

Speeches Welcoming China's Delegation

**By Representatives of Various Countries
At November 15 Plenary Meeting of 26th
Session of U.N. General Assembly**

At the plenary meeting of the 26th Session of the U.N. General Assembly on the afternoon of November 15, representatives of 34 countries made speeches to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. Full texts of the speeches follow.

—“Peking Review” Ed.

Speech by Lazar Mojsov, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And Permanent Representative Of Yugoslavia to the United Nations

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

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

It is well known that the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has, from the very outset, most resolutely pledged itself to the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In its determination and in its actions my country was guided by the recognition of the crucial need to have the genuine representatives of

the Chinese people assume the seat which rightfully belongs to them, by the fact that this organization cannot hope to become a universal body without the representatives of the People's Republic of China, and by the sober reality that without the active participation of the People's Republic of China the United Nations cannot successfully cope with the pressing issues confronting the contemporary world today.

The Yugoslav Delegation avails itself of this opportunity once again to welcome wholeheartedly the Delegation of the People's Republic of China and to express its readiness and willingness for meaningful co-operation with its representatives on all questions before the United Nations, with a view to reaching the goals and objectives inscribed in the Charter of the United Nations; to promoting amicable international relations and progress in the world; and towards the attainment of a universal peace to be enjoyed by all states, irrespective of size and military or economic potential—a goal which represents also the basic objective of the policy of the non-aligned countries.

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

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

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

Speech by Abdellatif Rahal, Permanent Representative Of Algeria to the United Nations

Mr. President,

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

sincere admiration of the Algerian people for the great people of China.

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

At this moment we are marking a capital event of this last part of the 20th century, a moment that is certainly a solemn one for the current session. Finally, the great People's Republic of China has been restored in its lawful rights and a debate that has been going on for more than 20 years has come to an end, to a conclusion that was dictated by reason, justice and law, to a decision which had to triumph over false calculations, over arbitrary acts and short-sighted ambitions.

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

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

In opening its doors to the People's Republic of China, the United Nations was both wise and realistic. Realistic because it was inconceivable that a country whose population represents one-fourth of humanity

could have been kept any longer from participation in our work; and wise because the mission of the organization for the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international co-operation is impossible without the participation of one of the most important elements of the international community.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Speech by Primo Jose Esono Mica, Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Equatorial Guinea to the United Nations

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

The voice of my delegation is joined to those of other representatives, such as Chile, who spoke on the 3rd of this month, and was again echoed by the representatives of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania. We wish to state that we applauded and we continue to applaud. We danced at the results achieved by our resolution on the above-mentioned evening.

Furthermore, we continue to dance and we continue to applaud with great satisfaction at this very moment when we see with our own eyes the lawful delegation of China occupying the seat of which it was deprived for 22 years. We are not impressed by or worried about the publicity of the Yankee newspapermen. Let them write in their newspapers and periodicals what they wish. We have not come here to serve as students of the policy of the American Government on this or any other matter. We have come to advocate and preach peace, and our responsibilities can be called to account only by our Government. My delegation is in no way intimidated by the threats of the North

American Government at the failure of, or should I say, the rout suffered by, the imperialist policies on the matter we are discussing.

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

Speech by Javier Perez de Cuellar, Permanent Representative of Peru to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

Speech by Fakhreddine Mohamed, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Of the Sudan

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

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

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

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

We in the Sudan have had a rare and edifying experience in our relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China. We have maintained diplomatic relations with that government for a number of years. Throughout those years our relations have been exemplary in their sincerity and in their cordiality. They have been unmarred by the vicissitudes that often cloud relations between a big power and a smaller nation. The Government of China has not wished to exact a price for its friendship, nor has it dictated its terms in return for assistance, which has been generous

and unstinting. This attitude on the part of the Chinese Government has been the same towards all the developing countries. Throughout the countries of the third world the terms of economic co-operation with the Chinese Government have never been detrimental to the interests of the weaker nations.

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

Speech by Mamadou Boubacar Kante, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation of Mali

On this memorable occasion, 15 November 1971, it is a pleasure for me on behalf of the Government of the Republic of Mali to address the warmest congratulations to the outstanding Delegation of the People's Republic of China, which victoriously today regains its seat among us after 20 years of absence due to the obstruction of certain powers that at a certain time succeeded in using the Charter for their own aims of hegemony. The event is important because, as far as we are concerned, we are celebrating the achievement of more than 20 years of stubborn struggle on the part of the forces of progress all over the world to redress one of the greatest injustices of our day. Weakened by the antagonism and rivalries born of the cold war, our organization had to mark time in inaction and ineffectiveness, had there not been the energetic and positive reaction of certain states that saw the danger. It was thanks to their dynamic action in fact that a wide front was constructed over the years in the United Nations to oppose the policies of inertia and obscurantism which prevailed. The Republic of Mali, my country, is honoured at having stubbornly formed part of that front since our accession to independence in 1960. During those years the great people of China, that many tried in vain to ostracize, patiently and under the enlightened direction of their well-loved leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, continued to create a prosperous, strong and peaceful nation. Their determination and their age-old genius had to confront difficulties that had been placed in their path, and, as Mr. Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, stated, the great mutation that took place in the People's Republic of China was the expression "of the revolt of an ancient civilization against foreign barbarian forces that fell on them in the 19th century and gave a body blow to their economy, their institutions and their national pride." Therefore nothing could stop that people from achieving its great destiny and victoriously living until this great day.

Furthermore, the Cultural Revolution that crowned the heroic struggle of the Chinese was due to their own power, their own ability. This revolution has still not ended. Yet the world stands amazed. But the detractors have seen that in fact China is strong and that it has emerged from the battle ready to meet history with a cultural and moral heritage that has been reassessed, the atom tamed, techniques perfected and in all fields enjoying a sophisticated economy. Victory was total, and the People's Republic of China has now been recognized as a great world power. For the first time in the history of our day, the case of Japan aside, a country of the third world by its own means joins the ranks of modern powers. The merits are great. The value of *joo chee* to speak as our friends of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea — namely, of relying on one's own ability — this is what they have done and this speaks eloquently. Thus the recriminatory predictions of those statesmen that spoke of the revolutionary China after the overthrow of the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek group wrote in 1949, and were therefore belied, as follows: "The demographic progression exercises such pressure on China that no Chinese Government can solve the problem of famine or hunger." Contrary to certain states that make of their power an instrument of aggression and conquest, the People's Republic of China has placed its great power exclusively at the service of peace and the assistance of man wherever he may live. Through the clarity of its foreign policies, based upon the Five Principles of Coexistence, which furthermore are the very pillars of the Charter of the United Nations, it has earned the admiration and esteem of all peoples. Furthermore, it has become the very symbol of peaceful resistance, and stubborn resistance too, of peoples to exploitation and subjugation. Although kept outside the pale of the international community, the People's Republic of China has continued, nevertheless, in the true spirit of international solidarity which is its hallmark, to give effective and timely assistance to the developing world.

As you know, it was the convergence of the efforts of all members of the United Nations and of the heroic people of China that finally led to the act which today the international community is greeting, and thus it is the end of a long process that in these circumstances we might term the Long March to the United Nations, to compare it with the Long March of Chairman Mao Tsetung and his partisans. But we have now emerged from darkness, and on the night of 25-26 October 1971 we re-established the great majesty of the United Nations when bringing in the People's Republic of China and expelling the usurpers from Taipei. By that very act, which attests to an unprecedented political courage, the international community which we represent here has turned into fact this cry of rebellion against hegemony and frustration that has been mentioned in practically all statements of heads of delegations at this session. Apart from redressing the greatest injustice that our organization has committed in its history, the memorable act of 25 October 1971 constitutes a significant victory for the universalist tendencies of

our organization. Furthermore, it spells the end of a period, with all that that means injustice, pretence, and uncounted sufferings for the people. The myth of the yellow peril of Wilhelm II, based, as is the hideous policy of apartheid, on the abject philosophy of race, has already been left aside. The world of hegemony has ended. The tocsin has rung for imperialism, for colonialism, for neo-colonialism and for racism. There is a new page of history, and now we must all be ready to write upon it, since this change is irreversible.

The victory of 25 October 1971 confirms the historic justice of one of the most celebrated reflections of that great American statesman, President Abraham Lincoln. He said: "You can fool all the people some of the time and some of the people all the time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time." The victory of justice over arbitrary acts, of reason over decadence and blindness, of democracy over imperialism, of good over evil, our victory of 25 October will represent one of the glorious pages of our history, and we shall be able to leave it to our heirs. It will also stand as a warning to all the Chiang Kai-sheks, all the Syngman Rhees, all the Ngo Dinh Diems, all the potential dictators who may wish to impose their will on their peoples. The return of Taiwan, the Pescadores and all the dependencies of the mother country is more than ever certain.

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

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

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

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

This great event which we are celebrating today has fortunately now crowned a brilliant international career and a rich life, all devoted to the cause of understanding among peoples and to peace. Surely one could not have

expected a greater reward from Providence. May U Thant read into my words the expression of the sincere gratitude of my delegation and the Government of the Republic of Mali for the distinguished services he has rendered to mankind.

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

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

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

Speech by Abdul Malek Ismail, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And Permanent Representative Of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen to the United Nations

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

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

Second, the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations were usurped by the

Chiang Kai-shek clique which was backed by the imperialist powers. For 22 years the Chiang Kai-shek representatives were, ironically, speaking on behalf of the Chinese people.

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

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

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

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

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

Speech by Grace S.K. Ibingira, Permanent Representative of Uganda to the United Nations

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

On 25 October the old order changed and we are here to witness and to welcome the birth of a new order in the United Nations. On behalf of the Delegation of the Republic of Uganda and on behalf of my country, I should like most warmly to welcome the Delegation of the People's Republic of China. We have over a period of time in my country, since we attained independ-

ence, had diplomatic relations with the great nation of the People's Republic of China, and it has been the view of my country during all this time that it is anomalous and contrary to all the tenets of common sense that a quarter of the world's population, a quarter of the human race, should be alienated from a body that regards itself as speaking for the whole of mankind.

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

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

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

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

Speech by U Lwin, Permanent Representative of Burma To the United Nations

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

The People's Republic of China and the Union of Burma have traditional ties and are neighbours whose territories adjoin each other. Our two countries not

only are engaged in peaceful national development but also are working for peace, international friendship and co-operation. On this historic occasion the delegation of Burma extends its warm felicitations and good wishes to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

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

Speech by El Hadj Abdoulaye Toure, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Guinea To the United Nations

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

In welcoming this event, which from now on will be one of the great feats of the history of the end of the 20th century, the Government of the Republic of Guinea, which entertains the best of political and economic relations with the Government of the People's Republic of China, greeted the victory achieved on 25 October last in the following terms:

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

"The Government of the Republic of Guinea believes that the return of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations is a determining factor for an international detente, a rapprochement between people, and for world peace. The vote which has redressed that

flagrant injustice has rehabilitated at the same time the organization itself, whose representativeness was prone to criticism because of the absence of the representatives of almost a third of the world's population from the organization.

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

Speech by Nicolas Mondjo, Permanent Representative of the People's Republic of the Congo To the United Nations

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

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

Nevertheless, the path which has led to today's victory was a long and difficult one. Everyone will recall that it has taken more than 20 years of struggle for the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China to be restored to that founding member of our organization. Indeed, it was on 15 November 1949 that Comrade Chou En-lai, then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, informed the Secretary-General of the world organization of the wish of the Chinese Government to change its representation within the United Nations as a result of fundamental changes that had come about in his country following the great Chinese revolution under the enlightened guidance of Chairman Mao Tsetung — a revolution which had dis-

graced and expelled the exploiters of and traitors to the Chinese nation. Thus more than 20 years were necessary for the international conscience to abandon its blind zeal and its role as facile agent of current-day political insomnia, whereby every people in order to subsist must remain vigilant and chart its own course. Despite the measures implemented and the many manoeuvres executed by the United States of America, the movement for the normalization and authentication of the representation of China in the United Nations became an irresistible and irreversible force. Those who aspired to admit the great Chinese people through the back door failed: China, in reclaiming its lawful United Nations seat, chose to enter through the front door.

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

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

Let us consequently witness an abandonment of these dreams, of these crusades of a mediaeval character which, for instance, lead the United States of America to barbaric wars in Asia wherein crimes of genocide are committed every day against peace-loving peoples of that continent. Let us witness the abandonment of all these phenomena of political misery. Let us open wide the door of the organization to peoples who are still victims of the most retrograde type of colonialism, of racialism and of imperialism in the name of universality, let us greet here, after helping in their reconciliation, Korea, the Democratic Republic of Germany, the Federal Republic of Germany and so on.

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

Speech by Toru Nakagawa, Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations

Mr. President,

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

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

Thank you Mr. President.

Speech by Abdur-Rahman Pazhwak, Permanent Representative of Afghanistan To the United Nations

First, Mr. President, I wish to thank you for your decision, in your wisdom, to give us this opportunity,

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

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

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

Speech by Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, Permanent Representative of Ceylon To the United Nations

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

Three weeks ago the General Assembly of the United Nations absolved itself of a 22-year aberration when it decided to restore to the People's Republic of

China its lawful rights in this organization. Today we celebrate a historic moment in the life of the United Nations. How momentous the occasion will prove to be only history will decide.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Deputy Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China, His Excellency Mr. Chiao, in his statement on arrival in New York invoked the Ban-

ding Declaration of 1955. May that invocation inspire and sustain us all in the years to come.

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

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

Speech by Alfonso Garcia Robles, Permanent Representative of Mexico to the United Nations

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

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

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

I did feel that the best way to show why my delegation is gratified that the United Nations as of today will count on the presence of the People's Republic of China would be by recalling the words I have just quoted and which, with a prophetic feeling, were pronounced from this same rostrum three weeks before the historic vote of 25 October was cast by the Head of State of Mexico. Now that his forecast has been borne out by fact, the views that were then expressed at such a high level stand alone in explanation of the pleasure with which the delegation of Mexico welcomes among us the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

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

Speech by Talib El-Shibib, Permanent Representative of Iraq to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

The Delegation of Iraq takes particular pride and pleasure on this occasion since Iraq managed to rid itself of the last vestiges of foreign influence and domination when the Republic of Iraq was born in 1958.

My delegation has persistently and consistently defended a restoration of the rights of the People's Republic of China. That stand was taken in defence of a principle in which we very much believe and when my President cabled Premier Chou En-lai after the historic vote on 25 October, he stated:

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

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

Speech by Michel Njine, Permanent Representative of Cameroon to the United Nations

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

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

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

Speech by Rafic Jouejati, Deputy Permanent Representative of Syria to the United Nations

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

constructive work towards a just and lasting peace must be shared by all.

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

World public opinion felt a lack of confidence in the United Nations as an instrument for strengthening peace and security. Legally speaking, an organization that condones violations of international law, and particularly the principle of the recognition of states and non-interference in their domestic affairs, could hardly be expected to ensure respect for law. But, what is even more serious, by barring the People's Republic of China from playing a full role on the international arena, all we were doing was to place obstacles in the path of our own efforts to achieve the objectives set forth in the Charter.

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

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

The peace-loving and progressive nations will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China to the work of the organization a very valuable support in the achievement of social justice, the liberation of great human masses from exploitation, and the implementation of peaceful coexistence. The developing countries will, in the efforts of the People's Republic of China, find a new source of energy to widen the contribution and effectiveness of the role that the organization must play in the field of economic and social progress. The justice and freedom-loving nations will find in the contribution of the People's Republic of China new horizons for their emancipation from the yokes of occupation and colonial persecution. In one word, in the People's Republic of China the United Nations will find this apostle of renovation, based on dignity, justice and the rebirth of moral values.

In welcoming the triumphant entry of the People's Republic of China and in welcoming their repre-

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

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

Speech by Yohannes Tseghe, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Ethiopia to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

Speech by Umit Haluk Bayulken, Permanent Representative of Turkey to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ing with the Chinese Delegation in the promotion of the purposes and objectives of our Charter.

Speech by Yakov A. Malik, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs and Permanent Representative of The Soviet Union to the United Nations

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

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

Subsequently, at all sessions of the General Assembly and in all other international forums where the question of Chinese representation arose, the Soviet Delegations and its representatives firmly and consistently spoke out for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations. The Soviet Delegation has always stressed that China must be represented in the United Nations by the representatives of the People's Republic of China.

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

The reason for the decision on the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China taking two decades is quite clear. It was the result of a policy dictated by the United States of America and some of its allies. That policy blocked the possibility of

restoring the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. Nevertheless, that policy as well as the policy of maintaining the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the organization failed and failed utterly. An overwhelming majority of states members of the United Nations voted for the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations and for the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from all its organs.

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

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

Speech by Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, Chairman of the Delegation Of Iran

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

December 3, 1971

of the General Assembly the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

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

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

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

Speech by Yahya H. Gekhman, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And Permanent Representative of The Arab Republic of Yemen to The United Nations

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

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

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

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

Speech by Csatorday Karoly, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Hungary

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

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

The Hungarian People's Republic pursues a socialist foreign policy built upon solid foundations of principle. It follows from the principles of our foreign policy that, from the moment we were enabled to join in the activities of the United Nations, we, together with the other

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

Speech by Zenon Rossides, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations

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

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

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

But beyond the aspect of universality there is the important qualitative contribution that may be expected from an ancient nation like China whose outstanding intellectual and spiritual achievements rank

among the highest and noblest in the world. Its long history is replete with brilliant examples of philosophic virtue and political wisdom. The concept of government by civil service which has brought a signal contribution towards legal order within the state was first introduced in China and later followed elsewhere in the world. It thus marks a basic change from government run by political appointees to that based on training, ability and qualifications of a permanent civil service.

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

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

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

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

Speech by Eugeniusz Kulaga, Permanent Representative of Poland to the United Nations

The Chairman of the Delegation and Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has presented on behalf of a number of socialist countries, including Poland, our feelings of satisfaction at the assumption by the People's Republic of China of its seat in the United Nations and in this Assembly in

particular. I should like to be allowed, therefore, on behalf of the Polish Delegation simply to add our words of welcome to the representatives of the People's Republic of China and to congratulate the Chinese people warmly upon the restoration of their lawful rights in our organization.

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

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

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

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

Speech by Dugarsurengiin Erdembileg, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister For Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

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

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

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

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

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

Today, with a great feeling of satisfaction, we greet the legal representatives of the People's Republic of China in this hall. At the same time, we should not forget that a number of socialist countries, including the German Democratic Republic, which has on a number of occasions expressed its desire to accede to membership in the United Nations, continue to remain victims of discrimination and consequently the principle of universality in the organization cannot be achieved.

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

Speech by Samar Sen, Permanent Representative of India to The United Nations

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

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

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

that we are giving today to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China.

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

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

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

Speech by Edouard Ghorra, Permanent Representative of Lebanon to the United Nations

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

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

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

Speech by Abdou-Raouf Issaka, Representative of Togo

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

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

Speech by Abdulrahim Abby Farah, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Somalia To the United Nations

On behalf of the Somali Government and the people of the Somali Democratic Republic, my delegation adds its voice to those of the representatives of many other member states of this organization who have expressed their sense of happiness and satisfaction at this historic moment in the history of the United Nations. The welcome which we extend to the representatives of the People's Republic of China as they take their rightful places in the organs of the United Nations is a sincere one. This is attested to by the fact that ever since Somalia became a member of the United Nations the Somali Delegation has associated itself with the

cause whose successful outcome we are witnessing today. We believed in the rightness of the cause, and we never ceased to work for it.

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

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

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

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

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

Speech by Rachid Driss, Permanent Representative of Tunisia to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

"The restoration of the lawful rights of the Chinese People's Republic is both an important and a just

event that has given me enormous satisfaction. In the name of the Government and the people of Tunisia, I express to you on this historic occasion my heartfelt felicitations. I am convinced that this event, so wise on the part of the international community, will strengthen the organization and will allow your great nation to play a role which reflects its weight and to exercise its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, the defence of the Charter of the United Nations and the safeguarding of the principles of justice and solidarity on the international level."

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

Speech by Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Permanent Representative Of Nigeria to the United Nations

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

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

Speech by Milko Tarabanov, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria

The Delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria is extremely gratified to greet warmly the arrival of the

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

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

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

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

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