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President: Mr. Adam MALIK (Indonesia).

**Statements of welcome to the delegation of the
People's Republic of China (*concluded*)**

1. The PRESIDENT: I shall call in turn on those representatives who have inscribed their names on the list of speakers.

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

3. We are confident that the presence of the representatives of this great country and of the victorious revolution—which has introduced significant changes into international power relations—will substantially strengthen our Organization and enhance its prestige throughout the world. The active participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations and in that of all its organs and bodies will also contribute to a more successful realization of the fundamental purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of our world Organization. By resolving this highly important question, the United Nations has taken a major step forward—I would say that it has reached a turning-point in its development and activity.

4. It is well known that from the very outset the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has most resolutely pledged itself to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In its determination and in its actions my country has been guided by its recognition of the crucial need to have the genuine representatives of the Chinese people assume the seat that rightfully belongs to them by virtue of the fact that this

Organization cannot hope to become a universal body without the presence of representatives of the People's Republic of China, and by virtue of the sober reality that without the active participation of the People's Republic of China the United Nations cannot successfully cope with the pressing issues confronting the world today.

5. The Yugoslav delegation avails itself of this opportunity once again to welcome wholeheartedly the delegation of the People's Republic of China and to express its readiness and willingness to co-operate meaningfully with that country's representatives on all questions before the United Nations, with a view to achieving the goals and objectives inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations, promoting amicable international relations and progress in the world, and attaining a universal peace to be enjoyed by all States, irrespective of size and military or economic potential—a goal that is also the basic objective of the policy of the non-aligned countries.

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

7. By restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly has become a historic session of our Organization. We now have new possibilities, new challenges and new opportunities for the future activity of our Organization.

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

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

10. The event in which we are participating today is not the simple substitution of one delegation for another in the same seat and behind the same name plate. No one can misjudge what is happening now, the size of the change expressed by this event and its repercussions both upon our institutions and in the international arena. At this moment

we are marking a major event in this last part of the twentieth century; it is a moment that will lend solemnity and grandeur to this session.

11. Finally, the great People's Republic of China has had its lawful rights restored and a debate that has been going on for more than 20 years has reached its conclusion, a conclusion that was dictated by reason, justice and law, but which could only be reached by a triumph over false calculations, arbitrary acts and short-sighted ambitions. Under these circumstances, when it is a great satisfaction for us to see among the Members of the Assembly the authentic representatives of the Chinese people, we should not now recall the errors of some or the blindness of others. A page has been turned on the past, and on its errors and turpitudes. A path is now open for a new start or a new action, free of those hindrances imposed upon it by an irrational situation that was artificially complicated by contradictions without any foundation.

12. The historic decision adopted on 25 October last by the General Assembly is probably a reflection of the deep change affecting international relations today. It comes at a moment when the world is witnessing a trend towards the extension of the area of peaceful co-existence, when the European continent seems willing to engage in a new era of dialogue and co-operation, when the problems of South East Asia appear to be sufficiently ripe to justify hope for a solution.

13. This decision is a reflection, also, of the failure of that policy which tended to isolate the People's Republic of China from the rest of the world, to deny it any share in the responsibilities which it had in the conduct of international affairs and in the effort to seek and consolidate universal peace. The People's Republic of China, by promoting its own development and concluding its national revolution, was able to ensure its projection beyond its frontiers by making a contribution to the liberation and the economic development of many new countries, and also by establishing relations of friendship and co-operation with a growing number of States in the world.

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

15. A new spirit will move the Organization with the advent of the People's Republic of China. As a permanent member of the Security Council, this great country remains, nevertheless, very close to all of us young countries, through its experience of colonial domination, its long and bloody struggle for liberation, and its continuing experience with the problems of economic development. Its participation in the major decisions involving our organs will certainly shed new light upon the problems that are before us, and will give the action undertaken by the international community an effectiveness based upon a more direct knowledge of the difficulties and aspirations of the disadvantaged peoples.

16. We are convinced that the hope that we have expressed is not a vain one. This hope is surely shared by the group of peoples which form what we call today the third world, peoples who have been subjected, since their accession to independence, to an international order that has maintained them, in fact it not in law, in a position of inferiority, against which their efforts have so far been of only little use. Although an improvement in the international situation may be achieved as a result of a better comprehension among the great Powers, a radical recovery is to be had first of all by consideration of the continually voiced and continually unheeded demands of those peoples which form the overwhelming majority of humanity.

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

18. The Algerian delegation, consequently, has more than one valid reason for expressing its satisfaction at being able to welcome the presence here of the representatives of the People's Republic of China. The justice that has been done to the Chinese people honours the General Assembly and marks the crowning of the efforts of all peace-loving and justice-loving countries.

19. May I convey to the delegation of China our wishes for success in its mission, as well as our wishes for happiness and prosperity, which I should like to transmit, in the name of the Algerian people, to the people of China and to its President Mao Tse-tung.

20. Mr. ESONO MICÁ (Equatorial Guinea) (*interpretation from Spanish*): From this high rostrum, I should like to express the great pleasure and satisfaction felt by the people and Government of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea on the superb decision adopted by the General Assembly at 11.20 p.m. on that memorable and historic night of 25 October last. I am referring to the voting on the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion, without any recourse, of the usurpers of the Government of Chiang Kai-shek, as the draft resolution submitted by Albania on that question—of which my country was a sponsor—states very clearly. My delegation joins its voice to that of other representatives, such as the representative of China in his statement on 3 November [1978th meeting], which was endorsed this morning by the representatives of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. My delegation affirms that we clapped and danced at the results achieved by our resolution that night. Furthermore, we are dancing and clapping with great

satisfaction at this very moment, as we see with our own eyes the lawful delegation of China occupying the seat which it had been denied for 22 years.

21. We do not in any way care about the publicity of the Yankee reporters in their news reports or in their newspapers. We are not here to serve as students of the United States Government, in politics or in any other matter. We come to preach peace, and our responsibilities can be called into account only by our Governments. My delegation is not intimidated by the threats of the United States Government at the failure of—or should I say the defeat suffered by—the imperialist policies on the matter we are discussing.

22. My delegation, on behalf of the President of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea and of the single National Party and of the great leader and comrade Don Francisco Macías Nguema, as well as on my own behalf, is very pleased to welcome the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China. At the same time we open our arms to embrace it fraternally, to wish it once again much happiness and to extend to it all our congratulations now that it is among us.

23. Mr. PEREZ DE CUELLAR (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning the chairman of the Latin American group, on his own behalf and on behalf of other countries of Latin America, welcomed the delegation of the People's Republic of China. The delegation of Peru would like to add a few words of frank and warm welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China. We had the honour of contributing to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in this Assembly during the vote on 25 October.

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

25. We trust, furthermore, that its presence in our Organization will contribute an immense flow of ideas and energy and, above all, an approach to international problems which will be free from an appetite for power, one which will strengthen peace, security and co-operation among all peoples under the symbol of distributive justice, of community justice, which does not differentiate between the large and the small.

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

27. Mr. FAKHREDDINE (Sudan): I come to this rostrum in order to express on behalf of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan our feelings of joy and satisfaction on the occasion of the assumption by the delegation of the People's Republic of China of its rightful place in the

United Nations. The presence of the true representatives of the Chinese people among us is an event of great historic significance. The participation of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has redressed a wrong in which the Organization has persisted for over 20 years in defiance of the provisions of its own Charter. The violence that had been done to the Charter has now been righted, and a new era of hope for this Organization has dawned.

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

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

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

31. We in the Sudan have had a rare and edifying experience in our relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. We have maintained diplomatic relations with that Government for a number of years. Throughout those years our relations have been exemplary in their sincerity and in their cordiality. They have been unmarred by the vicissitudes that often cloud relations between a big Power and a smaller nation. The Government of China has not wished to exact a price for its friendship, nor has it dictated terms in return for its assistance, which has been generous and unstinting. This attitude on the part of the Chinese Government has been the same towards all the developing countries. Throughout the countries of the third world, the terms of economic co-operation with the Chinese Government have never been detrimental to the interests of the weaker nations.

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

33. Mr. BOUBACAR KANTÉ (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): On this memorable day, 15 November 1971, it is a pleasure for me on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Mali to address the warmest congratulations to the eminent delegation of the People's Republic of China, which today victoriously regains its seat among us after 22

years of absence due to the obstruction of certain Powers, which at a certain time succeeded in exploiting the Charter of our Organization for their own aims of hegemony.

34. The event is an important one because for us it means celebrating the result of more than two decades of stubborn struggle by the forces of progress all over the world to redress one of the most gross injustices of our times.

35. Weakened by the antagonism and rivalries born of the cold war, our Organization would have foundered in inaction and ineffectiveness, had there not been the energetic and positive reaction of certain States which quickly perceived the danger.

36. It was as a result of their dynamic action, in fact, that a wide front was constituted over the years in the United Nations to oppose the policy of inertia and obscurantism which prevailed. The Republic of Mali, my country, is honoured at having at all times formed part of that front since its accession to independence in 1960.

37. During that time, the great people of China, which many sought in vain to ostracize, under the enlightened direction of their great well-loved leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, patiently devoted itself to building a prosperous, strong and peaceful nation. Its determination and age-old genius soon had to confront difficulties of all kinds which had been placed in their path.

38. Also, as Mr. William Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, has so well put it, the great transformation which was taking place in the People's Republic of China was the expression "of the rebellion of a proud and ancient civilization against foreign powers—'barbarians' to the Chinese—who set upon China in the nineteenth century with a fatal impact on China's economy, institutions and national pride."¹

39. Therefore nothing could stop that people, with its great destiny, in its victorious march towards a radiant future. Furthermore, the cultural revolution which crowned the heroic struggle of the new China to realize its full potential on the basis of its own values, has not yet ceased to enthral our world.

40. The wager was won to the detriment of its detractors, naturally. In fact it is a strong and flourishing China which emerges from the battle and which prepares itself to meet history with an enhanced cultural and moral heritage, the atom mastered in its laboratories, techniques perfected in all fields and an economy that is expanding fully.

41. Victory was total, and the People's Republic of China has been recognized as a great world Power. For the first time in the history of our times, apart from the case of Japan, a country of the third world accedes by its own means to the rank of a modern Power. The merit is great. The value of *djuche*, to borrow a word from our friends from the People's Democratic Republic of Korea—namely, of relying in all things on oneself first—is once again eloquently confirmed.

42. This belies the recriminatory prediction of the statesman who, speaking of revolutionary China in the aftermath of the overthrow of the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek régime in 1949, wrote in a certain White Paper that "The demographic progression exercises such pressure on China that no Chinese Government can solve even the problem of hunger."

43. Contrary to certain States, which make of their power an instrument of aggression and reconquest, the People's Republic of China has placed its power exclusively at the service of peace and the full development of man wherever he may live.

44. Because of the lucidity of its foreign policy, based upon the five principles of peaceful coexistence, which furthermore are the very pillars of the Charter of the United Nations, it has compelled the admiration and esteem of all peoples. Furthermore, it has become the very symbol of peaceful and stubborn resistance of peoples to subjugation and exploitation.

45. Although unjustly kept outside the pale of the international community, the People's Republic of China has none the less, in that true spirit of international solidarity which is its hallmark, continued to give both valuable and effective assistance to the developing countries.

46. As you know, moreover, it was the convergence of the efforts of States Members of the United Nations and of the heroic people of China which led to the positive transformation which the international community is celebrating today.

47. It is also the end of a long process, which in the circumstances we can aptly call the "long march" of the United Nations, in reference to the celebrated long march of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and his partisans, when, on the unforgettable night of 25 to 26 October 1971, our Assembly by an overwhelming majority of its Members voted—in a vote which is now historic—to restore to the glorious people of China its full rights in our Organization and at the same time to expel the Taipeh usurpers.

48. By that act, which attests to an unprecedented political courage, the international community which we represent has surely wished to reflect in deeds this cry of revolt against the hegemony and frustration sounded in the quasi-unanimity of the statements of heads of delegations in the general debate at this session.

49. Beyond redressing the greatest injustice committed by our Organization in its history, the memorable act of 25 October 1971 constitutes a significant victory for the universalist tendency of our Organization. At the same time, it marks the end of an era, with all that goes with it in injustice, fictions and indescribable sufferings for peoples. The myth of "the yellow peril" of William II, like fascism and hideous *apartheid*, a myth based on the abject philosophy of the Aryan race, is over forever.

50. The world of hegemonies has ended too, because the knell has sounded for imperialism, for colonialism, for neo-colonialism and for racism. Our Organization has definitely turned a new page in its history and all must accommodate to it because the mutation is irreversible.

¹ J. William Fulbright, *The Arrogance of Power* (New York, Random House, 1966), p. 140.

51. The victory of 25 October 1971 confirms the historic justice of one of the most celebrated reflections of that great American statesman, which President Abraham Lincoln was. He said: "You can fool some of the people all of the time and all of the people some of the time; but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

52. A victory of justice over arbitrariness of reason over decadent imperialism, of good over evil, our victory of 25 October 1971 will for posterity represent one of the most glorious pages of history which our generation will have bequeathed. It will also and above all stand as a solemn warning to all potential Chiang Kai-sheks, Syngman Rhee, Ngo Dinh Diem, treacherously crouching in the dark, awaiting the signal of their masters to set our dear countries ablaze in fire and blood. The return of Taiwan, the Pescadores and their dependencies to the mother country is more certain than ever.

53. Together we have just won the greatest diplomatic battle of our times. Over and above the 814 million Chinese whose lawful rights have been restored, every thinking person is honoured by that act. Let us, however, point out that we owe this victory to our generous peoples, who have authorized us to ensure the triumph of the noble ideals of the Charter. Above all, it is due to the real policy of national independence practised by our Governments.

54. The success of draft resolution A/L.630 and Add.1 and 2, submitted by 23 States Members of our Organization, among them my own country, Mali, certainly constitutes an important milestone on the difficult path that will lead us to genuine peace in the world.

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

56. I am bound to thank our eminent Secretary-General U Thant, for the praiseworthy efforts he has unceasingly made to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

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

58. One of the grave flaws of the United Nations has just been corrected by the restoration of the full rights of the People's Republic of China. The road to universality is henceforth open. It can now benefit from the important moral, political and material assets of the largest State in the world, a State which has, in addition, many centuries of civilization behind it. Its action cannot fail to be felt if only

rancour will yield its place to realism and to a will to build a world of justice and peace. Then there will be neither victors nor vanquished and the victory of 25 October 1971 will be the victory of the United Nations, that is to say, the victory of all of us. And, hand in hand, we shall prepare ourselves to win new titles to fame in the harsh battle that our Organization is waging for the complete liberation and emancipation of man.

59. In pledging ourselves resolutely to fulfil those great purposes of our generation called justice, peace and progress, we shall be responding to the profound aspirations of our peoples at the same time as we attain one of the basic objectives of our Organization, namely "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

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

61. Mr. ISMAIL (People's Democratic Republic of Yemen): In welcoming the People's Republic of China on this auspicious occasion, we are not engaging in a rhetorical speech, for this is a unique occasion in the history of the United Nations. It is unique first because the People's Republic of China is taking its lawful seat in the United Nations in the face of unjust and persistent resistance by the imperialist and reactionary Powers. Secondly, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations were usurped by the clique of Chiang Kai-shek, which was backed by the imperialist Powers. For 22 years the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek were, ironically, speaking on behalf of the Chinese people. Thirdly, the presence of the representatives of the People's Republic of China will bolster the strength of the progressive and revolutionary countries. At the same time, the vast experience of the People's Republic of China will undoubtedly add new dimension to the roles and functions of the United Nations. Fourthly, the position of the great people of China under the revolutionary leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung vis-à-vis the liberation movements in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world will certainly enhance the cause of justice and liberation for the colonized peoples of Palestine, the Arabian Gulf, South-East Asia, the colonies under Portuguese domination and all the people struggling under alien domination.

62. In mentioning the People's Republic of China as a major Power in the struggle against imperialism, we should not overlook the great efforts made by the People's Republic of China to assist the developing countries socially and economically.

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

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

65. Mr. IBINGIRA (Uganda): At one time a great poet said:

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new,

...

Lest one good custom should corrupt the whole world."

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

66. We believe that we are here in search of a better future for this world. We are here as small and big nations. We are here as developing and developed countries. We are here with what are called the super-Powers; it is to that category perhaps that the great republic of the Chinese people may belong. But coming as I do from a small country, I should like to say that our interest is to see a change in emphasis in this body regarding what constitutes a super-Power. We think of a super-Power as a nation that has the capacity either to hold the whole of mankind at ransom or to annihilate mankind with its thermonuclear weapons.

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

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

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

70. U LWIN (Burma): The delegation of Burma welcomes with joy and satisfaction the representatives of the People's

Republic of China who are now sitting among us in this august body. We are witnessing today the restoration by the General Assembly of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

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

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

73. Mr. TOURÉ (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Guinea would like to discharge the most pleasant duty of greeting here in a solemn and friendly manner the authentic representatives of the People's Republic of China, representing the entire Chinese people. We are happy at this important event because, for some 13 years now, at session after session of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea has ceaselessly requested and demanded that this world Organization put an end to the unacceptable ostracism by which for more than 20 years the representatives of 800 million people have been kept away from our debates and work. We are happy that justice has finally triumphed and that today we see among us, in the seats which belong to them, the representatives of a great China, of that China which has courageously and irreversibly entered the international scene in order to make its contribution of quality to the cultural, economic, social and scientific progress of the modern and ancient universe.

74. In welcoming this event, which from now on will be marked as one of the great historic events of the end of the twentieth century, the Government of the Republic of Guinea, which maintains the best of friendly and co-operative relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China, greeted the victory achieved on 25 October last in the following terms:

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

"The Government of the Republic of Guinea believes that the return of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is a determining factor for an international *détente*, a rapprochement between people, and for world peace. The vote which has redressed that flagrant injustice has rehabilitated at the same time the Organization itself, whose representativeness was open to criticism because of the absence of the representatives of almost a third of the world's population from the Organization. The people of Guinea, its party and Government on this occasion address their warmest

congratulations to the valiant Chinese people, to the Communist Party of China, to the Government and its valiant leaders, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Chou En-lai. The Government of the Republic of Guinea ardently hopes that the United Nations and, in particular, the great Powers of Europe and America, will show the same understanding and realism in order to put a final end to the wars of colonial reconquest throughout the world, and to the illegal and inhuman occupation of certain African Territories by colonialist Portugal and the racist colonizers in South Africa and Rhodesia."

75. Mr. MONDJO (People's Republic of the Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo is participating in this debate on condition that it be clearly understood by one and all that the ceremony now taking place is not that of the admission of a new Member State. The People's Republic of China is a founding Member of our Organization; consequently, any attempt at bringing back here in new wrapping the Chiang Kai-shek clique is doomed to absolute failure.

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

77. Nevertheless, the path which had led to today's victory has been a long and difficult one. Everyone will recall that it has taken more than 20 years of struggle, almost a generation, for the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to be restored to that founding Member of our Organization. Indeed, it was on 18 November 1949 that Comrade Chou En-lai, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, informed the Secretary-General of the world Organization of the wish of the Chinese Government to change its representation within the United Nations as a result of fundamental changes that had come about in his country following the great Chinese revolution under the enlightened guidance of Chairman Mao Tse-tung—a revolution which had humiliated and expelled the exploiters of and traitors to the Chinese nation.

78. Thus more than 20 years were needed for the international conscience to cure itself of its blind zeal, to come out of its rut and to stop acting as the willing agent of a political insomnia, which in our day is both sterile and pointless in a world where each people, in order to subsist, must remain vigilant and chart its own course. Despite the steps taken by the United States of America, and in spite of their multiple manoeuvres, the movement for the normalization and authentication of the representation of China in the United Nations had become an irresistible and irreversible force. Those who aspired to admit the great Chinese people through an obscure back door have failed: China, in reclaiming its lawful United Nations seat, has chosen to enter through the front door.

79. Thus the States that cherish justice, freedom, peace and brotherhood, by their massive vote, put an unequivocal end to the isolation imposed upon China by the United States for a generation. This stunning victory belongs not only to the Chinese people, which, thanks to its genius, talent, heroic courage and legendary modesty, has made its mark upon the world, but is a victory for the peoples of the world, including the American people, over the dark and reactionary forces; finally it is a victory of our Organization over itself. Those who do not yet understand this should heed the evidence of the presence of the People's Republic of China in international relations; let them rid themselves of the visceral anti-communism complex which still afflicts them. The Chinese people are a peaceful people that have no other desire than to work for peace, fraternity and co-operation on the basis of strict equality among all peoples of the world.

80. The bitterness of the acrimonious comments of a number of American political figures after the historic vote of the General Assembly leads us to say that it is time, that it is high time, that large and small peoples alike clearly realize that no State, whatever its military or economic power, can aspire any longer to domesticate this Organization and to throw its political weight against the United Nations at its pleasure and whenever it so desires. That is one of the most interesting features of the historic decision of 25 October 1971 adopted by the General Assembly. The sovereign contempt shown by some for those whom some call "the smaller nations that vote wrong" will change nothing in this irreversible phenomenon. Let us therefore abandon these daydreams, these mediaeval crusades which, for instance, lead the United States of America to wage barbaric wars in Asia, where crimes of genocide are committed every day against the peaceful peoples of that continent. Let us abandon all the blood-sapping phenomena of a wretched political life-style. Let us open wide the door of the Organization to peoples who are still victims of the most backward type of colonialism, racism and imperialism. In the name of universality, let us prepare to greet here, after helping in their reconciliation, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Republic of Korea, the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany and so on.

81. The delegation of the People's Republic of the Congo greets this day as one of the most important and historic days in the life of our Organization. The deep and sincere friendship which links the people of the Congo and the Chinese people permits us to view with confidence the future of the Organization, which, through its vote of 25 October 1971, has manifested once again this patent sign of its rediscovered virility.

82. Let us all pay tribute to our Secretary-General, U Thant, who has always stated that the United Nations will never really be the United Nations without the People's Republic of China. My delegation reaffirms its confidence in the Secretary-General of this Organization, its confidence that without any delay the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek, on the basis of the historic, so-called Albanian resolution, will be effectively expelled not only from this Organization but from all the specialized agencies of the United Nations in New York, in Paris, in Geneva, in Rome, in Vienna, in Montreal and elsewhere. The struggle continues.

83. Mr. NAKAGAWA (Japan): I should like to take this opportunity to extend on behalf of the Japanese delegation our warm welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China. We are pleased to see that the Government of the People's Republic of China, a great Power with a population of more than 700 million and a nation that is a close neighbour of ours, is now being represented in the United Nations. We believe that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will contribute to the strengthening of the fibre of our world Organization and to the more realistic and effective solution of the problems we are facing. My delegation looks forward to close contacts between our two delegations and through them, to the development of friendly relations between our two countries.

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

85. Mr. President, you are very generous and you have also been very patient with all the speeches we have heard on this occasion. I do appreciate that because the occasion requires only that we greet the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic. Therefore I shall not take advantage of this moment by going into matters that might not sound relevant to the occasion and to the opportunity you have given us. Like the great Chinese people, my people are also very fond of their ancient sayings, expressions and proverbs. In greeting friends whom we look forward to meeting we say in my country, "There is only one thing more delightful than your coming; that is your coming soon". I wish that these friends had been here sooner. Now that they are here we welcome them wholeheartedly.

86. I have only one thing to add. As we all remember, it was felt that the United Nations would be less effective without them; I hope that their presence will make it a more effective Organization. That can only be achieved through harmony and through a constructive contribution. We place our hope in that, and I ask the delegation of China to convey our wholehearted feelings at this moment to their people.

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

88. Three weeks ago the General Assembly of the United Nations absolved itself of a 22-year-old aberration when it

decided to restore to the People's Republic of China its lawful rights in this Organization. Today we celebrate a historic moment in the life of the United Nations. How momentous the occasion will prove to be only history will decide.

89. The occasion is significant for many reasons. For the first time in 21 years Asia, the most populous continent in the world, with a population exceeding that of the rest of the world, has secured representation that reflects more faithfully its realities, its interests and its legitimate rights. For the first time all five nuclear Powers sit together in the Organization and the hiatus in international co-operation towards the extirpation of the nuclear peril has been filled. Above all, the largest of the developing countries in the world has joined the group of countries that is vested under the Charter with the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. The two principal economic and social systems in the world are now more fully represented in the world Organization than ever before. No better opportunity has ever existed for the practical application of the principle of peaceful coexistence and for friendly competition between the two systems, in mutual tolerance in the interest of harmony and progress.

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

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

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

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

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

95. While I have the floor I should like to ask you, Mr. President, to examine the arrangements that were

recently introduced for the admission and accommodation of visitors in this Hall. Those arrangements have been made, no doubt, in the interest of security. But even the exigencies of security do not justify the exclusion from this floor of the wives of Permanent Representatives and their accommodation in the public galleries up in the clouds. They must be accommodated in a manner befitting their rank, that is, here on this floor; and they must be spared all irksome security surveillance and segregation.

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

97. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to add my wishes to those of the preceding speaker, the representative of Ceylon, for the speedy and complete recovery of our illustrious Secretary-General. We regret that U Thant was not able to be with us on such a memorable occasion as this because of ill health, and we hope that we shall have him back with us very soon.

98. In his address to this Assembly at its 1952nd meeting, on 5 October last, the President of Mexico, Dr. Echeverría Alvarez, stated:

"A noteworthy advance towards this principle of universality would be to welcome during this session the representatives of a nation inhabited by a fourth of the world's population—the People's Republic of China—and to give it its rightful place in the Security Council. At the same time, it will be necessary to recognize that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Chinese nation are juridically indivisible." [1952nd meeting, para. 11.]

99. It seemed to me that the best way to illustrate the reasons for my delegation's satisfaction in knowing that the United Nations as of today will count on the presence of the People's Republic of China would be to recall the words I have just quoted, which, prophetically, were pronounced from this same rostrum by the Mexican Head of State, three weeks before the historic vote of 25 October.

100. Now that his forecast has been borne out by fact, the views then expressed at such a high level are in themselves sufficient to explain the pleasure with which the delegation of Mexico welcomes among us the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

101. We are sure that their participation in the activities of the Organization will help to make it easier to observe the principles and attain the purposes embodied 26 years ago in the San Francisco Charter, which we summed up last year, when commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the United Nations, in the trilogy of "peace, justice and progress".

102. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): I have been preceded during the course of the day by so many distinguished speakers expressing their welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China that I find very little new to add except to say that in sincerely tendering them a welcome on behalf of the Government of Iraq, the people of Iraq and the Iraqi

delegation to this session of the Assembly, we are neither making an apology nor expressing glee.

103. In the preceding hours we have heard some 36 representatives extending a welcome to the delegation of the People's Republic of China. That is very fitting and very appropriate. It is a source of pleasure to us to know that many of the delegations that have spoken before me did not share our views when this Assembly took its historic decision on the night of 25 October. This event, however, reflects something more than a ceremonial occasion, it is indeed a celebration of a historic occasion in the life of the United Nations. It is a celebration of the fulfilment of the principles of universality when a quarter of humanity is being represented in this Organization after a deprivation which has lasted far too long. It is an expression and a celebration of our hope that this Organization can for the first time truly tackle world problems, and the first amongst those is the question of world security, which, without China, cannot possibly be truly achieved.

104. We have many representatives at this Assembly from Moslem countries and I am sure many of them remember the words of the great prophet Mohammed, when he said: "Thou must seek knowledge even if thou must go to China". China then, 1300 years ago, was very far away but even then China was a source of knowledge and a source of wisdom.

105. The Ambassador of France who spoke this morning eloquently pointed to the fact that injustice and absurdity had finally ended. I am sure we all feel the sense of fulfilment that must prevail in this Organization today on seeing that after 23 years the delegation of the People's Republic of China is among us.

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

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

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

108. Mr. NJINÉ (Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): The decision adopted by this Assembly on 25 October has put an end to 22 years of injustice. Therefore let us today greet with joy the arrival of the authentic delegation of the Chinese people, a people that represents a quarter of humanity. The presence of this great people, with which my Government maintains excellent relations, will most assuredly provide a new impetus to the work of our Organization. Our debates on the serious problems

which cause concern to humanity—such as disarmament, peace, development and decolonization—will from now on be accompanied by a special authority.

109. In the words of welcome that we address to the delegation of the People's Republic of China, the Federal Republic of Cameroon wishes to stress its firm conviction that this great country will work for peace and justice in the world.

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

111. Mr. JOUEJATI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): In the life of the United Nations there has hardly been any event to equal in importance and scope that of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in our Organization. Its effects, all of them beneficial, are deep and many. In truth, they extend to all the facts of international relations and to the efforts made to harmonize them in a new order marked by the building of a just and lasting peace.

112. Even from the standpoint of pure form and procedure we could hardly conceive of an international organization, in the full meaning of that term, while deprived of the presence of the legitimate representatives of a quarter of the population of this planet. It was the very prestige of the Organization that suffered because of this glaring injustice committed by power politics against the great Chinese people. World public opinion has shown a lack of confidence in the Organization as an instrument truly capable of maintaining peace in the world.

113. As regards legality, an Organization that would approve violations of international law, in particular of the principle of the recognition of States and non-interference in their domestic affairs, could hardly strive to ensure respect for the law. But, what is even more serious, by preventing a country as great as the People's Republic of China from playing its full role on the international scene, all that was done was to place obstacles in the path of the attainment of the objectives of the Charter itself. International respect for the principles of law and equity, disarmament and the strengthening of international security were all discussed at length, but with no tangible progress to justify man's hope for an era of peace, justice and equality.

114. The restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China thus comes at a crucial moment in the life of our Organization. The determination of the majority of Member States to see law prevail over force has thereby been strengthened. The mobilization of a common front against neo-colonialism, with its practice of denying the rights of peoples to self-determination, of racial discrimination, of conquest by force, of faits accomplis, of occupation of the territory of others by force, must be galvanized and intensified and must lead to effective action.

115. Socialist and progressive countries will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the work of the Organization a very valuable support in the efforts to achieve social justice, the liberation of human masses from

exploitation, and the implementation of peaceful co-existence.

116. The developing countries will, in the efforts of the People's Republic of China, find a new source of energy to widen the scope and effectiveness of the role which the Organization should play in the field of economic and social progress. Countries that love justice and freedom will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China new horizons for their emancipation from the yoke of occupation and colonial persecution.

117. Finally, the United Nations will find in the People's Republic of China an apostle of renewal based on dignity, justice and the rebirth of moral values.

118. Thus in greeting the triumphant return of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations and in welcoming its distinguished delegation, as well as wishing it success, we are greeting the triumph of justice, the hope of a new renewed and dynamic world Organization which will at last be able to turn into reality this vision of a world where peace, justice and progress reign.

119. We wish to express our best wishes to the People's Republic of China for its success in the tasks ahead in building a new era.

120. U Thant, our gracious Secretary-General, who has done so much towards restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China, would have been very happy, I am sure, to take part in this meeting of the General Assembly where we greet the arrival of the delegation of the People's Republic of China. Mr. President, we should be very grateful to you if you would be so good as to transmit to him our most sincere wishes for the complete recovery of his health.

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

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

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

124. I wish, therefore, to assure the representatives of the People's Republic of China that my delegation and Govern-

ment will spare no effort in co-operating with them in every endeavour aimed at strengthening the United Nations as an instrument of peace, justice and progress for all peoples.

125. Mr. BAYÜLKEN (Turkey): I should like to associate myself with the colleagues who have preceded me on this rostrum in welcoming the delegation of the People's Republic of China to the family of the United Nations. The relations between the Turkish people and the people of China are as old as history. These millennial ties have fostered respect and appreciation among our peoples.

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

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

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

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

"In this connexion I think it would be appropriate for me to state that we look forward to the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations this year and we believe that such participation is bound to strengthen the Organization's goal of achieving better and more effective co-operation among nations." [1954th meeting, paras. 109 and 110.]

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

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

131. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*translation from Russian*): The representative of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Klusák, who is the representative and Chairman for November of the group

of Eastern European countries, has, in his exhaustive statement on behalf of those socialist countries which he named, already greeted the delegation of the People's Republic of China at this morning's plenary meeting of the General Assembly. We fully associate ourselves with his statement and his welcome.

132. Over the period of more than two decades that has elapsed since the foundation of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, the Soviet Union has firmly and consistently spoken out in favour of the restoration of its rights in the United Nations. As early as November 1949, the Soviet representative declared at the fourth session of the General Assembly [253rd meeting] that the Soviet Union did not recognize the Chiang Kai-shek delegation as having authority, and proposed that the representative of the People's Republic of China should be invited to the General Assembly.

133. During all subsequent sessions of the General Assembly, and in all other international forums where the question of Chinese representation has been considered, Soviet delegations and Soviet representatives have firmly and consistently spoken out in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from the United Nations, since the Chinese people must be represented in the United Nations by the People's Republic of China.

134. In 1950 we succeeded, not without difficulties, in overcoming opposition and obtaining a decision to invite the delegation of the People's Republic of China to take part for the first time in the work of the Security Council [Security Council resolution 87 (1950)]. The present head of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, was a member of that delegation, and for that reason he may be considered a veteran of the United Nations. The reason why the problem of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations has been drawn out for more than two decades is well known. It was because of the policy of obstruction pursued by the United States and some of its allies. That policy prevented the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. However, that policy and the attempts to keep the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek in the United Nations at all costs have, as was to be expected, proved unsuccessful and have finally ended in the defeat of their supporters.

135. The overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations voted in favour of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all its organs. Once again, and in a specific way, life itself has confirmed the correctness, high mindedness and farsightedness of the policy of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet State, a policy which is consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, including the principle of universality. The consistency and firmness of the Soviet Union's policy made it possible subsequently to overcome the obstruction and opposition of imperialism and to ensure the admission to membership of the United Nations of a large group of socialist States, including Albania.

136. Unfortunately, the principle of universality in the United Nations has still not been settled. There are still quite a number of States which are waiting for the day when from this high rostrum of the United Nations we welcome them as Members of this Organization. I refer to the German Democratic Republic and several other States.

137. Previous speakers have already referred to this matter. But we are firmly convinced that those who oppose the restoration of the principle of universality and the admission of other States to the United Nations will find themselves in the same position as when they tried to oppose the admission of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations.

138. In welcoming the Chinese delegation which has arrived here to participate in the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly, the Security Council and all the other organs of the United Nations, we express the hope that the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and its full and permanent participation in this Organization will make a useful contribution towards increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations, contribute to the strengthening of universal peace and international security, and assist in the development and strengthening of mutual understanding and co-operation among peoples.

139. Princess Ashraf PAHLAVI (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): This morning the Ambassador of Kuwait extended the congratulations of the Asian group of countries to the delegation of the People's Republic of China. However, I should like to associate my delegation with the speakers who preceded me in order individually to welcome to the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly the delegation of the People's Republic of China. Indeed, relations between our peoples date very far back in history and we have recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the only legal and legitimate Government of that great country. I had the personal pleasure, moreover, of visiting China last April, where I was received with warmth and friendliness.

140. We are very happy to see the representatives of the People's Republic of China taking their rightful place here, because their presence finally gives our Organization the universal character that is essential to it if it is to achieve its objectives, a universality that we hope will be strengthened. The need to achieve universality has always been one of the bases of our international policy, as we have repeated on many occasions.

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

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

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

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

145. Mr. CSATORDAY (Hungary) (*translation from Chinese*): The delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic wishes to associate itself with the statement made this morning by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Comrade Klusák, on behalf of the Eastern European countries. My delegation is also pleased to take this opportunity to welcome most respectfully the delegation of the People's Republic of China, which is taking part in our work today for the first time.

146. General Assembly resolution 2758 (XXVI) of 25 October, which restored the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in all organs of the United Nations, expelling at the same time the Chiang Kai-shek agents who represent nobody, has redressed an old and serious historic injustice. There is no need to prove that the adoption of the resolution was prepared by a consistent struggle fought for over two decades, first of all by the socialist countries and other States pursuing a progressive international policy. In the past few years it became more and more evident that no kind of imperialist tactics and manoeuvring could stop the process in the course of which an increasing number of countries have recognized one of the great realities of today's world, the People's Republic of China, comprising nearly 800 million people.

147. The Hungarian People's Republic pursues a socialist foreign policy built upon solid foundations of principle. It

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

148. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): I wish that I could also speak Chinese. It is a language that is so expressive and so concise that my statement would be much shorter than it is, but unfortunately I am not cultured enough.

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

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

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

152. It was also in ancient China that the notion developed of philosophers and poets being given eminent functions in the management of States by the appropriate

application of their mental skills and their inspirational wisdom; through the concept of the philosopher-statesman a new and high standard was set in the development of government.

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

154. The world recalls the important contribution that China made to the historic Bandung Conference. I had the privilege of attending that great Conference, which opened up a whole new concept of understanding, tolerance and peace in international relations. The Conference unanimously proclaimed the principles of equal sovereignty, non-intervention, self-determination and peaceful co-operation in very harmonious co-operation between the participants, who ranged from the extreme right to the extreme left.

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

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

157. Poland, together with other socialist countries and a steadily increasing number of countries from other continents, has for the last 22 years followed a consistent policy in demanding the seating of the representatives of the People's Republic of China in our Organization and in all its affiliated bodies, as well as the expulsion of those who illegally occupied China's place in the United Nations. Therefore, when my delegation cast its vote on 25 October for the resolution calling for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, we did so not only with the same strong conviction as at all the previous sessions of the General Assembly but also with the feeling that the time was long overdue for finally doing away with the irrational efforts to isolate the People's Republic of China from international organizations.

158. The just decision of the General Assembly on the question of the representation of China brought us closer to

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

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

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

161. Mr. ERDEMBILEG (Mongolia) (*translation from Russian*): At this morning's meeting, the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic joined the delegations of a number of other socialist countries in expressing congratulations to the delegation of the People's Republic of China from this high rostrum.

162. On behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, I should like once again to congratulate the representatives of the People's Republic of China, which has taken its lawful place in the United Nations. We should like to take this opportunity to say once again that the decision taken on 25 October of this year at the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China and the expulsion of the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek from all organs of our Organization was an important act of restoring justice and represented the triumph of a just cause. A decisive blow has been struck at the discriminatory policy pursued for more than 22 years by the Government of the United States and its allies against the People's Republic of China—a great people, and our neighbour.

163. It is a well-known fact that the socialist countries, including the Mongolian People's Republic, have since the earliest days of the foundation of the People's Republic of China spoken out decisively in defence of its sovereign rights, and in favour of giving the People's Republic of China its lawful place in the United Nations and in all its organs. Following the admission of my country to membership of the United Nations on 27 October 1961, my

delegation, speaking at the sixteenth session of the General Assembly for the first time on the subject of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, stated that:

“... the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the question of restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be decided in the spirit of the United Nations Charter, i.e., with due regard to the just demands of the People's Republic of China, including its demand for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, who represent no one.” [1077th meeting, para. 167.]

164. In this connexion, it is interesting to recall that on 25 October 1961, in other words exactly 10 years ago, the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique were forced to leave the Security Council Chamber when the Council made its recommendation that the Mongolian People's Republic should be admitted to membership of the United Nations. And exactly 10 years later, to the day, the Chiang Kai-shek clique was forced to leave the General Assembly for ever. This shows the triumph of a just cause.

165. Today, it is with a great feeling of satisfaction that the representatives of the socialist countries greet the lawful representatives of the People's Republic of China in this hall. At the same time we should not forget that a number of socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, which has several times expressed a wish to become a Member of the United Nations, still find themselves outside the Organization as a result of the same policy of discrimination pursued by those who are opposed to the observance of the principle of universality in the United Nations.

166. In conclusion, Mr. President, we should like once again to congratulate the delegation of the People's Republic of China, which has come here to take part in the work of the twenty-sixth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and in the Security Council, and to express the hope that the People's Republic of China, in close collaboration with peace-loving States, will make its contribution to the cause of strengthening the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation, and to the work of achieving practical solutions to the urgent problems of contemporary international life.

167. Mr. SEN (India): In 1949 the People's Republic of China came to power in the great and ancient land of China after a long and sustained revolution. In 1950 India was the first country to propose that, as a result of this change in China, the Chinese seat in the United Nations should be occupied by the representatives of the People's Republic of China.² In spite of consistent efforts by India and an increasingly larger number of States, it has taken the United Nations 21 years to correct a perverse mistake. The fact that we find that today China is fully restored to its lawful rights in the United Nations is therefore a matter of great satisfaction to India.

168. With the participation of the true representatives of China in its deliberations and discussions the United

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 277th meeting, para. 8.

Nations will undoubtedly be more realistic. We continue to believe that the major problems of the United Nations and the fulfilment of the principles and purposes of the Charter will be easier to handle with fuller membership.

169. When China was not properly represented there was always the possibility that the Government of nearly 800 million people, as well as the rest of the world, might look at problems from their own perspectives and not with a full mutual appreciation of each other's point of view. This deficiency will now be corrected and it is a great pity that our Secretary-General could not be present here with us to see the opening of a new era of open agreements through open diplomacy in this great forum. We are certain, however, as we wish him the speediest of recovery, that he would be greatly pleased at the warm welcome we are giving today to the delegation of the People's Republic of China.

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

171. May I, in sharing on behalf of India these words of hope and good cheer, say that we look forward to working in close co-operation with the delegation of China to the United Nations. I extend to it our warmest welcome and our sincerest good wishes. A most exciting and hopeful future lies ahead of us and let us hope that all of us, all the 131 delegations present, will have the ability and wisdom to work for it.

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

173. I also wish to add that the contacts that have taken place for some time between the People's Republic of China and Lebanon were brought to a fruitful and successful end last week, when it was announced officially, both in Peking and Beirut, that diplomatic relations had been established between our two countries. The Lebanese Government and people welcome this opportunity to

co-operate with the Government of the People's Republic of China and the great people of China in promoting international friendship and co-operation. While extending to the delegation of the People's Republic of China every wish for its success, my delegation looks forward to co-operating with it in all endeavours tending to serve the purposes and principles of the Charter, to promote peace, justice and progress in the world, and a fuller and wider respect for human rights.

174. Mr. ISSAKA (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my Government, I should like to express our great happiness in welcoming the People's Republic of China. On finally restoring to that great country its lawful rights, we feel that a serious injustice has just been redressed. Indeed, as many speakers have stressed before me, it is not in keeping with the most elementary equity for the United Nations to bar from its work a Government which represents a quarter of mankind. It is obvious that because of that ostracism our Organization has been unable to settle the major international problems which, for their solution, require the full and complete co-operation of the People's Republic of China—whether they be problems of decolonization, disarmament, Viet-Nam, under-development, or problems of any other type.

175. Our second feeling is one of hope that, thanks to the presence in our midst of the People's Republic of China, it will be possible to begin to find solutions for most of the major problems I have just mentioned. Our Organization has just given proof of great political maturity. May this proof strengthen us in the conviction that our Organization is on the right path in the search for a just and equitable peace in the world.

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

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

178. The chief source of our satisfaction at the presence here of China's true representatives lies, however, in the

fact that a principle has been upheld; that at long last the United Nations has ended an unjust and anomalous situation. That was the cause of the jubilation shared by my delegation with many others when the result of the voting on 25 October became clear.

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

180. In the course of the development of the China question, political expediency, sentiment, and an appeal to so-called realities were all brought into play. But these are all subjective factors. What is politically expedient for one State or group of States can obviously be harmful to the international community as a whole. Sentiment is often one side of the coin, on the other side of which lie inequity and injustice. What seems reality to some is fantasy to others. There is only one safe course which can be followed by a world Organization composed of nations with diverse political, ideological, economic and cultural backgrounds and having a collective responsibility for international security: that is the course of strict legality, of the strict observance of the rules we are pledged to respect, and of strict impartiality in the application of those rules.

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

182. Mr. DRISS (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): I should like first to thank my colleagues the Ambassador of Upper Volta, Mr. Rouamba, and the Ambassador of Morocco, Mr. Zentar, who in their statements [1982nd meeting] spoke on behalf of my delegation as well. At the same time, as I sit here on the aisle and listen to the admirable words of welcome and hope addressed to the delegation of China, I have been trying to meditate on the wisdom of time and the march of history. But finally here I am snatched from my musings by a flood of noble words. In this symphony of praise, best wishes and welcoming words, Tunisia cannot remain silent and still follow the laws of harmony.

183. A few days ago on the historic night of 25 October, the voice of Tunisia was raised in order to reassert its confidence and its hope and in order to try to bring into the contradictory currents an element of agreement. Although we did not achieve then the unanimity we were seeking, today we have extended a unanimous welcome to the Chinese delegation. This delegation, through a smile, has just awakened us to the eternal reality of our world

which, despite temporary interests and passions, finds in itself the strength for reconciliation and hope. Let us therefore try to look forward. Are we not here, despite our ideologies, our affinities and our talents, called upon to work for international co-operation and universal peace—the objectives of our Charter? There is no point in trying to surpass each other in our words, however eloquent they may be. The most important thing is to fulfil the hope to which I have referred. Our world thirsts for peace. You have come as companions and children of Chairman Mao, your leader in revolution and a war of liberation and, as many of us have come in the past, you have come here to help us to achieve this objective. However, does not he who says "peace" also say "justice"? *Apartheid*, the military occupation of some of our territories, the colonization still perpetrated in the world, economic and social poverty are scourges that must be fought. You have always, Chinese friends, affirmed your national position on these problems. It is on the basis of a joint effort of the United Nations that it will be possible for us to join our efforts with yours. May these efforts be successful.

184. You are, brothers and friends, welcome in this Organization where the true forces of progress are making headway. The President of the Tunisian Republic, Habib Bourguiba, who was taught wisdom through revolutionary struggle, greeted the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China as a just thing and has said in his cable to the Prime Minister of China, Chou En-lai:

"The restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic is both an important and a just event that has given me enormous satisfaction. In the name of the Government and the people of Tunisia, I express to you on this historic occasion my heartfelt felicitations. I am convinced that this act of wisdom on the part of the international community will strengthen the Organization and will allow your great nation to play a role consonant with its importance and to exercise its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, the defence of the Charter of the United Nations and the safeguarding of the principles of international justice and solidarity."

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

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

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

188. Mr. TARABANOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is very happy to be able to extend a warm greeting on the arrival of the delegation of the People's Republic of China and to welcome our Chinese comrades. At the same time we are gratified that the time has finally come to restore the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations—a time for which we have striven unremittingly throughout all the years that our country and the other socialist countries have participated in the work of the United Nations.

189. As you know, we entrusted our friends from Czechoslovakia with the task of speaking on our behalf this morning. My delegation could not, however, resist the temptation to speak in this debate. To see so many delegations which, in the recent or distant past, have spoken against the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations or have abstained from taking a stand on the question greet the arrival of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, either directly or through the representatives of regional groups, can but fill our hearts with joy, because our struggle for the restoration of the lawful rights of China in the United Nations and for the universality of the Organization has not been in vain.

190. We are convinced, as are all delegations that have spoken thus far, that the reintegration of China in the United Nations will give a new impetus to the Organization and will enable it to galvanize the struggle for the fundamental principles, which are, *inter alia*, to maintain international peace and security; to develop friendly relations among nations, based on respect for the legality of the rights of peoples and their right to self-determination; to achieve international co-operation in the economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian fields; to put an end once and for all to the scourges of colonialism and racial discrimination; and to make of the United Nations a centre for harmonizing the efforts of nations towards common goals.

191. We are convinced that close and friendly co-operation between the delegation of the People's Republic of China and the delegations of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, of other socialist countries and of all countries that love peace and freedom in Asia, Africa, America and Europe will give a new, constructive impetus to the United Nations and will enable it to become a truly universal organization by bringing in countries which are at present kept removed from us, and, consequently, a more active, far more dynamic organization for the defence of peace and security in the world.

192. The delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria addresses to the delegation of the People's Republic of China its warmest wishes for an effective contribution to the attainment of the great and noble tasks of the United Nations.

193. Mr. CHIAO (China) (*translation from Chinese*): Allow me first of all, in the name of the delegation of the People's Republic of China, to thank you, Mr. President, and the representatives of many countries for the welcome you have given us.

194. Many friends have made very enthusiastic speeches expressing their trust in, as well as encouragement and fraternal sentiments for, the Chinese people. We are deeply moved by this and we shall convey all this to the entire Chinese people.

195. It is a pleasure for the delegation of the People's Republic of China to be here today to attend the twenty-sixth session of the United Nations General Assembly and to take part, together with other representatives, in the work of the United Nations.

196. As is known to all, China is one of the founding Members of the United Nations. In 1949 the Chinese people overthrew the reactionary rule of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and founded the People's Republic of China. Since then the lawful rights of China in the United Nations should have gone to the People's Republic of China as a matter of course. It was only because of the obstruction by the United States Government that the People's Republic of China was deprived of its lawful rights in the United Nations for a long time and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, long repudiated by the Chinese people, was able to usurp China's lawful seat in the United Nations. That was a gross interference in China's internal affairs as well as a wilful trampling on the Charter of the United Nations. Now such an unjustifiable state of affairs has finally been put right.

197. On 25 October 1971 the current session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted, by an overwhelming majority, the resolution restoring to the People's Republic of China all its lawful rights in the United Nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and all the organizations related to it. This proves the bankruptcy of the policies of hostility towards the Chinese people and of isolating and imposing a blockade on it. This is a defeat of the plan of the United States Government in collusion with the Sato Government of Japan to create two Chinas in the United Nations. This is a victory for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's revolutionary line in foreign affairs. This is a common victory for peoples all over the world.

198. Upholding principle and justice, the 23 sponsors of the resolution—Albania, Algeria, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of the Congo, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, the Syrian Arab Republic, the United Republic of Tanzania, Yemen, Yugoslavia and Zambia—have made unrelenting and fruitful efforts to restore China's lawful rights in the United Nations. Many friendly countries which supported that resolution have also made contributions to this end. Some other countries have expressed their sympathy for China in various ways. On behalf of the Chinese Government and people, I express heartfelt thanks to the Governments and peoples of all those countries.

199. Twenty-six years have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations. Twenty-six years are but a brief span in human history, yet during this period profound changes have taken place in the world situation. When the United Nations was first founded, there were only 51 Member States and now the membership has grown to 131. Of the 80 Members that joined later, the overwhelming majority are countries which achieved independence after the Second World War. In the past 20 years or more, the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America have waged unflinching struggles to win and safeguard national independence and oppose foreign aggression and oppression. In Europe, North America and Oceania too, mass movements and social tides for a change in the present state of affairs are rising. An increasing number of medium and small countries are uniting to oppose the hegemony and power politics practised by the one or two super-Powers and to fight for the right to settle their own affairs as independent and sovereign States and for equal status in international relations. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution; this has become an irresistible trend of history.

200. Human society invariably makes constant progress, and such progress is always achieved through innumerable revolutions and transformations. Take the United States, where the United Nations Headquarters is situated. It was owing to the victory of the revolutionary war of 1776 led by Washington that the American people won independence. And it was owing to the great revolution of 1789 that the French people rid themselves of the yoke of feudalism. After mankind entered the twentieth century, the victory of the 1917 Russian October socialist revolution led by the great Lenin opened up a broad path to freedom and liberation for the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The advance of history and social progress gladdens the hearts and inspires the peoples of the world and throws into panic a handful of decadent reactionary forces who do their utmost to put up desperate struggles. They commit armed aggression against other countries, subvert the legal governments of other countries, interfere in other countries' internal affairs, subject other countries to their political, military and economic control and bully other countries at will. Since the Second World War no new world war has occurred, yet local wars have never ceased. At present the danger of a new world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today. Although there are twists and turns and reverses in the people's struggles, adverse currents against the people and against progress in the final analysis cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society. The world will surely move towards progress and light, and definitely not towards reaction and darkness.

201. The Chinese people have experienced untold sufferings under imperialist oppression. For one century and more, imperialism repeatedly launched wars of aggression against China and forced it to sign many unequal treaties. They divided China into their spheres of influence, plundered China's resources and exploited the Chinese people. The degree of poverty and lack of freedom suffered by the Chinese people in the past is known to all. In order to win national independence, freedom and liberation, the Chinese people, advancing wave upon wave in a dauntless spirit, waged protracted heroic struggles against imperialism and

its lackeys and finally won the revolution under the leadership of their great leader, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, and the Chinese Communist Party. Since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we, the Chinese people, defying the tight imperialist blockades and withstanding the terrific pressure from without, have built our country into a socialist State with initial prosperity by maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and through self-reliance. It has been proved by facts that we the Chinese nation are fully capable of standing on our own feet in the family of nations.

202. Taiwan is a province of China and the 14 million people who live in Taiwan are our fellow-countrymen by flesh and blood. Taiwan had already been returned to the motherland after the Second World War in accordance with the Cairo Declaration of 1 December 1943, and the Potsdam Declaration of 26 July 1945, and our compatriots in Taiwan had already been returned to the embrace of their motherland. The United States Government officially confirmed this fact on more than one occasion in 1949 and 1950, and publicly stated that the Taiwan question was China's internal affair and that the United States Government had no intention of interfering in it. It was only because of the outbreak of the Korean war that the United States Government went back on its own words and sent armed forces to invade and occupy China's Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, and to date they are still there. The spreading in certain places of the fallacy that "the status of Taiwan remains to be determined" is a conspiracy to plan for "an independent Taiwan" and to continue to create "one China, one Taiwan", which is in effect to create "two Chinas". On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby reiterate that Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory and the United States armed invasion and occupation of China's Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits cannot in the least alter the sovereignty of the People's Republic of China over Taiwan; that all the armed forces of the United States definitely should be withdrawn from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and that we are firmly opposed to any design to separate Taiwan from the motherland. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and no force on earth can stop us from doing so.

203. The Chinese people who suffered for a long time from imperialist aggression and oppression have consistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. This position of the Chinese Government and people is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of the world and is also in accord with the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

204. The United States Government's armed aggression against Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos and its encroachment upon the territorial integrity and sovereignty of those three countries have aggravated tension in the Far East, and met with the strong opposition of the people of the world, including the American people. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the peoples of the three countries of Indo-China in their war against United States aggression and for national salvation, and firmly support

the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples and the seven-point peace proposal put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet-Nam. The United States Government should withdraw immediately and unconditionally all its armed forces and the armed forces of its followers from the three countries of Indo-China so that the peoples of the three countries may solve their own problems independently of and free from foreign interference: that is the key to the relaxation of tension in the Far East.

205. To date, Korea still remains divided. The Chinese People's Volunteers have long since withdrawn from Korea, but up to now the United States troops still remain in South Korea. The peaceful unification of their fatherland is the common aspiration of the entire Korean people. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the eight-point programme for the peaceful unification of the fatherland put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in April this year, and firmly support its just demand that all the illegal resolutions adopted by the United Nations on the Korean question be annulled and the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea be dissolved.

206. The essence of the Middle East question is aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples by Israeli Zionism, with the support and connivance of the super-Powers. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against aggression and believe that, persevering in struggle and upholding unity, the heroic Palestinian and other Arab peoples will surely be able to recover the lost territories of the Arab countries and restore to the Palestinian people their national rights. The Chinese Government maintains that all countries and peoples which love peace and uphold justice have the obligation to support the struggle of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, and no one has the right to engage in political deals behind their backs, bartering away their right to existence and their national interests.

207. The continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a provocation against the peoples of the world. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, and resolutely support the people of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against the white colonialist rule and racial discrimination. Their struggle is a just one, and a just cause will surely triumph.

208. The independence of a country is incomplete without economic independence. The economic backwardness of the Asian, African and Latin American countries is the result of imperialist plunder. Opposition to economic plunder and the protection of national resources are the inalienable sovereign rights of an independent State. China is still an economically backward country as well as a developing country. Like the overwhelming majority of the Asian, African and Latin American countries, China belongs to the third world. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the struggles initiated by Latin American countries and peoples to defend their rights over the

200-nautical-mile territorial sea and to protect the resources of their respective countries. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the struggles unfolded by the petroleum-exporting countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, as well as various regional and specialized organizations, to protect their national rights and interests and oppose economic plunder.

209. We have consistently maintained that all countries, big or small, should be equal and that the five principles of peaceful coexistence should be taken as the principles guiding the relations between countries. The people of each country have the right to choose the social system of their own country according to their own will and to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own country. No country has the right to subject another country to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. We are opposed to the imperialist and colonialist theory that the big nations are superior to the small nations and that the small nations are subordinate to the big nations. We are opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big Powers bullying small ones or strong nations bullying weak ones. We hold that the affairs of a given country must be handled by its own people, that the affairs of the world must be handled by all the countries of the world, and that the affairs of the United Nations must be handled jointly by all its Member States, and the super-Powers should not be allowed to manipulate and monopolize them. The super-Powers want to be superior to others and lord it over others. At no time, either today or even in the future, will China be a super-Power subjecting others to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying.

210. The one or two super-Powers are stepping up their arms expansion and war preparations and vigorously developing nuclear weapons, thus seriously threatening international peace. It is understandable that the people of the world long for disarmament and particularly for nuclear disarmament. Their demand for the dissolution of military blocs, withdrawal of foreign troops and the dismantling of foreign military bases is a just one. However, the super-Powers, while talking about disarmament every day, are actually engaged in arms expansion daily. The so-called nuclear disarmament which they are supposed to be seeking is entirely for the purpose of monopolizing nuclear weapons in order to carry out nuclear threats and blackmail.

211. China will never participate in the so-called nuclear disarmament talks between the nuclear Powers behind the backs of the non-nuclear countries. China's nuclear weapons are still in the experimental stage. China develops nuclear weapons solely for the purpose of defence and for breaking the nuclear monopoly and ultimately eliminating nuclear weapons and nuclear war. The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the complete prohibition and the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and proposed to convene a summit conference of all countries of the world to discuss this question and, as the first step, to reach an agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has on many occasions declared, and now on behalf of the Chinese Government I once again solemnly declare, that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. If the United

States and the Soviet Union really and truly want disarmament, they should commit themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. This is not a difficult thing to do. Whether this is done or not will be a severe test as to whether those countries have a genuine desire for disarmament.

212. We have always held that the just struggles of the people of all countries support each other. China has always had the sympathy and support of the people of various countries in its socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is our bounden duty to support the just struggles of the people of various countries. For this purpose we have provided aid to some friendly countries to help them develop their national economy independently. In providing aid, we always strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attach any conditions or ask for privileges. We provide free military aid to countries and peoples which are fighting against aggression. We will never become munition merchants. We firmly oppose certain countries trying to control and plunder the recipient countries by means of aid. However, as China's economy is still comparatively backward, the material aid we have provided is very limited, and what we provide is mainly

political and moral support. With a population of 700 million, China ought to make a greater contribution to human progress. And we hope that this situation, in which our ability falls short of this wish of ours, will be gradually changed.

213. In accordance with the purposes of the United Nations Charter, the United Nations should play its due role in maintaining international peace, in opposing aggression and interference, and in developing friendly relations and co-operation among nations. However, for a long period the one or two super-Powers have utilized the United Nations and have done many things in contravention of the United Nations Charter against the will of the people of various countries. This situation cannot continue. We hope that the spirit of the United Nations Charter will be really and truly carried out. We shall stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice, and we shall work together with them for the defence of the national independence and State sovereignty of various countries and for the cause of safeguarding international peace and promoting human progress.

The meeting rose at 6.40 p.m.