

PEKING REVIEW

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November 26, 1971

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報

**Chairman Mao Meets D.R.V.N. Party
And Government Delegation Led by
Premier Pham Van Dong**

**Speeches Welcoming the Delegation
Of the People's Republic of China
At the U.N. General Assembly**

Tsaidam — A Rising Industrial Base

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Chairman Mao Meets D.R.V.N. Party and Government Delegation Led by Premier Pham Van Dong



COMRADE Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people and Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met on November 22 Comrade Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, and all members of the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam he is leading.

The meeting proceeded in a most cordial and friendly atmosphere. When the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms arrived at the reception hall, Chairman Mao stepped forward to meet them and firmly shook hands with Premier Pham Van Dong, Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh and others and extended a warm welcome to the envoys of friendship of the fraternal Vietnamese people coming from the forefront of struggle against U.S. imperialism. At this instant, all the Chinese and Vietnamese comrades present clapped their hands happily. Chairman Mao waved his hand cordially to greet the Vietnamese comrades and had photos taken together with them.

Then Chairman Mao had a cordial and friendly conversation with Comrades Pham Van Dong, Nguyen Duy Trinh, Tran Quy Hai, Ly Ban, Ngo Thuyen and Nguyen Co Thach, and Ambassador of the Republic of South Viet Nam to China Nguyen Van Quang. Present on the Chinese side during the conversation were Comrades Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Li Hsien-nien, Keng Piao, Han Nien-lung and Li Chiang. Staff members Nguyen Lung and Ho Han from the Vietnamese side and Liang Feng, Lien Cheng-pao and Hu Chien-wen from the Chinese side were present.

Vietnamese comrades present at the meeting were also assistants of the delegation Luu Van Loi, Hoang Bao Son, Ngo Dien, Nguyen Ngoc Uyen, Nguyen Van Ly, Hoang Quoc Dung, Nguyen The

Khanh, Dinh Van Tram, Hoang Nghia Khanh, Tran Hoan, Phung Cong Duc, Tran Kim An, Tran Duy Khang, Pham Cong Bai, Chu Van Lap, Ha Van Le, Nguyen Huu Nghia, Bui Van Tien, Dinh Thi Khang, Hoang Nhu Ly, Dang Duc Khoi, Ha Huy Tam, Le Tu Vinh, Dang Phuc Khanh, Ma Van Cuong, Nguyen Quy Khoi, Nguyen Thanh Tinh and Pham Van A; the crew of the special plane for the delegation;

and diplomatic officials of the D.R.V.N. Embassy in Peking Nguyen Tien, Tan Phong and Phan Nhu Sam.

Among the Chinese comrades present at the meeting were also Han Tsung-cheng, Wang Yu-ping, Yuan Hua-ping, Han Hsu, Lu Wei-chao and Chang Ying.

New Nuclear Test

Another nuclear test was conducted in China's western region on November 18, 1971. This is one of the necessary and limited nuclear tests conducted by China for the purpose of defence. The Chinese Government declares once again that at no time and under no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government and Chinese people will, as always, strive together with the other peoples and peace-loving countries in the world for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

First Anniversary of Guinean People's Victory Over Aggression Greeted

Premier Chou En-lai sent a letter on November 16 to Ahmed Sekou Toure, President of the Republic of Guinea, expressing sincere congratulations on the first anniversary of the Guinean people's victory over aggression.

The letter said: "As the Chinese Government Delegation is going to attend upon invitation the celebrations of the first anniversary of the Guinean people's victory over aggression, I take this opportunity to sincerely congratulate and highly praise the great victory won by the Guinean Government and people one year ago under Your Excellency's leader-

ship in smashing the armed invasion by the Portuguese mercenaries supported by the NATO states with the United States at the head. This is also a great victory of the African people's struggle in unity against imperialism. We believe that the Guinean and other African peoples, strengthening their unity, heightening their vigilance and persevering in struggle, can certainly win further victories in opposing imperialism and defending national independence and state sovereignty."

The letter was presented to President Toure by Hsieh Hsin-ho, leader of the Chinese Government Delegation and Vice-Minister of Light Industry, and Han Ke-hua, deputy leader of the delegation and Chinese Ambassador to Guinea, when the President received them on November 20.

Charge d'Affaires a.i. Gives Reception

Mamadi Kaba, Charge d'Affaires ad interim of the Guinean Embassy in Peking, gave a reception on November 22 to celebrate the first anniversary of the victory of the Guinean people in repulsing the invasion by Portuguese mercenary troops.

At the reception were Chinese Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Peng Shao-hui, Minister of Foreign Trade Pai Hsiang-kuo and leading members of other departments concerned.

Speaking at the reception, Charge d'Affaires a.i. Kaba recalled how the Guinean people, under the leadership of President Sekou Toure, were victorious last November in repulsing the armed invasion by Portuguese mercenary troops. He thanked all the progressive peoples for their support to the Republic of Guinea in this struggle against aggression and condemned imperialism for its aggression against Viet Nam, the Middle East and against the Republic of Guinea. He said that revolutionary Guinea had smashed the mercenaries' invasion and this demonstrated that "no imperialist force of aggression could defeat her."

Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei also spoke at the reception. He said: We highly admire the spirit of the Guinean and other African peoples of defying brute force and daring to struggle.

We Asian and African peoples have always sympathized with and supported each other in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. The Chinese people have all along regarded the African people's struggle as an important component part of the world anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. Standing firmly and unswervingly on the side of the African people, the Chinese people resolutely support the African countries in their just struggle to safeguard national independence and state sovereignty and resolutely oppose the aggression, subversion, control, interference and bullying perpetrated by imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism against African countries, he declared.

Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation Visits China

THE Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by Pham Van Dong, Member of the Political Bureau of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Premier of the Government of the D.R.V.N., arrived in Peking by special plane on November 20 for an official friendly visit to China at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China.

Chinese Party and Government leaders greeting the visitors at the airport warmly shook hands with the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms and embraced them to express warm welcome.

A grand welcoming ceremony was held at the airport.

Lining the 12.5-kilometre-long route leading from the eastern part of Peking to the Guest House in the western district of the city, several hundred thousand joyful people gave the distinguished Vietnamese guests a warm welcome. When Premier Pham Van Dong accompanied by Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Nguyen Duy Trinh accompanied by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien drove past the welcoming crowds in two open cars, they were greeted by repeated shouts of "Long live the great friendship and militant unity of the Chinese and Vietnamese people!" "People of the world, unite and defeat the U.S. aggressors and all their running dogs!" "The Vietnamese people are sure to win! The peoples of the three countries of Indochina are sure to win! U.S. imperialism is bound to be defeated!" and other slogans. Joy reigned as the beating of drums and gongs mingled with cheers.

Warm Welcome to Glorious Envoys of Vietnamese People

In its November 20 editorial "Warm Welcome to the Glorious Envoys of the Vietnamese People," *Renmin Ribao* wrote:

"The visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation once again vividly embodies the militant solidarity and profound friendship between the two Parties, Governments and peoples of China and Viet Nam."

The delegation has come to China for a friendly visit at a time when an excellent situation prevails in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in Viet Nam and the rest of Indochina, said the editorial.

It went on: "Unreconciled to its defeats, U.S. imperialism is making a death-bed struggle. In his November 12 speech on the question of so-called 'troops withdrawal,' U.S. President Nixon still refused to reply to the 7-point peace proposal on the settlement of the

Viet Nam issue put forth by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and to announce a deadline for the withdrawal of all the U.S. aggressor troops from Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina. On the contrary, he openly declared that he would 'continue air strikes' against Indochina and

Members of the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation

The members of the delegation led by Premier Pham Van Dong were: Nguyen Duy Trinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the D.R.V.N. Government; Tran Quy Hai, Alternate Member of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of National Defence; Ly Ban, Alternate Member of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Ngo Thuyen, Alternate Member of the V.N.W.P. Central Committee and Vietnamese Ambassador to China; and Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of the D.R.V.N.

Among Those Present at Peking Airport to Welcome the Vietnamese Delegation

Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Premier of the State Council; Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chang Chun-chiao and Yao Wen-yuan, Members of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council; Chi Teng-kuei, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Li Teh-sheng, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Director of the General Political Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; Wang Tung-hsing, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Kuo Mo-jo, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress; Hua Kuo-feng, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Wu Teh, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Vice-Chairman of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee; Keng Piao, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Head of the International Liaison Department of the C.P.C. Central Committee; Chi Peng-fei, Acting Foreign Minister; and Chang Tsai-chien, Member of the C.P.C. Central Committee and Deputy Chief of the P.L.A. General Staff.

continue to 'maintain' U.S. aggressor troops in south Viet Nam and to bolster and reinforce the military forces of the south Vietnamese puppets so as to carry out the notorious so-called 'Vietnamization programme.' This shows that the Nixon government still wants to persist in being the enemy of the Vietnamese and other Indochinese peoples and to persist in and prolong the criminal war of aggression in Indochina. It is certain that faced with the united struggle of the Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples, the Nixon government's scheme of aggression will meet with despicable defeat as in the past.

"The Viet Nam issue is entirely the result of the U.S. imperialist aggression against Viet Nam. The key to the solution of the Viet Nam issue is that the U.S. aggressors must quickly, completely and unconditionally withdraw their troops and the satellite troops from south Viet Nam, stop supporting the traitorous Nguyen Van Thieu puppet clique long repudiated by the south Vietnamese people and leave the Vietnamese people to solve their own questions themselves independently in accordance with their own interests and without foreign interference."

The editorial concluded: The Chinese people resolutely support the Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the 7-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples and their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. This stand of the Chinese people is unshakable. At any time and under any circumstances, the Chinese people will, as always, unite together, fight together and win victory together with the fraternal Vietnamese, Laotian and Cambodian peoples. The Vietnamese people are bound to triumph! U.S. imperialism will certainly be defeated!

At Welcoming Banquet

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council gave a grand banquet on the evening of November 20 to welcome the D.R.V.N. Party and Government Delegation and its staff.

Present at the banquet were Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia and Chairman of the National United Front of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk, and Ieng Sary, Special Envoy From the Interior Part of Cambodia.

Present were leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Yeh Chien-ying, Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Chi Teng-kuei, Li Teh-sheng, Wang Tung-hsing, Kuo Mo-jo, Hua Kuo-feng, Wu Teh, Keng Piao, Chi Peng-fei and Chang Tsai-chien.

An extremely cordial and friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the banquet. Hosts and guests talked cordially and proposed toasts to the great victories of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for

national salvation and to the daily consolidation and development of the militant friendship forged by the Chinese people and the people of the three Indochinese countries in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and its running dogs.

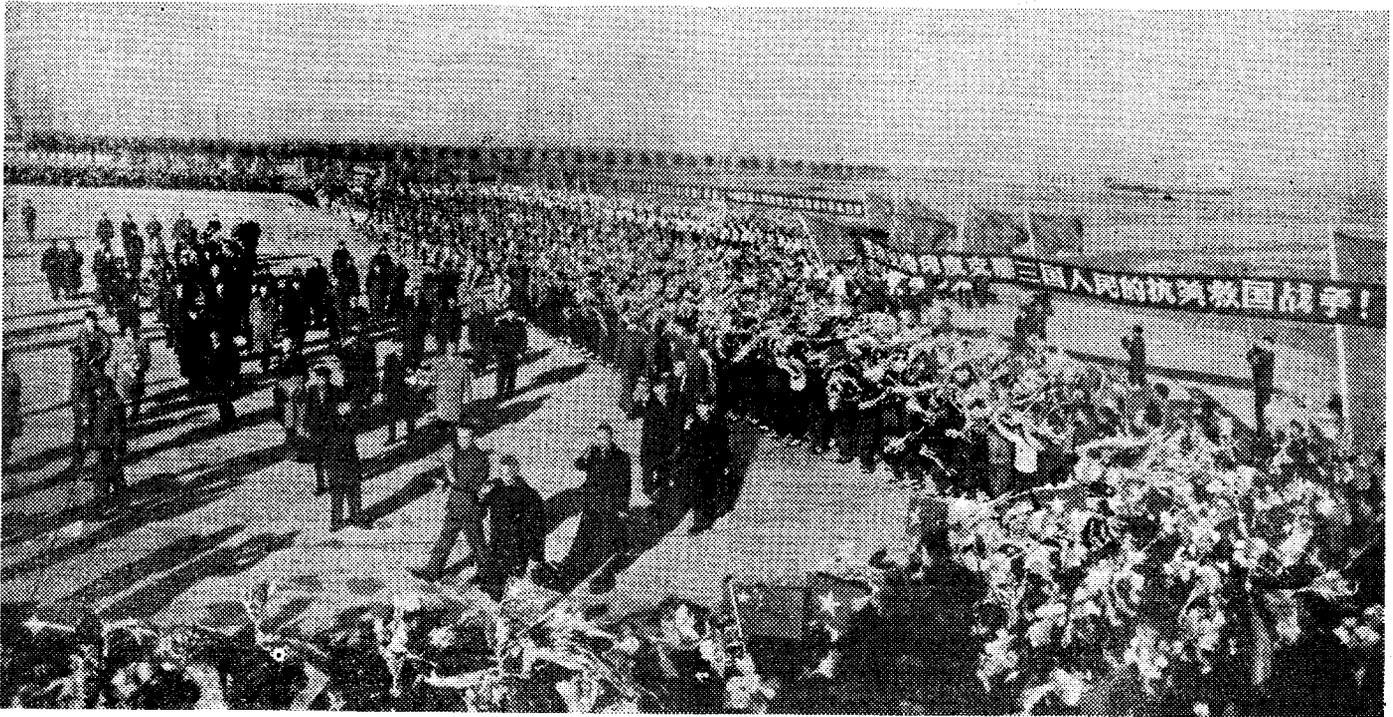
At the banquet, Premier Chou En-lai and Premier Pham Van Dong made speeches filled with militant friendship.

Premier Chou said: At present, following their great leader President Ho Chi Minh's will, the heroic Vietnamese people, under the wise leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, are advancing in big strides with full confidence in victory towards the great goal of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The great victories won by the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation have dealt mortal blows to U.S. imperialism and given tremendous inspiration and impetus to the struggle of the people of the whole world against the U.S. aggressors and all their lackeys. The heroic Vietnamese people are a staunch shock force in the present-day struggle of the world people against U.S. imperialism and are a worthy and shining example for all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their struggle for national liberation.

He continued: At present, the development of the situation in Indochina is increasingly favourable to the people of the three Indochinese countries and unfavourable to the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. The U.S. imperialist war of aggression against Viet Nam and Indochina has met with the strongest opposition of the people of the whole world, the American people included. It is the most pressing demand of the people of the world to end this U.S. war of aggression. The Viet Nam and Indochina questions are the most urgent questions demanding settlement in the world today. The United States must immediately stop its war of aggression against Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina and speedily, totally and unconditionally withdraw the U.S. aggressor troops and its vassal troops from south Viet Nam and the whole of Indochina so that the Vietnamese people and Indochinese peoples may settle their own affairs themselves free from foreign interference. The Vietnamese people and Indochinese peoples have long since resolved not to cease fighting as long as the United States does not stop its aggression. If U.S. imperialism insists on going down the road of aggression against Indochina, it will only suffer even more ignominious defeats.

Premier Chou declared: The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, firmly support the 7-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, firmly support Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's 5-point declaration and firmly support the 5-point political solution put forward by the Lao Patriotic Front. The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that the destiny of the people of each



Accompanied by leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government, the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation greets welcomees at the airport.

country must be determined by its own people. We resolutely oppose imperialist interference and aggression against any country. We firmly support the people of all countries in their just struggles against aggression. The Chinese people will unswervingly give all-out support and assistance to the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. So long as U.S. imperialism does not stop its aggression against Indochina, the Chinese people are determined to support the three Indochinese peoples in continuing their fight to the end, till complete victory.

Concluding his speech, Premier Chou said: China and Viet Nam are intimate neighbours as closely related as lips and teeth. Our two peoples are comrades-in-arms and brothers sharing weal and woe. Supporting each other and fighting shoulder to shoulder, our two Parties and peoples have forged a profound revolutionary friendship in protracted revolutionary struggles. And particularly, in the fight against aggression by our common enemy U.S. imperialism, the revolutionary friendship and militant unity of our two Parties and peoples have been daily consolidated and developed. This friendship and this unity of ours are based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; they can stand tests and are unbreakable.

In his speech, Premier Pham Van Dong first of all thanked Premier Chou En-lai for his speech and the Chinese Party, Government and people for their warm and cordial welcome to the delegation. He then said: We wish to express to the 700 million Chinese people, our comrades and brothers, the Vietnamese people's pleasure, enthusiasm and admiration at the great

victories which the Chinese people have recorded in their glorious revolutionary struggle, under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China headed by venerated Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Premier Pham Van Dong praised the Chinese people who are armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought for the great victories they have won in socialist construction by enhancing their valiant revolutionary traditions and bringing into play their self-relying and hard-striving spirit. He also warmly hailed the new victory of the Chinese people in the successful nuclear test on November 18.

He said: The Chinese people are close friends of the oppressed nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and have made great contributions to the struggle against imperialism, neo-colonialism and colonialism headed by the U.S. imperialists. The Government of the People's Republic of China is the promoter of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence as a basis for friendly relations among countries, thereby contributing to the defence of world peace. The restoration of the legitimate position of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is a victory of the Chinese people's persistent struggle; it is also a victory of the world's peoples, which marks a heavy defeat of the U.S. administration in its blockade against China.

Premier Pham Van Dong declared: The Vietnamese people warmly hail the victory of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, resolutely support the Chinese people's struggle for the recovering of Taiwan, part of the indivisible territory of the People's Republic of China.

Referring to President Nixon's November 12 statement on the so-called "next U.S. troop withdrawal," Premier Pham Van Dong pointed out: The roundabout and equivocal statements of the White House have shown the bellicose, obdurate and perfidious nature of the U.S. pirates who aim at maintaining perpetually U.S. occupation troops and the Saigon puppet administration and carrying out neo-colonialism in south Viet Nam. American and world public opinion has exposed the dark designs of the U.S. administration in pursuing the aggressive war in Viet Nam and Indochina.

Premier Pham Van Dong said that the Vietnamese people have enhanced their tenacity, courage and initiative in a firm resolve to persist in, and step up, the fight on the three fronts — military, political and diplomatic — until total victory. After speaking about the fine situation on these three fronts, he said: The 7-point solution presented by Minister Nguyen Thi Binh at the Paris talks is an integrated whole in which two particularly important points stand out.

One, the United States must completely stop its aggressive war in Viet Nam, put a complete end to the "Vietnamization" policy, withdraw totally and without condition all troops, military advisers and personnel, weapons and war materials of the United States and of the other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from south Viet Nam, liquidate the U.S. military bases in south Viet Nam, put an end to all military acts, in any form and from any place whatsoever, against the Vietnamese people in the two zones.

Two, the United States must respect the south Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, withdraw support to, and relinquish all its commitments with the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique, cease all its intervention in the south Viet Nam situation, so as to pave the way for the formation in Saigon of a new administration favouring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, and willing to enter into serious talks with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam with a view to establishing a broad national concord government in south Viet Nam.

These two points of very essential significance are closely interrelated in the sense that the U.S. scheme of "Vietnamization" means to withdraw U.S. troops but still continue the U.S. war of aggression with the puppet forces under the U.S. command and with very strong U.S. aid in particular. Therefore, only should the U.S. withdraw the totality of U.S. troops and at the same time cease the maintaining of Nguyen Van Thieu puppet administration as a tool of the U.S. policy of aggression could the war be settled and peace restored in Viet Nam.

Broad segments of public opinion in the United States and in the world have recognized that the 7-point solution is the correct basis of a solution to the Viet Nam problem. If the U.S. administration really wants to reach a peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam problem, it must respond to the seven points at the Paris talks.

Premier Pham Van Dong went on: The U.S. imperialists have not only prolonged the war of aggression

in south Viet Nam, they have also intensified the special war in Laos and expanded the war to Cambodia, under the illusion of winning success for the "Vietnamization" of the war in south Viet Nam while carrying into effect the "Nixon doctrine" in the two neighbouring countries. But they have miscalculated. The three Indochinese peoples have closely united, and are determined to fight against the U.S. aggressors until total victory.

He declared: The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam warmly hail and fully support the just stand put forward in Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk's March 23, 1970 proclamation and the Political Programme of the National United Front of Cambodia; warmly hail and fully support the 5-point political solution and the April 27, 1971, and June 22, 1971 proposals of the Lao Patriotic Front aimed at a peaceful settlement of the Lao problem on the basis of the 1962 Geneva Agreements and in keeping with the actual situation now obtaining in Laos.

Premier Pham Van Dong continued: The Democratic Republic of Viet Nam is the solid rear area of the heroic south, and is striving hard to fulfil her internationalist duty to the fight of the two fraternal peoples of Laos and Cambodia.

He said: The Vietnamese people's revolutionary cause, our protracted, arduous and certainly victorious struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation are closely linked with the great and valuable support and assistance of the fraternal Chinese people, that is in essence an expression of militant solidarity between the two peoples, in their own interests as well as in the interests of the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

Premier Pham Van Dong then spoke about the excellent situation in the revolutionary struggles of the peoples of various countries today and pledged Viet Nam's firm support for these struggles.

In conclusion, Premier Pham Van Dong said that the relations between Viet Nam and China have unceasingly developed in a favourable way. Recalling the visit to Viet Nam on March 1971 by the Chinese Party and Government Delegation led by Premier Chou En-lai and the recent visit by the Chinese Government Economic Delegation led by Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Premier Pham Van Dong said: The Vietnamese people deeply realize that their victorious fight, formerly in the resistance against the French colonialists, and now in the patriotic resistance against U.S. aggression, and in the building of socialism, is closely linked with the devoted and powerful support and the great, multiform and effective assistance of China. The Vietnamese people are firmly resolved to do everything to strengthen the militant solidarity, to consolidate and develop the relations of friendship and co-operation between our two Parties and our two peoples on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, thereby contributing to promoting the great Viet Nam-China friendship and making it evergreen.

Tsaidam — A Rising Industrial Base

THE Tsaidam basin in northwest China's Chinghai Province is being built into a new industrial base. The vast sandy land is dotted with derricks and factories, and many new towns have sprung up. In place of camels which used to be the only means of conveyance, lorries travel along criss-crossing highways, carrying petroleum, asbestos, lead, zinc, potassium fertilizer and chemical raw materials to other parts of the country.

Hemmed in by the Chilian Mountains on the north and the Kunlun Mountains on the south, the basin — one of the largest in China's interior — covers an area of more than 300,000 square kilometres. Rich in oil, salt, borax, lead, zinc, coal and iron-ore, it also produces gold, silver and other precious metals, while the salt deposits of Lake Chaerhan are sufficient for the people of the whole country for 10,000 years. Small wonder that Tsaidam has earned the name "Basin of Treasures."

However, at the time of liberation in 1949, it was practically desolate except for its eastern strip where, with grassland and adequate water supply, nomads of the Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazakh nationalities grazed cattle and built a few farm settlements. From 1950, survey teams were sent to eastern Tsaidam by the People's Government. Since 1954, geological prospecting teams have continually combed the area for underground resources. During the big leap forward in 1958, guided by the general line of **"going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism"** formulated by Chairman Mao, large numbers of people from all parts of the country went to Tsaidam where they located many ore deposits and built many factories after overcoming innumerable difficulties.

Making Revolution With a Tent and Picks

Step by step, the industrial base has grown in size and modernized its means of production. When the Hsitiéhshan Lead-Zinc Mine was being opened up towards the end of 1957, the few workers there only had a tent, two iron pots, about a dozen shovels and picks and several baskets. With great revolutionary enthusiasm, they excavated over 1,000 tons of ores in less than two months. Gradually achieving semi-mechanization in its operations, the mine has since its inception excavated several hundred thousand tons of ores.

The Chaerhan Potassium Fertilizer Plant along the salt lake was built in 1958 by four cadres and 15 workers who used whatever materials were on hand. It has

developed year after year, and annual output is now close to 1,000 tons.

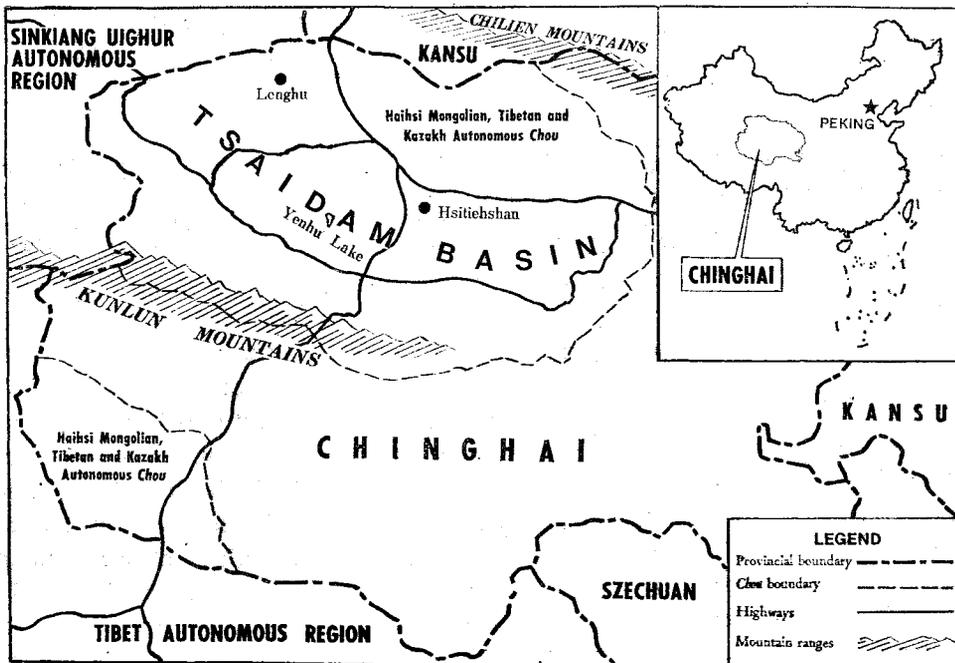
During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a number of new factories sprang up in Tsaidam while the old ones were expanded. The petroleum industry is Tsaidam's largest undertaking. But as a result of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-chi and his gang, no new oilfield was opened up in the eight years before the Great Cultural Revolution. The workers criticized the revisionist line during the Great Cultural Revolution and learnt from the revolutionary spirit of the workers at the Taching Oilfield, pace-setter on China's industrial front. In March 1969, workers flocked in large numbers to western Tsaidam to open up a new oilfield there. Braving the bitter cold of 20-30 degrees below, they built bridges and roads in the mountains and, in the teeth of wind- and snow-storms, installed power transmission lines and derricks, put up factory buildings and manufactured their own equipment. As a result, the new petroleum base was completed in about two years.

Giving Play to Local Initiative

Scores of industries have been built here in a relatively short period, including those producing iron and steel, coal, non-ferrous metals, machinery, petroleum, chemical products, construction materials, leather, sugar and foodstuffs. All this is the result of implementing Chairman Mao's correct principle **"Let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning."**

The concern shown by the Party and Government for building the Tsaidam basin was a great inspiration to the local inhabitants. Filled with enthusiasm, they took the initiative to serve as guides for geological prospecting teams, explored the region for ores or reported their finds to the authorities concerned; they also helped transport materials and equipment.

Isa Achi, a Uighur elder, was so poor before liberation that he and his wife and children had to leave their home in Sinkiang to find a living in Tsaidam. Drifting from place to place for over 30 years, he saw the salt lake and came across various kinds of shimmering ores. But unable to eke out a living, he later returned to Sinkiang. After liberation, he learnt that Chairman Mao had sent people to build up the Tsaidam basin. Though nearly 60, he was so overjoyed that he went back to Tsaidam. With his help, prospect-



Sketch Map of the Tsaidam Basin

ing teams made their way through the desert and found water sources and oil reservoir structures as well as arable land. Through the joint efforts of the prospectors and people of various nationalities living in the area, deposits of different ores were found and many ore-showing points were located in only a few years, thereby providing materials for industrial development in Tsaidam.

To facilitate transportation of large quantities of materials, equipment and personnel into Tsaidam, the People's Government organized thousands of road builders in 1954 and started building the Chinghai-Tibet and Chinghai-Sinkiang highways across the basin. In a little over four years, nearly 2,000 kilometres of motor roads were built in Tsaidam. In 1970 when the Haihsi Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazakh Autonomous Chou decided to build the first sugar refinery in Tsaidam, departments of the central authorities concerned allocated important equipment, and technicians from a sugar refinery in a neighbouring province were sent there to teach national minority workers to master installation and operation of the machinery as well as production techniques. Their help enabled the refinery in the autonomous chou to go into production in March 1971.

Party organizations at various levels and revolutionary masses in Tsaidam showed even greater enthusiasm in developing local industries during the Great Cultural Revolution. Lenghu, a small town with a population of only 2,000 in the western part of the basin, had no local industry before the Cultural Rev-

olution. Bricks needed locally had to be brought in from a neighbouring province more than 200 kilometres away, and soya sauce, vinegar and cakes had to be shipped from a distance.

Collecting funds themselves, organizing workers and cadres' families to take part in productive labour and using local resources, the Lenghu Town Party Committee and its subordinate units have in recent years set up a mica mine, salt field, brick and tile factory, machine repair shop and food processing plant turning out dozens of products. This partially meets the needs of local construction and the people's livelihood.

The Haihsi Mongolian, Tibetan and Kazakh Autonomous Chou has built many small coal pits, copper



Opening a new path through the mountain

mines, iron-smelting plants, power stations, cement plants, chemical fertilizer plants, plants producing machines for farming and animal husbandry as well as animal product processing plants. Total output value of local industries in the autonomous *chou* last year more than doubled that in 1964. With its collective accumulation funds, Wulan County's Tsungwulung People's Commune bought tractors, tractor-drawn farm implements, electric cutters and other equipment and set up small centres repairing machines for farming and animal husbandry. Work on 95 per cent of the commune's cultivated land has been mechanized and this year's acreage is 2.1 times that of 1964 and grain output 2.3 times.

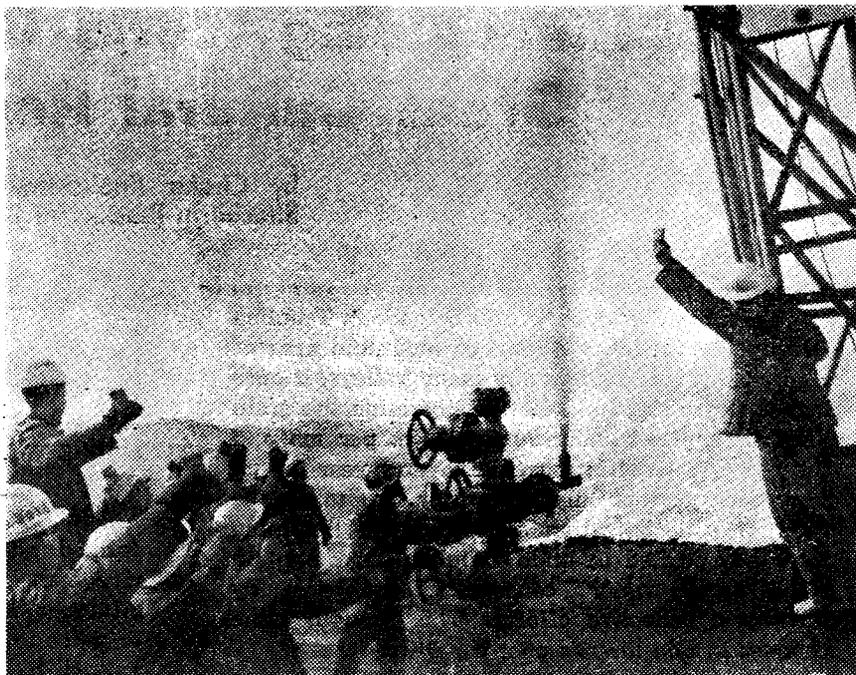
Hard-Working People

Enduring hardship and working hard, a large number of Communist Party members and advanced people in Tsaidam lead the masses in working arduously for the revolutionary cause.

A one-time farm labourer, Communist Party member Yen Ching-yung in 1954 went with the first geological prospecting group to the Tsaidam basin to locate petroleum. Apart from majestic mountains, sandy land and salt fields in the western part of the basin, there were no birds in the sky nor grass on the ground. They had only camels for company.

With ten camels loaded with prospecting equipment, he set out from the base to a worksite 600 to 700 kilometres away. There was no path on the limitless Gobi Desert. But he made his way with the help of a topographical sketch map. At night he slept in the wild desert with his fur coat as a blanket. The weather often changed and the sand in the scorching noon sun was burning so hot that people had difficulty in breathing. Sometimes gales suddenly came up, whipping up sand and pebbles and darkness covered the desert. He made his way in this wretched weather for nine days. Even the camels wandered about looking to quench their thirst. Thinking of Tsaidam's future, Yen Ching-yung was determined to get the equipment to the worksite. After 11 days in the Gobi Desert, he finally got the ten camels there safe and sound.

Over the past dozen years, Yen Ching-yung and the geological prospectors have covered a long distance over the desert. He is now Party branch secretary of a



New flowing well on a high mountain

geological prospecting team and still retains the same tradition of hard struggle he had when he came to the basin. He and the prospecting team members live in tents and work hard on the desert trying to find more petroleum resources for the motherland.

With the development of industry, Tsaidam's first generation of minority nationality workers has come into being. Operating machines and controlling blast furnaces, they work side by side with their Han nationality brothers and sisters to build up their native land.

Wanmatso, a 20-year-old Tibetan girl, is from a poor herdsman family. Her father fled from famine when he was 14 and went begging on the grassland. His head still carries the traces of the herd-owner's whip and his body the scar of a headman's knife.

Emancipated after liberation, the herdsmen became masters of their destiny. When she was 14, Wanmatso was sent to study at a nationality normal school in the autonomous *chou*, and in 1970 she went to the eastern part of the basin to take part in building a sugar refinery. At the time equipment was being installed, Wanmatso had eczema on both legs. The leadership and doctors at the refinery urged her to go to a hospital. Reluctant to leave, she stuck to her post. Working days and nights on end, Wanmatso and her fellow workers finally produced the first bag of refined sugar, thus putting an end to the history of no sugar being made in the Tsaidam basin.

Remoulding World Outlook in Great Cultural Revolution

by Chang Kuei-shun, Secretary of the Party branch of the Shashihiyu Production Brigade in Tsunhua County, Hopei Province

The Shashihiyu Production Brigade in Tsunhua County lies in the northeastern mountain area of Hopei Province. Split up by many valleys, it once lacked water and soil. Before liberation the grain yield here was a mere 70 or 80 *jin* per *mu* and the peasants lived in extreme poverty year in and year out. It was only after they had taken the road of collectivization following the liberation that they started to build farmland on mountain slopes and water conservancy projects by their own collective efforts. This brought some changes in Shashihiyu's poor conditions.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the brigade members, in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, built several hundred *mu* of terraced fields on the stony slopes by first erecting embankments made with stone quarried on the spot and then filling in the plots with soil carried from far off. Their grain yield has gone over 600 *jin* per *mu* and the Shashihiyu Brigade has become a nationally known model in learning from the Tachai Brigade. — *Ed.*

THE Great Cultural Revolution began in our Shashihiyu Brigade in 1966. Chairman Mao has taught us: "The current Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." Our brigade was unable to resist even short dry spells and this revolution is like a timely rain during a long drought as far as Shashihiyu is concerned.

It is hard to imagine which road, socialist or capitalist, a brigade like ours and a man like myself would have taken without this revolution.

Born in a poor peasant family, I was a hired labourer and a beggar who suffered and was oppressed just like any of Shashihiyu's poor and lower-middle peasants. Fleeing a famine I came here in 1933. With the help of other poor people, I earned my living doing odd jobs, peddling and reclaiming waste land. Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party and relying on the poor and lower-middle peasants, I have done some work for our cause from the periods of the War of Resistance Against Japan, the War of Liberation and the co-operative movement up to the present time. Nevertheless, did I ever take the wrong road? I did. It was education in Mao Tsetung Thought that helped me back to the right road whenever I strayed from it.

After the land reform, I was hit by the poisonous idea of getting rich and prosperous — a fallacy spread by Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers like him. The superior Party organization helped me correct my mistakes on time and I was able to join the masses in getting organized and working for the common prosperity.

In 1956 our village and three neighbouring villages formed an advanced farm co-op and I was elected chairman. Class struggle at that time was very acute. Although I was vigilant against sabotage by the class enemies to a certain extent, I couldn't resist being corrupted by bourgeois thinking.

For one thing, someone said to me: "You're now chairman of an advanced co-op. You needn't spend so much time doing manual labour, better concentrate on considering the problems. If you've overlooked something, the losses will be tremendous in a big co-op like ours." I was taken in and gradually stopped taking part in productive labour. What's more, I often called meetings of cadres and they also had no time to do it. As it was inconvenient for us to eat at home if we held a meeting, we cooked and had meals together. Step by step we began making better dishes.

When I went to meetings in the county town I used to walk. Someone said: "Now that you're a cadre, it doesn't suit your position not to ride a bike." "But," I replied, "I haven't the money to buy one." As soon as I said this, someone told me: "That's easy. If you need a bike to go to meetings you can borrow 50 yuan from our public fund." I thought that was fine so I bought one with the 50 yuan I borrowed. When I came back to the village, Li Shu-chun, a veteran Communist Party member, came up to me: "Kuei-shun, you've made a mistake. Brigade members aren't borrowing from the public fund, why should you? You shouldn't have bought a bike if you couldn't pay for it." At the time not only did I not take his advice, I was repelled by it.

Afterwards Liu Shao-chi pushed a revisionist line which allowed the growth of a capitalist force in the rural areas. Through our brigade's tree-tender I also sold my own fruit saplings at high prices on the free market and got a sum of money. Next I thought of building a new house with the money. Since I didn't have sufficient timber, I made use of my leading position to cut down trees belonging to the brigade. Thus, I went quite a long way on this erroneous road.

All these errors had been criticized during the socialist education movement before the Cultural Rev-

olution. However, I then had only a vague idea as to their seriousness and the lessons I should have drawn from them.

Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: **"In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration."** I had a very poor understanding of this teaching in the past. In the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, I came to realize that my previous errors were reflections of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Step by step, the bourgeoisie had dragged me along the capitalist road. The Great Cultural Revolution pulled me back to the socialist road.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the poor and lower-middle peasants told me many times that this time they would help me remould my world outlook at whatever cost. At first, I could not understand this. I figured that my world outlook had long been proletarian and there was no more need of remoulding. After repeated and patient help and education by the Party organization and the poor and lower-middle peasants, I realized that the root cause of my serious mistakes was that I had not remoulded my world outlook well and the concept of self-interest still occupied a place in my mind.

I had always thought I had a deep feeling for Chairman Mao and the Communist Party because I came from a poor peasant family and suffered a lot in the old society and I owed everything to Chairman Mao and the Party. Now I realized that such a feeling derived from my personal emancipation was only a simple class feeling, not the proletarian world outlook. Only when the proletariat emancipates all mankind can it achieve its final emancipation. If a person thinks only of his own emancipation and happiness and works for himself, he is likely to slide down the wrong road.

I used to think that if I had not earned merit in bringing about the enormous changes of Shashihiyu, at least I had made efforts. What did it matter even if I made some mistakes! This erroneous idea was corrected by the poor and lower-middle peasants during the Great Cultural Revolution. I recited my merits, but they also helped me review my personal history. They said: "You came to Shashihiyu in 1933 and joined the Party in 1941. But why couldn't you lead us in making revolution between 1933 and 1941?" This touched my very soul.

I was over 30 when I joined the Party. However, before that time I didn't know what revolution meant so I couldn't take the lead in making revolution in Shashihiyu. Thanks to the Party's education since 1941, I came to understand the meaning of revolution and raised my ability in the course of working for the revolution. We gradually improved conditions in Shashihiyu by acting in accordance with Chairman Mao's in-

structions and relying on the hard struggles of the masses. We owe our achievements to Chairman Mao and the masses. If anyone claims credit for himself, assumes the airs of a self-styled hero above the masses and enjoys privileges because of his position, then he must become an overlord sitting on the backs of the people and a new exploiter.

The struggle between self-interest and public interest is one between the two world outlooks. The root of my mistakes was the selfishness in my mind. Unless this is conquered, it is impossible to completely foster the proletarian world outlook.

With this understanding, I conscientiously corrected my mistakes by exposing my selfishness, went among the masses and criticized myself and took an active part in collective productive labour. While mobilizing the masses to carry out revolutionary mass criticism of my mistakes, I corrected mistakes by action.

For a brief period, I could not work smoothly with Comrade Li Shu-wang, deputy secretary of our Party branch. I was mainly responsible for the disharmony that existed since he is much younger. When I was secretary of the Party branch he was still the leader of the Children's Corps in the village. He later was admitted into the Communist Youth League and the Party and then became a member of the Party branch committee. During one period in the Great Cultural Revolution he was the Party branch secretary, but because of my previous record I didn't accept this. Arrogantly resting on my past record, I could hardly listen to the masses' opinions. When he let me know what they had said, I felt he was deliberately trying to make trouble for me.

Guided by the line of unity and victory of the Ninth Party Congress, I had many heart-to-heart talks with Comrade Li and criticized my mistakes harshly. Through criticism and self-criticism, we have strengthened our unity.

Before the Great Cultural Revolution, I got some favours from the collective. After realizing my mistakes in this respect, I felt extremely ashamed. I made up my mind to correct them and never forget the class brothers who had suffered bitterly in the old society. I moved from my newly built house to the old place I had once lived in and made the new house available for collective use. This Cultural Revolution has further raised my consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines and strengthened the unity between the Party branch deputy secretary and myself. This promoted the revolutionization of our leading group and the development of our brigade's revolution and construction.

Through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, I have deeply realized the seriousness of the mistakes I committed in the past few years. I am now clear on what is the socialist road and what is the capitalist road. On the basis of this understanding, I am determined to carry the revolution through to the end along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

After Learning From the Tachai Brigade

by Tsin Yen-shih

Led by its Party branch committee, the Tachai Brigade in a mountainous area of north China's Shansi Province has displayed the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle. Transforming mountains and solving the problem of water shortage 1,000 metres above sea level, it has turned barren slopes into farmland giving high and stable yields. A poor village before liberation, the brigade has become a vigorous socialist village.

In 1964, Chairman Mao issued the call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai" to the whole nation. Since the start of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the mass movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture has spread everywhere in rural China. Hsiyang County where the Tachai Brigade is located has become a Tachai-type county. This article is an account of the situation of the villages in Shansi since the learn from Tachai movement got going in the province in an all-round way. — Ed.

DURING my recent trip to Shansi's more than 30 counties I was pleased to find that promising changes have come about in the year since the province learnt from its Tachai Brigade.

Widespread Popularization

In Hsiyang, the first Tachai-type county in the province, I was delighted to see the stairways of terraced fields on the slopes and the newly cultivated river-side farmland protected by strong stone dykes as well as the big ears on stout stalks. Last year, the county's average output per head was 1,000 *jin*. One then still could see the difference in crops on the plains, lower slopes and hills. In this year's mid-August trip to Hsiyang, I no longer saw this in many places. Green carpet-like crops are the same on slopes and plains. How did these changes come about?

In the past year, the Hsiyang County Party Committee continued to pay great attention to the revolutionization of the leading groups*. Deepening the movement of criticizing revisionism and rectifying the work style, it promptly resolved problems arising among the leading groups. Leadership at the three levels—county, commune and brigade—was of one accord and the county's 200,000 people were of one mind. This was followed by better crops. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, secretary of county Party committee,

said: "I'm quite sure the surplus grain Hsiyang will deliver and sell to the state this year will be close to or over the county's total 1966 output."

Going south from Hsiyang, I came to the basin in central and southern Shansi Province. Then I went up to the Luliang Mountain area in the north. I saw that the Tachai experience was gradually being spread everywhere, from brigade to commune and then to county. There were some advanced brigades in learning from Tachai in the province before, but no big changes took place as far as a large area was concerned. The Great Cultural Revolution has integrated Mao Tsetung Thought with the masses. Many Tachai-type counties and communes have come to the fore by following the Hsiyang County's example.

Last year's per-mu grain yield of Pingshun County in the Taihang Mountains reached its set target. This year there have been new developments. Model farmer and county Party secretary Comrade Li Shun-ta told me: "We were hit by three big floods this summer. But output in some 200 brigades in our county is expected to rise as a result of the Tachai spirit and the staunch fight against natural disaster." This was unimaginable in the past.

So long as there are revolutionized leading groups, there is a new outlook in learning from Tachai. This can be seen clearly in the changes in big brigades. Every county has big brigades with 500, 600 or as many as 1,000 households. Although the number of such brigades makes up one-third or one-fourth the

* The leading groups of the Party committees and revolutionary committees at various levels refer to the collectives which exercise leadership. Revolutionization of the leading groups includes revolutionization of every member taking part in it. The main contents are as follows:

Conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and adhere to the principle of integrating theory with practice;

Conscientiously implement the Party's line, principle and policies and adhere to the correct political orientation;

Conscientiously carry out the Party's democratic centralism, practise collective leadership and be united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism;

Persistently take part in collective productive labour, maintain a fine work style, go among the masses and not be divorced from reality;

Uphold truth and correct mistakes, be daring in criticism and self-criticism.

total number in the county, the percentage of population, farmland and output is far higher. So the changes in them have had a rather big influence on the whole county. In general, while these brigades have good natural conditions, class struggle is sharp and capitalist tendencies were grave. Their lagging behind was an important reason why their county or commune was backward for a long time. In the past year, based on Hsiyang's experience, many counties combined unfolding class struggle, Party rectification and Party building with the learn from Tachai movement. They strengthened the leading groups of these backward units, helping many of them to leap into the ranks of the advanced. Some brigades doubled production in a year. Originally dependent on the state for part of their food grain, some brigades now sell surplus grain, the amount of which surpasses the total grain sold by several communes in the past.

The Chinchia Brigade in Tunliu County usually sowed a large area but got fairly low yields because it has a small population and large tracts of land. By reversing the serious soil erosion situation, its per-mu output last year went up to 420 jin.

In some places, high yields have been reached this year in wheat and millet which used to be considered low yielding. The per-mu wheat output from 2,500 mu of irrigated land in one brigade in Wenshui County exceeds 700 jin this year, with yields of more than 1,000 jin each on 300 mu.

Some chilly high altitude regions also have reported big grain increases.

Encouraging news came from Chincheng County's Hsiaochuang Brigade, one of the typical brigades which saw a big change in the past year. In a hilly region, practically all the brigade's 2,300-mu farmland was not irrigated. After the agricultural co-operation movement per-mu output had been around 300 jin for a long time. Since October last year the new Party branch led the masses in a hard struggle in learning from Tachai, and they had turned additional 900 mu into irrigated farmland. When I visited the brigade, I saw commune members busy with capital construction to expand their irrigated fields. The brigade expects a big increase in grain output this year.

Education in Ideology and Political Line

During my visit, I contacted many people, including commune members, cadres at the grass-roots level and leading cadres. The change in their mental outlook reflects the big results of the education in political line over the past year.



Reservoir built by Anping Commune's Anping Brigade in Hsiyang County.

The fundamental thing in Tachai's experience is educating people in Mao Tsetung Thought. Before, what some people learnt was only the superficial and not the fundamental and there were no results from their study. Last year, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the Shansi Provincial Revolutionary Committee emphasized education in ideology and political line. This greatly raised people's consciousness in learning what is fundamental from Tachai.

I visited Yicheng County's Hsiliangpi Production Brigade. As I neared the village, I saw a stretch of cultivated land with a solitary block of houses. In talking with me, Comrade Yang Chuan-yuan, secretary of the brigade's Party branch, dealt first with this block of houses. He gave a vivid account of the ups and downs in learning from Tachai which began in this brigade in 1965. Six times it had sent people to Tachai. Seeing that Tachai had built new dwelling caves, they also started building new houses. But this was strongly opposed by the commune members and the work had to be halted because plots of the brigade's cultivated land were occupied and trees felled. Many times, they adopted such methods from Tachai as allotment of work points and mechanically applied them in their own brigade. As a result, farm output was unstable and backwardness remained unchanged. Last year, the masses were mobilized to draw a lesson from their failure to learn what was fundamental in Tachai's experience and conscientiously consolidated the leading body. The members of the new Party branch committee again went to learn from Tachai. After returning, they put politics in command, paid great attention to educating people in Mao Tsetung Thought and launched a mass movement to study

Chairman Mao's works. This helped raise the masses' political consciousness and bring about a leap forward in production and the brigade has thus entered the ranks of outstanding units in less than a year.

I received a vivid education in political line during my visit to the Shangyao Commune in Licheng County which is on the southern bank of a stream in the Taihang Mountains. The stream flowed into a deep gully and the farmland on the mountain slope was dry all year. Responding to Chairman Mao's call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," Comrade Kao Chang-chun, secretary of the commune's Party committee, was determined to lead the poor and lower-middle peasants to build a canal in winter 1965. But he was reproached for this by a capitalist roader in power in the old county Party committee and they were not allowed to start the project.

Resisting coercion, Kao Chang-chun spoke in a firm voice: "No one can cow or subdue us!" At a mobilization meeting, he gave each of the 350 commune members taking part in the project a copy of Chairman Mao's works which he had bought with his own wages. After five years of hard work, they built a 50-li canal and dug 18 tunnels. Half the commune's land has been benefited this year, averaging one *mu* of irrigated land per person. This has fundamentally put an end to their dependence on the state for part of their food grain and has laid the foundation for farmland promising high and stable yields.

Scientific Farming

In learning from Tachai, many counties engaged in large-scale farmland capital construction which fundamentally changed the basic farming conditions. Some mobilized the masses to develop local industries by relying on their own efforts and strive for farm mechanization. Others carried out scientific farming and technical revolution.

The production brigades I visited generally had their own scientific research groups and experimental plots. In many Hsinhsien County brigades, such groups were very active in studying many aspects of agricultural production. They experimented on small plots and popularized their achievements in large areas. The good strain of sorghum widely popularized in Shansi this year was obtained by the Liushih Brigade after experimentation. Per-*mu* yield of such sorghum generally reached over 1,000 *jin*, the highest more than 2,100 *jin*. The brigade's scientific research groups began cultivating high-yield seeds on two-fifths of a *mu* and the acreage sown to such seed has been extended to more than 320 *mu*. They increased the number of crops included in research items from two—sorghum and maize—to a dozen or so and the seed strains they experimented on rose from several to over 2,000. Apart from meeting Shansi's needs, the brigade has in the past three years supplied 25 other provinces and cities with more than 2.3 million *jin* of good strains, including maize and sorghum.



Members of a scientific research group of the Chitsun Brigade in Hsinhsien County pollinating a new strain of sorghum artificially.

In continuing to expand farmland capital construction, engaging in scientific and careful farming, many places felt the manpower shortage. Now it is imperative to quicken the pace of farm mechanization so as to release people from manual labour.

Starting from renovating farm tools, the Nancheng Brigade of Changchih County has blazed a new trail for attaining mechanization by self-reliance. Rows of wells, lines of electric poles and a network of canals are now in existence. The brigade has six tractors, 80-odd electric motors and thousands of other farm machines and tools. By building many small factories itself, it has basically achieved mechanization or semi-mechanization. Moreover, the brigade has set up a "May 7" agricultural middle school for students to study politics, science and technology and raise their educational level. It has trained a number of workers who have both socialist consciousness and culture and can farm with a hoe and work with a hammer. Like the Nancheng Brigade, some other brigades I went to use revolutionization to lead mechanization forward and bring about a big leap in agriculture.

Popularizing Tachai's experience from isolated points to a whole area so as to quickly build every one of the province's counties into Tachai-type counties like Hsiyang is still only beginning. But it is heartening that an upsurge in the mass movement to learn from Tachai has been going on and that there is a good situation in which people are vying with each other to move ahead.

The Indochinese People Are Invincible

Fighting in unity, the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia have severely punished U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, further frustrated the U.S. imperialists' "Vietnamization" plan and the "Nixon doctrine" of using Indochinese to fight Indochinese and won brilliant victories of great strategic importance during the year.

DURING the year the armed forces and people of the three Indochinese countries have scored a series of new victories, including those at Pochentong Airport, on Highway 4 and Highway 9, at Snoul, in northeastern Cambodia, and in the Tay Nguyen and U Minh areas.

Since the beginning of the year U.S. imperialism has been intensifying its "Vietnamization" programme in an effort to avert defeat on the Indochinese battlefield. It sent Saigon puppet troops armed with new U.S. weapons into a new military adventure, while resorting to the "troop withdrawal" trick.

New Military Adventures Crushed

Last spring, U.S. imperialism sent tens of thousands of "crack" Saigon puppet troops, including almost all the puppet army's strategic mobile forces, supported by the U.S. air force and army, to attack the southern part of Laos and the liberated areas in northeastern Cambodia. It had hoped to destroy the three Indochinese peoples' communication lines and resistance bases in order to "isolate" and "pacify" the liberated areas in south Viet Nam. But the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia were aware of U.S. imperialism's new scheme and were fully prepared. In close co-ordination with the army and people of south Viet Nam, the armed forces and people in the southern part of Laos displayed the might of people's war and crushed the U.S.-puppet "heliborne," "armour-spearheaded," "leap-frogging" and other tactics in 43 days of fighting, wiping out over 16,000 U.S.-puppet troops, including 4 entire brigades, 2 regiments and 8 artillery battalions of "crack" Saigon puppet troops. They smashed the enemy military adventure and won the Highway 9 victory.

Meanwhile, the armed forces and people of north Quang Tri Province in south Viet Nam wiped out over 7,000 enemy troops in two months during successive attacks against the rear bases and communication lines of U.S.-puppet troops which had intruded into Laos.

In northeastern Cambodia, the patriotic armed forces and people badly battered the invading enemy and smashed the massive invasions and "mopping-up" operations of the Saigon puppet troops, annihilating over 13,000 enemies in less than two months.

The big victories on Highway 9 and in northeastern Cambodia show the invincible strength of the three Indochinese peoples who are fighting in unity and prove that they have the initiative on the battlefield.

Saigon Puppet Troops Hard Hit

U.S. imperialism tries to arm and expand the puppet forces, prop up comparatively "stable" puppet regimes and make them the vanguard in fighting for U.S. imperialism so as to continue to drag out and expand the war of aggression in Viet Nam and other parts of Indochina. However, facts prove that this is only wishful thinking by the U.S. imperialists. Since they could not win by mobilizing hundreds of thousands of U.S. and satellite troops, how can the puppet troops save them from defeat?

The Saigon puppet troops, the backbone for implementing the U.S. imperialist "Vietnamization" plan for the war, have suffered heavy blows. More than 300,000 of them were wiped out last year and nearly 130,000, some of them being the puppet army's important strategic mobile forces, were put out of action during the first half of this year. The "pacification" plan, another important integral part of the U.S. imperialist "Vietnamization" plan, has also gone bankrupt. Incomplete statistics show that from the beginning of 1969 to the end of March this year, the south Vietnamese people and armed forces destroyed a total of over 8,500 "strategic hamlets" and "concentrated residential areas," wiped out and disintegrated over 400 enemy "pacification regiments" and regained control over 3,600 hamlets with a population of 3 million. In the U Minh area, one of the main targets of the enemy "pacification" and "mopping-up" operations, the local armed forces and people smashed many enemy "mopping-up" operations by people's guerrilla warfare, wiping out over 12,300 Saigon puppet troops in the last ten months.

Sign of "Vietnamization" Plan's Failure

Suffering a series of heavy blows from the three Indochinese armed forces and people, the Saigon puppet troops' combat capability not only was weakened, but they are also demoralized and opposition to the war and war-weariness are rapidly spreading among them.

More and more puppet officers and men, unwilling to continue to risk their lives for U.S. imperialism, are deserting or crossing over one after another to the side of the people. In central Trung Bo alone, over 18,300 Saigon puppet soldiers deserted in the first six months of this year. There was mass desertion by whole platoons or whole companies. The Lao Rightist troops and Lon Nol puppet troops fostered by U.S. imperialism were also wiped out in large numbers and were thrown into a state of confusion. The puppet troops' daily enfeeblement and disintegration are blocking U.S. imperialism's attempt to set up a "powerful" so-called "self-defence" puppet force. This is an important sign of the failure of the "Vietnamization" plan and the "Nixon doctrine" of U.S. imperialism.

As a result of disastrous military failure by U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, its puppet cliques in Indochina, riddled with internal contradictions and disintegrating, have become more and more corrupt and are cracking up. The various factions in the Phnom Penh puppet clique are scheming against each other and locked in strife and their contradictions are sharpening. The same is the case with the Vientiane puppet clique. The various factions in the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak puppet clique, whose internal conflicts intensified last April as a result of their power struggle, are again struggling more and more openly. Stagnant production, serious inflation, sky-rocketing prices, the unbearable life of the people and gloomy prospects for the economy are characteristic of the economic situation in the areas temporarily controlled by the Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane puppet cliques and have aroused stronger discontent and resistance by the people of various strata. The people's patriotic struggle against the U.S.-puppet clique in the enemy-occupied areas in south Viet Nam is surging wave upon wave. All this shows that no matter how U.S. imperialism fosters and equips this pack of lackeys, it cannot save them from their inevitable collapse.

The Vietnamese, Lao and Cambodian peoples' tremendous victories have again upset the aggressive deployment of U.S. imperialism and deepened its political, economic and social crises. But, unreconciled to defeat, it is continuing to use the counter-revolutionary dual tactics of war adventure and political deception in an attempt to prolong and expand its war of aggression. While paying lip-service to a "peaceful settlement," it refuses by every means to respond to the 7-point peace proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. At the same time, it is trying its best to expand the puppet troops, prop up the puppet regimes, continue to carry out the "Vietnamization" plan, step up its "pacification" and "mopping-up" operations in south Viet Nam and muster

Lao Rightist troops and Thai mercenaries to start "nibbling" offensives against the Plain of Jars-Xieng Khoang Area and the liberated zone in Lower Laos. While intensifying its war of aggression in Cambodia, U.S. imperialism of late openly carried out wanton bombing raids on the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, an open war threat against the D.R.V.N. All this has fully exposed the bellicose nature of U.S. imperialism.

The development of the military situation in Indochina shows, however, that no matter how desperately U.S. imperialism struggles, it cannot save itself from its doom of complete failure. United in struggle, the 50 million Indochinese people are invincible.

News of Victories Keeps Coming

The armed forces and people of the three Indochinese countries recently unleashed fierce attacks against the enemy on all battlefields, wiping out many U.S. and puppet effectives.

The South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces in Tay Ninh and Quang Tri Provinces mounted successive attacks against the enemy and put large numbers of U.S. and puppet troops out of action. According to incomplete statistics, from September 20 to October 20, the South Viet Nam People's Liberation Armed Forces killed, wounded or captured over 2,200 enemy troops in Tay Ninh Province alone including 50 U.S. troops, battered the puppet 50th multi-battalion unit and 10 infantry battalions and annihilated or demolished 16 enemy companies.

The Lao patriotic people and armed forces have attacked the enemy heroically and resourcefully on all battlefields. From October 1 to October 10 they repeatedly struck at the enemy in Xieng Khoang Province who was making "nibbling" attacks in the southern part of the Plain of Jars and dealt the enemy a serious blow.

Initial reports show that in the 25 days from September 25 to October 20, the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces in the Krek battlefield, Kompong Cham Province, in close co-ordination with the South Viet Nam P.L.A.F. in Tay Ninh Province, put more than 1,400 enemy troops out of action.

The Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces launched offensives recently against the Phnom Penh puppet forces on Highway 6. In 10 days, from the night of October 26 to November 4, they killed or wounded more than 3,000 enemies. On the night of November 12 and the following morning, the Cambodian liberation armed forces wiped out an entire enemy brigade and liberated the town of Rum Luong and its vicinity in attacks on the Phnom Penh puppet troops there.

ROUND THE WORLD

MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Lima Declaration Unanimously Adopted

Held in the Peruvian capital of Lima between October 28 and November 8, the Second Ministerial Conference of Developing Countries unanimously adopted the Lima Declaration.

This declaration includes a statement on principles, a programme of action, measures to be adopted by the developing countries, measures which the developing countries want the "developed countries" to adopt, and relations among the developing countries after the conference. It condemns the superpowers' armament race, colonialism, racialism, occupation of the territory of other countries and pressures exerted on them.

The declaration points out that the developing countries have "complete and unlimited sovereignty over their territorial and maritime raw materials and riches." It says that external reprisal and any measure of external pressure of an economic or political nature due to the recovery of national resources by the developing countries are a gross violation of the principle of self-determination and non-intervention. The declaration also calls for "full participation" by developing countries "in any prior consultations and decision making on the reform of the world trade and monetary system." It demands that the United States cancel the 10 per cent import surcharge and other measures affecting the trade of the developing countries.

Speaking at the closing session, Peruvian Foreign Minister Mercado Jarrin, chairman of the conference,

pointed out: "The Lima Declaration reflects very clearly our struggle against inequality, injustice and all forms of imperialism." He said that the result of the conference was a reaffirmation of the close friendly relations between Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Addressing the conference, delegates from many Asian, African and Latin American countries strongly opposed the plunder and exploitation by imperialist countries headed by the United States and called for unity against big-power hegemony. The declaration indicates the position to be taken by the developing countries at the United Nations Commission on Trade and Development (U.N.C.T.A.D.) meeting to be held in the Chilean capital of Santiago next April.

JAPAN

Okinawa "Reversion" Agreement Opposed

With the Sato government trying to force ratification of the Okinawa "reversion" agreement at the Diet session which opened on October 16, a new nationwide mass struggle against the agreement and for the overthrow of the reactionary Sato government is surging ahead.

Beginning October 4, the masses in Tokyo, Osaka, Okinawa and other places began a sustained struggle against the agreement. Well over one million people simultaneously held rallies, strikes and demonstrations on October 21 in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagoya and more than 790 other places throughout Japan.

On November 10, another wave of struggle by hundreds of thousands of people rolled over more than 200

places. That day, one hundred thousand Okinawan workers staged a general strike, the biggest there since the war. Protest slogans such as "Resolutely smash the Okinawa 'reversion' agreement!" "Prevent the current Diet session from ratifying the Okinawa 'reversion' agreement!" "Oppose revival of Japanese militarism!" "Restore diplomatic relations between Japan and China immediately!" and "Overthrow the Sato Cabinet!" reverberated throughout Japan.

Ignoring strong defiance from the broad masses of the Japanese people and the opposition parties, however, the Sato government railroaded the agreement through the Lower House "Ad Hoc Committee on the Okinawa Reversion Agreement" on the afternoon of November 17 so as to lay the groundwork to force adoption of the agreement at the plenary sessions of both houses of the Diet. This move aroused anger on the part of the people and accelerated the development of the struggle.

On November 19, two million workers and employees staged a nationwide general strike, protesting the government's anti-people's policy and demanding that Prime Minister Sato immediately step down. In the evening there were massive demonstrations by hundreds of thousands of people in various parts of the country. In scale and numbers taking part, the strike and demonstrations during the day were among the biggest Japan has seen in the past decade.

Okinawa was occupied by U.S. imperialism in June 1945. According to the Japan-U.S. "peace treaty" which was signed in San Francisco in 1951 and went into effect on April 28, 1952, the Japanese authorities put Okinawa under U.S. "trusteeship." After occupying Okinawa, U.S. imperialism turned it into one of the largest military bases in Asia. More than 140 U.S. military bases scattered

At the U.N.

China's Stand on "Question of Refugees From East Pakistan"

Representative Fu Hao of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the United Nations made a speech on the afternoon of November 19 setting forth the Chinese Government's stand on the so-called "question of refugees from East Pakistan" when this question was discussed at a meeting of the Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee) of the U.N. General Assembly.

Fu Hao said, "The Chinese Government and people have always held that the internal affairs of any country should be settled by the people of the country themselves. The question that has arisen in East Pakistan is purely Pakistan's internal affairs which can only be settled by the Pakistan people themselves, and no country has the right to interfere in it under any pretext."

"The so-called question of refugees from East Pakistan came into being and developed to its present state due

to a certain country's intervention in Pakistan's internal affairs, which has resulted in the present tension on the Subcontinent," he continued. "Recently the Pakistan Government has repeatedly proposed relaxing the tension on the Subcontinent and settling the refugee question. But all these proposals have been rejected by the country concerned. It continues to exploit the question of refugees from East Pakistan to interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan, to carry out subversive activities against her and obstruct the return of the East Pakistan refugees to their homeland, making it impossible to reach a reasonable settlement of the question of the East Pakistan refugees. These tactics of interference in the internal affairs of other countries are well known to the Chinese Government and people. In our experience, a certain neighbouring country plotted a rebellion in the Tibetan region of our country and carried out subversive activities. When the rebellion it plotted was smashed by the Chinese

people, it coerced tens of thousands of Chinese inhabitants into going to its country, creating a question of so-called 'Tibetan refugees' in wild opposition to China. We hold that in order to attain a reasonable settlement of the question of refugees from East Pakistan, interference in Pakistan's internal affairs must first of all be stopped. Only in this way can the East Pakistan refugees truly be assisted in returning to their homeland."

He stressed in conclusion, "The Chinese Government has always abided by the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, never interfered in the internal affairs of other countries, and is firmly opposed to any country interfering in the internal affairs of other countries under the pretext of a so-called 'refugee question' or anything else. As for disputes between states, we have always held that they should be settled through consultation between the countries concerned. We believe that the broad masses of the Pakistan people are patriotic, are opposed to foreign interference, and they will certainly be able to solve their own problems."

about the islands take up over 60 per cent of Okinawa's farm land. Equipped with missiles, nuclear warheads, bacteriological and chemical weapons, over 50,000 U.S. troops are stationed there. At the same time, there are U.S. spy and intelligence organizations of varied descriptions. U.S. imperialism has converted Okinawa into a forward position to subvert and invade Asian countries.

The so-called agreement was signed on June 17 of this year by the United States and Japan after

Sato and Nixon worked it out in November 1969.

Under the agreement, the United States only returned its "administrative rights" over Okinawa, while holding on to and using all military bases and installations without any time limit. Furthermore, the United States has brought Japan's armed forces into Okinawa, thus lining up Japanese military strength with its own aggressive deployment in the West Pacific. This agreement, therefore, is an indenture by which the

reactionary Sato government sells out Japan's national interests. It is also an important move by which the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are stepping up preparations for war of aggression in Asia with Japan as the shock force.

The agreement was strongly opposed as soon as it was made public. The present upsurge of the mass struggle further demonstrates the Japanese people's determination and powerful fighting strength to shatter the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries' despicable schemes.

Speeches Welcoming China's Delegation

By Assembly President and Representatives

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 morning of November 15, Adam Malik, President of the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, and the representatives of 23 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 Adam Malik, President of The 26th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations

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

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

Speech by Abdalla Yaccoub Bishara, Permanent Representative Of Kuwait to the United Nations (On Behalf of the Asian States)

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

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

The United Nations was, as diplomats acknowledged, artificial without China's participation. The burning issues that are looming over the world, such as disarmament, international security and peace, especially in Southeast Asia, could not be solved without the active and constructive role of China. Neither the United Nations, in its quest for implementing its goals and purposes enshrined in the Charter, nor the countries of the world, with all their different systems and policies, could afford the absence of China.

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

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

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

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

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

Speech by Milan Klusak, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia (on Behalf of The East European States)

On behalf of the Delegations of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the

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

We can only regret that, contrary to historical facts and the essential principles of the Charter of the United Nations, we had to fight so long to achieve this. This again confirms the fact that the Charter, its principles and purposes may not be infringed. Constant respect for the principle of universality is continually progressing, and this is not only in the interests of the United Nations, but above all, in the interests of the peoples which this organization must serve.

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

In this connection we should like to stress our firm conviction that we shall soon be able to achieve a solution of the pending problems which prevent implementation of the principle of universality in the United Nations. The governments of countries on behalf of which I am speaking have from the beginning firmly and consistently taken an uncompromising stand regarding the exclusive right of the People's Republic of China to occupy its lawful right as a founding member of the United Nations. This requirement was predicated on historical reality which was forged by the Chinese people through its triumphant revolutionary struggle in 1949. Historical developments have firmly proved the correctness of our view upon which our socialist countries constantly insisted as a matter of principle for over 22 years. It also confirmed how just was our position when our countries were stating that all efforts on the part of the United States and its friends to prevent the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the United Nations only did harm to the work of the organization and to its effectiveness in the maintenance of international peace and security. Consideration of this question at the present session of the General Assembly, and the struggle around the adoption of the resolution, confirmed ever more clearly the

responsibility of the United States and those who supported its position for this lengthy delay in the solution of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations.

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

Speech by Robert Fack, Permanent Representative of the Netherlands To the United Nations (on Behalf Of the West European and Other States)

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

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

The People's Republic of China has been a political reality for 22 years now and its Government has been in effective control of China for all of this time and for all to see. The absence from our organization of the People's Republic of China has, as our Secretary-General has repeatedly reminded us, given an air of artificiality to the United Nations. Our organization is destined to be, in the words of the Charter, "a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations" and it has been clear for some considerable time that no world organization can live up to this basic purpose if it does not have in its midst the delegates of a great power representing not only hundreds of millions of human beings but also, and perhaps particularly, an ancient and venerable culture exercising vast influence in many parts of the world.

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

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

If I may in conclusion add a few words on behalf of the Delegation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I should like to say to our colleagues of the People's Republic of China that my delegation is looking forward to co-operating and exchanging views with them on a wide range of subjects not only during this session of the General Assembly but also, of course, in the years to come both within and outside the United Nations. My delegation wholeheartedly welcomes the Chinese Delegation and hopes and expects that the participation of our new colleagues in our labours here will constitute a tremendous step forward in the field of world-wide co-operation.

Speech by K.B. Andersen, Minister For Foreign Affairs of Denmark (On Behalf of the Five Nordic States)

Mr. President,

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

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

To those of us who, during all these years, never failed to support the rights of the Government of the People's Republic to take the seat of China in the United Nations as the only government which can lawfully

represent that country, this is a day of great satisfaction and feeling of accomplishment. We are convinced that China has a great contribution to make in all fields of the work of the United Nations.

The Governments of the five Nordic countries are gratified that China can now play its proper role in the United Nations. We consider this to be of the greatest importance to the organization itself and to the endeavours within the framework of the United Nations to safeguard international peace and security and promote co-operation among nations for the benefit of all mankind. The Governments of Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and Denmark welcome the representatives of China to these urgent and exacting tasks. The five Governments wish them the best of luck in their future endeavours in the United Nations and are looking forward to a fruitful co-operation.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Speech by Mehdi Mrani Zentar, Permanent Representative of Morocco to the United Nations (On Behalf of the Arab States)

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

Most of the Arab countries, including my own country, Morocco, have for many years had not only established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China, for that would have only a limited significance, but also relations of trust in the areas of co-operation and trade, which often constitute the best foundation for friendship. The Arab world has a just and humanitarian cause to defend. Thus, the

Arab countries participate with conviction and determination side by side with the countries of the third world, of which they are an integral part, in the general struggle that those countries are carrying on for freedom, for the political, economic and social advancement of oppressed peoples, and for prosperity to be better shared throughout the world. We carry on our action in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, the declaration on international security and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. In that perspective we are happy to note that we very often find ourselves thinking and acting alike, in concert, with a large majority of countries of good will which are members of this organization.

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

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

Speech by George Bush, Permanent Representative of the United States Of America to the United Nations (As Host Country)

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

Their presence here makes the United Nations more reflective of the world as it now exists and we

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

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

Speech by Sami Baholli, Permanent Representative of Albania to The United Nations

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

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

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

the insurmountable barrier against the plans for hegemony of the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists.

Everyone knows that, under the dictate of the United States of America, this organization was guilty of a grave injustice committed against the Chinese people and the People's Republic of China in denying them, for 22 years in a row, their legitimate seat that had been usurped by the puppet clique of Chiang Kai-shek, rejected for ever by the Chinese people in the victory of their triumphant revolution. All this remains as a blot on the history of this organization but, meanwhile, justice and truth have prevailed, rendering null and void the American conspiracy to impose on the organization a policy of "two Chinas" or of "one China, one Taiwan." In the face of the incontrovertible facts, in the face of the strength of the Chinese people and the ever-increasing role played by the People's Republic of China on the international stage, in the face also of its just revolutionary policy, the policy of hostility and isolation persistently pursued by the United States of America against the People's Republic of China has shamefully failed. Until not long ago the United States of America would not even agree to inscription on the agenda of the question of the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. But justice triumphed and the United States of America was isolated, and the representatives of the People's Republic of China today have occupied their seats among us in this Assembly. This is but one more proof of the fact that the United Nations cannot do without the great socialist China because, without its participation and the contribution it can make, no important international problem can find a just and effective solution. The People's Republic of Albania, ever since the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on 1 October, 1949 in Tien An Men Square, has consistently maintained that, despite all obstruction by its enemies, China would occupy the seat rightfully belonging to it in the United Nations. We have struggled for that cause in the firm conviction that victory would be ours, together with other peace-loving states. The majority of this Assembly has always been in heart and mind at the side of the Chinese people, at the side of the People's Republic of China in their just cause. This was clearly proved by the great victory of the resolution sponsored by Albania and 22 other states, which at the same time constituted the expression of the will and the persistent demand of all the peoples of the world.

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

rade Chou En-lai, we read, among other things, the following:

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

The 23 states co-sponsoring the resolution on the restoration of the rights of China are today justly proud to see the representatives of the Chinese people sitting in this Assembly, for this event at the same stage crowns with success their indefatigable efforts, their victorious struggle waged for years against the opponents of the restoration of China's rights in the United Nations. We are convinced that the small and middle-sized countries, the overwhelming majority of this Assembly, greet with great joy and love the representatives of the Chinese people. This is why the victory scored here by the peace-loving member states is an event important not only for the Chinese people but for all of us. It is a great achievement in their struggle for the future of the United Nations and it creates possibilities for saving this organization from further decline and for freeing it from the nefarious influence of the two great powers, for putting it back on the road of rehabilitation and regeneration so that it will be able to perform the duties incumbent upon it under the provisions of the Charter. The presence of the representatives of People's China here, as has often been emphasized in the debates in the General Assembly on this question, is a source of great encouragement for all peace-loving member states and is an incalculable contribution to the struggle being waged by them in defence of their rights, for safeguarding their freedom and independence against the policy of hegemony of the two big imperialist powers, and for international peace and security.

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

Speech by Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet, Permanent Representative Of France to the United Nations

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

November 26, 1971

Speech by Humberto Diaz Casanueva, Permanent Representative of Chile to The United Nations

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

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

We welcome this development which augurs well for the destiny of our organization and international community, and we see it as a victory for all the peoples of the world which bears with it a defeat of world capitalism, imperialism and reaction. The People's Republic of China has succeeded in reaching this Assembly through a lengthy and tiring process, in breaking the economic and political isolation that was imposed on it by hostile world forces very similar to those which in another era invaded China to dismember it, enslave it and bleed it white. In restoring its rights to that delegation, the will of nations — whether socialist or not — was a fundamental factor that came into play. Those countries were convinced that we had reached a crucial point in history and that without the participation of China it is not possible to advance towards the solution of problems of such overriding importance as disarmament, decolonization and the growing gap between exceedingly poor and exceedingly wealthy countries.

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

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

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

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

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

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

*"Aquí despues de heridos,
Despues de ser no seres
Sino pies,
Despues de no ser hombres
Sino brutos de carga,
Despues de andar y andar
Y sudar y sudar
Y sudar sangre
Aquí estaban ahora
Solitarios, tendidos
Bajo la corola del letargo."*

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

*"Seeing under the sky only white
No green of cypress
The troops march in the snow
Peaks tower above them"*

*The wind unfurls the red flags
As they climb over the mountain pass
Where are they going?
To the Kam River where wind sweeps up snow
The order of yesterday
To a lac of workers and peasants
Was to take Chian."*

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

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

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

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

In offering our welcome to the People's Republic of China, in all frankness we wish to highlight the great

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

Speech by Nsanze Terence, Permanent Representative of Burundi to the United Nations

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

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

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

Today we celebrate the culmination of an event which yesterday was for some but a dream. The solemn nature of the restoration among us of the worthy representatives of the People's Republic of China appears to be the dawn of that new international balance. Nothing more than the pomp of this ceremony could confirm the preponderant role which I assigned to this organization in the field of peace and security, when on 3 November in the first committee I stated:

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

After a lapse of 22 years, the genius of China, which opens up a new political, social, economic and cultural — in other words, human — *modus vivendi*, gives rise to different reactions: It causes, here and there, surprise and irritation; in other quarters, admira-

tion and satisfaction, which are expressed by torrents of articles and statements. If there was a time, before 1949, when various circles did not deal with China, except to express some commiseration for it, they are now in duty bound to deal with it without further ado. From now on, what China says and what it does, especially through the voice of its prestigious leaders, its position and its presumed intentions lead to many assessments, either bitter and ironic, or confident and laudatory, but, in any case, never indifferent. For world public opinion, that country has suddenly become one of the main actors in a play where there was the danger that it would be viewed as only a bit-player. As for the foreign states, whether they are from the allied camp, from the bloc of its opponents, or from the third world, they are witnessing a world which has embarked upon a political era where China, again linking up the chain of time, from now on firmly guides its own destiny, and the best course is either to accept it or to profit by it.

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

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

The African delegations which I have the privilege of representing here are happy to be able from now on closely to co-operate with the representatives of the People's Republic of China in order to safeguard peace and to co-operate within the framework of the General Assembly and the Security Council. The participation of the lawful delegation of China in the conduct of world affairs, the forthcoming rapprochement between Peking and Washington, and the everyday negotiations that will be undertaken in these halls will undoubtedly be the essence and the illustration of a general upsurge of our organization.

The United Nations, despite itself, had introduced in its policy the principle followed by the poor hero of the story who jumped into the sea lest he get wet.

Even the gods and the fairy queens make mistakes, according to a Chinese proverb. Thanks to the accumulated wisdom, far-sightedness and lucidity of 131 states, our organization has succeeded in rising to the needs of international peace and security. A striking phenomenon occurred, which was only a way for the United Nations to come to terms with the powerful and irresistible tide leading the peoples for co-operation and interdependence. The decision of the President of the United States to undertake talks with the Peking Government is certainly a most important step towards the historic conclusion reached on 25 October last.

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

This new era was acclaimed everywhere as a symbol of a break with an obsolete past. The ovations and the enthusiasm which China is now witnessing, for anyone who cares for the future of the United Nations, have quite a different significance than that expressed in the Spanish proverb, according to which *cantaro nuevo hace buen agua* — “a new jug gives good water.”

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

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

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

These are the five principles on which true peace and security must be built; the colossal Government of the People's Republic of China has come in good time and most auspicious circumstances to add its competence and its tremendous resources in every field.

Speech by Jose Luis Molina, Permanent Representative Of Costa Rica to the United Nations (on Behalf of the Latin American States)

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

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

Speech by Vernon Johnson Mwaanga, Chairman of the Delegation and Permanent Representative of Zambia To the United Nations

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

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

China is not only a superpower but is also the most populous and important nation in the third world. We are confident that it will play a positive, constructive

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

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

We rejoiced then and we rejoice today because an unprecedented injustice against a great people of a great country, the People's Republic of China, has been corrected after 22 years. My delegation does not suffer from a malicious enjoyment of other people's misfortunes or defeats. We have never looked at this historic decision in terms of victor or vanquished. Rather, we have looked at it as a victory for realism and a victory for the United Nations and the people of the world as a whole.

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

Speech by Ricardo Alarcon Quesada, Permanent Representative of Cuba to the United Nations

It is a source of great joy to my delegation to attend this meeting of the General Assembly at which we are extending a welcome for the first time to the

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

Since that time, my delegation has also fought actively within this Assembly to ensure that the inalienable rights as a member of this organization were restored to that government and people. Today, 22 years later, 22 years after the great Chinese revolution of 1949, its delegation has joined in the work of the United Nations. This fact is of a historical importance that no one can overlook. The Chinese people, after a long and heroic struggle, overthrew the reactionary regime imposed and supported by foreign imperialism, and, in October 1949, set up the people's power. This fact marked the end of an era in which the Chinese people had been the victim of exploitation by foreign powers, had lived under the yoke of a feudal oligarchy which was in the pay of imperialism, and had been subjected to the conditions of poverty and backwardness which are inherent in any such situation.

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

The presence in our midst of the representatives of the People's Republic of China marks the end of an era of discrimination, of harassment and aggression against the Chinese people and their People's Government, imposed on this Assembly and this organization by United States imperialism. The only cause of the fact that for 22 years the Chinese people were not represented in

this forum, which was their inalienable right as a founding member of this organization, was the stubborn policy of North American imperialism against the Chinese people and against their People's Government. The great victory achieved this year in the action of the General Assembly to restore to the People's Republic of China its rights in the United Nations is not only a great triumph for the Chinese people, but also a very important victory for the revolutionary movement and for all peoples of the world. This fact shows that United States imperialism is no longer in a position to impose its will throughout the world, and that it can be overthrown and justice and right can be made to prevail within this organization.

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

Speech by Tensore Paul Rouamba, Permanent Representative of Upper Volta to the United Nations (On Behalf of the African States)

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

Speech by Moulaye el Hassen, Permanent Representative of Mauritania to the United Nations

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

The friendly relations which we have with China in our exchanges with the great Chinese people and their leaders enable us to assert that we have the same undertakings, the same needs and the same ideals as expressed in the Charter of our organization, especially the ideals of justice and freedom and respect for sovereignty and the independence of peoples. This is a joy worthy of the historical event which the General Assembly is experiencing today and which Mauritania has called for from this rostrum with so much reason and force. This event, which is greeted with true and genuine satisfaction by my country, is significant for more than one reason. Indeed, the restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations constitutes a highly positive turning point in the history of this organization, just as it represents the triumph of one of the just causes of all peace-loving peoples who yearn for equality.

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

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

All these qualities put at the service of the United Nations will, we are deeply convinced, have a fruitful and beneficent effect on the activities and effectiveness of this organization. For all these reasons, I should like to express here, on behalf of my country, our wishes to the Delegation of the People's Republic of China for its striking success. May we assure it of our co-operation, a co-operation which it is entitled to expect of a friendly delegation.

Speech by Mahmud Ali, Chairman Of the Delegation of Pakistan to The United Nations

On this occasion, when the representatives of the Government of the People's Republic of China have

had restored to them their lawful rights in the United Nations, I extend to them the warmest welcome of the Pakistan delegation.

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

It is natural that, at the time of the seating of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, our thoughts should turn to the first historic Bandung Conference where the representatives of the People's Republic of China, under the leadership of Prime Minister Chou En-lai, completely disproved all the myths about China sedulously cultivated by hostile propaganda. Inspired by the example of fruitful international co-operation set by China in 1955 and impressed by the consistency of principle exhibited by it since then, we have remained unshaken in our conviction that, at the United Nations, the quest for peace based on justice will remain a vain endeavour unless China's active help and assistance are enlisted.

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

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

We are fortified in our hope that the effort of achieving those ends will be greatly strengthened by the arrival of the Chinese Delegation. Let me put on record that we applaud the declaration of the Chinese leadership that China will endeavour to translate into reality the principle of the sovereign equality of nations. The renunciation of power politics and the authentic feeling

of the burden borne by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America from which this declaration emanates, cannot but be a source of inspiration for all of us.

Speech by Nicolae Ecobescu, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Romania

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

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

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

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

The restoration of the People's Republic of China to its lawful rights in the United Nations fits into the normal process of relaxation of tension and peaceful co-existence among nations and is further evidence of the rejection of the anachronistic policy which attempted to isolate People's China, to prevent a state or a group of states from participating on an equal footing in the life of the international community. It has thus been recognized that today we cannot conceive of a lasting

solution, in accordance with the aspirations of people, of great problems of the modern era without the participation on an equal footing of the People's Republic of China, of all states, large, medium or small.

Romania, just like other socialist countries, as was pointed out recently by the President of the Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, has constantly advocated that an end should be put to the policy designed to isolate the People's Republic of China, enabling it to participate both in the United Nations and in international activity in general.

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

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

On this solemn occasion which marks the beginning of a new stage in the life of our organization, we hope with all our heart that the People's Republic of China will have full success in the activities in which it will engage in the United Nations and in other international organizations.

Speech by Salim Ahmed Salim, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation And Permanent Representative of The United Republic of Tanzania To the United Nations

My delegation wishes to extend a sincere welcome to the representatives of the People's Republic of China, who sit today in the place which for so long has been

illegally and inadequately occupied by individuals purporting to speak for the great people of China.

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

As a former ambassador of my country to the People's Republic of China, I have had the opportunity to learn at first hand of the great commitment of the Chinese people not only for the development of their own country but also and above all to support all just causes. Although my stay in Peking was unfortunately brief, I cherish eternal memories of the hospitality, kindness and respect shown to us. I was impressed by the modesty and humility demonstrated by such a powerful nation. The respect accorded to us, as to many other African colleagues with missions in Peking, was indeed overwhelming. Perhaps I may just add that at no time were we reminded or ever made to feel that we represented smaller nations. In the light of the circumstances of the last fortnight or so, I am sure many of my colleagues will agree with me that such an experience of scrupulous respect for equality among nations, big and small, was a proper manifestation of the correct relations between sovereign states.

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

We welcome the representatives of a people which has withstood the test of time, a people which fought victoriously in overthrowing feudalism and imperialism and eliminating from their country all types of humiliation and degradation, for it should not be forgotten that it was, for example, in Shanghai and Canton, and other places in China, that imperialism of all forms found a paradise, at the expense of the suffering of the Chinese masses. We are particularly happy to see the People's Republic of China resume its rightful place in this organization, because we are convinced that in that country the United Nations has found a most invaluable member for supporting the rights of peoples to self-

determination and independence, and against all forms of oppression and injustice.

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

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

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

"In congratulating most warmly the fraternal Chinese people on this great victory, the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania and its entire people are certain that the co-operation that has always characterized relations between the two countries and peoples will also manifest itself at the United Nations. Together we shall continue to work for peace and justice, in the future as in the past. Together we shall work towards the day when all the oppressed people of the world will have thrown off the yokes of colonialism and imperialism and assumed their places in the United Nations, thus ensuring future generations of better prospects for international peace and security and prosperity for all mankind."

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

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

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

My delegation fully endorses those remarks of our Chilean colleague. My colleague and brother, the Rep-

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

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

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

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

But while we reject as misleading and deliberate such attempts to distract us from the real issue we will not allow anyone to detract from the great victory scored on that historic Monday night of 25 October. And we make absolutely no apologies for our jubilation, for it was a victory long overdue, a victory for the United Nations, which has seen its prestige suffer and its effectiveness reduced through the enforced absence of one of its founder members; a victory for the people of the world, one-quarter of whose population have been unfairly and arbitrarily prevented from participat-

ing in the search for peaceful solutions to the problems which face mankind; and, above all, a victory for common sense, a victory for reality over fantasy, for right over wrong. That is what we were and still are celebrating.

In conclusion, my delegation believes that this is an opportune moment for all of us to turn to constructive thoughts and positive acts. Let us rededicate ourselves to the noble ideals which we are committed to uphold. Let us make fresh approaches to all the problems which so long have proved to be difficult for this organization. Let us resolve anew to work with a greater determination for the toiling billions of the world's population who look to the United Nations for a richer and fuller life. But above all, let us recognize that this is an organization of sovereign nations.

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

Speech by Piero Vinci, Permanent Representative of Italy to the United Nations

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

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

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

the United Nations, the Italian Government expresses its satisfaction and its confidence that the full participation of China in the activities of the world organization and in international life will contribute to the establishment of a peaceful order in Asia and in the world, to international security, and to a more articulate dialogue among all peoples."

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

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

On the Italian side, the impressions made and the interest aroused by the enchanting account of Marco Polo's journey prompted navigators, missionaries and travellers to follow in his footsteps and, later on, led to the establishment in my home town, Naples, of an institute the sole aim of which was to welcome the esteemed and honoured guests coming from the Far East and to make easier their acquaintance with the religion, history, art and institutions of the Western countries.

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

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

China by a state member of the European Economic Community.

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

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

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

Speech by Richard Maximilian Akwei, Permanent Representative of Ghana to the United Nations

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

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

We have every confidence that the participation of the People's Republic of China in the work of the

United Nations will lead to a more realistic and hopeful solution of the many difficult problems that confront the organization.

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

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

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

Speech by H.M.A. Zakaria, Permanent Representative of Malaysia To the United Nations (Also On Behalf of Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore And Thailand)

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

The assumption by the People's Republic of China of its seat in the United Nations is a historic event of far-reaching importance for our organization. With the participation of the People's Republic, a major Asian power representing a quarter of the world's population, the way is open for more meaningful deliberations in the various organs of the United Nations on the many and urgent problems facing the international community.

With it also the United Nations will be better able, we believe, to realize its full potential as a centre for

harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment and the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter to which all member states are committed. In this way the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations will positively enhance the vitality and effectiveness of our organization.

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

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

Speech by Padma Bahadur Khatri, Permanent Representative of Nepal to the United Nations

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

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

The serious institutional void in which the United Nations functioned during that period has now been filled by the wise decision of the General Assembly of 25 October. That decision has introduced new vigour and new life into our organization. We have outlived a world of myth and entered a new era, an era of reality. An essential condition that was lacking before has now been fulfilled for the United Nations to become a real and effective instrument for world peace and security. We have taken a giant step towards universality for our organization. After a long period of atrophy the United Nations today finds itself in a better position, politically and structurally, to play the role the Charter set for it — namely, the pursuit of peace.

In his first public statement on arrival at the seat of the United Nations the Chairman of the Delegation

of the People's Republic of China, Deputy Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua, said that his delegation,

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

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

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

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

Speech by Kurt Waldheim, Permanent Representative of Austria to the United Nations

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

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

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

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