienable right as a founding member of this organization, was the stubborn policy of North American imperialism against the Chinese people and against their people's government. The great victory achieved this year in the action of the General Assembly to restore to the People's Republic of China its rights in the United Nations is not only a great triumph for the Chinese people, but also a very important victory for the revolutionary movement and for all peoples of the world. This fact shows that United States imperialism is no longer in a position to impose its will throughout the world, and that it can be overthrown and justice and right can be made to prevail within this organization.

My delegation salutes the presence of the representatives of the heroic Chinese people and assures them that they can count on our co-operation in the work of this Assembly.

SPEECH BY TENSORE PAUL ROUAMBA
Permanent Representative of UPPER VOLTA to the U.N.
(on Behalf of the African States)

The vagaries of the English alphabetical order and, I must add, the confidence of my African colleagues, give me the honour and privilege of coming to this rostrum as Chairman of the African Group for the month of November, in order to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. May I, in doing so, express the wish that, together, in mutual respect for our fundamental choices, we shall be able to work for a world of progress, justice and peace. May the participation of the People's Republic of China in the life and activities of our organization be a valuable asset in achieving solutions of the important problems of our world which would only redound to the interests of the third world.

SPEECH BY MOULAYE EL HASSEN

Permanent Representative of MAURITANIA to the U.N.

To welcome the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations today is a source of joy and deep pride for the Delegation of Mauritania: joy at the satisfaction mirrored by the excellent relations which unite our two peoples and which is felt all the more deeply in that our co-operation with that great country fits perfectly within the framework of the movement for progress which animates the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, a joy attuned to the common vision which the Chinese and Mauriticians have of the needs of their national and international life.

The friendly relations which we have with China in our exchanges with the great Chinese people and their leaders enable us to assert that we have the same undertakings, the same needs and the same ideals as expressed in the Charter of our organization, especially the ideals of justice and freedom and respect for sovereignty and the independence of peoples. This is a joy worthy of the historical event which the General Assembly is experiencing today and which Mauritania has called for from this rostrum with so much reason and force. This event, which is greeted with true and genuine satisfaction by my country, is significant for more than one reason. Indeed, the restoration of the lawful rights of

the People's Republic of China in the United Nations constitutes a highly positive turning point in the history of this organization, just as it represents the triumph of one of the just causes of all peace-loving peoples who yearn for equality.

It also proves that the General Assembly wished to turn a sombre page in its history and to become a true instrument of rapprochement and mutual understanding, and this makes it possible to hope for the attainment of the noble ideals of the United Nations; that is to say, a world of peace, justice and harmony. This is why we express the hope that the serious problems which are still on the agenda of the General Assembly will in turn find effective solutions consonant to the aspirations of peoples and their wish for freedom and dignity.

As to our pride, it is stirred quite naturally towards a country which, within two decades, has known how to become a great power and resolutely embarked upon the role of economic, social and cultural progress. When we recall the conditions under which the People's Republic of China was born, when we understand the bitter difficulties which prevailed at that time, and their complexity, we are able to assess justly the road travelled and the immensity of these achievements. China today can offer an example of success in every field, and this will not surprise those who know the faith and tenacity of its people and the infinite wisdom of its leaders.

All these qualities put at the service of the United Nations will, we are deeply convinced, have a fruitful and beneficent effect on the activities and effectiveness of this organization. For all these reasons, I should like to express here, on behalf of my country, our wishes to

the Delegation of the People's Republic of China for its striking success. May we assure it of our co-operation, a co-operation which it is entitled to expect of a friendly delegation.

SPEECH BY MAHMUD ALI

Chairman of the Delegation of PAKISTAN to the U.N.

On this occasion, when the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China have had restored to them their lawful rights in the United Nations, I extend to them the warmest welcome of the Pakistan delegation.

Pakistan's relations with the People's Republic of China are a source of both pride and strength for us because they are founded on what alone can give reality to international peace: mutual respect despite the differences of social and political systems, freedom from hypocrisy and chauvinism and a sincere understanding of each other's problems and concerns. We believe that they are a model of the relations that should exist between two countries of unequal size. Directed as it is against no third country, the friendship between the two peoples transcends any internal differences in Pakistan.

It is natural that, at the time of the seating of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, our thoughts should turn to the first historic Bandung Conference where the representatives of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of Prime Minister Chou En-lai, completely disproved all the myths about China sedulously cultivated by hostile propaganda. Inspired by the example of fruitful international co-opera-

tion set by China in 1955 and impressed by the consistency of principle exhibited by it since then, we have remained unshaken in our conviction that, at the United Nations, the quest for peace based on justice will remain a vain endeavour unless China's active help and assistance are enlisted.

There are four objectives which have so far remained unachieved at the United Nations. They are interrelated, and without their attainment real peace will remain chimerical. They are: first, the ending of the arms race; second, the acquisition of an ability by the United Nations to bring about an equitable settlement of international disputes; third, the termination of colonialism in all its forms; and fourth, the ending of the exploitation, deliberate or unintended, open or covert, of the developing countries.

Can anyone question that peace will be but a myth and rest on quicksand as long as nations mortgage themselves to an arms race which is totally wasteful and which dooms the hopes of the children of men for a better future? Who can deny that the United Nations does not come within miles of what the Charter envisaged as long as it remains unable to settle international disputes? And is there any doubt that, despite receiving aid from the richer countries for which they are not ungrateful, the poorer countries have not yet been fully enabled to achieve economic independence and take their destiny into their own hands?

We are fortified in our hope that the effort of achieving those ends will be greatly strengthened by the arrival of the Chinese delegation. Let me put on record

that we applaud the declaration of the Chinese leadership that China will endeavour to translate into reality the principle of the sovereign equality of nations. The renunciation of power politics and the authentic feeling of the burden borne by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from which this declaration emanates, cannot but be a source of inspiration for all of us.

SPEECH BY NICOLAE ECOBESCU

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister
for Foreign Affairs of ROMANIA

It is particularly pleasant for me to convey on behalf of my delegation our expression of deep satisfaction on the occasion of the participation of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the Session of the General Assembly and to offer them our warm words of welcome and our sincerest congratulations.

The restoration of the People's Republic of China to its lawful rights in the organization is a reflection of the important role played in the world of today by this great socialist state, recognition of its contribution to the advancement of the cause of peace and of international understanding, recognition of the support it has constantly given to the struggle being carried out by peoples for freedom and economic and social progress.

The broad support extended to the proposal to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, which was reflected also in the vote cast by the General Assembly, constitutes fresh evidence of the realistic tendencies emerging in current international policy, evidence of a will to help to ensure that a spirit of innovation is injected into relations among states.

The decision of the General Assembly to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China is beyond question an event of special significance for the whole international community, for the cause of peace and progress in the world and for the future activity of the United Nations itself. The vote cast by the General Assembly on 25 October last constitutes an act of profound justice which has put an end to one of the most flagrant anomalies maintained for more than two decades in international life and which solemnly affirmed that there was only one China in the world and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only lawful representative of the Chinese people.

The restoration of the People's Republic of China to its lawful rights in the United Nations fits into the normal process of relaxation of tension and peaceful co-existence among nations and is further evidence of the rejection of the anachronistic policy which attempted to isolate People's China, to prevent a state or a group of states from participating on an equal footing in the life of the international community. It has thus been recognized that today we cannot conceive of a lasting solution, in accordance with the aspirations of people, of great problems of the modern era without the participation on an equal footing of the People's Republic of China, of all states, large, medium or small.

Romania, just like other socialist countries, as was pointed out recently by the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, has constantly advocated that an end should be put to the policy designed to isolate the People's

Republic of China, enabling it to participate both in the United Nations and in international activity in general.

“In our opinion,” he continued, “it is obvious even that a people of more than 800 million that has taken its fate into its own hands and which has built a new social order, cannot be isolated nor kept out of international problems. Thus we consider that the normalization of relations between the People’s Republic of China and an ever-increasing number of countries — and their number continues to grow — and the restoration to the People’s Republic of China of its lawful seat in the United Nations and in the Security Council will have a positive influence on international life and will contribute to the strengthening of the progressive and anti-imperialist forces throughout the world.”

The Romanian delegation expresses the deep conviction that the presence of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations will constitute a fundamental contribution to the consolidation of the United Nations, to the increase of the role of our organization in the advancement of the principles which should govern relations between states, that is to say, independence and national sovereignty; complete equality of rights; non-intervention in the domestic affairs of another state; mutual advantage; refraining from the use or threat of force; and that it will lead to the institution of effective measures to attain the noble objectives proclaimed in the Charter.

On this solemn occasion which marks the beginning of a new stage in the life of our organization, we hope with all our heart that the People’s Republic of China

will have full success in the activities in which it will engage in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

SPEECH BY SALIM AHMED SALIM
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of the UNITED REPUBLIC
OF TANZANIA to the U.N.

My delegation wishes to extend a sincere welcome to the representatives of the People's Republic of China, who sit today in the place which for so long has been illegally and inadequately occupied by individuals purporting to speak for the great people of China.

Those of us who have been fortunate, as I have been, to have lived with and know something about the people of China have good reason to admire their ancient and well-preserved culture, their heroic struggle for their own dignity and independence and their unflinching support for the liberation struggle all over the world. We also respect them for the spectacular progress they have achieved and are continuing to make in scientific and technological endeavour, under the inspiring leadership of their great leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung.

As a former ambassador of my country to the People's Republic of China, I have had the opportunity to learn at first hand of the great commitment of the Chinese people not only for the development of their own country but also and above all to support all just causes. Although my stay in Peking was unfortunately brief, I cherish eternal memories of the hospitality, kindness and

respect shown to us. I was impressed by the modesty and humility demonstrated by such a powerful nation. The respect accorded to us, as to many other African colleagues with missions in Peking, was indeed overwhelming. Perhaps I may just add that at no time were we reminded or ever made to feel that we represented smaller nations. In the light of the circumstances of the last fortnight or so, I am sure many of my colleagues will agree with me that such an experience of scrupulous respect for equality among nations, big and small, was a proper manifestation of the correct relations between sovereign states.

It is therefore for my delegation a source of great pleasure and satisfaction to see in our midst the authentic representatives of the great Chinese nation. We welcome them with confidence that their participation in the work of this organization will go a long way to justify the trust that mankind has placed in the United Nations. We consider their presence as an historic event, not only for the United Nations but also in the whole ambit of international relations, for they will bring to this organization not only the great wisdom and experience of an ancient civilization but also, and more significantly, the dynamism and dedication of a great revolutionary, resourceful and talented people.

We welcome the representatives of a people which has withstood the test of time, a people which fought victoriously in overthrowing feudalism and imperialism and eliminating from their country all types of humiliation and degradation, for it should not be forgotten that it was, for example, in Shanghai and Canton, and other places in China, that imperialism of all forms found a

paradise, at the expense of the suffering of the Chinese masses. We are particularly happy to see the People's Republic of China resume its rightful place in this organization, because we are convinced that in that country the United Nations has found a most invaluable member for supporting the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, and against all forms of oppression and injustice.

We warmly welcome Vice-Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, Ambassador Huang Hua and all the members of the Chinese delegation. We very much look forward to working together with them in support of the purposes and principles of our organization, for a better, just and peaceful world.

Nothing I can say here could more eloquently express the satisfaction and expectations of the people and Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, following the historic General Assembly decision to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, than the official statement made by my government on Tuesday, 26 October, which stated, *inter alia*:

"The Tanzanian people, their parties TANU and Afro-Shirazi and their government in particular, have reason to rejoice since they and the Chinese people have always been militant friends and have always supported each other on all vital questions.

"In congratulating most warmly the fraternal Chinese people on this great victory, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and its entire people are certain that the co-operation that has always characterized relations between the two countries and peoples

will also manifest itself at the United Nations. Together we shall continue to work for peace and justice, in the future as in the past. Together we shall work towards the day when all the oppressed people of the world will have thrown off the yokes of colonialism and imperialism and assumed their places in the United Nations, thus ensuring future generations of better prospects for international peace and security and prosperity for all mankind."

Before concluding my short statement I should like to refer briefly to a problem which is in a way related to the congratulations which both we ourselves and those who have preceded us have extended to the true representatives of China.

On Wednesday, 3 November 1971, my colleague and esteemed friend, the Permanent Representative of Chile, Mr. Diaz Casanueva, made an important statement, devoted particularly to public opinion in the United States. In that context he pointed out:

"Because of propaganda which my delegation considers to be totally mistaken and at the same time harmful, the applause of some delegations which occurred on that memorable night" — Monday, 25 October — "has been the subject of false interpretations. Some magazines in particular have used photographs of parts of the General Assembly showing representatives applauding, smiling, waving their hands, expressing their happiness at the result of the vote." (1978th Meeting, p. 31)

My delegation fully endorses those remarks of our Chilean colleague. My colleague and brother, the representative of Zambia, also referred to this matter in

his statement this morning. We regret extremely the erroneous reports given by some sections of the press. Equally regrettable are some unfortunate comments made outside this Assembly concerning the so-called "behaviour" of representatives. You will not, of course, Mr. President, expect us to involve ourselves in a petty discussion, unworthy of this august Assembly, as to whether any delegation did or did not dance during your historic pronouncement of the results of the voting on the resolution which my country, together with 22 other states, had the privilege of co-sponsoring, on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

Those who were present and who were in a position to see know the press reports of representatives dancing in the aisles and elsewhere to be a deliberate misrepresentation of the truth. We cannot fail to recognize the motives behind the campaign of slander and simulated outrage that followed the dissemination of these false reports. There are many who have described those misrepresentations and evasions of the real issue as a most regrettable attempt to find convenient scapegoats and to inflame passions among some sectors of public opinion in this country. Surprised, and perhaps overwhelmed, by the collapse of manoeuvres that were as confusing as they were foredoomed, the world subsequently witnessed the unworthy attempts to channel the blame for that failure on to certain small and independent states members of the United Nations.

Thus the allegations and exaggerated reports of representatives dancing should be properly treated with the contempt they deserve.

But let us for one moment assume that one or two, or 60, representatives preferred to spontaneously show their satisfaction in the manner they saw fit, was it not a worthy occasion to do so? And, interestingly enough, it is important to recapitulate that the applause and cheering on that historic night were not the exclusive monopoly of the supporters of our resolution. At every stage of our deliberations there was some emotional expression by those supporting or opposing a particular position. But, be that as it may, what I want to make quite clear is that my delegation, for one, does not accept the right of anyone to give us lessons in etiquette, or so-called "good behaviour".

But while we reject as misleading and deliberate such attempts to distract us from the real issue we will not allow anyone to detract from the great victory scored on that historic Monday night of 25 October. And we make absolutely no apologies for our jubilation, for it was a victory long overdue, a victory for the United Nations, which has seen its prestige suffer and its effectiveness reduced through the enforced absence of one of its founder members; a victory for the people of the world, one-quarter of whose population have been unfairly and arbitrarily prevented from participating in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems which face mankind; and, above all, a victory for common sense, a victory for reality over fantasy, for right over wrong. That is what we were and still are celebrating.

In conclusion, my delegation believes that this is an opportune moment for all of us to turn to constructive thoughts and positive acts. Let us rededicate ourselves to the noble ideals which we are committed to uphold.

Let us make fresh approaches to all the problems which so long have proved to be difficult for this organization. Let us resolve anew to work with a greater determination for the toiling billions of the world's population who look to the United Nations for a richer and fuller life. But above all, let us recognize that this is an organization of sovereign nations.

For it would be inconceivable that our organization could live up to the expectations of the world community unless there were among us and between us the fullest respect for the cardinal principles enshrined in our Charter, for the sovereign equality of all the members of the United Nations. And we take particular pleasure in extending a warm hand of welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China because, from our experience, we know how scrupulously the government and the people of that great nation respect that principle.

SPEECH BY PIERO VINCI

Permanent Representative of ITALY to the U.N.

My delegation wishes to associate itself with the heartfelt welcome that the President and previous speakers have extended to the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

I believe I could not better express my feelings than by reiterating what the Foreign Minister of Italy, Signor Aldo Moro, stated three days ago before the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the Italian Chamber of Deputies:

"The most important event that has taken place during the 26th Session of the United Nations General Assembly is the admission of the People's Republic of China, which opens important perspectives for the participation of that immense country in the life of the international community. In my intervention of 6 October 1971 in the general debate, I recalled that the Italian Government, believing in the principle of the universality of the United Nations, wished that the Peking government, as legitimately representing the Chinese people, could occupy its seat in the General Assembly and in the Security Council. Now that the recognition of the People's Republic of China as legitimate representative of China has been sanctioned by the United Nations, the Italian Government expresses its satisfaction and its confidence that the full participation of China in the activi-

ties of the world organization and in international life will contribute to the establishment of a peaceful order in Asia and in the world, to international security, and to a more articulate dialogue among all peoples.”

I should like now to add a few remarks, of a rather historical nature, which came to my mind on the eve of this event of such paramount importance in the history of our world organization.

By a happy circumstance, the formal seating of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations coincides nearly to the day with another fateful event that occurred 700 years ago and that has a very special significance in the history of both China and Italy. In fact, in the year 1271, in these very same days of November, Marco Polo, the merchant and traveller whose name was to become famous all over the earth, was sailing from Venice on a historical voyage that achieved one main result: the opening of the fascinating Chinese civilization to the Western world. In that endeavour, Marco Polo wished to share in the wealth of the cultural, artistic and spiritual values of a people of ancient tradition. He went to China as a friend and an admirer; no wonder, therefore, that, after having successfully carried out some important political missions entrusted to him by the Chinese ruler, he was appointed Governor of Yangchow and was honoured by the Chinese as one of their wise men.

On the Italian side, the impressions made and the interest aroused by the enchanting account of Marco Polo’s journey prompted navigators, missionaries and travellers to follow in his footsteps and, later on, led to

the establishment in my home town, Naples, of an institute the sole aim of which was to welcome the esteemed and honoured guests coming from the Far East and to make easier their acquaintance with the religion, history, art and institutions of the Western countries.

The wisdom and fruitfulness of the exchange of men and ideas bear witness to the everlasting importance of human relations based on mutual esteem and deep respect for the diversity of individual traditions, bear witness to the necessity of closer contacts and co-operation among states, irrespective of their political, economic and social systems, of their size, their power and their level of development.

Exchanges of men, ideas and goods between China and Italy have increased in the last few years. At this very moment some important Italian personalities are visiting China. Chinese experts are touring the main manufacturing centres of my country. A few days ago a new step towards closer co-operation was taken with the visit to Italy of the Minister for Foreign Trade of the People’s Republic of China, His Excellency Pai Hsiang-kuo, and the signing of a three-year trade agreement, the first of its kind concluded with China by a state member of the European economic community.

On the evening of 25 October, when the General Assembly took a historic decision long overdue, my delegation, in casting its vote for the seating of the People’s Republic of China in the United Nations, was striving for some common goals, among them that of improving understanding and co-operation amongst nations, that of dismantling stone-age concepts of power politics, that of injecting new life into our organization. Many del-

egations, including my own, expressed soon afterwards the wish that a delegation from the People's Republic of China might come to New York as early as possible and take active part in the work of this Session of the General Assembly. We are gratified to note the positive response we received.

An ancient Chinese proverb read: Great souls have wills; feeble ones have only wishes. We, on our side, have a strong will to enhance the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, and we sincerely hope that a similar will is shared by the government of all member states.

In this spirit and with these purposes in mind, we shall be glad to work together with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly, in the Security Council and in all other bodies of the United Nations.

SPEECH BY RICHARD MAXIMILIAN AKWEI
Permanent Representative of GHANA to the U.N.

On Monday, 25 October, this Assembly took a truly historic decision. It decided to restore all the lawful rights membership to the People's Republic of China, the government of a state which was an original and a founding member of this organization. By this decision, not only did the United Nations at last right a gross anomaly which had weakened it for so long but it also awoke to the imperatives of realism by recognizing an important political fact: the existence of the People's Republic of China, for, as has been stated on so many occasions by the Ghana delegation, no major problem of the world today can be solved by excluding the participation of the People's Republic of China, a state which contains one-fourth of the whole human race.

China is the bearer of an ancient and respected civilization, the co-formulator of the principle of co-existence adopted at the historic Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung in 1955 and a modern champion of the cause of self-determination and independence.

We have every confidence that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations will lead to a more realistic and hopeful solution of the many difficult problems that confront the organization.

The Ghana delegation is happy to have been part of the process by which today we have the privilege and pleasure of welcoming into our midst the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. As one who has seen mainland China at close quarters I have nothing but the greatest admiration for the resourcefulness of the great people of China.

A new era is opening before us today, and the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations can help to make of this new era one of peace, justice and progress. On behalf of my delegation I should like particularly to extend a warm welcome to Vice-Minister Chiao and Ambassador Huang Hua. Ambassador Huang Hua was a respected ambassador of his country in Ghana in the early 1960s, and he is remembered there as a capable and genial diplomat.

We are confident that the Delegation of the People's Republic of China will bring to the task of the United Nations those qualities of mutual accommodation, compromise and universal outlook which alone can enable this organization to fulfil the hopes of mankind.

SPEECH BY H.M.A. ZAKARIA

Permanent Representative of MALAYSIA to the U.N.
(Also on Behalf of Indonesia, the Philippines,
Singapore and Thailand)

I should like to take this opportunity of joining other delegations in extending our warm welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. In performing this pleasant task I have the honour also to speak on behalf of the Delegations of Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, with whom my country Malaysia maintains close economic, social and cultural co-operation as members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The assumption by the People's Republic of China of its seat in the United Nations is a historic event of far-reaching importance for our organization. With the participation of the People's Republic, a major Asian power representing a quarter of the world's population, the way is open for more meaningful deliberations in the various organs of the United Nations on the many and urgent problems facing the international community. With it also the United Nations will be better able, we believe, to realize its full potential as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment and the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter to which all member states are committed. In

this way the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will positively enhance the vitality and effectiveness of our organization.

In welcoming its delegation we feel confident that the People's Republic of China will make its full contribution towards the United Nations efforts for the expeditious and equitable solution of the fields of international peace and security, economic and social development and the promotion of fundamental human rights and freedom in accordance with the Charter.

We look forward to the People's Republic of China playing an important role in the United Nations and in the world to bring about a just, peaceful and prosperous international order.

SPEECH BY PADMA BAHADUR KHATRI
Permanent Representative of NEPAL
to the U.N.

The Chairman of the Asian Group has spoken on behalf of all countries belonging to the Asian Group. If I take the floor in order to say "Welcome back to the United Nations" to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, I can assure the Ambassador of Kuwait that I mean no disrespect to him personally and to the Asian Group, of which he is currently the Chairman.

On behalf of the Delegation of Nepal I take this opportunity to extend a welcoming hand to the Chinese delegation. It is a very special occasion. I do not recall any other occasion in my experience in the United Nations and, indeed, in the life of the organization which provided so much reason for gratification and rejoicing. A founding member of the organization and a permanent member of the Security Council has rejoined the United Nations after 22 long years of absence.

The serious institutional void in which the United Nations functioned during that period has now been filled by the wise decision of the General Assembly of 25 October. That decision has introduced new vigour and new life into our organization. We have outlived a world of myth and entered a new era, an era of reality. An essential condition that was lacking before has now

been fulfilled for the United Nations to become a real and effective instrument for world peace and security. We have taken a giant step towards universality for our organization. After a long period of atrophy the United Nations today finds itself in a better position, politically and structurally, to play the role the Charter set for it — namely, the pursuit of peace.

In his first public statement on arrival at the seat of the United Nations the Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, said that his delegation,

“following the established policies of the Chinese Government . . . will work jointly in the United Nations with the representatives of all the countries that love peace and uphold justice for the cause of safeguarding international peace and promoting human progress”.

The Delegation of Nepal wholeheartedly welcomes this statement and pledges its full support and co-operation to the Delegation of China in the noble cause which it represents.

Nepal is a very close neighbour of the People's Republic of China. Our relations are cordial, traditional and friendly and are based on the Five Principles of Co-existence. I am confident that the traditional friendship and cordiality that characterize relations between our two countries will also be reflected in relations between the Chinese and Nepalese delegations here at the United Nations.

Once again may I say to the Delegation of China, “Welcome back to the United Nations.”

SPEECH BY KURT WALDHEIM
Permanent Representative of AUSTRIA to the U.N.

It is with great pleasure and satisfaction that I associate my delegation with the many expressions of welcome that have been addressed to the representatives of the People's Republic of China, who today for the first time have taken their seats in this Assembly. We are confident that the presence of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China will offer a notable contribution to the work of the United Nations. Indeed, we are convinced that China's participation in the life of the United Nations will strengthen this organization and significantly improve its capability to further and carry out the aims and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

The decision of the General Assembly was also an important step in our efforts to make the United Nations truly representative and universal. On 25 October, the day of that historic decision, I said from this rostrum that it was generally recognized that without the full participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of the United Nations we could not expect significant headway with regard to the many problems with which this organization is confronted and which relate to its basic goal, namely the maintenance of international peace and security. We were happy to see from the results of the voting that that sentiment was shared by the Assembly as a whole.

The Austrian delegation looks forward to fruitful co-operation with the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, which will reflect the cordial relations existing between our two countries.

SPEECH BY LAZAR MOJSOV

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of YUGOSLAVIA to the U.N.

It gives me great pleasure to welcome, on behalf of the Yugoslav delegation, the representatives of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. The decision of the General Assembly to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations not only means redressing an injustice and doing away with an absurd situation, but is of far-reaching significance for the future work and development of the United Nations as well as for international relations as a whole. This decision, in addition to representing a recognition of the prevailing reality in the present-day world, also reflects the aspirations and desire of a growing number of states and peoples to promote international co-operation on the basis of equality and independence and to assert the right of each state to free and unobstructed development.

We are confident that the presence of the representatives of this great country and of the victorious revolution — which has introduced significant changes into international power relations — will substantially strengthen our organization and enhance its prestige throughout the world. The active participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations and in that of all its organs

and bodies, will also contribute to a more successful realization of the fundamental purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of our world organization. By resolving this highly important question, the United Nations has taken a major step forward — I would say that it has reached a turning-point in its development and activity.

It is well known that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has, from the very outset, most resolutely pledged itself to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In its determination and in its actions my country was guided by the recognition of the crucial need to have the genuine representatives of the Chinese people assume the seat which rightfully belongs to them by the fact that this organization cannot hope to become a universal body without the representatives of the People's Republic of China, and by the sober reality that without the active participation of the People's Republic of China the United Nations cannot successfully cope with the pressing issues confronting the contemporary world today.

The Yugoslav delegation avails itself of this opportunity once again to welcome wholeheartedly the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and to express its readiness and willingness for meaningful co-operation with its representatives on all questions before the United Nations, with a view to reaching the goals and objectives inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations; to promoting amicable international relations and progress in the world; and towards the attainment of a universal peace to be enjoyed by all states, irrespective of size and

military or economic potential — a goal which represents also the basic objective of the policy of the non-aligned countries.

We are confident that the Delegation of the People's Republic of China will make a consistent and constructive contribution towards the solution of all important issues before the United Nations.

By restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, the 26th Session of the General Assembly has become an historic session of our organization. We now have new possibilities, new challenges and new opportunities for the future activity of our organization.

The Delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will in the future, as in the past, do its utmost to render the work of the United Nations effective and more action-oriented.

SPEECH BY ABDELLATIF RAHAL

Permanent Representative of ALGERIA to the U.N.

Mr. President,

I should like to thank the President for allowing me to reiterate from this forum the greetings of the Algerian delegation to the representatives of the People's Republic of China who today are occupying their lawful seat among us. At this particularly important moment in the history of the United Nations our gesture is such as to exceed both in its significance and scope the normal framework of usual congratulations and the usual expressions of sympathy because it is a reflection of the deep feelings of friendship towards and sincere admiration of the Algerian people for the great people of China.

The event in which we are participating today is not the simple substitution of one delegation by another at the same seat and behind the same name plate. No one will misjudge what is happening now, the actual scope of the mutation that has taken place and its repercussions both upon our institutions and in the international arena.

At this moment we are marking a capital event of this last part of the 20th century, a moment that is certainly a solemn one for the current Session. Finally, the great People's Republic of China has been restored

in its lawful rights and a debate that has been going on for more than 20 years has come to an end, to a conclusion that was dictated by reason, justice and law, to a decision which had to triumph over false calculations, over arbitrary acts and short-sighted ambitions.

We should not, under these circumstances, when it is a great satisfaction for us to see among the members of the Assembly the authentic representatives of the Chinese people, we should not, I say, now recall the errors of some of the blindness of others. A page has been turned on the past, on the errors and the turpitudes of this past. A path is now open for a new departure, through new action, free of those barriers which were imposed upon it by an irrational situation that was artificially complicated by contradictions without any foundation.

The historic decision adopted on 25 October by the General Assembly is, doubtlessly, a reflection of the deep change affecting international relations today. It has come at a moment when the world is recording a trend towards the extension of the area of peaceful co-existence, wherein the European continent seems to wish to engage in a new era of dialogue and co-operation, wherein the problems of Southeast Asia appear to be sufficiently ripe to justify us in hoping for a solution. This decision is a reflection, also, of the failure of that policy which tended to isolate the People's Republic of China from the rest of the world, to deny it any share in the responsibilities which were China's in the conduct of international affairs and in the effort to seek universal peace and consolidate it. The People's Republic of China, while ensuring its development and concluding its na-

tional revolution, was able to ensure its own influence beyond its frontiers by bringing about a contribution to the liberation and the economic development of many young countries, and also by establishing relations of friendship and co-operation with a growing number of states in the world.

In opening its doors to the People's Republic of China, the United Nations was both wise and realistic. Realistic because it was inconceivable that a country whose population represents one-fourth of humanity could have been kept any longer from participation in our work; and wise because the mission of the organization for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international co-operation is impossible without the participation of one of the most important elements of the international community.

A new spirit will dominate the organization with the People's Republic of China. A permanent member of the Security Council, this great country remains, nevertheless, very close to all of us, the young countries, for having known colonial domination, having sustained a long and bloody struggle for liberation, and also because it is still experiencing the problems of economic development. Its participation in the major decisions involving our organs will certainly shed new light upon the problems that are before us, and will give the action undertaken by the international community an effectiveness based upon a more direct knowledge of the difficulties and aspirations of the disadvantaged peoples.

We are convinced that the hope that we have expressed is not a vain one. This hope is surely shared by the group of peoples which form what we call today

the third world and which have been subjected, since their accession to independence, to international order that has maintained them, in fact if not in law, in a position of inferiority, against which their efforts have so far been of only slight usefulness. If an improvement in the international situation is to be achieved as a result of a better comprehension between the great powers, a radical redress will reside in the consideration of the claims — constantly renewed but still unsatisfied — of those peoples which form the overwhelming majority of humanity.

It is in this particular sense that we rejoice at the new and enriching contribution which the collaboration of the People's Republic of China constitutes for our organization. We rejoice all the more at this because the contact between the Algerian people and the people of China is not a recent one. The representative of Algeria cannot fail to stress, with emotion and gratitude, the first contacts, characterized by warm sympathy and deep friendship, which were forged between Algeria and China at a moment when the Algerian people were still engaged in a merciless struggle for its liberation. The support of the great Chinese people, when the Front of National Liberation was only beginning to emerge on the international level, was certainly a determining element in the final victory which led to the independence of Algeria. Such friendship, forged during periods of distress and despair, cannot be forgotten.

The Algerian delegation, consequently, has more than one valid reason for expressing its satisfaction at being able to welcome the presence here of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. The justice

that has been rendered to the Chinese people honours the General Assembly and marks the crowning of efforts deployed by all peace-loving and justice-loving countries.

May I present to the Delegation of China our wishes for success in its mission, as well as our wishes for happiness and prosperity, which I should like to transmit, in the name of the Algerian people, to the people of China and to its Chairman Mao Tsetung.

SPEECH BY PRIMO JOSE ESONO MICA
Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of
EQUATORIAL GUINEA to the U.N.

From this high rostrum, I should like to express the great pleasure and satisfaction felt by the people and Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea on the superb decision adopted by the General Assembly at 11:20 p.m. on that memorable and historic evening of 25 October 1971. I speak, of course, of the vote that was held on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, and to expel, without appeal or recourse, the usurpers of the Chiang Kai-shek group, as the draft resolution submitted by Albania on this question, of which my country was a co-sponsor, states very clearly.

The voice of my delegation is joined to those of other representatives, such as Chile, who spoke on the third of this month, and was again echoed by the representatives of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. We wish to state that we applauded and we continue to applaud. We danced at the results achieved by our resolution on the above-mentioned evening.

Furthermore, we continue to dance and we continue to applaud with great satisfaction at this very moment when we see with our own eyes the lawful Delegation of China occupying the seat of which it was deprived

for 22 years. We are not impressed by or worried about the publicity of the Yankee newspapermen. Let them write in their newspapers and periodicals what they wish. We have not come here to serve as students of the policy of the American Government on this or any other matter. We have come to advocate and preach peace, and our responsibilities can be called to account only by our government. My delegation is in no way intimidated by the threats of the North American Government at the failure of, or should I say, the rout suffered by, the imperialist policies on the matter we are discussing.

My delegation, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and of the single national party and of the great comrade and leader Don Francisco Macias Nguema, and on my own behalf, has the honour of expressing its welcome to the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time we open our arms to embrace it fraternally and to wish it once again much happiness in its stay among us.

SPEECH BY JAVIER PEREZ DE CUELLAR
Permanent Representative of PERU to the U.N.

This morning the Chairman of the Latin American Group, on his own behalf and on behalf of other countries of Latin America, welcomed the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. The Delegation of Peru would like to add a few words of frank and warm welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. We had the honour of contributing to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly during the vote on 25 October.

Today my country greets the largest country that is tenaciously struggling to speed up its progress, a country whose present strength and potential have not blinded it to a choice of which trench it must occupy in the daily struggle against injustice in international economic relations. That is why the developing countries welcome the People's Republic of China with hope and with faith.

We trust, furthermore, that the representatives of that country in our organization will contribute a flow of new ideas, renewed energy and, above all, an approach to international problems which will be free from greed and power, one which will strengthen peace, security and co-operation among all peoples under the symbol of distributive justice, of community justice, and which does not differentiate between the large and the small.

Through its distinguished delegation at this Assembly, I address to China, that immense country whose age-old traditions have received the breath of a new philosophy, the welcome and greetings of a small nation, but one which also possesses ancient traditions and has struggled to assure progress within the framework of its proud independence.

SPEECH BY FAKHREDDINE MOHAMED
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Under-Secretary of
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the SUDAN

I come to this rostrum in order to express on behalf of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan our feelings of joy and satisfaction on the occasion of the assumption by the Delegation of the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the United Nations. The presence of the true representatives of the Chinese people among us is an event of great historic significance. The participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has redressed a wrong in which the organization has persisted for over 20 years in defiance of the provisions of its own Charter. The violence that had been done to the Charter is now removed, and a new era of hope for this organization has dawned.

We welcome the representatives of China to their rightful place in the United Nations in the confidence that we have now among us the representatives of a government dedicated to the unrelenting fight against colonialism and alien domination and committed to the support of the sovereign equality of all states, great and small, as it is indeed committed to the support of the rights and dignity of all peoples.

We in Africa bear witness to that commitment. We bear witness to the scrupulous respect of the Government of China for the principles of non-intervention in the affairs of other states and to its unwavering support of the rights of peoples to independence and self-determination.

For over 20 years the great issues of war and peace in the world had been discussed in the United Nations without the participation of the representatives of the Chinese people. Because their place had been usurped by those who possessed neither the will nor the means of effective participation in the resolution of those issues. The voice of China will no longer be silent or subdued, and we shall all gain immeasurably from the participation of the representatives of the Chinese people in our counsels.

We in the Sudan have had a rare and edifying experience in our relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. We have maintained diplomatic relations with that government for a number of years. Throughout those years our relations have been exemplary in their sincerity and in their cordiality. They have been unmarred by the vicissitudes that often cloud relations between a big power and a smaller nation. The Government of China has not wished to exact a price for its friendship, nor has it dictated its terms in return for assistance, which has been generous and unstinting. This attitude on the part of the Chinese Government has been the same towards all the developing countries. Throughout the countries of the third world the terms of economic co-operation with the Chinese Government

have never been detrimental to the interests of the weaker nations.

I should like once again on behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and on behalf of the Sudanese people, to whom China has been a true friend, to salute the government and the leaders of the Chinese people on this occasion. Their victory has been our victory. Their victory has been a victory for the United Nations.

SPEECH BY MAMADOU BOUBACAR KANTE
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation of MALI

On this memorable occasion, 15 November 1971, it is a pleasure for me on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Mali to address the warmest congratulations to the outstanding Delegation of the People's Republic of China, which victoriously today regains its seat among us after 20 years of absence due to the obstruction of certain powers that at a certain time succeeded in using the Charter for their own aims of hegemony. The event is important because, as far as we are concerned, we are celebrating the achievement of more than 20 years of stubborn struggle on the part of the forces of progress all over the world to redress one of the greatest injustices of our day. Weakened by the antagonism and rivalries born of the cold war, our organization had to mark time in inaction and ineffectiveness, had there not been the energetic and positive reaction of certain states that saw the danger. It was thanks to their dynamic action in fact that a wide front was constructed over the years in the United Nations to oppose the policies of inertia and obscurantism which prevailed. The Republic of Mali, my country, is honoured at having stubbornly formed part of that front since our accession to independence in 1960. During those years the great people of China, that many tried in vain to ostracize, patiently and under the enlightened direction of their

well-loved leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, continued to create a prosperous, strong and peaceful nation. Their determination and their age-old genius had to confront difficulties that had been placed in their path, and, as Mr. Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, stated, the great mutation that took place in the People's Republic of China was the expression "of the revolt of an ancient civilization against foreign barbarian forces that fell on them in the 19th century and gave a body blow to their economy, their institutions and their national pride". Therefore nothing could stop that people from achieving its great destiny and victoriously living until this great day.

Furthermore, the Cultural Revolution that crowned the heroic struggle of the Chinese was due to their own power, their own ability. This revolution has still not ended. Yet the world stands amazed. But the detractors have seen that in fact China is strong and that it has emerged from the battle ready to meet history with a cultural and moral heritage that has been reassessed, the atom tamed, techniques perfected and in all fields enjoying a sophisticated economy. Victory was total, and the People's Republic of China has now been recognized as a great world power. For the first time in the history of our day, the case of Japan aside, a country of the third world by its own means joins the ranks of modern powers. The merits are great. The value of *joo chee* to speak as our friends of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — namely, of relying on one's own ability — this is what they have done and this speaks eloquently. Thus the recriminatory predictions of

those statesmen that spoke of the revolutionary China after the overthrow of the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek group wrote in 1949, and were therefore belied, as follows: "The demographic progression exercises such pressure on China that no Chinese government can solve the problem of famine or hunger." Contrary to certain states that make of their power an instrument of aggression and conquest, the People's Republic of China has placed its great power exclusively at the service of peace and the assistance of man wherever he may live. Through the clarity of its foreign policies, based upon the Five Principles of Coexistence, which furthermore are the very pillars of the Charter of the United Nations, it has earned the admiration and esteem of all peoples. Furthermore, it has become the very symbol of peaceful resistance, and stubborn resistance too, of peoples to exploitation and subjugation. Although kept outside the pale of the international community, the People's Republic of China has continued, nevertheless, in the true spirit of international solidarity which is its hallmark, to give effective and timely assistance to the developing world.

As you know, it was the convergence of the efforts of all members of the United Nations and of the heroic people of China that finally led to the act which today the international community is greeting, and thus it is the end of a long process that in these circumstances we might term the long march to the United Nations, to compare it with the Long March of Chairman Mao Tsetung and his partisans. But we have now emerged from darkness, and on the night of 25-26 October 1971 we re-established the great majesty of the United Nations when bringing

in the People's Republic of China and expelling the usurpers from Taipei. By that very act, which attests to an unprecedented political courage, the international community which we represent here has turned into fact this cry of rebellion against hegemony and frustration that has been mentioned in practically all statements of heads of delegations at this Session. Apart from redressing the greatest injustice that our organization has committed in its history, the memorable act of 25 October 1971 constitutes a significant victory for the universalist tendencies of our organization. Furthermore, it spells the end of a period, with all that that means injustice, pretence, and uncounted sufferings for the people. The myth of the yellow peril of Wilhelm II, based, as is the hideous policy of apartheid, on the abject philosophy of race, has already been left aside. The world of hegemony has ended. The tocsin has rung for imperialism, for colonialism, for neo-colonialism and for racism. There is a new page of history, and now we must all be ready to write upon it, since this change is irreversible.

The victory of 25 October 1971 confirms the historic justice of one of the most celebrated reflections of that great American statesman, President Abraham Lincoln. He said: "You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time." The victory of justice over arbitrary acts, of reason over decadence and blindness, of democracy over imperialism, of good over evil, our victory of 25 October will represent one of the glorious pages of our history, and we shall be able to leave it to our heirs. It will also stand as a warning to all the Chiang Kai-sheks, all the Syngman Rhees, all the Ngo

Dinh Diems, all the potential dictators who may wish to impose their will on their peoples. The return of Taiwan, the Pescadores and all the dependencies of the mother country is more than ever certain.

Together we have just won the greatest diplomatic battle of our day. Over and above that, 814 million Chinese have now had their lawful rights restored to them and all mankind is honoured by that act. However, let us point out that we owe this victory to our generous peoples who entrusted us with ensuring the triumph of the noble ideals of the Charter. Above all, it is due to the true policy of national independence practised by our governments.

The success won by the resolution (a/k. 630), submitted by 22 states members of our organization, including Mali, my own country, constitutes certainly an important milestone on the difficult path that will lead us to genuine peace in the world.

I think that this rostrum is the proper place for me to express to the worthy representatives of the People's Republic of China the admiration and gratitude of the Delegation and Government of Mali for the important contribution that their country has given and continues to give to the national liberation movements throughout the world. The open-handed generosity with which that assistance is given is equalled only by the great devotion of the Chinese people to the cause of peace.

I also wish to thank our eminent Secretary-General U Thant, for the praiseworthy efforts that he has constantly made to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

This great event which we are celebrating today has fortunately now crowned a brilliant international career and a rich life, all devoted to the cause of understanding among peoples and to peace. Surely one could not have expected a greater reward from providence. May U Thant read into my words the expression of the sincere gratitude of my delegation and the Government of the Republic of Mali for the distinguished services he has rendered to mankind.

One of the great flaws of the United Nations has now been corrected with the restoration of the full rights of the People's Republic of China. The road to universality is now wide open. We can now benefit from the important moral, political and material support of the greatest state in the world which has, in addition, many centuries of civilization behind it. Its actions cannot fail to be felt here if only rancour will yield its place to realism and to a will for understanding in a world of justice and peace. Then there will be neither victors nor vanquished and the victory of 25 October 1971 will be the victory of the United Nations, that is, the victory of all of us. And, hand in hand, we will go on to conquer in the harsh battles that our organization is waging for the complete liberation and emancipation of man.

In dedicating ourselves resolutely to fulfilling the great tasks of our generation which are called justice, peace and progress, we shall then be responding to the profound aspirations of our peoples at the same time as we are attaining one of the basic objectives of our organization, namely, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

May these expressions of hope with which my delegation wishes to conclude its statement inspire us from now on in the coexistence and co-operation to which we are all committed and to the success on which the survival of mankind depends.

SPEECH BY ABDUL MALEK ISMAIL

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and
Permanent Representative of the PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC OF YEMEN to the U.N.

In welcoming the People's Republic of China on this auspicious occasion, we are not engaging in a rhetorical speech, for this is a unique occasion in the history of the United Nations. It is unique because:

First, the People's Republic of China is taking its lawful seat in the United Nations in the face of unjust and persistent resistance by the imperialist and reactionary powers.

Second, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations were usurped by the Chiang Kai-shek clique which was backed by the imperialist powers. For 22 years the Chiang Kai-shek representatives were, ironically, speaking on behalf of the Chinese people.

Third, the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China will bolster the strength of the progressive and revolutionary countries. At the same time, the vast experience of the People's Republic of China will undoubtedly add new dimension to the roles and functions of the United Nations.

Fourth, the position of the great people of China under the revolutionary leadership of Chairman Mao

Tsetung vis-a-vis liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and the rest of the world, will certainly enhance the cause of justice and liberation for the colonized peoples of Palestine, the Arabian Gulf, Southeast Asia, the colonies under Portuguese domination and all the people struggling under alien domination.

In mentioning the People's Republic of China as a major power in the struggle against imperialism, we should not overlook the great efforts which the People's Republic of China makes in assisting the developing countries socially and economically.

My country maintains the most cordial and comradely relationship with the People's Republic of China on the basis of mutual respect and co-operation. We welcome the People's Republic of China not out of courtesy or as a political demonstration, but because we sincerely believe that the United Nations without the representation of the People's Republic of China would be weaker and less effective in relaxing international tension and maintaining international peace and security.

May I assure our Chinese comrades that my government and my delegation will always co-operate with them in the interest of the progressive socialist struggle.

SPEECH BY GRACE S.K. IBINGIRA

Permanent Representative of UGANDA to the U.N.

At one time a great poet said, "The old order changeth, yielding place to new, lest one custom would disrupt the whole world."

On 25 October the old order changed and we are here to witness and to welcome the birth of a new order in the United Nations. On behalf of the Delegation of the Republic of Uganda and on behalf of my country, I should like most warmly to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. We have over a period of time in my country, since we attained independence, had diplomatic relations with the great nation of the People's Republic of China, and it has been the view of my country during all this time that it is anomalous and contrary to all the tenets of common sense that a quarter of the world's population, a quarter of the human race, should be alienated from a body that regards itself as speaking for the whole of mankind.

We believe that we are here in search of a better future for this world. We are here as small and big nations. We are here as developing and developed countries. We are here with what are called the super-powers; it is to that category perhaps that the great republic of the Chinese people may belong. But coming as I do from a small country, I should like to say that

our interest is to see in this body a change in emphasis on what constitutes a super-power. We think in terms of super-power as a nation which has the capacity either to hold the whole of mankind in ransom or to annihilate mankind with its thermonuclear weapons.

Let us now forge a new era, to which we earnestly hope the delegation of the great republic of the Chinese people will contribute, in which the "superness", if I may use that expression, of a nation should depend not so much on its capabilities to destroy this planet but rather on its dedication and efforts to add its constructive ends to making this planet a happier place for all of us to live in.

The world as it is today faces a lot of problems. They are not new to any of us, whether here or outside this august Assembly. We do earnestly hope that the restoration of the lawful rights of the great People's Republic of China in this august Assembly will contribute effectively towards the solution of those problems that have been engaging our minds for so long.

My delegation does not regard this as a moment of recrimination. This is not a moment to open old wounds. This is a moment for the reunion of mankind with the big part of it that has been, through the misfortunes and injustices of history, restored to its rightful place. I am happy to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

SPEECH BY U LWIN

Permanent Representative of BURMA to the U.N.

The Delegation of Burma welcomes with joy and satisfaction the representatives of the People's Republic of China who are now sitting among us in this august body. We witness today the restoration by the General Assembly of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

The People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma have traditional ties and are neighbours whose territories adjoin each other. Our two countries not only are engaged in peaceful national development but also are working for peace, international friendship and co-operation. On this historic occasion the Delegation of Burma extends its warm felicitations and good wishes to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

We firmly believe that the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its specialized agencies will further strengthen the United Nations and enhance its possibility of achieving its role as laid down in the purposes and principles of the Charter.

SPEECH BY EL HADJ ABDOULAYE TOURE

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of GUINEA to the U.N.

The Delegation of the Republic of Guinea would like to fulfil the most agreeable task of greeting here in a solemn and friendly manner the authentic representatives of the People's Republic of China, representing the entire Chinese people. We are happy at this important event because for some 13 years now, in the different sessions of the General Assembly of the United Nations, the Delegation of the Republic of Guinea has ceaselessly requested and demanded that this world organization put an end to the inadmissible ostracism by which for more than 20 years the representatives of 800 million people have been kept away from our debates and work. We are happy that justice has finally triumphed and that today we see among us, in the seats which belong to them, the representatives of the great China, of that China which has courageously and irreversibly emerged on the international arena in order to bring its quality contribution to the cultural, economic, social and scientific fields of importance to us all.

In welcoming this event, which from now on will be one of the great feats of the history of the end of the 20th century, the Government of the Republic of Guinea, which entertains the best of political and eco-

omic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China, greeted the victory achieved on 25 October last in the following terms:

"The people of Guinea, the government and party have learnt with sincere and deep satisfaction the result of the historic vote in the United Nations whereby its lawful and legitimate rights within the United Nations were restored to the People's Republic of China.

"The Government of the Republic of Guinea believes that the return of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is a determining factor for an international detente, a rapprochement between people, and for world peace. The vote which has redressed that flagrant injustice has rehabilitated at the same time the organization itself, whose representativeness was prone to criticism because of the absence of the representatives of almost a third of the world's population from the organization.

"The people of Guinea, its party and government address on this occasion their warmest felicitations to the valiant Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China, to the government and its valiant leaders. The Government of the Republic of Guinea ardently hopes that the United Nations and the great powers — European and American, in particular — will reflect the same comprehension and realism in order to put an end to the wars of colonial re-conquest throughout the world, to the illegal and inhuman occupation of certain African territories by colonialist Portugal and the racist colonizers in South Africa and Rhodesia."

SPEECH BY NICOLAS MONDJO
Permanent Representative of the PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF THE CONGO to the U.N.

The Delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo is participating in this debate on condition that it be clearly understood by one and all that the ceremony now taking place is not that of the admission of a new member state. The People's Republic of China is a founding member of our organization; consequently, any attempt at bringing back here in new wrapping the Chiang Kai-shek clique is doomed to absolute failure.

We are not afraid to be once again called "impenitent dancers"; in any case, the members of the Delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo cannot hide their immense joy in noting that the seat of China, the largest country in the world, is now occupied by the sole and authentic representatives of that great people. Welcome, therefore, to the honourable members of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. Welcome to the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Comrade Chiao Kuan-hua, and to Comrade Ambassador Huang Hua.

Nevertheless, the path which has led to today's victory was a long and difficult one. Everyone will recall that it has taken more than 20 years of struggle for the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to be restored to that founding member of our organiza-

tion. Indeed, it was on 15 November 1949 that Comrade Chou En-lai, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, informed the Secretary-General of the world organization of the wish of the Chinese Government to change its representation within the United Nations as a result of fundamental changes that had come about in his country following the great Chinese revolution under the enlightened guidance of Chairman Mao Tsetung — a revolution which had disgraced and expelled the exploiters of and traitors to the Chinese nation. Thus more than 20 years were necessary for the international conscience to abandon its blind zeal and its role as facile agent of current-day political insomnia, whereby every people in order to subsist must remain vigilant and chart its own course. Despite the measures implemented and the many manoeuvres executed by the United States of America, the movement for the normalization and authentication of the representation of China in the United Nations became an irresistible and irreversible force. Those who aspired to admit the great Chinese people through the back door failed: China, in reclaiming its lawful United Nations seat, chose to enter through the front door.

Thus the states that cherish justice, freedom, peace and brotherhood, by their massive vote, put an unequivocal end to the isolation imposed upon China by the United States for a generation. This brilliant victory belongs not only to the Chinese people, which, thanks to its genius, talent, heroic courage and legendary modesty, has imposed itself upon the world, but to all the peoples of the world, including the American people, over the dark and reactionary forces; it is, in other words,

a victory of our organization over itself. Those who do not yet understand this should heed the evidence of the presence of the People's Republic of China in international relations in order that they may cure themselves of the visceral anti-communism complex which still afflicts them. The Chinese people is a peaceful people that has no other desire than to work for peace, fraternity and co-operation on the basis of strict equality among all peoples of the world.

The bitterness of the acrimonious comments of a number of American political personalities after the historic vote of the General Assembly leads us to say that it is high time that large and small peoples alike clearly realized that no state, whatever its military or economic power, can aspire any longer to overpowering this organization and throwing its political weight against the United Nations whenever it so desires. That is one of the interesting features of the historic decision of 25 October 1971 adopted by the General Assembly. The overwhelming disdain shown by some against those who are called the smaller nations that vote badly will change nothing in this situation in connexion with this irreversible phenomenon.

Let us consequently witness an abandonment of these dreams, of these crusades of a mediaeval character which, for instance, lead the United States of America to barbaric wars in Asia wherein crimes of genocide are committed every day against peace-loving peoples of that continent. Let us witness the abandonment of all these phenomena of political misery. Let us open wide the door of the organization to peoples who are still victims of the most retrograde type of colonialism, of racialism

and of imperialism in the name of universality, let us greet here, after helping in their reconciliation, Korea, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany and so on.

The Delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo greets this day as a historic day, one of the most important in the life of our organization. The deep friendship which links the people of the Congo and the Chinese people authorizes us to envisage with confidence the future of the organization, which through its vote of 25 October 1971 manifested once again this patent sign of its renewed virility. Let us pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has always stated that the United Nations will never really be the United Nations without the People's Republic of China. My delegation reaffirms its confidence in the Secretary-General of this organization, its confidence that without any delay the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, on the basis of the historic resolution, the Albanian resolution, will be effectively expelled not only from this organization but from all the specialized organs of the United Nations in New York, in Paris, in Geneva, in Rome, in Vienna, in Montreal and elsewhere. The struggle continues.

SPEECH BY TORU NAKAGAWA
Permanent Representative of JAPAN to the U.N.

Mr. President,

I should like to take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of the Japanese delegation, our warm welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. We are pleased to see that the Government of the People's Republic of China, a great power with a population of more than 700 million and our close neighbour in Asia, is now being represented in the United Nations. We believe that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will contribute to the strengthening of the fibre of our world organization and to the more realistic and effective solution of the problems which we are facing.

My delegation looks forward to close contacts between our two delegations and through them to the development of friendly relations between our two countries.

Thank you Mr. President.

SPEECH BY ABDUR-RAHMAN PAZHWAQ
Permanent Representative of AFGHANISTAN to the U.N.

First, Mr. President, I wish to thank you for your decision, in your wisdom, to give us this opportunity, which is rather an exceptional one, to greet the Government of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly. Secondly, as the representative of a country of Asia — where China is — I should like to say that the Chairman of the Asian Group has already spoken on behalf of all of us, and my delegation would like to associate itself with what he said and to thank him for accepting our request that he should speak for us. I come here only to speak on behalf of a neighbour country. China and Afghanistan are neighbours. "Neighbour" and "neighbourliness" are usually understood to be friendly terms, and it is a fact that all through the centuries we have been very peaceful and very friendly neighbours.

Mr. President, you are very generous and also you have been very patient with all the speeches which we have heard on this occasion. I do appreciate all the speeches which we have heard on this occasion. I do appreciate that because this occasion calls for greeting the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. Therefore I shall not take advantage of this opportunity by going into matters which might not sound relevant to this occasion and to the opportunity you have given us.

Like the great Chinese people, my people are also very fond of their ancient sayings, expressions and proverbs. In greeting friends whom we look forward to meeting we say in my country, "There is only one thing more delightful than your coming; that is your coming soon." I wish that these friends had been here sooner. Now that they are here we welcome them wholeheartedly.

I add only one thing. As we all remember, we thought of a less effective United Nations without them; I hope that their presence will make it a more effective United Nations. That can be done only by harmony and by constructive contribution. We place our hope in that, and I do ask the Delegation of China to convey our wholehearted feelings at this moment to their people.

SPEECH BY HAMILTON SHIRLEY AMERASINGHE
Permanent Representative of CEYLON to the U.N.

The Delegation of Ceylon wishes to echo the sentiment voiced by Ambassador Bush of the United States of America this morning when he expressed the hope that our devoted and respected Secretary-General would soon be restored to complete health and resume his place with us here.

Three weeks ago the General Assembly of the United Nations absolved itself of a 22-year aberration when it decided to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in this organization. Today we celebrate a historic moment in the life of the United Nations. How momentous the occasion will prove to be only history will decide.

The occasion is significant for many reasons. For the first time in 21 years Asia, the most populous continent in the world, with a population exceeding that of the rest of the world, has secured representation more faithfully reflecting its realities, its interests and its legitimate rights. For the first time all five nuclear powers sit together in the organization and the hiatus in international co-operation towards the extirpation of the nuclear peril has been filled. Above all, the largest of the developing countries in the world has joined the group of countries

that is vested under the Charter with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security.

The two principal economic and social systems in the world are now more fully represented in the world organization than ever before. No better opportunity has ever existed for the practical application of the principle of peaceful coexistence and for friendly competition between the two systems, in mutual tolerance in the interest of harmony and progress.

There has been the closest co-operation and collaboration between the People's Republic of China and Ceylon. I take this occasion to acknowledge with gratitude the handsome and generous assistance we have received from the People's Republic of China in the sphere of economic development and to pay a tribute to their impeccable conduct in their trade relationships with us.

I once had occasion to state that it was not the People's Republic of China that needed the United Nations but, rather, it was the United Nations that needed the People's Republic of China. Now, it would be more appropriate to say that they both need each other, just as much as each one of us here needs all the others, since none of us is an island.

On behalf of the Government and people of Ceylon, my delegation extends a cordial welcome to the representatives of the People's Republic of China. We assure them of our friendly co-operation and are confident that their presence here and their participation in the activities of the United Nations will greatly reinforce the cause of peace and justice in the world.

The decade that began after the completion of the first 25 years of the existence of the United Nations has been variously declared to be a decade of development — the second of its kind — and a decade of disarmament, thus epitomizing the most imperious demands of this age. The presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in our midst creates in us the hope that it will also be a decade of reconciliation and reconstruction.

The Deputy Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Chiao, in his statement on arrival in New York invoked the Bandung Declaration of 1955. May that invocation inspire and sustain us all in the years to come.

While I have the floor I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to examine the arrangements that were recently introduced for the admission and accommodation of visitors in this hall. Those arrangements have been made, no doubt, in the interest of security. But even the exigencies of security do not justify the exclusion from this floor of the wives of permanent representatives and their accommodation in the public galleries, up in the clouds. They must be accommodated in a manner befitting their rank, that is, here on this floor; and they must be spared all irksome security surveillance and segregation.

I assure you, Mr. President, that I have no personal interest in this matter. I speak with complete detachment; I do not even pretend to be the champion of women's liberation.

SPEECH BY ALFONSO GARCIA ROBLES
Permanent Representative of MEXICO to the U.N.

First of all, I should like to add my words to those of the preceding speaker, the representative of Ceylon, in hoping for the speedy recovery of our illustrious Secretary-General. We are sorry that, U Thant, unfortunately is not present on such a memorable occasion as this because of ill health; but we trust that we shall have him back with us very soon.

In a statement made to this Assembly at its 1952nd Meeting, the President of Mexico, Dr. Echeverria Alvarez, stated:

“A noteworthy advance towards this principle of universality would be to welcome during this Session the representatives of a nation inhabited by a fourth of the world’s population — the People’s Republic of China — and to give it its rightful place in the Security Council. At the same time, it will be necessary to recognize that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Chinese nation are juridically indivisible.” (1952nd Meeting, p. 6)

I did feel that the best way to show why my delegation is gratified that the United Nations as of today will count on the presence of the People’s Republic of China would be by recalling the words I have just quoted and which, with a prophetic feeling, were pronounced from this same rostrum three weeks before the historic vote of

25 October was cast by the Head of State of Mexico. Now that his forecast has been borne out by fact, the views that were then expressed at such a high level stand alone in explanation of the pleasure with which the Delegation of Mexico welcomes among us the representatives of the People’s Republic of China.

We are sure that their participation in the activities of the organization will facilitate our obedience to the principles and our achievement of the purposes which were embodied 26 years ago in the Charter at San Francisco and which last year, when commemorating the 25th anniversary of the United Nations, we summed up in the trilogy of “peace, justice and progress”.

SPEECH BY TALIB EL-SHIBIB
Permanent Representative of IRAQ to the U.N.

I have been preceded during the course of this day by so many distinguished speakers expressing their welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China that I find very little new to add except to say that in our sincere tendering of welcome on behalf of the Government of Iraq, the people of Iraq and the Iraqi delegation to this Session, we are neither making an apology nor expressing glee.

During the preceding hours we have heard some 36 representatives extending their welcome to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. That is very fitting and very appropriate. It is a source of pleasure to us to know that many of the delegations that have spoken before me did not share our views when this Assembly took its historic decision on the night of 25 October. This fact, however, reflects something more than a ceremonial occasion, it is indeed a celebration of an historic occasion in the life of the United Nations. It is a celebration of the fulfilment of the principles of universality when a quarter of humanity is being represented in this organization after a deprivation which has lasted far too long. It is an expression and a celebration of our hope that this organization can for the first time truly tackle

world problems, and the first amongst those is the question of world security which, without China, cannot possibly be truly achieved.

We have many representatives at this Assembly who represent Muslim countries and I am sure many of them remember the words of the great Prophet Mohammad, when he said: "Thou must seek knowledge even if thou must go to China." China then, 1,300 years ago, was very far away but even then China was a source of knowledge and a source of wisdom.

The Ambassador of France who spoke this morning eloquently stated the fact that injustice and absurdity have finally ended. I am sure we all feel the sense of fulfilment that must prevail in this organization today on seeing that after 23 years the Delegation of the People's Republic of China is amongst us.

The Delegation of Iraq takes particular pride and pleasure on this occasion since Iraq managed to rid itself of the last vestiges of foreign influence and domination when the Republic of Iraq was born in 1958. My delegation has persistently and consistently defended a restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China. That stand was taken in defence of a principle in which we very much believe and when my President cabled Premier Chou En-lai after the historic vote on 25 October, he stated:

"I am confident that this historic event is a vital and positive contribution to the cause of peace based on justice and in strengthening the struggling people in their

cause of freedom and independence against the forces of imperialism.”

It is with this feeling that my people and my delegation share in the joy felt in this Assembly and we say in Arabic *ahlan wasahlan* to the Delegation of China.

SPEECH BY MICHEL NJINE

Permanent Representative of CAMEROON to the U.N.

The decision adopted by the Assembly on 25 October put an end to 22 years of injustice. Moreover, it is possible for us today to greet with joy the arrival of the authentic delegation of the Chinese people, a people that represent a quarter of humanity.

The presence of this great people, with which my government maintains excellent relations, will doubtless provide a new impetus to our organization. Our debates on the serious problems which cause anxiety to humanity — such as disarmament, peace, development and decolonization — will from now on be accompanied by particular resonance. In the wishes of welcome that we address to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, the Federal Republic of Cameroon wishes to stress its firm conviction that this great country will work for peace and justice in the world.

Finally, the Delegation of Cameroon would like to assure the Delegation of the People's Republic of China of its sincere and confident co-operation.

SPEECH BY RAFIC JOUEJATI

Deputy Permanent Representative of SYRIA to the U.N.

In the life of our organization there could hardly have been a day equal in importance to that of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. All its advantageous effects will be felt by all of us and they are extended to all the international organizations, and the efforts made to harmonize them in a new order marked by constructive work towards a just and lasting peace must be shared by all.

Even from the standpoint of form and procedure we could hardly conceive of an international organization, in all the meanings of that term, whilst our United Nations was deprived of the presence of the representative of a quarter of the population of this planet. It was the very prestige of the organization which was sapped because of this blatant injustice committed by power politics against the great Chinese people.

World public opinion felt a lack of confidence in the United Nations as an instrument for strengthening peace and security. Legally speaking, an organization that condones violations of international law, and particularly the principle of the recognition of states and non-interference in their domestic affairs, could hardly be expected to ensure respect for law. But, what is even more

serious, by barring the People's Republic of China from playing a full role on the international arena, all we were doing was to place obstacles in the path of our own efforts to achieve the objectives set forth in the Charter.

The adjustment of international law to the principles of justice and equity, disarmament, respect for international security, were all discussed at great length, but no tangible progress was felt to justify man's hope for an atmosphere and an era of peace, equality and justice. The restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, has, therefore, been effected at a very crucial moment in the life of our organization.

The decision of the majority of the member states to see law prevail over force has only strengthened them. The mobilization of a common front against neo-colonialism, with its practices of denial of rights of peoples to self-determination, against racial discrimination, against conquest by force, against faits-accomplis, against occupation of territories of other nations by force, must be galvanized, widened and strengthened in order to be effective.

The peace-loving and progressive nations will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the work of the organization a very valuable support in the achievement of social justice, the liberation of great human masses from exploitation, and the implementation of peaceful coexistence. The developing countries will, in the efforts of the People's Republic of China, find a new source of energy to widen the contribution and effectiveness of the role that the organization must play in the field of economic and social progress. The justice-

and freedom-loving nations will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China new horizons for their emancipation from the yokes of occupation and colonial persecution. In one word, in the People's Republic of China the United Nations will find this apostle of renovation, based on dignity, justice and the rebirth of moral values.

In welcoming the triumphant entry of the People's Republic of China and in welcoming their representatives here, we are welcoming the triumph of justice. We are greeting the hope of a new, renewed and dynamic organization which will turn into realities that vision of a world where peace, justice and progress prevail. In the accomplishment of the tasks confronting the People's Republic of China to create this new era, we wish to say that we will be able to contribute and we hope for great success.

U Thant, our outstanding Secretary-General, who has struggled for so many years to ensure the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China, would have been happy, I know, to take part in the present meeting of the General Assembly where we greet the arrival of the People's Republic of China. Mr. President, I trust that you will be good enough to transmit to him our sincerest hopes for his speedy recovery.

SPEECH BY YOHANNES TSEGHE
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of ETHIOPIA to the U.N.

On behalf of the Ethiopian delegation and Government, I am pleased to join other speakers who have preceded me to this podium to welcome the representatives of the People's Republic of China, a country with which Ethiopia maintains cordial and friendly relations, as characterized by the recent visit of my august Sovereign Emperor and by the warm and sincere welcome accorded him by the Government and people of China.

In conveying our heartfelt felicitations to the people and government of this great country, through their representatives on this historic and momentous day, we confidently look forward to a more universal, more viable and stronger United Nations, a United Nations which will be adequately equipped to surmount the hurdles and frustrations confronting it by upholding its ideals, as in the Charter and in fulfilling them.

It is with this confidence in mind that the General Assembly acted with reason and conviction on 25 October last. The Ethiopian delegation, therefore, is fully confident that the Government of the People's Republic of China will translate this confidence into a positive reality by discharging its obligations and responsibilities under the Charter.

I wish, therefore, to assure the representatives of the People's Republic of China that my delegation and government will spare no effort in co-operating with them in every endeavour aimed at strengthening the United Nations as an instrument of peace, justice and progress for all peoples.

SPEECH BY UMIT HALUK BAYULKEN
Permanent Representative of TURKEY to the U.N.

I should like to associate myself with my colleagues who preceded me at this rostrum in welcoming the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the family of the United Nations. The relations between the Turkish people and the people of China are as old as history. These millennial ties have fostered respect and appreciation among our peoples.

The adoption of the resolution inviting the People's Republic of China to take its rightful place in this family of nations is a source of deep satisfaction to my delegation. This important decision also creates a new opportunity for rendering our organization more effective in the pursuit of peace. We are confident that the participation of China in the work of the United Nations, with its glorious history, its great economic and technological capabilities and, what is more, with its potentialities in the promotion of a peaceful world order, based on the basic principles and purposes of the United Nations, will inject fresh energy into our organization.

Indeed, in an age in which we face new challenges in the changing pattern of international relations, a great new participant will give new impetus to our common efforts in rendering the United Nations the centre of the world's common and harmonious aspirations.

Let me recall my Foreign Minister's words — spoken only a month ago from this rostrum — expressing the Turkish Government's hope and belief regarding the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of our organization:

“The increasing membership of the United Nations is indeed encouraging for the attainment of universality.

“In this connexion I think it would be appropriate for me to state that we look forward to the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations this year and we believe that such a participation is bound to strengthen the organization's aim at achieving better and more effective co-operation among nations.” (1954th Meeting, p. 57)

Today, I note with great satisfaction the realization of those expectations. Indeed, this fact constitutes a development which we hope will mark the beginning of a new era for the wider application of the noble principles of our Charter.

It is with these thoughts and hopes that we extend our sincere welcome to the distinguished Delegation of the People's Republic of China, and it is in this spirit that my delegation will be looking forward to co-operating with the Chinese delegation in the promotion of the purposes and objectives of our Charter.

SPEECH BY YAKOV A. MALIK

Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Permanent Representative of the SOVIET UNION to the U.N.

The representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Klusak, who is Chairman of the Group of Countries of Eastern Europe for November, in his exhaustive statement on behalf of those socialist countries which he named, already greeted the Delegation of the People's Republic of China at this morning's Plenary Meeting of the General Assembly. We fully support that statement of greetings.

For some two decades, ever since the inception of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, the Soviet Union firmly and consistently spoke out for the restoration of its rights in the United Nations. In November 1949 the Soviet representative declared at the Session of the General Assembly that the Soviet Union did not recognize the Chiang Kai-shek delegation as lawful and proposed that the representatives of the People's Republic of China be invited to the General Assembly.

Subsequently, at all sessions of the General Assembly and in all other international forums where the question of Chinese representation arose, the Soviet delegation and its representatives firmly and consistently spoke out for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for

the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations. The Soviet delegation has always stressed that China must be represented in the United Nations by the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

In 1950 it was possible for us, not without difficulties, to overcome resistance and to obtain a decision to invite the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to participate for the first time in the work of the Security Council. The head of the present Chinese delegation, Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, was a member of that delegation, and we consequently consider him as a veteran of the work here.

The reason for the decision on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China taking two decades is quite clear. It was the result of a policy dictated by the United States of America and some of its allies. That policy blocked the possibility of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Nevertheless, that policy as well as the policy of maintaining the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the organization failed and failed utterly. An overwhelming majority of states members of the United Nations voted for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all its organs.

Once again, and in a concrete way, life itself has confirmed the farsighted policy of the Soviet Communist Party and of the Soviet Government, which has consistently defended the principle of universality in the

United Nations. This firm policy of the Soviet Union provided the possibility to overcome subsequently the obstruction of imperialism and to achieve the admission into the United Nations of a large number of socialist states, including Albania. It is to be regretted that the principle of universality in the United Nations has so far not reached a final solution. Quite a number of governments are awaiting the day when from this high forum it will be possible for us to welcome them here as members of the organization. I refer in this connexion to the German Democratic Republic and certain other states. Preceding speakers have already referred to this matter. We are firmly convinced that those who have blocked the application in the United Nations of the principle of universality and have blocked the admission of new states to the United Nations will find themselves in a situation similar to the one in which they found themselves when they tried to block the entry of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

In welcoming the Chinese delegation that has arrived here to participate in the work of the 26th Session of the General Assembly, of the Security Council and of other organs of the United Nations, we express the hope that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its full and permanent participation in the work of the organization will bring about a positive contribution in order to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations, strengthen general peace and security and assist the development and strengthening of mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples.

SPEECH BY PRINCESS ASHRAF PAHLAVI
Chairman of the Delegation of IRAN

This morning the Ambassador of Kuwait extended the congratulations of the Asian countries to the People's Republic of China. However, I should like to associate my delegation with the speakers who preceded me in order individually to welcome to the 26th Session of the General Assembly the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

Relations between our peoples date very far back in history and we very early recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only lawful government of that great country. I had the pleasure of visiting China last April, where I was most warmly received by its government.

We are very happy to see the representatives of the People's Republic of China taking their rightful place in the General Assembly. Their presence finally makes our organization the universal body that it should be if it is to achieve its objectives. We trust that this universality will now be strengthened. The need to achieve universality has always been one of the bases of our international relations, as we have repeatedly stated.

We sincerely hope that the arrival of this great country among us will contribute to the strengthening of international peace and security. I sincerely welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China,

SPEECH BY YAHYA H. GEGHMAN

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of the ARAB REPUBLIC OF YEMEN
to the U.N.

My colleague, the representative of Morocco spoke this morning on behalf of the Arab Group. However, I should like to associate my delegation individually and collectively with the statements made by those representatives who have spoken before me today in welcoming among us and expressing our happiness at seeing here the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

A new era has dawned at the United Nations, and a new chapter in the history of this organization and the whole world has begun. The hard-won victory of 25 October 1971 was not a victory for the People's Republic of China alone. It was indeed an overwhelming and unprecedented triumph for the forces of peace, justice and human dignity over the forces of power politics, exploitation, intimidation and discrimination, a victory for all the toiling people of the world and hence a victory for all humanity. Therefore it is an occasion for universal rejoicing.

Yemen, which enjoys the best of relations and co-operation with the People's Republic of China, takes pride in the fact that it has consistently and determinedly worked for and contributed to the realization of this

historic event and this great victory. As a co-sponsor of the resolution on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, as an Asian country and as an Arab country, Yemen rejoices at the participation of the People's Republic of China in the activities of the United Nations. We wholeheartedly welcome to the United Nations and salute the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. The Asian peoples and the peoples of the third world have regained their permanent seat in the Security Council, the permanent seat of the People's Republic of China, an Asian country and member of the third world. We are certain that the mighty voice of the great Chinese people will be the champion of the just causes of oppressed peoples struggling for their emancipation, in Palestine, in Africa, in Asia and in all the third world. We can look forward to a more effective United Nations. My delegation looks forward, with optimism and joy, to fruitful co-operation with the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

SPEECH BY KAROLY CSATORDAY

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister
for Foreign Affairs of HUNGARY

The Delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to associate itself with the statement made by the representative of Czechoslovakia. My delegation is also pleased to take this opportunity to welcome most respectfully the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, which is taking part in our work today for the first time.

The General Assembly resolution of 25 October which restored the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in all organs of the United Nations, expelling at the same time the Chiang Kai-shek agents who represent nobody, has redressed an old and serious historic injustice. There is no need to prove that the adoption of the resolution was prepared by a consistent struggle fought for over two decades, first of all by the socialist countries and other states pursuing a progressive international policy. In the past few years it became more and more evident that no kind of imperialist tactics and manoeuvring could stop the process in the course of which an increasing number of countries have recognized one of the great realities of today's world, the People's Republic of China comprising nearly 800 million people.

The Hungarian People's Republic pursues a socialist foreign policy built upon solid foundations of principle. It follows from the principles of our foreign policy that, from the moment we were enabled to join in the activities of the United Nations, we, together with the other friendly countries, were demanding the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China. We have repeatedly stressed in different forums of the world organization that the United Nations would come closer to the realization of its lofty aims if it made more determined efforts to achieve universality: invite to us the People's Republic of China, the German Democratic Republic and all states which are ready to co-operate for the sake of indivisible peace and international security and in the interest of strengthening the co-operation and unity of the peoples that take a position against imperialist, aggressive policies. Now, as we again extend our greetings to the representatives of the Chinese people present here, we wish them successful work in the spirit of the noble principles laid down in the Charter of the United Nations. We sincerely hope that the official and personal relations developing between our delegations will always be consistent with the most ardent aspirations of our countries and peoples.

SPEECH BY ZENON ROSSIDES

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of CYPRUS to the U.N.

I wish that I could also speak Chinese. It is a language which is so expressive and so short that my statement would be much shorter than it is, but unfortunately I am not cultured enough.

On behalf of the Government and people of Cyprus I heartily welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations. Its presence in this august hall marks a significant development.

It is our commonly held belief that the main purpose of the United Nations, namely, the establishment of international security and peace, can be attained only through the development of a world legal order with justice. In the progress towards that goal the universality of the United Nations constitutes a primordial and indispensable element. The presence therefore in the United Nations and participation in its deliberations and decisions of a nation representing 25 per cent of the world's population brings a needed completion in the membership of this organization and is a valuable contribution in its endeavours towards international security, disarmament, a total ban on all nuclear tests and towards economic development which are thus widely reflective of the world community and more meaningful.

But beyond the aspect of universality there is the important qualitative contribution that may be expected from an ancient nation like China whose outstanding intellectual and spiritual achievements rank among the highest and noblest in the world. Its long history is replete with brilliant examples of philosophic virtue and political wisdom. The concept of government by civil service which has brought a signal contribution towards legal order within the state was first introduced in China and later followed elsewhere in the world. It thus marks a basic change from government run by political appointees to that based on training, ability and qualifications of a permanent civil service.

It was also in ancient China that the notion developed of philosophers and poets being given eminent functions in the management of states by the appropriate application of their mental skills and their inspirational wisdom; through the concept of the philosopher-statesman a new and high standard was set in the development of government.

In our present-day world of highly advanced mechanical civilization we are in special need of a parallel advancement in the culture of the mind and in the ethical development of the inner self of man. There is an unexplored wealth in the inner recesses of the human mind that, in its development, can help humanity to meet the tests and tribulations of this trying period of transition more effectively than all the contrivances of technological advance.

The world recalls the important contribution that China made to the historic Bandung Conference. I had

the privilege of attending that great conference which opened up a whole new concept of understanding, tolerance and peace in international relations. That conference unanimously proclaimed the principles of equal sovereignty, non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful co-operation in very harmonious co-operation between the members of that conference, which ranged from the extreme Right to the extreme Left.

We confidently trust that the contribution of the Chinese delegation to the work of the United Nations will prove to be positive, wide-ranging and constructive in the interests of international understanding, security and peace and that it will render our organization more realistically effective.

SPEECH BY EUGENIUSZ KULAGA
Permanent Representative of POLAND to the U.N.

The Chairman of the Delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has presented on behalf of a number of socialist countries, including Poland, our feelings of satisfaction at the assumption by the People's Republic of China of its seat in the United Nations and in this Assembly in particular. I should like to be allowed, therefore, on behalf of the Polish delegation simply to add our words of welcome to the representatives of the People's Republic of China and to congratulate the Chinese people warmly upon the restoration of their lawful rights in our organization.

Poland, together with other socialist countries and a steadily-increasing number of countries from other continents, has for the last 22 years followed a consistent policy in demanding the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in our organization and in all its affiliated bodies, as well as the expulsion of those who illegally occupied China's place in the United Nations. Therefore, when my delegation cast its vote on 25 October for the resolution calling for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, we did so not only with the same strong conviction as in all previous sessions of the

General Assembly but also with the feeling that the time was long overdue to finally do away with the irrational efforts to isolate People's China from international organizations.

The just decision of this General Assembly on the representation of China brought us closer to the implementation of one of the fundamental concepts underlying the existence of our organization, that of its universality. We have always maintained that the full implementation of that concept should be a guiding light for our organization irrespective of differences of a social, economic, political or ideological nature among states. That is why my delegation strongly believes that the admission to the United Nations of the German Democratic Republic along with the Federal Republic of Germany would be another and a major step in the right direction: that of making the United Nations a truly representative world organization. That is also why we think that all forms of discrimination against some states, which for various reasons are still kept outside of the United Nations, should be stopped forthwith.

Together with the congratulations and best wishes that go from us to the People's Republic of China we express our hope and expectation that it will join us in the United Nations in the implementation of workable solutions and in the further search for the effective settlement of the most important problems besetting the human race.

The 26th Session of the General Assembly has passed its half-way mark. We still have to deal with important questions: international security, the world disarmament conference, the many complex issues of disarmament, the problems of decolonization and questions of an economic, social and legal character. We are looking forward to the contribution of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the constructive solution of these problems on our agenda.

SPEECH BY DUGARSURENGIIN ERDEMBILEG
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister for
Foreign Affairs of MONGOLIA

The Delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic at this morning's meeting joined the delegations of a number of other socialist countries in expressing from this high rostrum greetings to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. I should like in the name of the Delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic to congratulate once again the representatives of the People's Republic of China on their occupying the lawful seat of China in the United Nations.

We should like to take this opportunity to say once again that the decision adopted on 25 October of this year on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shekites from all organs of our organization was an important act linked to the restoration of justice and the triumph of a just cause. Thus, the discriminatory policy perpetrated during 22 years by the United States and its allies suffered a complete defeat. This action was perpetrated by the United States and its allies against a great people — our neighbour.

All peace-loving countries in the world, including the Mongolian People's Republic, from the very outset of the formation of the People's Republic of China, have

been decisive in their defence of its rights, for providing to the People's Republic of China the rightful seat of China both in the United Nations and in all subsidiary organs. Following the accession of our country to membership on 22 October 1961, my delegation at the 16th Session of the General Assembly, speaking for the first time on the subject of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, stated:

“ . . . The Delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be decided in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, *i.e.*, with due regard to the just demands of the People's Republic of China, including its demand for the expulsion from our organization of the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent no one.” (1077th Meeting, para. 167)

In this connexion, it is interesting to recall that on 25 October 1961, in other words, exactly 10 years ago, the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique were forced to leave the room of the Security Council when the Security Council adopted its recommendation for the membership of the Mongolian People's Republic in the organization. Ten years later, to the day, this clique was forced to leave for ever the hall of the General Assembly. These were two instances of confirmation of the triumph of just causes.

Today, with a great feeling of satisfaction, we greet the legal representatives of the People's Republic of China in this hall. At the same time, we should not for-

get that a number of socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, which has on a number of occasions expressed its desire to accede to membership in the United Nations, continue to remain victims of discrimination and consequently the principle of universality in the organization cannot be achieved.

Finally, we should like to greet once again the Delegation of the People's Republic of China that has arrived to attend the 26th Session of the General Assembly and to express the hope that the People's Republic of China, in close co-operation with the peace-loving states, will make its contribution to the task of strengthening the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation and to the cause of a positive solution of existing problems in the life of today.

SPEECH BY SAMAR SEN

Permanent Representative of INDIA to the U.N.

In 1949 the People's Republic of China came to power in the great and ancient land of China after a long and sustained revolution. In 1950 India was the first country to propose that, as a result of this change in China, the Chinese seat in the United Nations should be occupied by the representatives of the People's Republic of China. In spite of consistent efforts by India and an increasingly larger number of states, it has taken the United Nations 21 years to correct a perverse mistake. The fact that we find that today China is fully restored to its lawful rights in the United Nations is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to India.

The United Nations will undoubtedly be more realistic by the participation of the true representatives of China in our deliberations and discussions. We would continue to believe that the major problems of the United Nations and the fulfilment of the principles and purposes of the Charter will be easier to handle with fuller membership.

When China was not properly represented there was always the possibility that the government of nearly 800 million people, as well as the rest of the world, looked at the problems from their own perspectives and not through the full mutual appreciation of each other's point

of view. This deficiency will now be removed and it is a great pity that our Secretary-General could not be present here with us to see the opening of a new era of open agreements through open diplomacy through this great forum. We are certain, however, as we wish him the speediest of recovery, that he would be greatly pleased at the warm welcome that we are giving today to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

The two neighbouring countries, China and India, with the largest populations in the world, are bound by thousands of years of civilization and achievement. Since we both became masters of our destiny, we worked together at Bandung to formulate the principles of peaceful coexistence: we devised together *pancha sila* or the Five Principles of international conduct; and we have established many bonds of friendship and understanding. Admittedly, clouds have gathered in the development and strengthening of our bilateral relations; it is our hope that these clouds can soon be dispersed and that China and India will perform their common task with fullest co-operation and mutual confidence. It is in this context that we were pleased to receive a message from Premier Chou En-lai to our Prime Minister, which concluded with the words:

“May friendship between the peoples of China and India grow and develop daily.”

May I, in sharing, on behalf of India, these words of hope and good cheer, say that we look forward to working in close co-operation with the Delegation of China to the United Nations. I extend to them our warmest

welcome and our sincerest good wishes. A most exciting and hopeful future lies ahead of us and let us hope that all of us, all 131 delegations present, will have the ability and wisdom to work for it.

SPEECH BY EDOUARD GHORRA

Permanent Representative of LEBANON to the U.N.

Ambassador Bishara of Kuwait and Ambassador Zentar of Morocco, Chairmen of the Asian and Arab Groups, respectively, spoke at the beginning of the morning and expressed, on behalf of the two groups, a sincere welcome to the Delegation from the People's Republic of China. Belonging as I do to the two groups, I feel that my delegation has already spoken twice. I therefore do not wish to speak at length for a third time; I only wish to state that my delegation associates itself with what my colleagues have said on our behalf on this memorable occasion.

I also wish to add that the contacts that have taken place for some time between the People's Republic of China and Lebanon were brought to a fruitful and successful end last week, when it was announced officially, both in Peking and Beirut, that diplomatic relations had been established between our two countries. The Lebanese Government and people welcome this opportunity to co-operate with the Government of the People's Republic of China and the great people of China in promoting international friendship and co-operation. While extending to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China every wish for its success, my delegation looks

forward to co-operating with it in all endeavours tending to serve the purposes and principles of the Charter, to promote peace, justice and progress in the world, and a fuller and wider respect for human rights.

SPEECH BY ABDOU-RAOUF ISSAKA
Representative of TOGO

On behalf of my government, I should like to express the happiness we feel in welcoming the People's Republic of China. In seeing finally restored to that country its lawful rights, we feel that a patent injustice has just been redressed. In fact, as many speakers have stressed before me, it is not in keeping with the most elementary principles of equity that the United Nations should have debarred from its work a government that represents a quarter of mankind. It is obvious that because of that ostracism our organization has been unable to solve the great international problems which, for their solution, call for the full and total co-operation of the People's Republic of China—whether they be problems of decolonization, disarmament, Viet Nam, underdevelopment, or problems of any other type.

Our second feeling is one of hope that, thanks to the presence among us now of the People's Republic of China, the major portion of those main problems that I have just mentioned will begin to find solution. Our organization has now given proof of great political maturity. We can only hope that this proof will strengthen us in the conviction that our organization has embarked upon the right path in the search for a just peace for the world.

SPEECH BY ABDULRAHIM ABBY FARAH
Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent
Representative of SOMALIA to the U.N.

On behalf of the Somali Government and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic, my delegation adds its voice to those of the representatives of many other member states of this organization who have expressed their sense of happiness and satisfaction at this historic moment in the history of the United Nations. The welcome which we extend to the representatives of the People's Republic of China as they take their rightful places in the organs of the United Nations is a sincere one. This is attested to by the fact that ever since Somalia became a member of the United Nations the Somali delegation has associated itself with the cause whose successful outcome we are witnessing today. We believed in the rightness of the cause, and we never ceased to work for it.

My country has long had friendly relations with the People's Republic of China, but over the past two years the Revolutionary Government of Somalia has made it an important aim of its foreign policy to strengthen further the ties between our countries. It has done so through an increasingly active programme of economic, political and cultural exchanges. It is the wish and hope of my government that the close relations that have been fostered in other spheres will be continued in the United

Nations between our delegation and that of the People's Republic of China.

The chief source of our satisfaction over the presence here of China's true representatives lies, however, in the fact that a principle has been upheld: that at long last the United Nations has ended an unjust and anomalous situation. That was the cause of the jubilation shared by my delegation with many others when the result of the voting on 25 October became clear.

It has been a sad revelation to us — and, I am sure, to many others — to see that in the often distorted reports of the proceedings of 25 October that have appeared in some sections of the international news media there has been a complete failure to understand that the central question here was not one of patronage or profit, but one of principle. But my delegation does not believe that this is a time for recriminations. We do believe, however, that this is a time for sober reflection on the lessons that can be learned from the question of Chinese representation as it has developed over the past 22 years. The chief lesson to be learned, in our view, is that when this organization departs from the strict observance of the procedures laid down by the Charter, it does itself and the world community a great disservice: it undermines its own moral authority and hampers the cause of international peace and security.

In the course of the development of the China question, political expediency, sentiment, and an appeal to so-called realities were all brought into play. But these are all subjective factors. What is politically expedient for one state or group of states can obviously be harmful

to the international community as a whole. Sentiment is often one side of the coin, on the other side of which lie inequity and injustice. What seems reality to some is fantasy to others. There is only one safe course which can be followed by a world organization composed of nations with diverse political, ideological, economic and cultural backgrounds and having a collective responsibility for international security: that is the course of strict legality, of the strict observance of the rules we are pledged to respect, and of strict impartiality in the application of those rules.

On behalf of my delegation, I look forward to a close and harmonious relationship with the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

SPEECH BY RACHID DRISS

Permanent Representative of TUNISIA to the U.N.

I should like first to thank my colleagues Ambassador Rouamba of Upper Volta and Ambassador Zentar of Morocco, who in their statements spoke on behalf of my delegation as well.

Sitting as I do on the edge of the Assembly, listening to the admirable words of welcome and hope addressed to the Delegation of China, I have tried to meditate on the wisdom of time and the march of history. Like a firmly entrenched stone or a tenacious herb, my meditation is interrupted by this flow of beautiful words. In this atmosphere of felicitation and welcome, Tunisia cannot remain silent. Recently, on the historic night of 25 October, the voice of Tunisia was heard affirming its confidence and its hope and trying to bring into the contradictory flows an element of agreement. Although we did not achieve then the unanimity we were seeking, today we have extended a unanimous welcome to the Chinese delegation. This delegation has come here smiling and recalling to us the eternal truth that, despite temporary setbacks, there exists the necessary force for reconciliation and hope.

Let us consequently try to look forward. Are we not here, despite our ideologies, our affinities and our attitudes, called upon to work for international co-operation

and universal peace — objectives of our Charter? We should not be excessive in our words, however eloquent they may be. The most important thing is to fulfil the hope to which I have referred. We wish for peace throughout the world and you have come as companions and children of Chairman Mao, the fruit of a war of freedom and liberation, as many of us have come in the past. You have come here to help us to achieve this objective. However, does not he who says "peace" also say "justice"? Apartheid, the military occupation of some of our territories, the colonization still perpetrated in the world, economic and social misery are scourges that must be fought. You have always, Chinese friends, affirmed your national position on these problems. It is on the basis of a joint effort of the United Nations that it will be possible for us to join our efforts with yours, and may they be crowned with success.

You are, brethren and friends, welcome in this organization wherein the true forces of progress are obtaining results. The President of the Tunisian Republic Habib Bourguiba, who was taught by revolutionary struggles, greeted the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as a just event. He said in his cable to the Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai:

"The restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic is both an important and a just event that has given me enormous satisfaction. In the name of the Government and the people of Tunisia, I express to you on this historic occasion my heartfelt felicitations. I am convinced that this event, so wise on the part of the international community, will strengthen the organization and will allow your great nation to play a role which

reflects its weight and to exercise its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, the defence of the Charter of the United Nations and the safeguarding of the principles of justice and solidarity on the international level.”

May I express to you once again on behalf of the Tunisian delegation and the Tunisian Government our warm welcome and invite you, in conformity with a thought so dear to Chairman Mao, to think of the situation in which you find yourselves today, to think of your historic role and of the hope that all humanity places in you to achieve, in accord and harmony, justice and peace. This is the beautiful dream that we should transform into reality for our children and for future generations.

SPEECH BY EDWIN OGBE OGBU
Permanent Representative of NIGERIA to the U.N.

It is my privilege on behalf of the Nigerian delegation and on behalf of over 60 million Nigerians to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to this Assembly. Today has seen the practical fulfilment of the historic decision taken on 25 October 1971, when the General Assembly voted to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in this organization. By that decision the General Assembly not only reversed an anomalous situation but also took a positive step for the realistic consideration of the important issues of international peace and security which face the United Nations.

My delegation has no doubt that the Delegation of the People's Republic of China will play a constructive role in our search for solutions to the main issues of our time — disarmament, colonialism, apartheid, racism and economic development. My delegation looks forward to active co-operation with the Chinese delegation.

SPEECH BY MILKO TARABANOV

Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and First Deputy Minister
for Foreign Affairs of BULGARIA

The Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is extremely gratified to greet warmly the arrival of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and to welcome our Chinese comrades. At the same time I think we should congratulate ourselves that the time to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations — the time and the moment for which we have unremittingly and indefatigably striven ever since our country and the other socialist countries joined the United Nations — has now arrived.

As the representatives know we entrusted the Delegation of Czechoslovakia to speak on our behalf this morning. However, my delegation could not resist the temptation to speak in this ceremony. And why not, after having seen so many delegations which in the recent and distant past spoke against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations or which abstained from taking a stand on the matter stand up and greet the arrival of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, either directly or through their regional representatives? How, then, could we not be gratified and filled with satisfaction to know that our struggle for the

universality of the organization and for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations was not in vain?

We are convinced, as are all delegations which have spoken thus far, that the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations will give a new impetus to the organization and will allow us all to renew the struggle to achieve the goals which are United Nations targets: namely, to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the legality of the rights of peoples and their right to self-determination; to ensure international co-operation in the economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian fields; to put an end once and for all to the scourge of colonialism and racial discrimination; and to make of this United Nations a true centre for harmonizing the efforts of all nations towards a common goal.

We are also convinced that those goals can now be attained with the close and cordial assistance of the People's Republic of China, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as well as of other socialist countries, and together with the efforts of all peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of Asia, Africa, America and Europe; and that all this joint effort will breathe new life into the organization and will allow us to make of it a truly universal body by bringing in other countries which at present are still isolated from us. Then we will have a more active, dynamic organization to defend and safeguard peace and security all over the world.

The Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria wishes to address to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China our warmest wishes for their effective contribution to the great and noble tasks of the United Nations.

在联大第二十六届会议一九七一年十一月
十五日全体会议上大会主席和各国代表
欢迎中华人民共和国代表团的讲话

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