

# PEKING REVIEW

49

December 3, 1971

## JOINT COMMUNIQUE

Of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the  
Government of the People's Republic of China, and the  
Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the  
Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

**Chiao Kuan-hua Explains Chinese  
Government's Principled Stand  
On Disarmament at U.N.**

*Firm Support for Pakistan People's  
Just Struggle*

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# PEKING REVIEW

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# **Comrade Enver Hoxha Sends Message to C.C. of Chinese Communist Party And Comrade Mao Tsetung**

**— Thanking Chinese Communist Party for its greetings to 6th  
Congress and 30th anniversary of the founding of the  
Albanian Party of Labour**

Peking

**The Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of China**

**Dear Comrade Mao Tsetung,**

Dear Comrades:

On behalf of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Albanian Communists and the entire Albanian people and in my own name, I extend to you heartfelt thanks for your ardent and fraternal greetings and sincere revolutionary wishes to us on the triumphant opening and conclusion of the Sixth Congress of our Party and the 30th anniversary of the founding of our Party.

The high appraisal of the Albanian Party of Labour by the glorious Communist Party of China is an expression of proletarian internationalism, an expression of the unbreakable militant friendship founded between our two Parties and two peoples in the raging flames of joint struggle against imperialism headed by U.S. imperialism, modern revisionism headed by Soviet revisionism and the reactionaries of every description, and in the strug-

gle in socialist construction. Your messages of greetings are a tremendous support and encouragement to the Albanian Communists and people who have been mobilized as never before for the implementation of the historic resolutions of the Sixth Congress and are working with redoubled efforts in socialist construction and for further strengthening the great militant friendship and Marxist-Leninist unity with the glorious Communist Party of China and the talented Chinese people.

Dear comrades, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to wish the fraternal Communist Party of China and the fraternal Chinese people greater, new successes in the valiant struggle for the cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction under the wise leadership of Comrade Mao Tsetung, the great Marxist-Leninist and the most esteemed and dearest friend of our people.

**Enver Hoxha**

First Secretary of the Central Committee  
of the Albanian Party of Labour

November 18, 1971, Tirana

# Comrades Mao Tsetung, Tung Pi-wu and Chou En-lai Send Message to Comrades Enver Hoxha, Haxhi Lleshi and Mehmet Shehu

— Most warmly greeting 27th anniversary of Albania's liberation

## Comrade Enver Hoxha

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour,

## Comrade Haxhi Lleshi

President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Republic of Albania,

## Comrade Mehmet Shehu

Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Albania,

Tirana

Dear Comrades:

On the occasion of the 27th anniversary of the liberation of Albania, we express, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people, the warmest festive congratulations to you and to the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Government of the People's Republic of Albania and the Albanian people.

Twenty-seven years ago, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the heroic Albanian people, arms in hand, defeated the fascists and brought about the people's red political power through fighting, thus ushering in a new era in the history of Albania. Since liberation, the Albanian people, adhering to the principles of independence and self-reliance, have scored splendid successes in socialist revolution and socialist construction, turning Albania into a strong and indestructible revolutionary bulwark.

The Albanian Party of Labour and the Albanian people have always despised the seemingly powerful

U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, firmly opposed the power politics and hegemony practised by the superpowers and made important contributions in the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism, oppose modern revisionism and support the revolutionary cause of the people of all countries. Upholding truth and principle, you have raised your voice of justice in the international arena. Such proletarian internationalist spirit of yours has won the admiration and praise of the genuine Communists and revolutionary people of all countries.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people regard all the successes of the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and the fraternal Albanian people as their own successes and are overjoyed and inspired by them. We sincerely wish that along the road of continued revolution, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great Marxist-Leninist Comrade Enver Hoxha, will win new and still greater victories in accomplishing the fighting tasks set forth by the Sixth Congress of your Party.

Long live the great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, countries and peoples of China and Albania!

## Mao Tsetung

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

## Tung Pi-wu

Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China

## Chou En-lai

Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China

November 28, 1971

Peking Review, No. 49

## 27th Anniversary of Albania's Liberation Hailed

One thousand and five hundred people in Peking held a rally on November 27 celebrating the 27th anniversary of the liberation of Albania. Albanian Ambassador to China Xhorxhi Robo and Madame Robo and other Albanian comrades attended. Leading comrades of the Chinese Party and Government, including Yeh Chien-ying, Yao Wen-yuan, Li Hsien-nien, Li Teh-sheng and Kuo Mo-jo, were present.

Speaking at the rally, Comrade Li Teh-sheng first extended warmest festive greetings and acclaimed the brilliant course of struggle traversed by the Albanian people over the past 27 years. He said: Heroic Albania is a staunch bulwark in opposing imperialism and modern revisionism, making outstanding contributions to the cause of world revolution. With its socialist construction developing vigorously, Albania has grown from a poor and backward country into a thriving, advanced and strong socialist state.

Comrade Li Teh-sheng pointed out: The present international situation is excellent. The just struggle by the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys is forging ahead. U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionist social-imperialism are engaged in aggression, subversion, interference, control and bullying everywhere in the world and this has aroused increasingly strong resistance from the people of various countries. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history.

Addressing the rally amid warm applause, Ambassador Robo said that earth-shaking changes have taken place in Albania in the past 27 years. Once a backward country, it has become a strong socialist state. Facts and figures show that despite the vicious blockade by Soviet revisionists since 1960, Albania in 1970

## Firm Support for Pakistan People's Just Struggle

Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung met and had a cordial and friendly conversation with Pakistan Ambassador to China K.M. Kaiser on November 24.

Ambassador Kaiser presented a letter from President Yahya Khan to Premier Chou at the meeting. Premier Chou expressed concern over India's military provocations along the East Pakistan border in the previous few days.

\* \* \*

At the reception given by Ambassador Robo on November 29 in celebration of the 27th anniversary of Albania's liberation, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien said: "In the past few days, because the Indian Government, supported and encouraged by social-imperialism, has been carrying out subversive activities and military provocations against East Pakistan, the tension on the Sub-

continent has been aggravated. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over the present India-Pakistan situation. We maintain that disputes between states should be settled by the two parties concerned through peaceful consultations and absolutely not by resorting to force; it is all the more impermissible for a country, under any pretext, to employ large numbers of armed troops to wilfully cross its own border and invade and occupy another country's territory. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the Pakistan Government and people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and in defence of their state sovereignty and national independence. In order to ease the present tension, we hold that serious consideration should be given to President Yahya Khan's reasonable proposal for the armed forces of India and Pakistan to withdraw respectively from the border and disengage."

registered an increase of 150 per cent in industrial production and an increase of 80 per cent in agricultural production over 1960, and achieved nationwide electrification ahead of schedule. There have been corresponding successes in other fields of work.

The Ambassador pointed out that the international situation is developing in the direction favourable to the revolution. A new high tide of opposing U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism is arising in the world, he said.

In the past few days, meetings were held by the Peking General Knitwear Mill, Peking University, the China-Albania Friendship People's Commune and an artillery unit under the Peking Units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, warmly celebrating Albania's glorious festival.

On November 29, *Renmin Ribao* carried an editorial entitled "Heroic People, Glorious Festival" congratulating the Albanian people.

To mark the occasion, Ambassador Robo gave a grand reception on November 29. Chinese Party and Government leaders Comrades Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Yao Wen-

(Continued on p. 26.)

### Announcement

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the United States of America have agreed that President Nixon's visit to China shall begin on February 21, 1972.

(Hsinhua News Agency dispatch, November 30.)

# Great Friendship and Militant Unity of Chinese and Vietnamese Peoples

**T**HE Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation concluded its visit to China on November 27. The visit was a full manifestation of the great friendship and militant unity between the Chinese and Vietnamese peoples.

At the banquet given by the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation in Peking on the evening of November 24, Premier Pham Van Dong said: "We have been deeply moved by the grand, warm-hearted and cordial reception accorded to us by the Chinese Party, Government and people. We will never forget the enthusiastic scenes of welcome accorded to our delegation by our Chinese comrades and brothers. . . . We will for ever bear in mind Premier Chou En-lai's words overflowing with fraternal feelings for the Vietnamese people and their revolutionary cause. We sincerely thank Premier Chou En-lai, the other leading comrades of the Chinese Party and state and the people in the capital, Peking. Such are the noble and most profound revolutionary sentiments of the 700 million fraternal Chinese people for all our people and fighters who are fighting and defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors."

He went on: "What has deeply moved us in particular is the fact that the Chinese people's great leader and the Vietnamese people's venerated friend Chairman Mao Tsetung received and had a most cordial conversation with us.

"The leading Chinese comrades' speeches full of proletarian internationalist spirit and the Chinese people's devoted support to Viet Nam's cause of resisting U.S. aggression and saving the nation and of socialist construction will add strength to our entire people and fighters throughout the country to advance more bravely in realizing President Ho's teachings: **'To fight valiantly so that the Yankees quit and the puppets topple'** and **'So long as a single aggressor remains on our land, we must fight on to sweep him away.'**"

Among those present at the grand banquet in the Great Hall of the People were Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, Head of State of Cambodia, and Madame Sihanouk, Mr. Ieng Sary, Special Envoy of the Interior of Cambodia, and leading comrades from the Chinese

Party and Government Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Yeh Chien-ying, 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. The banquet was filled with the warm atmosphere of revolutionary friendship and militant unity among the Chinese, Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian peoples.

Premier Chou En-lai said at the banquet that speaking of thanks, first of all it was the Chinese people who should thank the Vietnamese people. The visit of the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation to China, he added, had greatly inspired the Chinese people who were in the great rear area, and given a powerful impetus to China's work on all fronts.

Condemning new U.S. imperialist crime of aggression, Premier Chou said: "After the Phnom Penh traitorous clique suffered a disastrous defeat on Highway 6 in Cambodia, the U.S. aggressors have, in the past few days, brazenly sent large numbers of Saigon puppet troops to intrude frenziedly into the Highway 7 area in Cambodia under the cover of the U.S. air force in an attempt to have a new trial of strength with the Indochinese peoples. The Chinese Government and people express their great indignation and strong condemnation against this new crime of aggression on the part of U.S. imperialism."

Premier Chou stressed that to support and assist the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation was the Chinese people's unshirkable international duty. He said: "Chairman Mao has taught us: If anyone among us should say that we should not help the Vietnamese people in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, that will be betrayal, betrayal of the revolution. The Chinese people will for ever follow Chairman Mao's teachings and do their utmost to support and assist the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation until complete victory."

On November 23, at a Peking mass rally of more than 10,000 people welcoming the Vietnamese comrades-



Paying homage to the late President Ho Chi Minh at his former Peking residence.

in-arms, Premier Chou said that the towering crimes U.S. imperialism had committed in Viet Nam surpassed those perpetrated by Japanese militarism in the past when it pursued a "policy of burning all, killing all and looting all."

Referring to the U.S. imperialist "Vietnamization" plan, Premier Chou pointed out that U.S. imperialism, proceeding from its idealist conception of history, made a wrong appraisal of the situation. He said: "All these attempts of the United States are futile. The so-called 'Vietnamization,' 'Khmerization' and 'Laotianization' are nothing new. To put it bluntly, they are the old tactic for the United States to supply the money, guns and advisers and for the puppets to provide the men to fight for the United States. Over two decades ago, the United States pushed 'Chinesization' in China, by arming over 5 million troops of the Chiang Kai-shek clique and provoking the all-round civil war, which only ended in a notorious fiasco. This is also the tactic the U.S. aggressors used in south Viet Nam in the beginning which they called 'special warfare,' and it very soon flopped in face of the valiant war of resistance of the Vietnamese people. Now the U.S. aggressors have once again picked up this long bankrupt tactic since even the direct action of hundreds of thousands of their own troops has failed to work. This only serves to expose their inherent weakness and utterly helpless predicament, and absolutely cannot save them from their doomed failure."

In his long heart-warming speech at the rally, Premier Pham Van Dong said: The "Vietnamization" of

the war in no way means ending the war of aggression and seeking peace, as President Nixon has constantly trumpeted, but to "ize" the war into one fought under the U.S. command and very strong U.S. aid by "using Vietnamese to fight Vietnamese" and "using Indochinese to fight Indochinese," in an attempt to "change the colour of the skin of the bodies." The "Vietnamization" of the war is a product of a losing position. It contains in itself the factors of irrevocable defeat, and is bound to suffer total defeat.

Before leaving Peking, Premier Pham Van Dong paid homage to the late President Ho Chi Minh at his former residence in the capital. He was joined by Chou En-lai, Chiang Ching, Tsai Chang, Teng Ying-chao, Keng Piao and other comrades.

A grand signing ceremony was held on November 25 for the joint communique of the two Parties and two Governments of China and Viet Nam.

Accompanied by Chou En-lai, Keng Piao, Han Nien-lung and other comrades, the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation left Peking on November 25 by special plane for visits to Shanghai and Canton. A grand send-off ceremony was held at Peking Airport.

Taking with them the friendship of the Chinese people for the Vietnamese people, Premier Pham Van Dong and other members of the delegation returned to Hanoi on November 27. The Vietnamese paper *Nhan Dan* and the Peking paper *Renmin Ribao* respectively carried editorials on November 27 and 28 hailing the success of the visit.

# Joint Communiqué

## Of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, and the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam

**A**T the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by 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, paid a friendly visit to the People's Republic of China from November 20 to 27, 1971.

During its visit in China, the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam toured Peking, Shanghai and Canton, made extensive friendly contacts with workers, people's commune members and Liberation Army commanders and fighters and was accorded a most enthusiastic welcome and grand reception by the Communist Party of China, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the fraternal Chinese people. The Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam expresses its heartfelt thanks for this.

Comrade Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, met Premier Pham Van Dong and all the other comrades on the Vietnamese Delegation and had a most cordial and friendly conversation with them.

The Chinese and Vietnamese sides held talks on the strengthening of the friendly relations and co-operation between the two countries, the situation in Viet Nam and Indochina resulting from the U.S. imperialist aggression and questions of common interest to both sides.

Taking part in the talks on the Chinese side were: Chou En-lai, Member of the Standing Committee of the

Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; Yeh Chien-ying, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Chairman of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Li Hsien-nien, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China; Keng Piao, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Head of the International Liaison Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China; Han Nien-lung, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Li Chiang, Member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Han Tsung-cheng, Vice-Minister of Economic Relations With Foreign Countries; Wang Yu-ping, Ambassador of the People's Republic of China to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Yuan Hua-ping, Head of the Armament Department of the General Logistics of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; and Lu Wei-chao, Deputy Director of the Asian Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Taking part in the talks on the Vietnamese side were: 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; Nguyen Duy Trinh, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Premier of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; Tran Quy Hai, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Minister of National Defence; Ly Ban, Alternate Mem-

ber of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade; Ngo Thuyen, Alternate Member of the Central Committee of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and Ambassador of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam to the People's Republic of China; Nguyen Co Thach, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs; Luu Van Loi, Head of the Administrative Office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Hoang Bao Son, Director of the First Asian Affairs Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Hoang Quoc Dung, a Departmental Director in the Premier's Office.

The talks were held in a most cordial and friendly atmosphere, which fully manifested the fraternal friendship and militant unity between the peoples of China and Viet Nam.

The Chinese side highly praises the dauntless heroism and indomitable revolutionary spirit displayed by the fraternal Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and warmly congratulates the Vietnamese people on the great victories they have won, under the leadership of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and in their cause of socialist construction in the north.

Under the glorious banner of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, the people in south Viet Nam, fearing no hardships and sacrifices and persevering in a people's war, have engaged in a fierce battle with U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, successively defeated the U.S. "special war" and "local war," and are frustrating the Nixon government's plan of "Vietnamizing" the war, inflicting disastrous defeats on the enemies and landing them in a dire predicament.

The people in north Viet Nam, showing a heroic, dauntless revolutionary spirit, relying on their own efforts, waging arduous struggles and carrying on the production and fighting simultaneously, have not only defeated the U.S. imperialist war of destruction, but also scored outstanding achievements in the cause of socialist construction, given powerful support and assistance to the struggle of their kinsmen in the south and fulfilled their internationalist duty to their Laotian and Cambodian comrades-in-arms.

The Vietnamese people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the fiercest and most protracted war against aggression since World War II. The victories of the Vietnamese people have greatly weakened the U.S. imperialist forces of aggression,

deepened the political, economic and social crises of the United States, forcefully supported and inspired all the oppressed nations and peoples and set a brilliant example for the people of the world.

The Chinese people are infinitely proud of having such heroic comrades-in-arms as the Vietnamese people. The Chinese people express high respect for the heroic Vietnamese people. The Chinese people will conscientiously learn from the Vietnamese people their revolutionary spirit and fighting experience.

The Chinese people are deeply convinced that following President Ho Chi Minh's great behests: **"To fight valiantly so that the Yankees quit and the puppets topple,"** and **"So long as a single aggressor remains on our land, we must fight on to sweep him away,"** the heroic Vietnamese people, continuing their triumphant advance, will surely defeat the U.S. imperialist aggression completely and attain their great goal of liberating the south, defending the north and proceeding to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland.

The Vietnamese side highly praises the fraternal Chinese people for the tremendous achievements they have scored in their glorious revolutionary cause under the leadership of the glorious Communist Party of China headed by their respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung.

In the past 22 years, displaying the spirit of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in their own hands, relying on their own efforts and waging an arduous struggle for the prosperity of their country, the great Chinese people have scored one brilliant achievement after another in their cause of socialist revolution and socialist construction. This is an eloquent proof of the superiority of the socialist system and the great creative ability of the heroic Chinese people who, armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought, have taken their destiny into their own hands and are filled with revolutionary ardour and wisdom.

The growing strength of the People's Republic of China has made an important contribution to the continued change of the world balance of forces in favour of the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and greatly inspired the oppressed peoples and nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism headed by the United States.

In the international arena, the role played by the People's Republic of China is growing and her standing rising. The People's Republic of China has established diplomatic relations with many countries in the world.

The adoption by the United Nations General Assembly by an overwhelming majority of the resolution restoring to the People's Republic of China all her legitimate rights in the United Nations and expelling forthwith the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique from the United Nations and all the organizations related to it is a new victory of the Chinese people and the result of their unremitting struggle as well as the active support of the people of the other socialist countries and progressive people all over the world.

The Vietnamese people are infinitely proud of having the great Chinese people as their close comrades-in-arms. The Vietnamese people highly rejoice at the great victories scored by the Chinese people and look upon them as a tremendous encouragement to their own revolutionary cause.

The Vietnamese people strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for occupying Taiwan Province, which is an inalienable part of the territory of the People's Republic of China, firmly support the Chinese people in their struggle for the recovery of Taiwan Province and believe that this just struggle will surely triumph.

The Vietnamese people sincerely wish that the Chinese people, who have been tempered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, will win still greater victories, so that the People's Republic of China may advance with big strides on the broad road of building socialism and make due contributions to the struggle of the people of the world against imperialism headed by the United States and for the cause of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

At present, the situation in Viet Nam and Indochina is excellent. In the face of the U.S. imperialist expansion of its war to the whole of Indochina, the Vietnamese people and the peoples of Laos and Cambodia have strengthened their unity and are firmly resolved to fight and defeat the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys. On the basis of the tremendous victories scored in the past few years, many new and comprehensive victories of strategic significance have been won since the beginning of this year on the different battlefields of Indochina in the struggle of the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. These victories of the Indochinese people have inflicted a serious defeat upon the policy of "Vietnamizing" the war and the "Nixon doctrine" pushed in Indochina, thus creating a new situation most favourable to the fight of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia.

Despite their disastrous defeats and strong condemnation by American and world public opinion, the U.S.

imperialist aggressors remain most obdurate and cunning; they still refuse to give up their aggressive designs against the Indochinese countries, and are wilfully trampling upon the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina and the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos.

The essence of the policy of "Vietnamizing" the war pushed hard by U.S. imperialism in south Viet Nam is to continue its war of aggression, maintain its forcible occupation of south Viet Nam, practise neo-colonialism and divide Viet Nam permanently. It is making great efforts to strengthen the Saigon puppet troops by increasing its military aid and energetically arming and training them so as to use the puppet troops together with U.S. air and naval forces to prolong and intensify the war. It has employed most brutal means to step up the execution of the "pacification plan," throwing local inhabitants into strategic hamlets, subjecting them to persecution and control, and pressing men and extorting material for the service of the U.S. war of aggression. It has employed the means of persecution, suppression and the staging of an election farce to bolster the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique and used it as a tool for pushing its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war. At the Paris talks on the Viet Nam question, the United States still obdurately refuses to give a due reply to the 7-point solution put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and tries to use negotiations as a cover for its scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war.

In north Viet Nam, the United States is still flagrantly using its air force to bomb many centres of inhabitation, and grossly violating the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

In Laos, it is intensifying its "special war," stepping up the use of aircraft, including B-52 bombers, for indiscriminate devastating bombings against the liberated areas in Laos, and sending reinforcements of Thailand troops to Laos for launching "encroachment" attacks in co-ordination with Vang Pao's "special forces" and the Rightist troops.

In Cambodia, it has brought in additional large numbers of U.S. and vassal advisers and military personnel and is continuing to use Saigon puppet troops to intensify its war of aggression against Cambodia with the support of U.S. air and naval forces.

In the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina, Thailand has become an air base for U.S. bombings against the Indochinese countries; under U.S. instructions, the reactionary Thai authorities are sending to Laos increasingly large numbers of Thailand troops.

U.S. imperialism is energetically pushing the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina by talking about "reducing U.S. commitments" in Asia; this in essence is to prolong, intensify and expand its war of aggression against Indochina. Far from being reduced in scale, the war of aggression unleashed by the United States is becoming ever fiercer and most brutal.

President Nixon's speech of November 12, 1971 has further revealed the U.S. scheme to indefinitely prolong its military occupation of south Viet Nam and stubbornly employ traitor-lackeys in south Viet Nam and Cambodia and the Laotian Rightists as tools for prolonging and intensifying the U.S. war of aggression against Indochina. President Nixon and U.S. Defence Secretary Melvin Laird even blatantly threatened to use the air force to intensify the war against the Indochinese peoples.

However, these new acts of military adventure and threatening words on the part of the United States absolutely cannot avert the complete defeat of its policy of "Vietnamizing" the war and the "Nixon doctrine."

The Vietnamese side declares the following: In order to realize the testament of respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh and develop the victories already won, the Vietnamese people are determined to overcome all difficulties and hardships, take the initiative to launch attacks, persevere in and promote the struggle on the military, political and diplomatic fronts, thoroughly defeat the U.S. imperialist scheme of "Vietnamizing" the war, liberate the south, defend and build up the socialist north and proceed to the peaceful reunification of their fatherland, and thereby to contribute to the defence of Asian and world peace. Loyal to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, the Vietnamese people will fight shoulder to shoulder with the Laotian and Cambodian peoples to firmly and thoroughly shatter the "Nixon doctrine" in Indochina.

The Chinese side reaffirms the following: To support and assist the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is the unshakable established policy of the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government, and the unshirkable internationalist duty of the Chinese people. As long as the U.S. aggressors do not stop their interference and aggression against Indochina, as long as the three Indochinese peoples' sacred national rights are not realized, the Chinese people will go on performing their internationalist duty. The Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples are resolved to fight the war of

resistance to the end, the Chinese people are determined to support them to the end. In order to support and assist the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Chinese people have long since made every preparation and will not flinch even from the greatest national sacrifices.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for prolonging, intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Indochina and strongly condemn the U.S. aggressors for their most barbarous crimes in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. The two sides unanimously point out: The Indochina war was caused by U.S. aggression and it will end only with the United States stopping its aggression and all its interference in the Indochinese countries. The two sides firmly demand that U.S. imperialism immediately stop its war of aggression against Indochina, stop carrying out the "Nixon doctrine" there, withdraw totally and unconditionally the U.S. troops and vassal troops from Indochina, and immediately stop all its military activities against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and other Indochinese countries, that it must stop all its interference in the Indochinese countries, and that it must completely stop using its puppet cliques in south Viet Nam and Cambodia and the Rightists in Laos to oppose the Indochinese people, so that the peoples of the Indochinese countries may settle the affairs of their respective countries independently and free from foreign interference.

The two sides positively affirm that the 7-point solution put forward by the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam provides the correct basis for the peaceful settlement of the Viet Nam question. The two basic points in it are:

1. The U.S. Government 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 other foreign countries in the U.S. camp from south Viet Nam, liquidate all the U.S. military bases in south Viet Nam, put an end to all activities of U.S. air and naval forces and all other military acts against the people in both the southern and northern parts of Viet Nam;

2. The U.S. Government must respect the south Vietnamese people's right to self-determination, withdraw support from, and relinquish all its commitments to the fascist Nguyen Van Thieu clique, stop using this clique to oppose the south Vietnamese people, so as to

pave the way for the formation in Saigon of a new administration favouring peace, independence, neutrality and democracy and willing at all times 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.

The two sides fully support the just struggle waged by the Laotian people under the leadership of the Lao Patriotic Front with Prince Souphanouvong as its Chairman against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys and for the establishment of a peaceful, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos; they fully support the 5-point political solution put forward by the Lao Patriotic Front for stopping the war, restoring peace and realizing national harmony in Laos, as well as its proposals of April 27 and June 22, 1971.

The two sides fully support the just struggle against the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys waged by the Cambodian people under the leadership of the National United Front with Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as its Chairman and the Royal Government of National Union with Samdech Penn Nouth as its Prime Minister and Mr. Khieu Samphan as its Deputy Prime Minister; they fully support the correct stand set forth in the declaration issued by Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk on March 23, 1970 and the Political Programme of the National United Front of Cambodia, which are aimed at establishing an independent, peaceful, neutral, democratic and prosperous Cambodia.

The two sides firmly believe that the three Indochinese peoples, holding high the militant banner of unity against U.S. aggression of the Summit Conference of the Indochinese Peoples, closely co-ordinating with and supporting one another and persevering in struggle, will certainly defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. Victory surely belongs to the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia!

The two sides consider that the international situation is developing in a direction increasingly favourable to the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The aggression, subversion, interference, control and plunder perpetrated by U.S. imperialism in different parts of the world have stimulated the further awakening of the people of the world and roused more and more countries and peoples to resistance. U.S. imperialism, swelled as a result of the two world wars, has become beset with difficulties and riddled with crises. However, the nature of imperialism will never change. Though constantly altering its tactics

and methods, U.S. imperialism has not in the least changed its aggressive ambition. People of the world must continue to strengthen their unity, heighten their vigilance and persevere in struggle.

The two sides strongly condemn U.S. imperialism for reviving Japanese militarism in collusion with the Japanese reactionaries, with the design of opposing the revolutionary movements of the peoples in Asia and the Pacific region and threatening peace and security in this area. The two sides firmly support the 8-point programme put forward by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea for the peaceful unification of the fatherland and firmly support the Korean people in their just struggle against U.S. imperialist aggression and for the unification of their fatherland. The two sides are determined, together with the peoples of Korea, Japan, other Asian countries and the whole world, to fight to the end against the revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries.

The two sides firmly support the Cuban people in their struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of state security and sovereignty; and they firmly support the people of the German Democratic Republic in their struggle against West German revanchism and for safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic.

The two sides firmly support the Palestinian and other Arab peoples in their just struggle against the U.S.-Israeli aggressors.

The two sides firmly support the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in their struggles against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism headed by the United States and for winning and defending national independence and building their respective countries into prosperous states. They firmly support the world people's revolutionary struggles for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The two sides note with satisfaction that the great friendship and militant unity between the Parties, Governments and peoples of China and Viet Nam have continuously been consolidated and developed on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. In the course of their revolutionary struggles to oppose imperialism, win national independence and build socialism, which were fraught with sacrifices and hardships and yet were most glorious, our two peoples have fought shoulder to shoulder, gone through thick and thin together and encouraged and supported each other. This intimate and solid friendship and unity of "both comrades and brothers," which have been con-

stantly cared for and nurtured by respected and beloved President Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Nam Workers' Party and by respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Communist Party, are binding ever more closely the Parties and peoples of China and Viet Nam.

The Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will never forget that the Vietnamese people's victorious fight against the enemy is inseparable from the sincere and powerful support and the great, many-sided and effective aid of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people.

In recent years, under the circumstances in which U.S. imperialism has been intensifying and expanding its war of aggression against Viet Nam, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese Government and people have repeatedly expressed their determination to carry out their respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung's teaching: **"The 700 million Chinese people provide a powerful backing for the Vietnamese people; the vast expanse of China's territory is their reliable rear area."** The powerful political support and the great military and economic aid given by the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the Chinese people are a brilliant embodiment of the Chinese people's militant solidarity and lofty internationalist sentiments for the Vietnamese people; they have made important contributions to the strengthening of the Vietnamese people's defence capability and economic strength and given great inspiration and impetus to the Vietnamese people in fighting and defeating the U.S. imperialist aggressors.

On behalf of the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people, the Vietnamese Party and Government Delegation expresses its heartfelt and deep thanks to respected and beloved Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Government and the fraternal Chinese people for their most precious support and assistance.

The Vietnamese people's perseverance in the protracted war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is a powerful support and encouragement to the Chinese people in their socialist revolution and socialist construction. The Chinese people will never forget and are most grateful for this.

The Chinese side expresses its heartfelt thanks to the Viet Nam Workers' Party, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the fraternal

Vietnamese people for their support to the Chinese people's struggle to liberate their sacred territory Taiwan Province, and sincerely points out that the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations is the result of the common struggle waged inside and outside the United Nations by all the countries and peoples that uphold justice and the result of the long struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and it is especially inseparable from the great victories won by the Vietnamese and Indochinese peoples in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

In the interests of the two peoples, of socialism and of the common revolutionary cause of the people of the whole world, the two sides resolve to continue to make all efforts for the further strengthening of this revolutionary friendship based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Both sides point out that the exchange of delegations between the two Parties and two countries for friendly visits and the exchange of views between leaders of the two countries on questions of common interest are of great importance to the advancement of the friendship and unity between the two Parties, the two Governments and the two peoples and to the struggle against the common enemy, U.S. imperialism and its lackeys.

The two sides believe that like the visit to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam made last March by the Delegation of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China led by Premier Chou En-lai, the present visit to the People's Republic of China paid by the Delegation of the Viet Nam Workers' Party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam led by Premier Pham Van Dong will make a new contribution to the further consolidation and strengthening of the great friendship and militant unity between the two Parties, the two Governments and the two peoples.

(Signed) **Chou En-lai**

Member of the Standing  
Committee of the Political  
Bureau of the Central  
Bureau of the Central  
Committee of the Com-  
munist Party of China and  
Premier of the State  
Council of the People's Re-  
public of China

(Signed) **Pham Van Dong**

Member of the Political  
Bureau of the Central  
Committee of the Viet  
Nam Workers' Party and  
Premier of the Govern-  
ment of the Democratic  
Republic of Viet Nam

Peking, November 25, 1971

# Chiao Kuan-hua Explains Chinese Government's Principled Stand

*Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, spoke at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the afternoon of November 24 in connection with the proposal of the Soviet Delegation for convening a world disarmament conference which was under discussion in the Assembly. In the speech, he made clear the Chinese Government's principled stand on this proposal. Following is the full text of his speech.*

Mr. President, Fellow Representatives.

In our speech of November 15, the Delegation of the People's Republic of China already made clear the Chinese Government's basic stand on the question of disarmament. Now I would like to make some remarks on the proposal of the Soviet Delegation for convening a world disarmament conference.

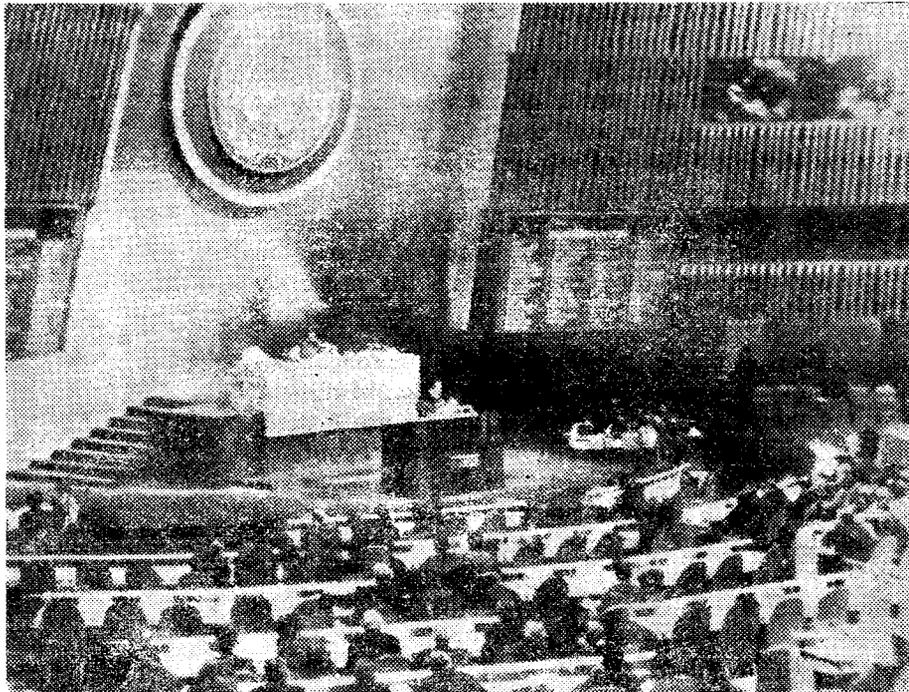
1. China has always been in favour of disarmament. But in our opinion, it should not be said in a vague way that the question of disarmament is of paramount importance. It would not do to put the blame for the arms race on all countries, and it would not be correct indiscriminately to demand disarmament by all countries alike. The actual state of affairs at present is that imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism are continuing to pursue their policies of aggression and war and that many Asian, African and Latin American countries and some other medium and small countries are being subjected to threats and aggression. These countries cannot but build and strengthen their own defence forces in order to prevent and resist foreign aggression, interference, subversion and control. For instance, the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia are engaged in a war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; the Palestinian and other Arab peoples are engaged in the struggle for their right to national existence and for the recovery of their occupied territories; Guinea and some other African countries are engaged in struggles against the colonialists' armed aggression and threats of subversion; and the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Zimbabwe, Azania and Namibia are engaged in struggles for national liberation against the white colonialist rule and racial oppression. They have taken up arms simply because they are compelled to do so, and it is not at all a question of arms race. At present, the question of paramount importance to the people of these countries and regions is, of course, not disarmament but the defence of national independence

and sovereignty and the winning of the right to national existence. The idea that all countries must adopt measures for disarmament without distinguishing the aggressors from the victims of aggression and those who threaten others from those who are threatened can only lead the question of disarmament on to a wrong path and benefit imperialism.

2. A quarter of a century has elapsed since the end of World War II. To date, the two superpowers are still stationing ground, naval and air forces, well over a million, and have established thousands of military bases abroad. It is these superpowers which have obstinately rejected the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons, feverishly developing nuclear weapons and contending with each other for nuclear superiority, and they are doing this in order to press forward with their policies of blackmail, expansion, aggression and war. The threat to world peace and the security of the people of all countries originates precisely from these two superpowers. In these circumstances, it is entirely just for the people of the world and all peace-loving countries to demand that those two superpowers withdraw to their own countries all their forces abroad and dismantle all their military bases on foreign soil, and to demand the adoption of effective measures to prevent nuclear war. The General Assembly of the United Nations is duty-bound to take effective and not perfunctory, earnest and not superficial measures to satisfy these just demands and prevent the danger of a new world war, particularly of a nuclear war.

As early as July 31, 1963, the Chinese Government issued a statement advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing the convocation of a conference of the heads of government of all countries of the world to discuss this issue. In this statement, the Chinese Government proposed the following: "All countries in the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, solemnly declare that they will prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely. Concretely speaking, they will not use nuclear weapons, nor export, nor import, nor manufacture, nor test, nor stockpile them; and they will destroy all the existing nuclear weapons and their means of delivery in the world, and disband all the existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world." This proposal of the Chinese Gov-

ernment has received the support of many countries. Regrettably, however, the two nuclear powers have thus far failed to make a positive response. Instead, since the 60s the two nuclear powers have concocted the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, etc. These agreements, which some people laud as intended for nuclear disarmament by accumulative means, are in essence a camouflage for their own nuclear arms expansion in the name of nuclear disarmament, a means for consolidating the nuclear monopoly of the two superpowers and carrying out nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail against the Asian, African and Latin American countries as well as other medium and small countries. Their main idea is: Only I can have nuclear weapons; you are not allowed to have nuclear weapons. This is of course unreasonable. In the absence of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, it is impossible to expect the other countries, which are subjected to the threat of the two nuclear powers, not to develop nuclear weapons for the purpose of self-defence.



Chiao Kuan-hua speaks at U.N. General Assembly meeting on Soviet disarmament proposal.

3. In order to take the first step towards the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, one must grasp the key question and not be entangled with subsidiary issues. First and foremost, the countries possessing nuclear weapons should undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other, and particularly undertake not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries or nuclear-free zones. It should not be difficult to undertake such obligations if one truly has the desire to avert a nuclear war and move towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Many countries are now demanding the establishment of nuclear-free zones or peace zones. These are just demands which China supports. However, to free these zones truly from the threat of nuclear war, it is necessary, first of all, for all the nuclear countries to guarantee that they will not use nuclear weapons against these countries and zones and will withdraw all their nuclear forces and dismantle all their nuclear bases and nuclear installations from these zones. Otherwise, it will be totally impossible to establish nuclear-free zones or peace zones, and the danger of nuclear war will still exist.

The two nuclear superpowers have not only produced and stockpiled large quantities of nuclear weapons in their own countries but also established nuclear bases on the territories of other countries; their planes

carrying nuclear weapons fly in the airspace of other countries and their warships carrying nuclear weapons ply in the oceans all over the world. This poses a grave menace to the security of the people of all countries. The Japanese people had their own experience in this respect. Therefore, if the nuclear powers truly do not have the intention to engage in nuclear threats and really want to realize nuclear disarmament, they should dismantle all their nuclear bases abroad and withdraw all their nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad. Otherwise, how can you expect people to believe that you have any desire for nuclear disarmament?

4. China is compelled to develop nuclear weapons because she is under the nuclear threat of the two superpowers. We develop nuclear weapons solely for the purpose of self-defence and for breaking the superpowers' nuclear monopoly and finally eliminating nuclear weapons. China's nuclear weapons are still in the experimental stage, and the experiments are only carried out within the territory of our own country and confined within necessary limits. China will never be a "superpower" pursuing the policies of nuclear monopoly, nuclear threats and nuclear blackmail, neither today nor ever in the future. Upon China's first nuclear explosion, the Chinese Government solemnly declared to the whole world, and I reaffirmed in my speech of November 15 on behalf of the Chinese Government, that at no time and in no circumstances would China be the first to use nuclear weapons. We always mean what we say. We stand for the thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war. But confronted with the danger of foreign aggression, including that of a sudden nuclear

attack, the Chinese people cannot but intensify their preparations against war. Our preparations against war are entirely defensive in nature. Our consistent policy is: We will not attack unless we are attacked; if we are attacked, we will certainly counter-attack. We sincerely hope that an agreement can be reached on the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. However, before the realization of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, we cannot give up the necessary self-defence.

5. The complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, the prevention of nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear threats are matters affecting the peace and security of all countries of the world. On such issues of great importance, all countries in the world, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, should have the same say; no handful of countries have the right to brush aside the majority of countries in the world and arbitrarily hold a conference to deliberate and make decisions on such matters. I hereby once again reaffirm on behalf of the Chinese Government that at no time will China ever agree to participate in the so-called nuclear disarmament talks among the nuclear powers behind the backs of the non-nuclear countries. China has a few nuclear weapons, but she will never join the so-called club of nuclear powers.

The Chinese Government has consistently stood for the convening of a world conference to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The convocation of such a conference must be truly conducive to nuclear disarmament and the reduction of nuclear war threats and must not be used to cover up nuclear arms expansion and increase the threat of nuclear war; it must help push forward the struggle of the peace-loving people of the world for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and not serve to lull and deceive them.

Such a conference must have a clear aim, that is, to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and as the first step, to reach a solemn agreement on the non-use of nuclear weapons by all nuclear countries at any time and in any circumstances.

The Chinese Government also maintains that in order to realize the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, the United States and the Soviet Union which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons should, first of all, issue statements separately or jointly to undertake openly the obligation.

1) Not to be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time and in any circumstances and not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries and against nuclear-free zones;

2) Dismantle all nuclear bases set up on the territories of other countries and withdraw all their nu-

clear armed forces and all nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad.

As for the level of the conference, we still hold that it should be attended by the heads of government of all countries, but we are also prepared to hear and consider different opinions. As to whether it should be convened inside or outside the United Nations, this question is open for discussion and consultation among all.

6. In the opinion of the Chinese Delegation, the Soviet Delegation's proposal for convening a world disarmament conference has neither set out a clear aim nor put forward practical steps for its attainment. If the Soviet proposal is to be acted upon, such a world disarmament conference would inevitably become a permanent club for endless discussions that solve no substantive problems, which will result in perpetual arms expansion alongside perpetual disarmament talks. This is not in keeping with the desire of the people of all countries, and we cannot agree to it.

International disarmament talks have been going on for many years now; innumerable meetings have been held and innumerable declarations, statements and agreements have been published. The United Nations has passed a great number of resolutions. Although many member states have favoured these resolutions out of good intentions and in the hope that they may give an impetus to disarmament, the hard facts are that these resolutions remain but empty papers that are utilized by the two superpowers to hoodwink world opinion.

The Chinese Delegation holds that we should sum up the historical experience of the past 20 years and more and draw the necessary lessons. We should not allow the United Nations to become a tool for implementing the policies of certain big powers. To meet their political needs of a given time, they resort to various means to secure a majority for the adoption of some high-sounding resolutions. However, after the resolutions have been adopted, the superpowers have continued and even intensified their arms expansion and war preparations. The result of this can only be: The greater the number of the resolutions adopted, the lower the prestige of the United Nations. The time has now come to change this inglorious situation. We should endeavour to make a new start. None of us should act rashly and make hasty decisions on such a major problem as disarmament. We should consult each other fully and continue the discussions to find a way truly conducive to nuclear disarmament, and avoid discussions that lead to no solutions or decisions that are not put into effect, for this can only further disappoint the people of the world.

Therefore, the Chinese Delegation proposes that the Soviet draft resolution for convening a world disarmament conference not be put to vote at this session of the General Assembly.

# Chiao Kuan-hua Refutes Soviet Representative Malik's Attack on China

*Chiao Kuan-hua made another speech at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on the afternoon of November 26, sternly refuting the distortion, slander and attack made by Yakov A. Malik, Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union to the U.N., in a speech at the plenary meeting on the afternoon of November 24, against the Chinese Government's principled stand on the disarmament question. Full text of Chiao Kuan-hua's speech follows:*

Mr. President, Fellow Representatives,

The Chinese Delegation deems it necessary to make a few remarks in regard to the speech delivered by the Soviet Representative Mr. Malik at the meeting of November 24.

1. The Soviet representative tried hard to deny that the Soviet Union is a superpower and that, like the United States, the Soviet Union attempts to monopolize nuclear weapons and push its policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats against other countries. Such an attempt is utterly futile. Everyone knows that it is precisely the Soviet Union and the United States, which possess large quantities of nuclear weapons, that have up to now obstinately refused to undertake the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, and they have continued to maintain large numbers of armed forces and military bases on foreign soil, including nuclear armed forces and nuclear bases. The Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and the Treaty on Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons jointly devised by the United States and the Soviet Union are something entirely imposed on others; they are aimed at monopolizing nuclear weapons and controlling other countries. We can never agree to them. The Soviet leadership has carried out aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries. This is clearly known to the representatives of many countries present here. China had her own experience in this respect, and here I will not speak at length about the relevant history. Countless facts have shown that what the Soviet leadership is practising is certainly not socialism but, as Lenin put it, socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, that is, social-imperialism.

2. The Soviet representative denounced China's disagreement to the Soviet proposal for convening a world disarmament conference as a "Sino-American duet of negativism." These are cheap and demagogic remarks which are not worth refuting. Who, after all, is singing a duet with U.S. imperialism? To the north of China, large numbers of Soviet armed forces including rocket forces are stationed in the People's Republic of Mongolia; to the east of China, the United States is maintaining a large number of military bases and nuclear bases in Japan proper and Okinawa. Is this not a kind of duet? This is not only true with regard to China. In Europe, the Middle East, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean and other parts of the world, the Soviet leadership considers that the final say rests only with an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States. Is this not a duet?

3. The speech of the Soviet representative is a splendid self-exposure. The Soviet representative is upset when other people call the Soviet Union a superpower, yet his speech has vividly revealed the features of a superpower, which lords it over and orders other countries about. It is entirely China's own business as to how the Chinese Delegation should speak and act and what stand it should take here. There is no need whatsoever for the Soviet representative to lecture us. The Soviet attitude towards the Chinese Delegation is exactly the same as the crude behaviour towards some Afro-Asian countries adopted by another superpower not long ago. The Soviet representatives have probably become used to acting the patriarch within their small realm, and they consider that whatever they say, others will have to obey. Otherwise they will label you as anti-Soviet. Distinguished representatives of the Soviet Union, you are wrong! This is not anti-Sovietism; this is opposition to your attitude of great-power chauvinism and your policies of social-imperialism. We have long had experience with such behaviour of yours. The Chinese people do not buy such stuff of yours, and your baton no longer works. The days are gone when the superpowers could dominate the world. An increasing number of medium and small countries in the world have more and more seen through your true features. The sooner the Soviet Delegation understands this, the better for themselves and the work of the United Nations.

4. In his speech, the Soviet representative unweariedly boasted that the Soviet Union had fought for disarmament for more than two decades, putting up

the airs of a "veteran peace fighter." A simple but important principle of Marxism-Leninism is that one must judge a person not merely by his words but by his deeds. Not long ago, the Soviet Union concluded with a neighbour of China a so-called treaty of peace, friendship and co-operation which is in essence a treaty of military alliance. With the encouragement and support of this treaty, that country launched barefaced armed aggression against Pakistan, another neighbour of China, thus aggravating tension in Asia. This fully reveals the true features of the "foreign policy of peace" pursued by the Soviet leadership. The Chinese Government and people have consistently maintained that disputes between countries should be resolved through consultation between the countries concerned without resorting to the use of force. The Chinese Government and people will, as always, firmly support the Pakistan people in their just struggle against foreign aggression and for the defence of their national sovereignty and unity.

In short, on the question of aggression and anti-aggression, disarmament and arms expansion, peace and war, one must be judged by his deeds. Bragging and boasting, or putting on the airs of an "old-timer" are of no avail. If the Soviet Government truly has the desire for disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the Soviet representative should come forward to this rostrum and solemnly declare that at no time and in no circumstances will the Soviet Union be the

first to use nuclear weapons and that it will dismantle all nuclear bases and withdraw all nuclear weapons and means of delivery from abroad. Distinguished Soviet representatives, do you dare to do so? If you are man enough, you will do it. But if you have a guilty conscience and an unjust cause, you will not dare to do so, because although you appear to be tough outwardly, you are in fact timid inwardly. We are certain that you will not dare to do so. Is this not true? Please reply!

5. In order to enable all the member states of the United Nations to hold full consultation and discussion on such an important issue as disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, the Chinese Delegation has proposed that the Soviet draft resolution for convening a world disarmament conference not be put to vote at this session of the General Assembly. Our desire is that we should strive to enable the United Nations on the principle of reaching consensus through consultation to make a new start on this question that is truly conducive to disarmament. We still hope that our fellow representatives will give serious consideration to our view. However, if the Soviet Delegation insists on putting its draft resolution to a vote, the Chinese Delegation cannot but declare with regret that China will not participate in the voting and will assume no obligation as to the result of the voting.

That is all I want to say. Thank you, Mr. President.

## Voting on Soviet Draft Resolution Postponed

**T**HE general debate on the proposal of the Soviet Delegation for convening a world disarmament conference, which was started at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on November 16, concluded on the afternoon of November 26. In view of the different opinions and reservations that came up during the debate, it was decided at the meeting to postpone voting on the Soviet draft resolution.

In his speech at the November 24 meeting, Chiao Kuan-hua made an all-round elucidation of China's consistent stand on disarmament. He exposed the acts of the two superpowers in camouflaging their nuclear arms expansion with the so-called nuclear disarmament, and pointed out that the Soviet Delegation's proposal for convening a world disarmament conference has neither set out a clear aim nor put forward practical steps for its attainment, and that the Chinese Delegation

therefore proposed that the Soviet draft resolution not be put to a vote at this session of the General Assembly.

After Chiao Kuan-hua's speech, Malik, the Soviet permanent representative to the United Nations, hastily rushed to the platform to speak. He did his utmost to deny that the Soviet leading group attempts to monopolize nuclear weapons and pushes policies of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. He confused, with an ulterior motive, China's principled stand on disarmament with the U.S. stand of arms expansion and war preparations, terming China's principled stand as a "Sino-American duet of negativism."

Chiao Kuan-hua made another speech at the plenary meeting on the afternoon of November 26, sternly refuting the distortion, calumny and attack made by Malik at the November 24 meeting against the prin-

ciplined stand of the Chinese Government on disarmament.

During the debate, several representatives, prompted by the strong desire for real disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, expressed varying degrees of reservation on the Soviet proposal which has neither set out a clear aim nor put forward practical steps for its attainment.

The representative of Pakistan, Agha Shahi, stressed in his speech that "further consultations are necessary before we should be called upon to decide on convening a world disarmament conference." To act otherwise "would hardly constitute a significant forward step towards its realization," he said. He pointed out that the resolutions and measures on disarmament adopted in more than 20 years in the past "have hardly brought us a step towards real disarmament."

Shahi expressed support for the propositions made by the Chinese representative in his speech that such a conference must have a clear aim, that is, to discuss the question of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and, as the first step, to reach a solemn agreement that all nuclear countries should not use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear countries

or nuclear-free zones. He pointed out that in the past "all our efforts to formulate an undertaking which would be acceptable to the United States and the Soviet Union foundered."

French Representative Jacques Kosciusko-Morizet pointed out in his speech that so far all disarmament measures were aimed only at preventing some from acquiring (nuclear) arms while others were augmenting theirs. The object of the Soviet-U.S. talks, he commented, "is to maintain the balance of strength on a higher level, ensuring for those who possess them not only a monopoly of these weapons but also of the political power which they bestow."

Egyptian Representative Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat maintained that one cannot talk about universal disarmament indiscriminately. He pointed out that in more than one region aggressive regimes were financed and armed from outside and that victim nations had to arm to resist aggression.

Irish Representative Sean G. Ronan said that the question of convening a world disarmament conference "needed careful consideration." Referring to the existing disarmament talks, he pointed out that there is a "marked reluctance of the major powers to reserve the arms race."

## China at the United Nations

### Gives Grand Reception

Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman, and Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman, of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to the 26th Session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, gave a grand reception at the U.N. building on the evening of November 23 to express thanks to Albania, Algeria and 21 other sponsor-countries and other friendly countries for their efforts and support for the restoration of all China's legitimate rights in the United Nations and the expulsion of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. More than 300 friends and guests attended. Among them were:

Permanent representatives, deputy representatives or members of the delegations to the U.N. of Albania, Algeria, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Guinea, Iraq, Mali, Mauritania, Nepal, Pakistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Re-

public of the Congo, Romania, Sierra Leone, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Yemen Arab Republic, Yugoslavia and Zambia;

Permanent representatives, deputy representatives or members of the delegations of Afghanistan, Austria, Belgium, Bhutan, Botswana, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussia, Cameroon, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Ecuador, the Arab Republic of Egypt, Ethiopia, Finland, France, Ghana, Guyana, Hungary, Iceland, India, Iran, Ireland, Italy, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Libya, Malaysia, Mexico, Mongolia, Morocco, the Netherlands, Nigeria, Norway, Peru, Poland, Rwanda, Senegal, Singapore, Sweden, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, Ukraine, the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom;

Permanent representatives, deputy representatives or members of the delegations of Argentina, Bahrein, Barbados, Colombia, Cyprus, Fiji, Greece, Indonesia, Jamaica, Lebanon, Luxembourg, Mauritius, Panama, Qatar and Thailand;

Permanent representatives or members of the delegations of Malawi, Malta, the Philippines and the United States.

Also present at the reception on invitation were Albanian Vice-Foreign Minister M. Reiz Malile; Bulgarian First Vice-Foreign Minister Milko Tarabanov; Cyprus Foreign Minister Spyros Kyprianon; Hungarian Vice-Foreign Minister Csatorday Karoly; Princess of the Kingdom of Iran Ashraf Pahlavi; Secretary-General of the Malian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Co-operation Mamadou Boubacar Kante; and Member of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour Pierre Andre Pambou.

Under secretaries-general, assistant secretaries-general and other officials of the United Nations headquarters, presidents of U.N. committees and regional groups, officials of New York City, as well as other friendly personages and correspondents to the U.N. from various countries were also present.

Chiao Kuan-hua, Huang Hua and other members of the Chinese Delegation had friendly conversations with the friends and guests attending the reception. Many guests extended congratulations to the Chinese Delegation and expressed their wishes for co-operation with it. Members of the Chinese Delegation expressed heartfelt thanks for their help and support.

## Attends Security Council Meeting

Huang Hua, Permanent Representative, and Chen Chu, Deputy Representative, of the People's Republic of China on the U.N. Security Council, attended a council meeting on the afternoon of November 23 and were welcomed by representatives of other council member states. Huang Hua spoke at the meeting.

Eugeniusz Kulaga, Polish Permanent Representative on the Security Council, welcomed the presence of the Chinese representatives in a speech delivered in his capacity as president of the council for November. Welcoming speeches were then made by the permanent representatives of the other 13 council members—Somalia, Britain, Argentina, Italy, Japan, the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, the United States, Burundi, Belgium, Syria, Sierra Leone and France.

Speaking after them, Huang Hua said: "Allow me to express thanks to the President and our fellow representatives for their welcome to the Chinese representatives. It is a pleasure for us to take part, together with the other members of the Security Council, in the work of this council."

He said: "After World War II, very profound changes have taken place in the world situation. Coun-

tries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution; this has become the main trend of the present international situation, propelling the advance of history and social progress. However, the colonialists and neo-colonialists, and particularly the one or two superpowers have not ceased their activities in practising power politics and in carrying out aggression, interference, subversion and control against other countries and people. The struggle between aggression versus anti-aggression, interference versus anti-interference, subversion versus anti-subversion and control versus anti-control is becoming ever more acute. Since the end of World War II, although a new world war has not broken out, local wars have not ceased and tensions have occurred one after the other. There is no peace on earth. The danger of a new world war still exists. The people of the whole world must be vigilant."

Huang Hua stressed: "Over a long period, the Chinese people have suffered from imperialist aggression and oppression; they have persistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all the oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. The Chinese people have always received the sympathy and support of the people of various countries in our struggle for independence and liberation over the past century and more and in the cause of our socialist revolution and socialist construction. We regard it as our bounden duty to give support to the just struggles of the people of all countries."

Concluding, Huang Hua said: "According to the purposes of the United Nations Charter, the Security Council should play its due role in maintaining international peace and opposing aggression and interference. It is our hope that the spirit of the United Nations Charter will be followed out. To this end, we will stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice and work for the defence of the national independence and state sovereignty of various countries, the safeguarding of international peace and the promotion of human progress."

## Elected to U.N. Economic and Social Council

The People's Republic of China was elected a member of the Economic and Social Council at the plenary meeting of the U.N. General Assembly on November 23.

The Economic and Social Council, the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council,

the International Court of Justice and the Secretariat are the principal organs of the United Nations. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Economic and Social Council "may make or initiate studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and may make recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned."

One-third of the members of the council are elected each year for a term of three years. A retiring member is eligible for immediate re-election. Elected to the council together with China were Chile, Burundi, Finland, Bolivia, Poland, Britain, the Soviet Union and Japan.

## Opposes U.S. Import of Chrome From Rhodesia

The Chinese Delegation on November 16 exercised its right to vote for the first time when that day's U.N. General Assembly plenary meeting adopted by a vote of 106 to 2 a resolution denouncing the United States for violating the U.N. Security Council resolutions on all-round prohibition of trade with the white colonialist regime of Rhodesia by its attempt to import chrome from Rhodesia. Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua voted for the resolution.

The U.N. Security Council had adopted resolutions previously on all-round prohibition of trade with the white colonialist Rhodesian regime. Disregarding the relevant U.N. Security Council resolutions, the U.S. Congress recently decided to lift the embargo on the importation of chrome, a strategic material, from Rhodesia.

This U.S. move has aroused strong opposition from many countries, especially African countries. In their speeches at that day's meeting, many representatives condemned the U.S. move, pointing out that the unpardonable U.S. action not only violates the United Nations Charter, but is also connivance with and support to the Rhodesian regime in its plunder, exploitation and oppression of the Zimbabwe people. Finally, a resolution prohibiting U.S. imports of chrome from Rhodesia was adopted by an overwhelming majority of 106 to 2 (Portugal and South Africa) with 13 abstentions. The United States announced that it was not taking part in the vote.

The resolution expresses "grave concern" over the U.S. move and points out that if the United States im-

ports chrome from Rhodesia, it will constitute "a serious violation" of the above-mentioned U.N. Security Council resolutions on embargoes on trade with Rhodesia. The resolution asks the United States "to act in compliance with the Security Council resolution and to bear in mind its obligations under Article 25 of the Charter," which says, "The members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter." The resolution also demands that the United States inform the General Assembly before the end of the current session on December 21 "of the action taken or envisaged" to implement the resolution.

After the vote, Huang Hua, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese Delegation, explained that the Chinese Delegation supported the resolution which was in line with the basic stand of the Chinese Government. He added that the Chinese Delegation's support for the present resolution did not imply that it supported the previous resolutions on the subject adopted before the arrival of the Chinese Delegation.

## Condemns Portuguese Authorities

The United Nations Security Council adopted a resolution at a meeting on November 24 condemning the Portuguese authorities for violating the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal and asking them to take immediate effective measures so that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Senegal are fully respected. The resolution also urged the Portuguese authorities to respect the inalienable right of the people of Guinea (Bissau) to self-determination and independence.

A debate took place at the meeting on the report of the council's special mission to Senegal and on the draft resolution submitted the day before by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia on this question. After this, the draft resolution was put to the vote and adopted 14 to 0 with 1 abstention. U.S. Representative George Bush abstained on the excuse that his delegation had "difficulties" with some of the wording and some omissions in the text of the draft resolution.

Speaking after the vote, Huang Hua, Chinese Permanent Representative on the Security Council, said: "For years the Portuguese authorities have repeatedly committed armed aggression against the Republic of Senegal, threatening its territorial integrity and national security, causing a loss of life to the Senegalese people and creating tension which endangers peace in that region."

Huang Hua said: "We have also taken note of the armed aggression committed by the Portuguese authorities against the territory of the Republic of Guinea, the United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Zambia and their violent suppression of the struggle for national independence of the people of Guinea (Bissau), Angola and Mozambique. They are actively pushing a policy of racial discrimination in collusion with the white colonialist rulers of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. Facts have proved that the colonialist policy of the Portuguese authorities constitutes a threat to the sovereignty and security of independent African countries, a challenge to the African peoples' right to national independence, and a gross violation of the spirit of the United Nations Charter."

He said: "For this reason, we strongly condemn the Portuguese authorities' aggression against the Republic of Senegal and brutal suppression of the peoples of Guinea (Bissau) and other areas who are fighting for national independence. We support the draft resolution put forward by Burundi, Sierra Leone and Somalia. But judging from the record of the Portuguese colonialists, one should not cherish illusions about the results of the resolution. The nature of colonialists will not change. Who can guarantee that this resolution will not, like the several previous resolutions, be scorned at, boycotted and sabotaged by the Portuguese colonialists? Who can guarantee that the colonialists will put an end to their acts of aggression and sabotage against the territory and people of Senegal?"

In conclusion, Huang Hua said: "The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the just struggle of the peoples of Senegal, Guinea (Bissau), Angola, Mozambique and other countries and areas to defend and win national independence. Their struggle has widespread sympathy and support from the countries and peoples opposing colonialism. We are deeply convinced that their struggle will surely win final victory."

## Condemns South African and Other Colonial Authorities

The Third Committee (Social, Humanitarianism and Cultural Committee) of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution on November 25 condemning the Portuguese, South African and other colonial authorities for suppressing national-liberation movements and interfering in the internal affairs of independent African states. Chinese Representative Fu Hao voted in favour of the resolution.

The resolution supports the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia (South West Africa), Angola, Mozambique, Guinea (Bissau) and Palestine for self-determination and national liberation, and calls upon all states to give political, moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting for national liberation, self-determination and independence. The resolution

strongly condemns some states, saying, "particularly Portugal and South Africa, pursue the imperialist policy of colonialism, use force against independent African states and developing countries and peoples fighting for self-determination." It also condemns "the policy of certain states members of NATO that contribute to the creation in southern Africa of a military-industrial complex whose aim is the suppression of the movement of peoples struggling for their self-determination and interference in the affairs of independent African states."

The vote was 74 in favour, 12 against (including the United States, Israel, Portugal and Britain) with 27 abstentions. During the debate on the draft resolution, the U.S. representative put forward amendments five times in an attempt to have those parts condemning imperialism and colonialism deleted and to prevent adoption of the resolution. But all five U.S.-proposed amendments were rejected by the majority of the representatives.

In a speech before the voting, Chinese Representative Fu Hao declared the Chinese Delegation's opposition to all the U.S. amendments and reiterated the solemn stand of the Chinese Government in consistently supporting the struggle of the peoples against colonialism and imperialism, and for national liberation and national independence.

Fu Hao said: "The question we are discussing today is one of the right of national self-determination and independence of the people of colonial countries. We hold that this question stems from the existence of imperialism and colonialism. The continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a challenge to the peoples of the world. Therefore, the Chinese Government and people have always resolutely supported the people of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau) and other regions in their struggle for national liberation, resolutely supported the people of Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against colonial rule and racial discrimination, and resolutely supported the Palestinian people in their just struggle for recovering their national rights and against imperialism and Zionism."

Fu Hao expressed approval of the point in the amendment proposed by Algeria and others that "Palestine" must not be deleted from the amendments. He pointed out: "From the speeches of some representatives it seems that the Palestine nation does not exist on earth, nor does the Palestinian struggle for national rights. This is shutting one's eyes to realities."

Fu Hao said in conclusion: "The U.S. representative in his speech has tried his utmost to avoid the justifiable inclusion of condemnation against imperialism and colonialism in the draft resolution. Or in other words, they dislike or they are afraid of these words. And why? In our view, it is because they want to evade the essence of the question under discussion. This is completely unjustifiable and we are firmly against this."

# Japanese People Will Never Approve

by "Renmin Ribao" Commentator

**I**GNORING the resolute opposition of the broad masses of the Japanese people, the reactionary Sato government railroaded through the House of Representatives of the Diet the agreement on so-called "reversion" of Okinawa and submitted it to the House of Councillors for deliberation, trying to forcibly impose the traitorous agreement on the Japanese people. This has once again exposed the reactionary features of the Sato government which is obstinately hostile towards the Japanese people and people of other Asian countries.

The Okinawa "reversion" agreement jointly concocted by the reactionary Sato government and the United States last June 17 is a big fraud engineered by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries for "legalizing" the permanent occupation of Okinawa by the United States. It is a sinister contract signed by the Sato government which is making a dirty deal with the United States at the expense of Japan's national interests. It runs completely counter to the will and desire of the Japanese people who have demanded that the United States return Okinawa to Japan unconditionally, completely and immediately. The Japanese people launched a powerful mass struggle in the past few months to oppose resolutely the Okinawa "reversion" fraud and strongly denounce the traitorous act of the Sato government. Acting arbitrarily in disregard of public opinion, the Sato government forcibly railroaded the agreement through the Diet. This shows that the Sato government is the most reactionary government in Japan since World War II.

The Japanese people have fully demonstrated their firm anti-U.S. and patriotic resolve and undaunted revolutionary spirit in launching recently the great struggle to smash the Okinawa "reversion" fraud. Hundreds of thousands of people held rallies and demonstrations, and two million workers went on strike, with the demonstrators fighting courageously with the armed police again and again. The scale and militancy of the mass struggle are seldom seen in the past decade. The Japanese people have linked this struggle with the struggles against the reactionary domestic and foreign policies of the Sato government. Shouts of "Down with the Sato cabinet" resounded everywhere in Japan. One can see clearly that in Japan it is the Japanese people and not the Japanese reactionaries who are really powerful.

The reactionary Sato government has for many years stubbornly colluded with U.S. imperialism, pursued a policy detrimental to the interests of the country and the people, and done many evil deeds. It has become very unpopular and is in the plight of being opposed by all and tottering. Sato and his ilk attempt to strengthen their position and prolong their feeble

existence by railroading the Okinawa "reversion" agreement through the Diet. But the result can only be the contrary to their wish. This step taken by them will certainly arouse stronger indignation among the Japanese people of various strata, further sharpen the contradictions between the Sato government and opposition parties as well as within the Liberal Democratic Party itself and thus accelerate the collapse of the Sato government.

The reactionary Sato government can railroad the Okinawa "reversion" agreement through the Diet by utilizing the voting machine under its control, but the Japanese people will never approve this traitorous agreement. The broad masses of the Japanese people are determined to take the road of independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity. They firmly oppose the intensified military collusion between and revival of Japanese militarism by the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, oppose the reactionary Sato government's scheme to continue to place Okinawa at the disposal of U.S. imperialism as a base for its aggression in Asia, and oppose the Okinawanization of Japan proper. The Japanese people will persist in the struggle to smash the Okinawa "reversion" fraud of the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries until a complete victory is won in genuine recovery of Okinawa.

The Chinese people will continue, as always, to resolutely support the Japanese people's just struggle for the recovery of Okinawa and firmly oppose the U.S. imperialists' attempt to sow discord in the friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese people by including China's territory Tiaoyu and other islands into the "sphere of reversion" through the Okinawa "reversion" fraud.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"The Japanese nation is a great nation. However many twists and turns and however many difficulties along their way forward, the Japanese people will eventually triumph."**

In the course of their struggle against the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries, the Japanese people have been continuously tempered and steeled, their political consciousness has become higher and their strength greater daily. The development of the situation is more and more favourable to the Japanese people and unfavourable to the U.S. and Japanese reactionaries. We firmly believe that so long as the Japanese people strengthen their unity and persist in struggle, they will definitely be able to attain their desire for independence, democracy, peace, neutrality and prosperity.

(November 29)

# ROUND THE WORLD

## U.S. IMPERIALISM

### New Invasion of Cambodia

Directly instigated by U.S. imperialism and under its air cover, the Saigon puppet clique on November 22 flagrantly sent a large number of puppet troops and launched a new invasion of Cambodia. A Reuter's November 25 report disclosed that the total number of the invading Saigon puppet troops was 45,000.

The new flagrant and large-scale invasion of Cambodia by the U.S. imperialists and their Saigon lackeys is aimed at averting defeat on the Indochinese battlefield, particularly at trying to check the victorious offensive launched by the Cambodian patriotic armed forces and people at the beginning of this year's dry season. In plotting this new invasion, U.S. imperialism had conducted a series of machinations. According to reports of Western news agencies, after U.S. Defence Secretary Melvin Laird's conspiratorial activities in Saigon in early November, the United States, while intensifying its bombing of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, the liberated areas in south Viet Nam and Laos, hatched in collusion with its Saigon and Phnom Penh lackeys concrete plots for their invasion of Cambodia. The Phnom Penh puppet clique sent to Saigon on November 19 a delegation headed by an assistant to the chief of staff of the Phnom Penh puppet army for secret plotting. The following day, eight high-ranking Saigon puppet officers were sent to Phnom Penh for the same purpose. An announcement was then made in Saigon and Phnom Penh that the Saigon puppet authorities had "agreed to send at least a division of troops into Cambodia" to assist the Lon Nol puppet troops in fighting.

The heroic Cambodian patriotic armed forces and people triumphantly smashed the large-scale invasion launched by 100,000 U.S. troops and Saigon puppet troops last year and have now liberated eight-tenths of their territory which has a population of five million, thus bringing about an excellent situation.

Not long ago, the Cambodian People's National Liberation Armed Forces and people continuously encircled and attacked the enemy along Highway 6. Despite massive U.S. air support, operation "Chenla 2" suffered disastrous defeat. After the People's National Liberation Armed Forces on Highway 6 had won important victories and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak army on Highways 2, 3, 4 and 5 as well as in the latter's own dens including Tuol Leap, Bat Deng, Kambaul and Pochentong, Phnom Penh was besieged from all sides by the heroic people's forces.

The desperate struggle of U.S. imperialism in sending Saigon puppet troops en masse to invade Cambodia again in an attempt to intensify and prolong the war of aggression against Cambodia and Indochina will surely meet with more disastrous defeat.

The spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia in his November 25 statement strongly condemned U.S. imperialism and its Saigon lackeys for their new crime of aggression against Cambodia and expressed the readiness of the Cambodian patriotic armed forces and people to fight heroically and smash the military adventure of U.S. imperialism and the Saigon puppet troops. In a November 28 commentary, *Renmin Ribao* flayed the new U.S. imperialist crime. It pointed out: The Chinese people firmly support the just

stand of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and staunchly support the fraternal Cambodian people in their just struggle to resist aggression.

## INDIA

### Invasion of East Pakistan Admitted

An Indian government official has admitted that when Indian armed forces recently attacked the Jessore sector and other places in East Pakistan, they had crossed the border and invaded East Pakistan.

A November 24 AP dispatch said that in her statement to parliament that day, Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi disclosed that "Indian troops had authority to cross into East Pakistan." "She indicated Indian soldiers had crossed the border during the battle."

A Reuter dispatch from New Delhi on November 24 reported that an Indian government spokesman that day admitted that Indian troops "had crossed the border of East Pakistan" last Sunday (November 21).

AP reported on November 24 from New Delhi that "a government spokesman declined to say how far the Indians had penetrated into East Pakistan, saying the distance was determined by the need for self-defence." He added: "I can't tell you what will happen in the future. But it may happen again."

The Indian paper *National Herald* in a similar report on November 24 said Indian troops "are now permitted to cross the borders in self-defence," "Indian troops crossed the border for the first time on Sunday (November 21) . . . on the West Bengal Jessore border." The paper reported that the Indian spokesman also said that "it might happen again," "it was not possible to prescribe any limitation about distance [of crossing into Pakistan territory]. The local

commander would have to decide when it was necessary to cross the border in self-defence."

AP noted in a report from New Delhi on November 26: "The Indian troops crossed into East Pakistan about 80 miles north of Calcutta, according to a defence communique (of India), and destroyed one Pakistani tank and inflicted 80 casualties on the Pakistanis."

APP reported that President Yahya Khan had inspected troops at the front in the Sialkot area of West Pakistan on the morning of November 22. During the inspection, he said: Pakistan wanted peace. However, if a war, in spite of Pakistan's best efforts to avoid it, is thrust on her, the valiant armed forces of Pakistan "will defend every inch of their sacred soil and crush the aggressors."

After Indian armed forces had launched a large-scale offensive on November 21 in the Jessore sector and other parts of East Pakistan, President Yahya Khan declared a state of emergency throughout the country on November 23 because "Pakistan is threatened by external aggression."

Supported and encouraged by social-imperialism, the Indian Government has been stepping up subversive activities and military provocations against East Pakistan. However, no threat and military provocation can intimidate the Pakistan Government and people. They are resolutely resisting the encroachment of the Indian troops.

#### ARAB STATES

### Strengthen Unity, Smash Israel's Plot

A meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the armies of Arab countries opened in Cairo on November 24 at the Arab League headquarters.

It was held in preparation for the meetings of the Joint Defence Council of the Arab League. Taking part in this meeting were Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, the Sudan, Syria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

Saad el Hussein el Shazli, Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Armed Forces, presided over the opening session. He told the meeting that Israel's expansionist ambitions were obvious to the world.

He said: "There remains before us only military force in order to defend our nation and repulse the Zionist danger threatening us."

He stressed the importance of Arab unity for smashing Israel's plot to split the Arab countries and people.

Leaders of Arab countries recently strongly condemned the Israeli Zionists' aggressive acts and reaffirmed that force is the only way to repel the aggressors.

Anwar el Sadat, President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, called on the Egyptian armed forces to undergo hard training and get prepared to fight in defence of the motherland and for the recovery of the territories occupied by Israel.

During his inspection tour of the Suez Canal front on November 19 and 20, President Sadat declared that Egypt has made its final decision, to go into battle.

In a November 19 speech in Tripoli, capital of Libya, Omar Moamer Kazafi, Chairman of the Libyan Revolutionary Command Council, condemned the Israeli aggressors and pointed out: "Force is the only means for the Arabs to regain their usurped rights."

Chairman Kazafi appealed to all Arab states to support the Palestinian commandos in their struggle against Israel.

President Nimeri of the Sudan pointed out in an interview with the Saudi Press Agency on November 18 that the Arabs were determined to fight as long as Israel does not change its stubborn attitude.

At a press conference on November 17, Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr, President of the Republic of Iraq, reaffirmed his country's support for the Egyptian, Syrian and Palestinian peoples in their struggle for the recovery of usurped land and against imperialist-Zionist aggression. He also warned the Western oil companies operating in Iraq that they must respect the interests of her national economy.

President Bakr stressed: "People's liberation war is our policy . . . in the face of the Zionist aggressive war against our Arab nation."

Syrian Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Abdul Halim Khaddam, in an interview with the Egyptian weekly *Rose al Yussef*, pointed out in referring to the confrontation with Zionism and its expansionist ambitions: "We believe in action in the political, military, economic and cultural domains. This is the only way to the liberation of the land and repulsing the aggressors."

The Deputy Premier reiterated Syria's stand of supporting the Palestinian resistance movement and rejecting the U.N. Security Council resolution on the Middle East.

#### MALAYSIA, SINGAPORE AND INDONESIA

### Joint Control Over Strait of Malacca Declared

After consultation, Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia in a joint statement on November 16 declared their joint management of the affairs of the Strait of Malacca and the Strait of Singapore and the decision

to set up a co-operative organization to take charge of the safety of navigation in the straits.

Lying between the Malay Peninsula and Indonesia's Sumatra, the over 800-kilometre-long Strait of Malacca is of strategic importance in Southeast Asia and is the main waterway linking the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. Ninety per cent of the oil needed by Japan is shipped through this strait and its continental shelf has rich oil and tin deposits. U.S. and Japanese monopoly capital groups have already obtained the right to prospect and exploit this vast sea area.

The Japanese reactionaries have always coveted the Strait of Malacca because they want to plunder overseas resources and carry out aggres-

sion and expansion. In recent years, they have been plotting for control over this strait, openly claiming that "the Strait of Malacca is Japan's life-line" and "like the Uraga waterway, it is closely linked with Japan" and declaring that the Japanese navy should be sent to "ensure" its "safety." In 1968, the Japanese reactionaries flagrantly conducted extensive prospecting in the strait under the signboard of "ensuring" the "safe navigation" of large vessels.

When the Governments of Malaysia and Indonesia declared successively in 1969 the extension of their territorial sea limits from three to 12 nautical miles, the reactionary Japanese Government refused to recognize their decision. At an international conference last July, the Japanese reactionaries openly called

for "internationalization of the Strait of Malacca" and "protested" against the decision of Malaysia and Indonesia.

The joint statement by Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore on joint management of the two straits explicitly expressed their opposition to international management of the Strait of Malacca. However, the very day after the joint statement was issued, a high official of the Japanese Embassy in Malaysia expressed the Japanese Government's "concern" about the question of "safety" in navigation through the strait and the willingness to "help ensure" "safe navigation" through the strait. This reveals once again the aggressive ambitions of the Japanese reactionaries to have a finger in the strait.

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(Continued from p. 5.)

yuan and Li Hsien-nien were present. Ambassador Robo and Comrade Li Hsien-nien spoke amidst a warm atmosphere of the revolutionary friendship and militant unity between the Parties and peoples of China and Albania.

### **Yugoslav National Day Greeted**

Tung Pi-wu, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, and Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, sent a message on November 28 to Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and Dzemal Bijedic, President of the Federal Executive Council of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, extending warm congratulations on the National Day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The message said: "On the occasion of the National Day of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, we express warm congratulations to Your Excellencies and the people of different nationalities of

Yugoslavia. We are glad to see that the relations between China and Yugoslavia have improved and developed continuously in the past few years. This is in accord with the common desire of our two countries and peoples. The Chinese Government and people firmly support the Yugoslav Government and people in their just struggle for safeguarding their national independence and state sovereignty. We believe that through the efforts of both sides the friendly relations between the countries and peoples of China and Yugoslavia will be further developed."

Yugoslav Ambassador to China Bogdan Orescanin and his wife gave a reception on November 26 in celebration of Yugoslavia's National Day. Among those present at the reception were: Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the N.P.C. Kuo Mo-jo, and General Duong Sam Ol, Minister of Military Equipment and Armament of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia. Ambassador Bogdan Orescanin and Acting Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei proposed toasts at the reception. Both wished that the friendly rela-

tions between China and Yugoslavia will be further strengthened.

### **NEWS BRIEFS**

▲ Comrade E.F. Hill, Chairman of the Australian Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), arrived in Peking on November 20 at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

▲ Premier Chou En-lai on November 27 sent a message to Moktar Ould Daddah, President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, expressing warm congratulations on the National Day of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

▲ Premier Chou En-lai on November 27 sent a message to Michel Micombero, President of the Republic of Burundi, expressing warm congratulations on the 5th anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Burundi.

▲ The Spanish Communist Party Delegation led by Santiago Carrillo, General Secretary of the Party, visited China at the invitation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries.

# **Speeches Welcoming China's Delegation**

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

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

—“Peking Review” Ed.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. President,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. President,

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

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

Thank you Mr. President.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Speech by Abdou-Raouf Issaka, Representative of Togo**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

# Irresistible Historical Trend

*In English*

This booklet contains 12 documents and articles, including *Statement of the Government of the People's Republic of China (October 29, 1971)*; *Speech by Chiao Kuan-hua, Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China, at the Plenary Meeting of the 26th Session of the U.N. General Assembly (November 15, 1971)*; and *Taiwan Has Been China's Sacred Territory Since Ancient Times*.

These documents and articles make it clear that the adoption by an overwhelming majority at the U.N. General Assembly on October 25, 1971 of the resolution put forward by Albania, Algeria and 21 other countries means the bankruptcy of the policy of depriving China of her legitimate rights in the United Nations obdurately pursued by U.S. imperialism for over 20 years and of the U.S. imperialist scheme to create "two Chinas" in the United Nations, and means a victory for Chairman Mao Tsetung's proletarian revolutionary line in foreign affairs and a victory for the people of the whole world and all countries upholding justice. These documents and articles reaffirm the consistent stand of the Government of the People's Republic of China of establishment and development of normal relations with other countries on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, opposition to imperialist policies of aggression and war, and support to all oppressed people and nations in their just struggles to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny.

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