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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

Statements of welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China

1. The PRESIDENT: 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 intergovernmental Organization in the world today. Undoubtedly, the effectiveness of the United Nations will be strengthened by this participation.

2. 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.

3. Mr. BISHARA (Kuwait): As chairman of the Asian group of countries 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.

4. On Monday, 25 October [1976th meeting], 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 moment 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.

5. Without China's participation, the United Nations was, as diplomats acknowledged, an artificial assembly. The burning issues confronting the world, such as disarmament, international security, and peace, especially in South-East Asia, could not be solved without the active and constructive role of China. Neither the United Nations, in its efforts to implement the goals and purposes enshrined in the Charter, nor the countries of the world, with all their

different systems and policies, could afford to see China remain absent.

6. Furthermore, the United Nations has now become a more universal organization, reflecting 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 *détente* 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.

7. One of the unfulfilled hopes of President T. Woodrow Wilson was to witness an era of "open covenants of peace, 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.

8. 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.

9. On behalf of the Asian group, and in the name of the Government of Kuwait, my delegation takes 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 ideas and the noble goals of the United Nations.

10. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Czechoslovakia to speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

11. Mr. KLUSÁK (Czechoslovakia) (*translation from Russian*): 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 take its country's rightful place. I do this with a feeling of satisfaction that, after 22 years of stubborn and malicious obstruction by those who have prevented the restoration of

the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, the rights of the People's Republic of China have at last been recognized and implemented at the United Nations. This right and just cause has triumphed and, as we have always stressed, this is above all in the interests of the Organization itself. We can only regret, that, contrary to the historical facts and the basic provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, it has taken so long to achieve this.

12. This is further proof of the fact that the Charter and its principles and purposes must not be violated. Consistent respect for the principle of universality is increasingly gaining ground and this is both in the interests of the United Nations and above all in the interests of the peoples whom the Organization should serve. The overwhelming majority of delegations of States Members of the United Nations at the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, by their vote of 25 October 1971, finally resolved the question of the full and unconditional restoration of the lawful rights of the sole representative of China—the People's Republic of China—in the United Nations and in all organizations related to it and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek delegation which represents nobody. The arrival of the People's Republic of China at the United Nations is a decisive step forward towards the establishment of a broader basis for the work of the Organization.

13. In this connexion we should like to stress our firm conviction that in the near future a decision will also be reached on the remaining unresolved questions connected with the application of the principle of the universality of the United Nations.

14. The Governments of the countries on whose behalf I am authorized to speak have always, right from the outset, firmly and consistently taken an uncompromising position regarding the exclusive right of the People's Republic of China to its lawful seat as a founder Member of the United Nations. This position was based on the historical reality of the victorious revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people in 1949. Historical developments have fully confirmed the correctness of our view, which the socialist countries have consistently defended as a matter of principle for over 22 years. They have also confirmed the correctness of the position which our countries took, that all efforts by the United States of America and its allies to prevent or postpone the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations would only prejudice the work of the Organization and its effectiveness in supporting and strengthening international peace and security. The discussion on the representation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations during this session of the General Assembly and the struggle over the adoption of the resolution has shown even more clearly that the United States of America and those countries which supported its position are responsible for the very long delay in settling this matter of the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

15. In welcoming the delegation of the People's Republic of China to the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly, 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 organs will increase the effectiveness of this Organization, will promote the solution of questions relating to the strengthening of peace and international security and disarmament matters, and will help to activate the united struggle of progressive forces against imperialist aggression for the final elimination of all vestiges of colonialism and racism in all their forms and manifestations and the development and strengthening of friendship and co-operation between peoples.

16. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Netherlands to speak on behalf of the Western European and other States.

17. Mr. FACK (Netherlands): 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.

18. 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 [1976th meeting], 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.

19. The People's Republic of China has been a political reality for 22 years now and for all of this time its Government has been in effective control of China, 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.

20. 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 is the guiding principle for the Governments of all Member States represented here.

21. 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.

22. 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.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Denmark, on behalf of the five Nordic countries.

24. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): 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 to the United Nations.

25. 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, by an overwhelming majority, to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic.

26. To those of us who, during all these years, have 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 we have a feeling of accomplishment. We are convinced that China has a great contribution to make in all fields of work in which the United Nations is engaged.

27. 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 endeavours 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.

28. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Morocco, on behalf of the Arab States.

29. Mr. ZENTAR (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Ever since the memorable evening of Monday, 25 October, the United Nations General Assembly has been patiently waiting for the imminent arrival of the distinguished delegation which sits with us today, finally to occupy the seat of the People's Republic of China, of which it had been deprived for no reason for more than 20 years.

30. 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 rightfully belonged 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 considerable dimensions at the international level, whether that action was concerned with international co-operation, economic development, commercial trade and human exchanges or even—with all the more reason—the solution of problems of the neutralization of hegemonies, the right of peoples to self-determination, general and complete disarmament and international peace and security.

31. Most of the Arab countries, including my own country, Morocco, for many years had established not only diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, for that might have had only limited significance, but also relations of trust in the areas of co-operation and trade, which often constitute the best foundation for friendship.

32. 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 a prosperity shared more equitably throughout the world. We pursue our course in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*] and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

33. In that context we are happy to note that we very often find ourselves thinking and acting in concert with a large majority of countries of good will which are Members of this Organization.

34. 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 of our Organization and a positive contribution to its actions for the advancement of international peace 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.

35. 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 welcome in our midst the delegation that represents that country here and offer my best wishes for their success. I should also like to say that I have been pleased to note among the members of the delegation Mr. Huang Hua, who has already been a very distinguished and valued colleague when I was Ambassador at Cairo. I am sure that our relations will be on the same footing here in the United Nations, where he will be serving as Permanent Representative of his country.

36. I should like to assure him now that in my delegation and in the delegations of many sister countries, he will find the same consideration and the same open-hearted spirit and open-mindedness as we strive to attain peace, co-

operation and friendship, which is our task under the aegis of the United Nations Charter.

37. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the representative of the United States, speaking for the host country.

38. Mr. BUSH (United States of America): I know, Mr. President, that I speak for you and for all delegations when I take this opportunity of expressing the hope that U Thant, our dedicated Secretary-General, will soon be back here with us.

39. Speaking on behalf of the host country, I wish to say that the United States joins in welcoming to the United Nations the representatives of the People's Republic of China: the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. 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 they were indeed hard fought. Those differences should not obscure the proposition on which nearly all of us, including the United States Government, were agreed: that the moment in history had arrived for the People's Republic of China to be in the United Nations.

40. The United States, whose people are indeed 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 towards 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.

41. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the representative of Albania.

42. Mr. BAHOLLI (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Today is indeed an exceptional day for the United Nations. At this historic 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.

43. 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 to reinforce still further this true friendship between our peoples.

44. From this rostrum we 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 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.

45. Everyone knows that under the *Diktat* 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 and 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 the 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; the United States of America was isolated and the representatives of the People's Republic of China have today occupied their seats among us in this Assembly. This is but one more proof 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.

46. 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, together with other peace-loving States, in the firm conviction that victory would be ours. 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 draft 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.

47. 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 President of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania, Comrade Mehmet Shehu, to Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of

China, Comrade Tung Pi-wu, and the Prime Minister 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 Tse-tung, of the just 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.”

48. The 23 States sponsoring the draft 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 time 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 important event not only for the Chinese people but for all of us. It is a great achievement 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.

49. 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 great imperialist Powers, and for international peace and security.

50. 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 Workers' Party, 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.

51. Mr. KOSCIUSKO-MORIZET (France) (*interpretation from French*): Injustice and absurdity have finally ended now that China is here in our midst in the seat which rightfully belongs to it. As is fitting, we welcome this very great country and people. We hail it for its civilization, history, courage and dignity and for the immense effort it is making.

52. In the words of welcome that France is happy to address to the People's Republic of China, friendship has its part, but hope plays its part too: 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, founded on age-old affinities and an equal concern for independence and security, have enabled us to understand each other better and to communicate better; hope because the various dialogues that have already been initiated by so many nations will be enlarged and intensified within our Organization.

53. Dialogue means, first of all, strict non-intervention in the affairs of others, that is, the renouncing of conversion by conquest or intervention. Here each country can affirm its different features, that is, the uniqueness of its concepts and its culture, thus enriching the international community from the moment when the diversity is coupled with an equal desire for coexistence and co-operation and when the confrontations and oppositions that divide the world are replaced by an awareness of the solidarity of all nations equal to the challenges of modern times.

54. We believe that by increasing relations between peoples we shall be serving the cause of man, that is, the cause of progress and peace. The presence of the People's Republic of China serves not only to fill a great void, but also to provide a new impetus for our Organization. Its presence should be beneficial to the United Nations as well as to China itself. Our debates on problems as vital for the future of mankind as peace, disarmament, the atom and development are going to take on the universal dimensions that are appropriate to their solution.

55. For the United Nations, as for each of our countries, individually and collectively, this will constitute 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, just and prosperous world.

56. Mr. DIAZ CASANUEVA (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to announce that the Chairman of the Latin American group will be taking the floor, but that my delegation also wishes to make a statement.

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

58. We hail this development, which augurs well for the destiny of our Organization and for the international

community, this victory for all the peoples of the world, which bears with it a defeat for world capitalism, imperialism and reaction.

59. The People's Republic of China has succeeded in reaching this Assembly through a lengthy and tiring process, with the breaking of 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 was impossible to advance towards the solution of problems of such overriding importance as disarmament, decolonization and the growing gap between the exceedingly poor and the exceedingly rich countries.

60. 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 in the future.

61. Let us think for a moment of the Chinese coolie of the picture books of our childhood, the cheapest and most exploited human flesh in the world, very similar, alas, to millions upon millions of the proletariat of the present under-developed world who are victims of abjectness, exploitation and poverty. There are no longer any coolies, Mandarins or omnipotent and exploiting foreigners in China. Today there has emerged a people of free men, dignified, solidly united, full of faith and revolutionary dynamism.

62. 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. We hope that those martyred peoples subject to the South African and Portuguese yoke will soon be transformed into free nations and will come to the United Nations, where we are anxiously awaiting their arrival, moved as we are by their suffering.

63. The people and Government of Chile, engaged on their march 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 and dissipation and imposed a healthy and austere style of life.

64. 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:

“Aquí después de heridos,
después de ser no seres
sino pies,
después de no ser hombres
sino brutos de carga,
después de andar y andar
y sudar y sudar
y sudar sangre
aquí estaban ahora
solitarios, tendidos
bajo la corola del letargo.”

65. We salute the leader of the new China, Mao Tse-tung, 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 into a permanent revolutionary attitude. Let us quote some of his poetry about the Long March:

[The speaker continued 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 lakh of workers and peasants
Was to take Chi-an.”

[The speaker resumed in Spanish]

66. 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 possess 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.

67. 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 the policy of 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 régime:

68. Accordingly Chile will never 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 discord.

69. For Mao Tse-tung, 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 attacks it. Now that the United Nations is growing and becoming stronger, we trust that imperialism will be overthrown and that the exploitation of peoples will be replaced by mutual respect and international co-operation.

70. 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 have been created that this Organization will truly be transformed into the decision-making centre of world policy and the centre for guaranteeing freedom, justice and the progress of peoples.

71. Mr. TERENCE (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): 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.

72. 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 will herald a new world equilibrium." [1965th meeting, para. 50.]

73. 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, para. 85.]

74. Today we celebrate the culmination of an event which yesterday was for some but a dream. The solemn nature of the restoration to the United Nations of the worthy representatives of the People's Republic of China appears to be the dawn of a new equilibrium in the world. Nothing more than the pomp of this ceremony could confirm the preponderant role I assigned to this Organization in the field of peace and security when, at the 1817th meeting of the First Committee, on 3 November, I stated:

"Even the unfortunate countries bisected or trisected by foreign interference see in the salutary arbitration of

this Organization a possibility of unity and peace to which they have the right to aspire.

"However, the very *raison d'être* not only of the United Nations itself, but of all countries, transposed into the times in which we live, must be to express once and for all the mission and the genius of the human race."

75. 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 be 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.

76. From inside as from outside, foreign Governments will soon see installed and at work in Peking a solid, homogeneous and self-assured power.

77. 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.

78. 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 assets 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.

79. The African delegations which I have the privilege of representing here are happy to be able from now on to co-operate closely 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.

80. The participation of the lawful delegation of China in the conduct of world affairs, the forthcoming rapproche-

ment 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.

81. 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 got wet. Even gods and fairy queens make mistakes, according to a Chinese proverb. Thanks to the accumulated wisdom, farsightedness and lucidity of 131 States, our Organization has succeeded in rising to the needs of international peace and co-operation. 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 towards co-operation and interdependence. 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.

82. 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 profound change.

83. 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 any one who cares for the future of the United Nations, have quite a different significance than that expressed in the Spanish proverb, according to which *Cántaro nuevo hace buen agua*—"A new jug gives good water."

84. This general enthusiasm is based on the full-fledged ability of China to help the United Nations better to take account of the destinies of the universe, and the centre of attraction represented by this country amounts to increased responsibility which it must shoulder under the pledges subscribed to when, in 1945, it signed, through one of its most illustrious leaders, Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, the United Nations Charter.

85. My delegation deeply regrets the absence of one of the greatest artisans in this new chapter of the history of the United Nations, 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 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.

86. 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 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.

87. These are the five principles on which true peace and security must be built; the colossal 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.

88. The PRESIDENT: I call on Mr. José Luis Molina of Costa Rica, on behalf of the Latin American States.

89. Mr. MOLINA (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the countries that are members of the Latin American group and associate themselves with my statement 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.

90. 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.

91. Mr. MWAANGA (Zambia): 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.

92. 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, Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, and its Ambassador, Mr. 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 co-operate with it at all times in our common search for solutions to problems which have beset the United Nations for many years.

93. 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 and will never be the same again. The balance of power, particularly in the Security Council, has been substantially altered; it too will never be the same again.

94. 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 deliberately distorted the facts 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.

95. I am authorized to state in no uncertain terms that we are not accountable to any Government other than 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.

96. 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 corrected 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.

97. 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.

98. Mr. ALARCON (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a source of great joy for my delegation to attend this meeting of the General Assembly at which we are welcoming for the first time in our midst the People's Republic of China and its delegation. Although they are, and for 22 years have been, the only legitimate representatives of a Member State which was a founder of this Organization, over that long period of history their country has been deprived of the possibility of exercising its rights as a Member of this Organization.

99. It is a source of particular satisfaction to the Cuban delegation to welcome the People's Republic of China on 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 their inalienable rights as a Member of this Organization were restored to that Government and people. Today, 22 years after the great Chinese revolution of 1949, its delegation has joined in the work of the United Nations. This is a fact of historical importance that no one can overlook.

100. The Chinese people, after a long and heroic struggle, overthrew the reactionary régime 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 paid tribute to foreign imperialism, and had been subjected to the conditions of poverty and backwardness which are inherent in such a 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.

101. None the less, this Organization for almost a quarter of a century was compelled to ignore this undisguisable historical reality. 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 of humiliation and subjugation to the foreigner. An attempt was thus made to ignore the historic decision of the people of China, which, at the cost of great effort and sacrifice, had wiped out that reactionary régime once and for all. For that reason my delegation has 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 duty bound 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, and to wipe out inequitable social régimes which had been imposed on them from abroad and to advance along the path to progress and justice.

102. 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 reason for the fact that for 22 years the Chinese people were not represented in this forum, despite their inalienable right as a founding Member of this Organization to sit here, was the stubborn policy of North American imperialism against the Chinese people and against their people's Government.

103. The great victory achieved this year in the decision 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.

104. 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 subsequent work of this Assembly.

105. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Upper Volta to speak on behalf of the African group.

106. Mr. ROUAMBA (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): 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.

107. 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.

108. 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.

109. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): To welcome 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 Chinese and Mauritians have of the needs of their national and international life. The friendly relations which we have with China, the exchanges we have with the great Chinese people and its 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.

110. 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 peace and 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.

111. 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 with the aspirations of peoples and their wish for freedom and dignity.

112. As to our pride, it is stirred quite naturally by a country which, within two decades, has succeeded in becoming a great Power resolutely embarked upon the road of economic, social and cultural progress. When we recall the conditions under which the People's Republic of China was born, when we know 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 a unique 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.

113. 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 an even more striking success. May we assure it of our co-operation, a co-operation which it is entitled to expect of a friendly delegation.

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

115. Pakistan's relations with the People's Republic of China are for us a source of both pride and strength 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 against no third country, the friendship between the two peoples transcends any internal differences in Pakistan.

116. 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 Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April 1955, 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-operation 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.

117. 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.

118. 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?

119. 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.

120. Mr. ECOBESCU (Romania) (*interpretation from French*): 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 current session of the General Assembly and to offer them our warm words of welcome and our sincerest congratulations.

121. 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.

122. 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 also reflected 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.

123. 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.

124. 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 exists 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.

125. 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 coexistence 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.

126. It has thus been recognized that today we cannot conceive of a lasting solution, in accordance with the aspirations of people, for the great problems of the modern era without the participation on an equal footing of the

People's Republic of China and of all States, large, medium and small.

127. As was pointed out recently by the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu:

“Romania has constantly advocated that an end should be put to the policy designed to isolate the People's Republic of China, to enable it to participate both in the United Nations and in international activity in general. In our opinion it is obvious proof 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 or 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 the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its lawful seat in the United Nations and particularly 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.”

128. The Romanian delegation expresses the deep conviction that the presence of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will make 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 others, mutual advantages, non-recourse to the threat or use of force; and it is convinced that its presence will also lead to the institution of effective measures to attain the noble objectives proclaimed in the Charter.

129. 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.

130. Mr. SALIM (United Republic of Tanzania): 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.

131. Those of us who have been fortunate enough, 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 Tse-tung.

132. 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 to develop 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.

133. 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 a 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.

134. We welcome the representatives of a people that has withstood the test of time, a people that fought victoriously to overthrow its feudalism and imperialism and eliminate from its 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, one that will support the rights of peoples to self-determination and independence, against all forms of oppression and injustice.

135. 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.

136. 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.”

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

138. On Wednesday, 3 November 1971, my colleague and esteemed friend, the Permanent Representative of Chile, Mr. Díaz 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, para. 57.]

139. 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 sponsoring, on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China.

140. 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 the failure on to certain small and independent States Members of the United Nations.

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

142. 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 any one to give us lessons in etiquette, or so-called "good behaviour".

143. 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.

144. 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 we are committed to uphold. Let us make fresh approaches to all the problems that have so long proved 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.

145. 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.

146. Mr. VINCI (Italy): 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.

147. I believe I could not better express my feelings than by reiterating what the Foreign Minister of Italy, Mr. 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 twenty-sixth 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 the 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 activities 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."

148. 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 paramount importance in the history of our world Organization.

149. 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, at this very same time in November, Marco Polo, the merchant and traveller whose name was to become famous all over the earth, set sail 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.

150. 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 esteemed and honoured guests coming from the Far East and to make it easier for them to acquaint themselves with the religion, history, art and institutions of the Western countries.

151. 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; they 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.

152. Exchanges of men, ideas and goods between China and Italy have increased in the last few years. At this very moment some important Italian personages are visiting

China and 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, Mr. 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.

153. On the evening of 25 October, when the General Assembly took a historic decision that was long overdue, my delegation, in casting its vote for the seating of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, was striving towards a number of common goals, among them the goals of improving understanding and co-operation amongst nations, of dismantling stone-age concepts of power politics, and of injecting new life into our Organization. Many delegations, including my own, expressed the wish soon afterwards that a delegation from the People's Republic of China might come to New York as early as possible and take an active part in the work of this session of the General Assembly. We are gratified to note the positive response we received.

154. An ancient Chinese proverb reads: 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 Governments of all Member States.

155. 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.

156. Mr. AKWEI (Ghana): On Monday, 25 October, this Assembly took a truly historic decision. It decided to restore all the lawful rights of 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 correct the gross anomaly that 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.

157. China is the bearer of an ancient and respected civilization, the co-formulator of the principles of co-existence contained in the Declaration adopted at the historic Asian-African Conference at Bandung in April 1955 and a modern champion of the cause of self-determination and independence.

158. 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.

159. 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.

160. 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 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.

161. 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.

162. Mr. ZAKARIA (Malaysia): 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 South-East Asian Nations.

163. 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.

164. In welcoming its delegation we feel confident that the People's Republic of China will make its full contribution towards United Nations efforts for the expeditious and equitable solution of the numerous, important and vital problems confronting the Organization in 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.

165. 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.

166. Mr. KHATRI (Nepal): The Chairman of the Asian group has spoken on behalf of all the countries belonging to

the 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 or to the Asian group.

167. 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 or, indeed, in the life of the Organization, which has 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.

168. 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 assigned to it—namely, the pursuit of peace.

169. 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, the Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. 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 whole-heartedly welcomes this statement and pledges its full support and co-operation to the delegation of China in the noble cause which it represents.

170. 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 coexistence. 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.

171. Once again may I say to the delegation of China, "Welcome back to the United Nations."

172. Mr. WALDHEIM (Austria): 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.

173. 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 was confronted and which related 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.

174. 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.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

