

**BREAK
THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY,
ELIMINATE
NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS PEKING

**BREAK
THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY,
ELIMINATE
NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1965

CONTENTS

| | |
|--|----|
| STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (October 16, 1964) | 1 |
| PRESS COMMUNIQUE ON THE EXPLOSION OF THE FIRST ATOM BOMB (October 16, 1964) | 6 |
| PRESS COMMUNIQUE ON THE EXPLOSION OF THE SECOND ATOM BOMB (May 14, 1965) | 7 |
| PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI CABLES GOVERNMENT HEADS OF THE WORLD (October 17, 1964) | 9 |
| BREAK THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY, ELIMINATE NU- CLEAR WEAPONS (<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, October 22, 1964) | 11 |
| NEW STARTING POINT FOR EFFORTS TO BAN NU- CLEAR WEAPONS COMPLETELY (<i>Renmin Ribao</i> Editorial, November 22, 1964) | 20 |

**STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**

(October 16, 1964)

China exploded an atomic bomb at 15:00 hours on October 16, 1964, thereby successfully carrying out its first nuclear test. This is a major achievement of the Chinese people in their struggle to strengthen their national defence and oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

To defend oneself is the inalienable right of every sovereign state. To safeguard world peace is the common task of all peace-loving countries. China cannot remain idle in the face of the ever increasing nuclear threats from the United States. China is conducting nuclear tests and developing nuclear weapons under compulsion.

The Chinese Government has consistently advocated the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. If this had been achieved, China need not have developed nuclear weapons. But our proposal has met with stubborn resistance from the U.S. imperialists. The Chinese Government pointed out long ago that the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests signed in Moscow in July 1963 by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union was a big fraud to fool the people of the world, that it was an attempt to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of the three nuclear powers and

tie the hands of all peace-loving countries, and that it had increased, and not decreased, the nuclear threat of U.S. imperialism against the people of China and of the whole world. Even at that time, the U.S. Government openly declared that the conclusion of this treaty did not in the least mean that the United States would not conduct underground tests or that it would not use, manufacture, stockpile, export or spread nuclear weapons. Facts over the past year and more have fully proved this point.

During this period, the United States has not stopped manufacturing various nuclear weapons on the basis of nuclear tests it has already conducted. Seeking ever greater perfection, the United States has, moreover, during this same period conducted several dozen underground nuclear tests to improve further the nuclear weapons it manufactures. In stationing nuclear submarines in Japan, the United States is posing a direct threat to the Japanese people, the Chinese people and the peoples of all other Asian countries. Through the so-called multilateral nuclear force, the United States is now trying to put nuclear weapons into the hands of the West German revanchists, thereby threatening the security of the German Democratic Republic and the other socialist countries in Eastern Europe. U.S. submarines carrying Polaris missiles with nuclear warheads are prowling the Taiwan Straits, the Bac Bo Gulf (Tonkin Gulf), the Mediterranean Sea, the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean, everywhere threatening peace-loving countries and all the peoples who are fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Under these circumstances, how can it be considered that U.S. nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats against the people of the world have ceased to exist just because of

the false impression created by the temporary halting of atmospheric tests by the United States?

The atomic bomb is a paper tiger. This famous statement by Chairman Mao Tse-tung is known to all. This was our view in the past and this is still our view at present. China is developing nuclear weapons not because it believes in their omnipotence nor because it plans to use them. On the contrary, in developing nuclear weapons, China's aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and to eliminate nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government is loyal to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. **We believe in the people. It is the people, and not any weapons, that decide the outcome of a war. The destiny of China is decided by the Chinese people, while the destiny of the world is decided by the people of the world, and not by nuclear weapons.** China is developing nuclear weapons for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from U.S. threats to launch a nuclear war.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly declares that China will never at any time or under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese people resolutely support all the oppressed nations and peoples in their struggles for liberation. We firmly believe that, by relying on their own struggles and by helping one another, the people of the world are bound to triumph. **China's success in making nuclear weapons is a great encouragement to the revolutionary people of the world in their struggles and a great contribution to the cause of defending world peace. On the question of nuclear weapons, China will not commit the error of adventurism or the error of capitulationism. The Chinese people can be trusted.**

The Chinese Government fully understands the good intentions of peace-loving countries and peoples in demanding an end to all nuclear tests. But more and more countries are coming to realize that the more exclusive the monopoly of nuclear weapons held by the U.S. imperialists and their partners, the greater the danger of a nuclear war. They are very arrogant when they have those weapons while you haven't. But when those who oppose them also have such weapons, they will not be so haughty, their policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats will not be so effective, and the possibility of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons will increase. We sincerely hope that a nuclear war will never break out. We are deeply convinced that, so long as all peace-loving countries and peoples make joint efforts and persist in the struggle, nuclear war can be prevented.

The Chinese Government hereby solemnly proposes to the governments of the world that a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the summit conference conclude an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons either against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones or against each other.

If those countries in possession of large numbers of nuclear weapons are not even willing to undertake not to use them, how can they expect countries not yet in possession of such weapons to believe in their sincerity

for peace and to refrain from taking defensive measures that are necessary and within their capabilities?

The Chinese Government will, as always, exert every effort to promote, through international consultations, the realization of the lofty aim of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Until that day comes, the Chinese Government and people will firmly and unswervingly follow their own path to strengthen their national defence, defend their motherland and safeguard world peace.

We are convinced that man, who creates nuclear weapons, will certainly be able to eliminate them.

**PRESS COMMUNIQUE
ON THE EXPLOSION OF THE FIRST ATOM BOMB**

(October 16, 1964)

China exploded an atom bomb in the western region of China at 15:00 hours Peking time on October 16, 1964, and thereby conducted successfully its first nuclear test.

The success of China's nuclear test is a major achievement of the Chinese people in the strengthening of their national defence and safeguarding of their motherland, as well as a major contribution made by the Chinese people to the cause of the defence of world peace.

The success of this test was due to the hard work and the great co-ordinated effort of China's workers, engineering and technical personnel, scientific personnel and all working personnel engaged in building up China's national defences as well as various regions and departments throughout the country who, under the leadership of the Party, displayed a spirit of relying on their own efforts and making enterprising endeavours.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the State Council warmly congratulate them.

**PRESS COMMUNIQUE
ON THE EXPLOSION OF THE SECOND
ATOM BOMB**

(May 14, 1965)

China exploded another atom bomb over its western areas at 10:00 hours (Peking time) on May 14, 1965, and thus successfully concluded its second nuclear test.

Following on the explosion of China's first atom bomb on October 16, 1964, this nuclear test is another important achievement scored by the Chinese people in strengthening their national defence and safeguarding the security of their motherland and world peace.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese People's Liberation Army and China's scientists and technicians have wholeheartedly worked together to ensure the complete success of this nuclear test. It is a great victory for the Party's general line of socialist construction. It is a great victory for Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council extend their warm congratulations to all the commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army who took part in this test, and to all the workers, engineers, technicians, scientists and other personnel who contributed to it, and hope that they will redouble their efforts and continue to work tire-

lessly for the further strengthening of our country's defences.

China is conducting necessary nuclear tests within defined limits and is developing nuclear weapons for the purpose of coping with the nuclear blackmail and threats of the United States and for the purpose of abolishing all nuclear weapons. When China exploded its first atom bomb, the Government of the People's Republic of China issued a statement which contained a full explanation of our fundamental stand on nuclear weapons and a concrete proposal for a summit conference of all countries to discuss the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

Since then, the United States has been continuing its development and mass production of various kinds of nuclear weapons, and has indulged in further nuclear blackmail and threats against China and the whole world. China is developing nuclear weapons solely for defensive purposes. China will never be the first to use nuclear weapons. It is the sincere hope of the Chinese people that there will never be a nuclear war. Together with all the peace-loving countries and people of the world, the Chinese Government and people will, as always, continue to strive unswervingly for the noble aim of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI CABLES GOVERNMENT HEADS OF THE WORLD

(October 17, 1964)

Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China sent a message on October 17, 1964 to the government heads of all countries conveying the Chinese Government's proposal made in its statement of October 16, 1964, for convocation of a summit conference of all countries to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and expressing the hope that this proposal will be given favourable consideration and positive response by the governments of all countries. The text of the message follows:

Peking, October 17, 1964

Your Excellency:

On October 16, 1964, China exploded an atom bomb, thus successfully making its first nuclear test. On the same day, the Chinese Government issued a statement on this event, setting forth in detail China's position on the question of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government consistently stands for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. China has been compelled to conduct nuclear testing and develop nuclear weapons. China's mastering

of nuclear weapons is entirely for defence and for protecting the Chinese people from the U.S. nuclear threat.

The Chinese Government solemnly declares that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government will continue to work for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons through international consultations and, for this purpose, has put forward in its statement the following proposal:

That a summit conference of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

It is the common aspiration of all peace-loving countries and people of the world to prevent a nuclear war and eliminate nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government sincerely hopes that its proposal will be given favourable consideration and positive response by your Government.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

CHOU EN-LAI

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

BREAK THE NUCLEAR MONOPOLY, ELIMINATE NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(October 22, 1964)

The successful explosion of China's first atom bomb has caused tremendous repercussions throughout the world. All peace-loving peoples who oppose imperialism, and the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in particular, rejoice over this; they fervently praise this important achievement of the Chinese people and support the justified measure taken by them to combat U.S. imperialism's nuclear blackmail and threats.

The people of the socialist countries and other peace-loving people all over the world, especially the revolutionary peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are convinced that nuclear weapons in the hands of socialist China are a mighty force in defence of world peace. They regard this victory of the Chinese people as their own.

China's nuclear test boosted the morale of the revolutionary people the world over and deflated the arrogance of U.S. imperialism. Hardly three hours after China announced the successful explosion of its first atom bomb, U.S. President Lyndon Johnson issued a statement opposing the test and asserting that the Chinese atom

bomb was not significant enough to shake U.S. nuclear hegemony. On October 18 he again attacked China in his television speech. But this time he said that the matter should not be treated lightly. Such utter confusion and self-contradiction shown by the U.S. Government in handling a major international event pinpoints the intensity of the blow China's atomic blast dealt to the U.S. nuclear overlord.

The U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail is founded on nuclear monopoly. With this further breach in U.S. nuclear monopoly, its policy of nuclear blackmail becomes of no avail. The U.S. imperialists are naturally nettled by China's possession of nuclear weapons. Their opposition to China's nuclear testing and possession of nuclear weapons is no surprise at all. What is surprising, however, is that this very Johnson, who has always been hostile to the Chinese people, has suddenly assumed a pious posture as though the United States is opposed to China's possession of nuclear weapons not because China has broken the U.S. nuclear monopoly but because the United States is concerned about the interests of the Chinese people.

Johnson alleged that China's nuclear weapon "is a tragedy" for the Chinese people because China's "scarce economic resources", which could have been used to "improve the well-being of the Chinese people", had been used to make nuclear weapons.

What Johnson meant was simply that China is a poor country which can ill afford to produce nuclear weapons. The imperialists have always underestimated the strength of the people. From the very day of the founding of New China, they have been sneering at its poverty and backwardness, predicting that it cannot achieve this

or that. It seems as though the Chinese people can do nothing unless they do their bidding and rely on their assistance and benevolent grants.

But, the Chinese people who have stood up are determined, courageous and industrious. We know full well that if we failed to resist imperialist aggression effectively, all our resources would fall into the laps of the imperialists and that there could be no guarantee for our peaceful labour. It was U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail and threats that compelled the Chinese people to rely on their own efforts and make their country strong, and finally by overcoming all kinds of difficulties they have acquired the means to resist the U.S. nuclear threat. The successful explosion of China's first atom bomb can be a tragedy only for U.S. imperialism, if it is a tragedy at all: it has dashed the dream of the United States to reduce the Chinese people to slaves of the nuclear overlords and is shaking the U.S. nuclear monopoly to its very foundations.

Johnson also professed to be very much concerned over China's security, alleging that China's possession of nuclear weapons "can only increase the sense of insecurity of the Chinese people".

What is this all about? Everybody knows that U.S. imperialism has long been applying its nuclear threats to China and even gone to the extent of placing nuclear weapons at the very doors of China. The U.S. Seventh Fleet carrying nuclear arms prowls up and down China's coastal waters. One U.S. nuclear base after another has been built around China. U.S. military and political chiefs have truculently threatened to drop nuclear bombs on China. According to Johnson, the U.S. nuclear threat can increase the Chinese people's sense of security

while China's possession of nuclear weapons to counter U.S. nuclear threats will, on the contrary, increase their sense of insecurity. This is strange logic indeed!

According to this logic, if the Chinese people wish to live in peace and tranquillity, the only course open to them is to disarm themselves completely and snuggle under the U.S. "nuclear umbrella".

To tell you the truth, Mr. Johnson, China was never cowed by your nuclear threats when it had no nuclear weapons. Although the possession of nuclear weapons does increase our defence capabilities, our sense of security at no time depends on nuclear weapons. China has something more powerful than the atom bomb, that is, the ever-victorious thinking of Mao Tse-tung, the leadership given by the glorious, great and correct Communist Party, the 650 million people, firmly united and with a high degree of political consciousness, and its superior socialist system. By relying on these things we can defeat any enemy however formidable.

Johnson has asserted not only that China's nuclear tests would not bring any good to the Chinese people, but also that they would "not serve the cause of peace".

According to Johnson, it would seem as though world peace could be maintained only if nuclear weapons were possessed and monopolized by the big nuclear powers; and once China possesses nuclear weapons and breaks their monopoly, the world would be in trouble. But, as is known to all, the United States develops its nuclear weapons for aggression and world domination, while China does so for self-defence and the preservation of peace. Why is it that nuclear weapons in the hands of aggressive U.S. imperialism serve as a "gospel" of peace, while nuclear weapons in the hands of peace-loving,

socialist China spell disaster for mankind? In order to push its policies of aggression and war, the United States has been frantically developing nuclear arms for 20 years and has conducted hundreds of nuclear tests. Why is it that its mad nuclear arms drive promotes the cause of peace, while the tests China conducts for the sake of self-defence do not serve the cause of peace? This is really turning things upside down. It is preposterous!

Johnson's many words drive home only one point: the United States alone should have nuclear weapons, while China should not. This is acting the tyrant and talking gangster language!

Speaking frankly, China is not obsessed by the idea of possessing nuclear weapons. If U.S. imperialism did not develop them, China need not develop them. But as long as U.S. imperialism possesses nuclear bombs, China must have them too. Whether by deceit, intimidation or slander, Lyndon Johnson cannot make the Chinese people alter this stand.

The nuclear weapons in the hands of China and those in the hands of U.S. imperialism are, of course, fundamentally different in nature. China is a socialist country. It has always decided its foreign policy in conformity with the interests of the Chinese people, the socialist camp, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the revolutionary people of the world and world peace. Having possessed nuclear weapons, we shall continue to pursue, as we did in the past, the foreign policy of peace. We shall not use them to intimidate others and embark on any adventure. Nor shall we use them as a membership card to join the "nuclear club" and do anything to jeopardize the interests of the revolutions of the world's people or those

of world peace. The 15-year history of New China proves that, in the struggle against the imperialist policies of aggression and war, for supporting the revolutionary movements of all peoples and safeguarding world peace, socialist China can be fully trusted.

Like the knave who uses his own yardstick to measure the motives of upright men, Johnson had the impudence to say that China wanted to "trade away its small accumulation of nuclear power against the mighty [nuclear] arsenal" of the United States. Mr. President, you have completely miscalculated. China is developing nuclear weapons not in order to use them as bargaining counters to strike a deal with you. No. China is developing them to break your nuclear monopoly and then to eliminate them so that the danger of nuclear war threatening mankind may be banished once and for all. This point was most explicitly stated in the Chinese Government's statement of October 16.

China's position on the question of nuclear weapons is consistent. We stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons when we did not possess them; we stand for the same now that we have them. Immediately after China exploded its first atom bomb, the Chinese Government solemnly declared that China would never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. This stand of the Chinese Government has most vividly demonstrated that, by developing nuclear weapons, China aims solely at self-defence, at countering U.S. nuclear threats, and, in the final analysis, at the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

The Chinese Government has also formally proposed that a summit conference of all countries of the world be

convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the summit conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons: neither to use them against non-nuclear countries and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

This concrete proposal by the Chinese Government that an agreement be reached first on not using nuclear weapons is practical, fair and reasonable, easily feasible and involves no question of control. If all the countries concerned are willing to make this commitment, then the danger of nuclear war will be immediately reduced. And this would mean a big initial step towards the ultimate goal of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. After that, it would be possible to discuss the questions of the halting of all kinds of nuclear tests, the prohibition of the export, import, proliferation, manufacture, stockpiling and destruction of nuclear weapons. Obviously, the U.S. Government has no reason at all to reject this proposal if it has the slightest desire for peace.

Johnson, however, avoided making any reference to the Chinese Government's proposal in his statement and television speech. Instead, he talked profusely about the need for China to accede to the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, for the conclusion of a verified agreement on the ending of all kinds of nuclear tests, for efforts to prevent nuclear proliferation and for the non-nuclear countries to accept the protection of the U.S. "nuclear umbrella". To borrow a word Rusk used to attack China, Johnson's pack of proposals is simply a

“smokescreen” to conceal the obstinate and feeble stand of the United States which dares not undertake that it will not be the first to use nuclear weapons.

The truth about the role of the tripartite treaty is now clear to all after having been put to the test for more than a year. It is nothing but a fraud to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of the United States. We were not taken in when the treaty was concluded. How can we be expected to walk into the trap now that we possess the means to break the nuclear monopoly of the United States? This is sheer fantasy.

Johnson seems to be very keen about preventing nuclear proliferation. But, as a matter of fact, it is the United States itself, and not any other country, which is engaged in spreading nuclear weapons. The Johnson Administration is strenuously pushing ahead with the so-called multilateral nuclear force plan for placing nuclear weapons in the hands of NATO countries, and in particular in those of the West German revanchists. By so doing, the United States aims both at preparing for nuclear war and at tightening nuclear control over its allies. There is no doubt that more and more peace-loving countries will respond to and support the Chinese Government's stand and proposal in order to counter the U.S. nuclear threat and oppose its proliferation of nuclear weapons within its aggressive bloc. The United States cannot maintain its nuclear monopoly any longer. This is highly beneficial to the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The hope of preventing nuclear war and prohibiting nuclear weapons does not lie in consolidating the U.S. nuclear monopoly but in breaking it. And the more thoroughly it is broken, the greater will be the possibility of completely prohibit-

ing and thoroughly destroying nuclear weapons. Such is the dialectics of the development of things.

Nuclear weapons are not made by god. Since man can manufacture them, he can certainly eliminate them. We are convinced that nuclear war can be prevented and nuclear weapons banned through the concerted struggle of all the peoples. Peoples of all countries of the socialist camp, peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and of the whole world, unite and struggle to the end for thoroughly smashing the U.S. imperialist nuclear blackmail and threats and for realizing the lofty aim of the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons!

NEW STARTING POINT FOR EFFORTS TO BAN NUCLEAR WEAPONS COMPLETELY

Renmin Ribao Editorial

(November 22, 1964)

More than a month ago, the Chinese Government, simultaneous with its announcement of the explosion of China's first atom bomb, solemnly declared to the whole world that China will never at any time and under any circumstances be the first to use nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government also formally proposed to the world's governments that a summit conference of all countries be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and that, as the first step, the conference should reach an agreement to the effect that the nuclear powers and those countries which may soon become nuclear powers undertake not to use nuclear weapons, neither to use them against non-nuclear powers and nuclear-free zones, nor against each other.

This proposal expresses the common aspirations of all peace-loving peoples of the world and has received the support of government heads in many countries. World public opinion has acclaimed it and considered it to be an important contribution to the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and to the cause of preservation of world peace.

It is true that the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons can be realized only through hard and bitter struggles. Certain practicable measures have to be taken in order to attain this goal. This is agreed by all. Now the question is how the first step should be taken so as to facilitate the attainment of the goal rather than produce an adverse effect.

Some people say that the tripartite treaty for the partial suspension of nuclear testing is the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

This claim has been utterly refuted by what has happened in the last year and more. As everybody knows, the tripartite treaty was signed when the United States had already acquired enough technical data on atmospheric nuclear testing. This treaty in no way hampers the United States from continuing to use, manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons, nor from conducting underground nuclear testing to develop tactical nuclear weapons, still less proliferating nuclear weapons under the smokescreen of the so-called multilateral nuclear force. On the contrary, the United States is using the tripartite treaty to pinion other countries, including those possessing nuclear weapons, so as to obtain nuclear superiority for continuing its policy of nuclear blackmail and threats. The United States is also using this treaty to hoodwink the peace-loving people of the world and weaken their struggle for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The tripartite treaty, therefore, not only puts off indefinitely the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons but also serves as a smokescreen for U.S. nuclear war preparations.

Some people say that the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons can begin with the complete banning of nuclear testing.

On the face of it, such a ban sounds slightly better than a partial ban. In actual fact, there is little difference. The United States has carried out hundreds of nuclear tests of various kinds and possesses a huge nuclear arsenal. Under such circumstances, even a complete ban on nuclear testing will still leave this U.S. nuclear overlord intact. It will have no positive significance whatsoever if it is not accompanied by the prohibition of the use, production, stockpiling, import, export and proliferation of nuclear weapons. It can only serve to consolidate U.S. nuclear monopoly, deprive other countries of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist the U.S. nuclear threat. It can only spread a false sense of security and weaken the struggle of all peace-loving peoples in the world for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Far from enjoying peace and security as a result of a complete ban on nuclear testing, the world, on the contrary, will be subjected to even more serious nuclear threats by the U.S. nuclear overlord. It is just because of this that even a man like Dean Rusk is talking zealously about the need to conclude a so-called complete nuclear test ban treaty in the hope of using it to replace the increasingly discredited tripartite treaty and further deceive the world's peace-loving peoples. Isn't it clear as daylight whom a complete ban on nuclear testing will benefit?

Some people say that destruction of the delivery vehicles of nuclear weapons can be taken as a primary measure for realizing the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons.

At first glance, such opinion seems to be not entirely senseless. But after a careful study, it is not difficult to see that this suggestion has a serious weakness. Devils are devils, whether they have long or short legs. Conventional weapons can launch nuclear bombs as well as the intercontinental ballistic missile. And ordinary aircraft can carry nuclear weapons as well as strategic bombers. The means of delivery is no longer as important a problem as it used to be, particularly since the United States is working hard to develop small but powerful nuclear weapons. The proposal to first of all destroy the means of delivery in effect confuses the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons with the question of reduction of conventional arms and thus greatly complicates the issue. Moreover, this proposal will inevitably involve the question of control which is the great obstacle to arms reduction deliberately put up by the United States during the disarmament talks. That is why although people at the disarmament negotiations have worn their lips thin and many years have been wasted, U.S. arms expansion has continued year by year. If the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons should begin with the destruction of the means of delivery only heaven knows when this goal will ever be attained.

As the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to get at the real key question and not be bogged down by some minor and side issues. This first step must facilitate the taking of further steps and be conducive, not detrimental, to the gradual attainment of the aim of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. This step must help check the nuclear arms race instead of serving as a smokescreen and help lessen the threat of nuclear war instead of in-

creasing the threat. It must serve to promote the struggle of the peace-loving people the world over for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, and not lower their vigilance and pull the wool over their eyes.

It is precisely in the light of these principles that the Chinese Government has proposed that the various countries should agree to undertake not to use nuclear weapons, as the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government's proposal is reasonable and practicable.

It is very easy for the countries possessing nuclear weapons to do this provided they harbour no aggressive intentions. After they have undertaken not to use nuclear weapons, it will no longer be necessary for them to continue nuclear testing and the production of nuclear weapons. The United States will then be unable to intimidate others with nuclear weapons as it pleases nor set up nuclear bases and spread nuclear weapons in other countries under this or that pretext. Then, the stockpiling of nuclear weapons will become unnecessary.

As for those countries which do not possess nuclear weapons, they will have no need to develop their own or import them from other countries, since the countries possessing nuclear weapons and those which may soon possess them will undertake not to use nuclear weapons, not to use them against non-nuclear countries.

Many countries at present are keenly interested in the establishment of nuclear-free zones. However, to really free the nuclear-free zones from the threat of nuclear war it is first necessary for the nuclear powers to undertake not to use nuclear weapons. Otherwise, the establishment of nuclear-free zones would be impossible and even if they be set up in name, all it means is that the non-

nuclear countries would be deprived of their legitimate right to develop nuclear weapons to resist the nuclear menace and be bound hand and foot, while the nuclear powers would in no way be affected in their continued production, stockpiling and even use of nuclear weapons. Consequently, the sole result would be: the larger the nuclear-free zone, the graver the U.S. imperialist nuclear threat to the non-nuclear countries.

No question of control is involved in undertaking first of all not to use nuclear weapons. So long as the countries concerned have peaceful intentions, agreement can be reached quickly. Therefore this is simple and can be easily carried out.

For 20 years the peace-loving peoples of the world have resolutely opposed the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and threats and have demanded the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. There will be hope for the realization of this aim if the pledge is first of all taken not to use these weapons. This will be a major victory for the people of the world who cherish peace. It will inevitably inspire them with ever greater confidence in the struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and the development of this struggle will provide greater possibility of an early realization of this noble objective.

To undertake first of all not to use nuclear weapons is the only realistic and effective step towards complete prohibition. The Chinese Government has taken the lead in declaring that at no time and under no circumstances will it be the first to use nuclear weapons, and it is willing to reach an international agreement guaranteeing against their use. The question now is whether the U.S. Government is willing to make the same commitment.

The U.S. Government claims to be "peace-loving" while at the same time obstinately opposing the Chinese proposal for a world summit conference. We would like to ask the U.S. Government: if your peace babble is worth anything at all, are you willing to reach agreement with China, pending the convening of a world summit conference, on the question of guaranteeing not to use nuclear weapons?

It seems that the U.S. authorities have no desire either to hold a world summit conference or to reach a bilateral agreement with China against the use of nuclear weapons. They have been declaring, evidently with an ulterior motive, that they have no objection to China's participation in the Geneva disarmament talks, thus trying to substitute the 18-nation disarmament talks for a summit conference of all countries.

We would like to point out that the Geneva disarmament talks are conducted within the framework of the United Nations. Over the past 15 years, the United States has deprived China of its legitimate rights in the United Nations by various sinister and despicable means. Now that China has nuclear weapons, the United States wants to drag her into the affairs of the United Nations. What is behind all this? Frankly speaking, China will have nothing to do with the United Nations as long as the latter fails to restore to the representative of the People's Republic of China the legitimate rights as the representative of the sole legal government of the Chinese people and as long as the illegal status of the representative of the Chiang Kai-shek clique is not nullified. This stand of ours is absolutely unalterable.

Furthermore, under the manipulation of the United States, the United Nations has proved itself completely

incapable of handling the disarmament question. For 18 years since the adoption of the resolution on "principles concerning the general adjustment and reduction of arms" at the first U.N. General Assembly in December 1946, the assembly has discussed the disarmament question every year but has failed to make any headway because of U.S. obstruction. On the contrary, the thicker the disarmament talks smokescreen, the more frantically the United States has carried out arms expansion and war preparations. U.S. military expenditure rose from 12,900 million dollars in 1949 to 60,000 million dollars in 1964. U.S. expenditure on the making of nuclear weapons increased from 200 million dollars in 1947 to 3,000 million in 1963. This is the greatest mockery of the U.N.-sponsored disarmament talks.

The Geneva 18-nation disarmament conference is in fact still under the manipulation and control of the United States and can in no way reflect the aspirations of the peoples. The conference has been in session for two and a half years and a pile of proposals of all kinds have been put forward but not a single question of substance has been solved. Even though some peace-loving countries are participating in the talks, this can in no way make the United States less peremptory. Thus, the Geneva disarmament conference has likewise served as a smokescreen for U.S. imperialist armament expansion and war preparations. It is more difficult for the Geneva disarmament conference to solve the question of complete prohibition of nuclear weapons than for a camel to pass through the needle's eye. We thank the U.S. Government for its generosity in not opposing China's participation in the Geneva disarmament conference but we must

tell it frankly that it will not have the pleasure of our company.

There is also the suggestion that the five countries possessing nuclear weapons should hold negotiations to discuss questions concerning nuclear weapons. We do not approve of this proposal either.

The reason is that the question at present is primarily one of a certain nuclear power posing a threat to all non-nuclear countries. It is a question which has a vital bearing on peace and security in the world. On this question, the more than 100 sovereign countries in the world, big or small, with or without nuclear weapons, should have the same say. What right do the five countries possessing nuclear weapons have to deprive more than 100 countries of their say and make arbitrary decisions on such a major question affecting the destiny of mankind?

China has consistently stood for discussion by all countries of the question of banning nuclear weapons. This was our stand when we did not have nuclear weapons. Now that we have them we still adhere to this stand. We have only one objective, namely, to make joint efforts with all peace-loving countries and people throughout the world to strive for the realization of complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, and by no means to use nuclear weapons to raise our own prestige and manipulate international affairs. So-called talks among the five countries possessing nuclear weapons would in fact be a nuclear club in disguise. We will not join such a club even if an invitation is sent us together with a sedan chair.

The struggle for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons has been going

on for many years. Now is the time to take practical and feasible steps to attain this objective. The Chinese Government's proposal has opened up a new avenue for the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. It proposes to reach first an international agreement guaranteeing against the use of nuclear weapons, so as to provide a new starting point for their complete prohibition. It is our belief that no matter how U.S. imperialism may try to obstruct it, the Chinese Government's proposal will win the ever increasing support of peace-loving countries and peoples. The Chinese people will fight together with them to push the struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons on to a new path.

打破核垄断，消灭核武器

*

外文出版社出版（北京）

1965年第一版

编号：（英）3050—1230

00023

3—E—643P