

# PEKING REVIEW

32

August 9, 1963

## Premier Chou En-lai's Letter To All Government Heads

(p. 7).

### "RENMIN RIBAO" EDITORIALS

People of the World, Unite! Strive for the  
Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction  
Of Nuclear Weapons!

A Betrayal of the Soviet People!

## The "General Line of Peaceful Coexistence" Leads to Capitulation

The record of Soviet Government's capitulation in the nuclear  
test ban talks (p. 26).

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A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE NEWS AND VIEWS

# *Not That Road* *and other stories*

by Li Chun

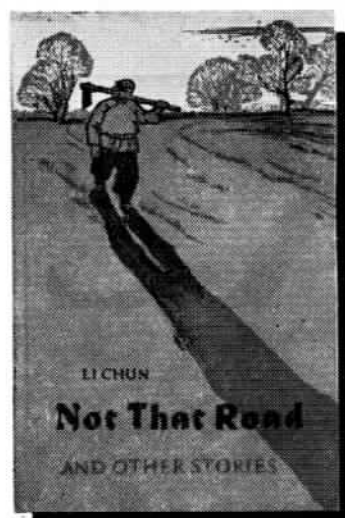
Here are eight of Li Chun's best short stories –

|                         |                               |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Not That Road           | At Chenchiao Ferry            |
| Old Man Meng Kuang-tai  | Men Are Taller Than Mountains |
| A Bunch of Keys         | Mother and Daughter           |
| A Pair of Skinny Horses | Sowing the Clouds             |

This talented young writer is well known for his lively descriptions of Chinese rural life. His stories based on his own experiences give a vivid insight into the reality of China's villages today as the peasants build a socialist life and as new ways and ideas battle the old.

Stiff cover

pp. 162



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## *A WAKENED LAND*

Volume I of the trilogy *The Joyful Golden Sand River*

by Li Chiao

This unusual and absorbing novel is set in the Liangshan Mountains inhabited by the Yi people, a slave-owning community, on the eve of liberation. The author is himself a Yi.

A Chiang Kai-shek band is still entrenched in Liangshan village, fomenting clan warfare and spreading lies about the people's forces which, in their liberating advance, have reached the opposite bank of the Golden Sand River.

The People's Liberation Army unit led by Commissar Ting seeks to win over the Yis and get them to unite among themselves as a first step to helping them build a new life. The actions of Yi clan leaders such as Shamamucha and Moshihlasa, of commoner Alo and slave Ahuoheijih help bring about this unity and lead, in the last pages of the book, to the P.L.A.'s crossing the river to Liangshan.

Illustrated by Cheng Shih-fa with ink  
drawings in the modern Chinese style

pp. 203

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# PEKING REVIEW

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(BEIJING ZHOUBAO)

A WEEKLY MAGAZINE OF CHINESE  
NEWS AND VIEWS

August 9, 1963 Vol. VI No. 32

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## THE WEEK

Among the major events of the week:

- Premier Chou En-lai wrote to government heads of all countries informing them of the Chinese Government's proposal for a conference of government heads of all countries to discuss the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

- In the past week *Renmin Ribao* published two editorials: "People of the World, Unite! Strive for the Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!" (Aug. 2) and "This Is Betrayal of the Soviet People!" (Aug. 3).

*Renmin Ribao* continued to publish news and commentaries concerning the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty under the banner headlines: "Oppose Nuclear Overlords; Refuse to Be Nuclear Slaves and Smash the Nuclear Fraud!" (Aug. 2) and "Any Act Which Betrays the Soviet People Will Definitely End in Failure!" (Aug. 3).

- At a Peking meeting the Chinese people voiced support for the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and the patriotic anti-U.S. imperialist struggle of the Japanese people.

- Braving torrents of summer rain 400,000 Peking citizens turned out to welcome their guest from Africa — Prime Minister Dr. Abdirashid Ali Shermarke of the Somali Republic who came to China for a goodwill visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai.

- China and Afghanistan announced that agreement has been reached in the negotiations held in Kabul on a draft boundary treaty between the two countries.

- Nehru took a hand personally in spreading the lie about a "Chinese military buildup along the border."

- China's Foreign Ministry last week sent three notes to the Indian Embassy in China: protesting strongly against the intrusion of Indian troops into Hsialinkung Terrace on the line of actual control of November 7, 1959, in the eastern sector of the Sino-Indian border (July 30); protesting again against the occupation of Chinese territory by Indian troops across the Natu La on the Sino-Sikkim border (July 31); and refuting the false Indian charge of a Chinese intrusion into Sikkim (July 31).

- The Chinese press published in full the statement of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party of August 3, entitled "The Banner for a Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons Must Be Held Aloft and Unity Must Be Maintained."

## Peking Welcomes Somalia's Prime Minister

Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke of the Somali Republic and his party, which included Minister of Information Ali Mohammed Hirave, arrived in Peking on August 4 on a friendship visit at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai. Braving the summer rain which pelted down like a tropical shower, more than 400,000 people of the capital thronged the streets to give a rousing welcome to their guests from the "Horn of Africa."

Peking airport was gaily decorated, with Chinese and Somali national flags flying taut in the wind. When the plane carrying the distinguished Somali guests landed, the waiting crowds by the tarmac burst into cheers, beating drums and cymbals in typical Chinese welcome. On hand to greet the guests were Premier Chou En-lai and many other government leaders as well as members of the diplomatic corps in Peking.



**Premier Chou En-lai with Prime Minister Shermarke of Somalia at Peking airport**

Speaking at the ceremony at the airport, Premier Chou En-lai extended a warm welcome to Prime Minister Shermarke and his party on behalf of the Chinese Government and people. He expressed confidence that Prime Minister Shermarke's visit would help promote the further consolidation and development of the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Somalia and contribute to the further strengthening of Asian-African solidarity and world peace. Prime Minister Shermarke in reply declared that the purpose of his visit was to strengthen the friendly relations between the two countries and the two peoples; he said that he shared Premier Chou's confidence that this would be achieved.

Riding in an open car in company with Premier Chou En-lai, Prime Minister Shermarke was given a most warm welcome by the hundreds of thousands of people lining both sides of broad Chang'an Boulevard which had been turned into a triumphal way with flags and bunting and streamers bearing slogans of welcome. The enthusiastic crowds beat gongs and drums, played music and showered flower petals on the motorcade carrying the guests. The Prime Minister and his party were all smiles when they came

to Tien An Men Square, the heart of the city, where actors and actresses performed traditional Chinese dances for them. As their cars left the square, a group of colourfully dressed girls laid a "road of petals" for their motorcade. All the way to the Guest House, the people greeted them with shouts of "Welcome, Prime Minister Shermarke!" and "Long live Sino-Somali friendship!"

#### **Peking Banquet**

On the evening of their arrival, Premier Chou En-lai gave a banquet at Peking's Great Hall of the People in honour of the Somali Prime Minister and his party. The growing friendship between China and Somalia, Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace were toasted again and again.

In his banquet speech, Premier Chou paid tribute to Prime Minister Shermarke and his government for pursuing a policy of peace and neutrality, for opposing the establishment of foreign military bases in Somalia and for the successes achieved in consolidating the national independence of Somalia and developing its national economy.

Speaking of the situation in Africa, the Premier declared that the African

peoples' great movement to oppose imperialism and old and new colonialism and to win and safeguard national independence constituted a mighty force in the defence of world peace today. The Premier noted that the independent African states had pledged to give all forms of assistance to their African brothers fighting valiantly against colonial rule and armed suppression by imperialism; this, he said, would give great encouragement to all the African peoples fighting for freedom and would be a heavy blow to the colonialists.

Stressing that the relations of friendship and co-operation between China and Somalia were based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence and the ten principles of the Bandung Conference, Premier Chou expressed confidence that Prime Minister Shermarke's visit would open a new page in the friendly relations between the two states.

**Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons.** On the issue of the realization of general disarmament and the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, an issue of serious concern to all peoples today, the Premier said that the Chinese Government shared a common language and a common desire with the governments of the African states. "The Chinese Government and the governments of the African states," declared the Premier, "all demand the complete prohibition of nuclear tests, prohibition of the manufacture of nuclear weapons, destruction of existing nuclear weapons, establishment of nuclear weapon-free zones and the removal of foreign military bases from Africa and other parts of the world. That is to say, the Chinese Government and the governments of the African states have the same goal of achieving complete prohibition of nuclear weapons, removal of the nuclear war threat and preservation of world peace. This is highly significant." The Premier expressed his firm conviction that, so long as we relied on the people and persevered in the struggle, all nuclear weapons would eventually be destroyed by the people, nuclear war would be prevented and world peace preserved.

**Sino-Somali Friendship.** Prime Minister Shermarke spoke of the friendly relations that had long existed between Somalia and China. "Our visit is a manifestation of the strengthening of

this relationship," he said. "We Somali people have always admired the way in which the Chinese people have achieved their freedom, and we know how earnestly they are developing their country economically and socially." When he described the African peoples' struggle for independence, he stressed the importance of unity among the African countries and between Africa and Asia. The peoples of Africa and Asia, he declared, should work together to shatter the chains of colonialism and achieve complete independence.

Referring to the total ban on nuclear weapons, the Somali Prime Minister declared: "In the interests of world peace, nuclear weapons should not be used. To achieve this, world understanding is necessary."

Prime Minister Shermarke has a busy schedule in Peking. While he held talks with Premier Chou En-lai, he took time off to attend a special Peking opera performance and visit the Peking railway station, the Workers' Stadium and the Workers' Gymnasium. As we go to press, news comes that Peking's citizens are holding a mass rally to welcome him and his party.

### **Chairman Mao Receives John D. Marks**

Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and had a cordial talk with John D. Marks, Member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, on August 3.

John D. Marks came to China to take part in its "South African Freedom Day" activities.

### **Support for 9th World Conference Against A-Bomb and H-Bomb**

Ten thousand people in Peking held a mass rally on August 1 to demonstrate China's support for the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Hiroshima and for the Japanese people's patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism.

Eighteen years ago, on August 6, 1945, the U.S. air force dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, followed up by another on Nagasaki three days later, killing more than 400,000 Japanese people and exposing countless others to deadly radiation.

It is in protest against this barbarity and with the demand to ban and destroy all nuclear weapons that the Japanese people, supported by peace-loving people all over the world, have every year since 1955 organized a world conference against atomic and hydrogen bombs as part of their valiant struggle against U.S. imperialism and in defence of world peace.

The Peking rally was sponsored by the China Peace Committee, the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions and eleven other people's organizations. Among those who participated were Premier Chou En-lai and other government leaders as well as guests from Japan and other countries now visiting China. It was a powerful demonstration of solidarity between the people of China and Japan in the struggle for the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. It also voiced the firm opposition of China's 650 million people to the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty which is an out-and-out fraud designed to fool the people of the world.

Chairman of the China Peace Committee Kuo Mo-jo presided over the rally. In his opening speech, he wished the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs every success and pledged the Chinese people's support for the Japanese people's struggle for the total ban on nuclear weapons and against U.S. imperialism. He denounced the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, describing it as a big conspiracy aimed at consolidating the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and binding the hands of all the peace-loving peoples subjected to the nuclear threat. In the face of the sharp and complex struggle today, he said, the people of the world must completely expose this scheme, resolutely oppose the U.S. imperialists' policies of nuclear war preparations and nuclear blackmail, and strive for the complete and thorough prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and for world peace.

The keynote speech of the rally was delivered by Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity. (For full text of the speech, see p. 12.)

**Support for Chinese Proposal.** Kei Hoashi, Japanese Socialist Diet Member, was greeted with warm applause when he took the floor. He declared that, with the U.S. imperialists still free to test, produce and stockpile nuclear weapons, a partial test ban was of no significance whatsoever. He expressed support for the Chinese Government's three-point proposal (July 31) centring on the overall banning of nuclear weapons. "We," Kei Hoashi said, "feel more and more keenly the need to exert all our efforts for its realization." He denounced U.S. imperialism for sending nuclear weapons to Japan, occupying Okinawa and turning it into an atomic base. "It is an extremely dangerous thing," he declared, "if we do not work resolutely to stop the imperialist policies, but vaguely trust the fate of humanity to a treaty which has no substance. Only when the people of the world unite, carry on their fight resolutely and smash the dirty, imperialist schemes can peace be secured." Referring to peaceful coexistence, he said that it should not be taken to mean that the oppressed peoples should submit willingly to oppression, but that it should mean that they must strengthen their unity, rise to struggle against the forces of injustice and, with the support of peace-loving peoples all over the world, smash the schemes of the war provocateurs. "Only in this way," he said, "can we attain genuine peace."

**U.S. Double-Dealing Exposed.** Yusho Otsuka, leader of the visiting delegation of activists in study from the Japan-China Friendship Association, also spoke. He exposed the double-dealing of the U.S. imperialists who, while continuing to threaten the people of the world with nuclear weapons and push ahead with their aggression, were resorting to the tactics of a false peace to sabotage the anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. But, he declared, the overwhelming majority of the Japanese people who had stood previous tests would not be deceived by this fraud. He told the rally that it was the urgent desire of the Japanese people to ban all atomic and hydrogen bombs. For this reason, he declared, they would not allow any fraud with regard to the question of prohibiting atomic and hydrogen bombs. "Recently," he said, "the modern revisionists have been working hand in glove with the decep-

tive policies of U.S. imperialism, internationally and at home, to create a dangerous split in the world democratic forces. The partial nuclear test ban treaty signed by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union does not in the least reduce the danger of a nuclear war. The modern revisionists are trying to make use of this treaty to distort the facts and create confusion among the democratic forces. We must heighten our vigilance and fight against this plot."

Amidst thunderous applause, the rally adopted a message to the Hiroshima conference, pledging that the Chinese people would always struggle together with the Japanese people for the complete and thorough prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and in defence of world peace.

### **Sino-Afghan Boundary Negotiations**

Expedient negotiations between China and Afghanistan on the formal delimitation of the boundary between the two countries have produced full agreement on a draft boundary treaty. The talks were held in Kabul from June 17 to August 1.

A Sino-Afghan joint press communique, released on August 3, said that the delegations of the two countries had reached agreement on procedure for the talks, and checked the maps showing the boundary line which had been exchanged between the two parties. They came to an agreed understanding on the position and alignment of the boundary line between the two countries and also reached unanimous agreement on the draft of the boundary treaty. This draft will be submitted for examination by the two Governments which will then appoint representatives to sign the treaty on their behalf.

### **Army Day**

August 1 this year marked the 36th anniversary of the founding of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. Peking, Shanghai, Canton and other cities throughout the land held celebrations to mark the day. Messages of greetings were received by the P.L.A. from all over the world.

The P.L.A.'s General Political Department held a gala anniversary party on the eve of Army

Day at the Revolutionary Military Museum in Peking. Among the 10,000 people who attended it were Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premiers Chen Yi and Li Hsien-nien, top-ranking officers and the rank and file of the army, navy and air force. Together, they spent an evening of entertainment enjoying films, songs and dances, balladry and local operas. Premier Chou En-lai and other Communist Party and government leaders and top-ranking officers of the P.L.A. received and had cordial talks with representatives of outstanding companies, units and soldiers; representatives of outstanding marksmen, gunners and technicians; and representatives of militiamen and of dependents of revolutionary armymen and revolutionary martyrs.

### **P.L.A. Supports Government Statement**

On August 1, Chief of the General Staff of the P.L.A. Senior General Lo Jui-ching gave a reception to celebrate the day. Recounting the glorious history of the P.L.A., led by the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, he said: "The P.L.A. is a people's army fully imbued with patriotism, internationalism and revolutionary heroism. It is a people's army capable of conquering all difficulties, defending the motherland and defeating any enemy that dares to invade our country."

Senior General Lo declared at the reception that the P.L.A. firmly supported the Chinese Government's statement advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world. He arraigned U.S. President Kennedy for bragging about his "strategy of peace" while planning to carry on nuclear blackmail by exploiting the monopoly of nuclear weapons held by a few countries and preparing for nuclear war in an attempt to realize his criminal plan of enslaving the people of the world. Quoting Kennedy's speech of July 26 saying that the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty initialled in Moscow could not remove the danger of war, that it in no way meant the end of the nuclear war threat, that it would not prevent the United States from testing, producing, and stockpiling nuclear weapons or spreading

them among its allies, and that it would not restrict the United States from using nuclear weapons in war, Senior General Lo denounced the treaty as an utter fraud and conspiracy which Kennedy was using to legalize his use of nuclear weapons in war. "It is really astonishing," said the General, "that some people should cater to the demands of the imperialists, work hand in glove with them, and shamelessly cheat the people of the world, describing this treaty which sells out the interests of all peace-loving peoples as 'a victory of the forces of peace in the world,' and 'a significant victory for the policy of peaceful coexistence.'" "We do not know," the General continued, "how these people feel when they read Kennedy's speech. Nor do we know why they have so far kept silent about this speech and whether they are in favour of it or against it." The General declared that no force on earth could halt the advance of the revolutionary cause of the people throughout the world. The anti-China chorus of the imperialists, the reactionaries of the various countries and the modern revisionists could never hurt even a single hair of the Chinese people, but they would utterly expose their own dirty deeds to the people throughout the world, said the General.

### **Refuting Indian Government's Fabrications**

Referring to the Indian Government's fabrications about large-scale movements and concentrations of Chinese troops on the boundary, Senior General Lo said that the Indian Government's purpose in spreading these rumours was solely to create a pretext for stepping up its military collaboration with U.S. imperialism, thereby selling out the sovereignty and national interests of India. "I would like to point out," declared the General, "that no matter how the Indian authorities persist in their anti-China policy and no matter how the Indian Government relies on the U.S. forces of aggression and create new tension on the Sino-Indian border, they are doomed to failure. The wish of the Chinese and Indian peoples to settle the boundary question peacefully will surely be realized." Senior General Lo also condemned U.S. imperialism's continued, forcible occupa-

*(Continued on p. 38.)*

# Premier Chou En-lai's Letter to All Government Heads

- Presenting the proposal contained in the Chinese government statement of July 31 for a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world to discuss the question of complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.
- Expressing the hope that this proposal will receive favourable consideration and a positive response from all governments.

Your Excellency,

The Chinese Government issued on July 31, 1963 a statement proposing a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world to discuss the question of complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. The text of the proposal reads as follows:

"The Government of the People's Republic of China hereby proposes the following:

(1) 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.

(2) In order to fulfil the above undertakings step by step, the following measures shall be adopted first:

a. Dismantle all military bases, including nuclear bases, on foreign soil, and withdraw from abroad all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

b. Establish a nuclear weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Central Europe; a nuclear

weapon-free zone of Africa; and a nuclear weapon-free zone of Latin America. The countries possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake due obligations with regard to each of the nuclear weapon-free zones.

c. Refrain from exporting and importing in any form nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture.

d. Cease all nuclear tests, including underground nuclear tests.

(3) A conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world shall be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the question of taking the above-mentioned four measures in order to realize step by step the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons."

In view of the urgent desire of the people of the world for the removal of the threat of nuclear war and for the safeguarding of the peace and security of the world, the Chinese Government earnestly hopes that its proposal will receive the favourable consideration and positive response of the Government of your country.

Please accept the assurances of my highest consideration.

**CHOU EN-LAI**

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

August 2, 1963

# People of the World, Unite! Strive for the Complete Prohibition and Thorough Destruction of Nuclear Weapons!

Following is a translation of the August 2 editorial of "Renmin Ribao." Subheads are ours.—Ed.

**T**HE Chinese Government issued a statement on July 31 proposing that a conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. Following the release of this statement, U.S. imperialism and its followers hastily got their propaganda machines going and tried their best to belittle its significance, declaring that "a proposal so sweeping and unrealistic . . . stood little chance of being considered seriously."

This once again exposes the substance of the Moscow treaty stage-managed by U.S. imperialism.

## Oppose Nuclear "Overlords"! Refuse To Be Nuclear Slaves!

In the eyes of U.S. imperialism, the countries of the world are divided into two categories: those which possess nuclear weapons and those which do not. The few nuclear powers, as a matter of course, are the masters of the world, whereas the countries which do not possess nuclear weapons are, to quote Kennedy, irresponsible and unstable, so that they are by no means qualified to possess nuclear weapons, nor can they have any say in the matter. In other words, those countries which do not possess nuclear weapons and the broad masses of people of the world must be left for ever to the tender mercies of others, and doomed to be the object of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats.

The Washington big shots consider that it is perfectly legitimate for the three nuclear powers, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union, to strike a bargain in Moscow behind the backs of others and produce a so-called partial nuclear test ban treaty, and that it is no less perfectly legitimate for them to impose that Moscow treaty on the non-nuclear countries, while the non-nuclear countries, on their part, can only endorse the treaty, and are definitely prohibited from even spelling out the word "no," under pain of being accused of committing a heinous crime and charged with sacrilege against this divine law.

What smug calculations! And what insolent arrogance!

The prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war are a matter of great importance af-

fecting each and every country and all the people of the world. What right have the few nuclear powers to take this matter into their own hands exclusively and forbid the non-nuclear countries to have their say?

To speak frankly, if in this matter in international relations the principle followed is righteousness and justice and not tyranny and brute force, then no nuclear power has any right to dictate to any non-nuclear power—it has only the duty to submit itself to the demand of the people of all countries of the world for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

There are more than 130 countries in the world. All countries, big or small, nuclear or non-nuclear, are equal. It is absolutely impermissible for two or three countries to brandish their nuclear weapons at will, issue orders and commands, and lord it over in the world as self-ordained nuclear overlords, while the overwhelming majority of countries are expected to kneel and obey orders meekly, as if they were nuclear slaves.

The time of power politics has gone for ever, and major questions of the world can no longer be decided by a few big powers. The question of banning nuclear weapons and preventing nuclear war must be discussed and decided jointly by all countries of the world, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear.

When the Chinese Government proposed in its July 31 statement that a conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons, it proceeded precisely from the stand of sincerely upholding world peace and of sincerely respecting the equal status of all countries. Like all other countries and peoples of the world favouring peace and treasuring independence and freedom, the Chinese Government and people stand firmly against nuclear overlords and will in no circumstances allow themselves to be treated as nuclear slaves.

## China's Proposal Is Firm, Clear-cut and Feasible

In proposing that nuclear weapons be banned and destroyed completely, thoroughly, totally and resolutely, the Chinese Government outlines four concrete measures to be adopted in the first place for the step by step fulfilment of this undertaking. The Chinese Government's proposal reflects the ardent desire of the people all over the world. It is firm in stand and clear-cut in content, and it is also feasible.



What is behind the allegation that the Chinese Government's proposal is "sweeping and unrealistic" and that it stands "little chance of being considered seriously"? This actually exposes the U.S. imperialists' intention to use, export, manufacture, test and stockpile nuclear weapons. In a word, the United States wants to continue to push ahead with its policies of nuclear war preparations and of nuclear blackmail. A proof of this is that the very words "prohibition of nuclear weapons" are not even mentioned in the much-vaunted Moscow treaty. U.S. imperialism is stubbornly clinging to its nuclear weapon precisely because it regards it as a magic weapon for massacre and arson enabling it to lord it over in the world.

#### **Four Proposed Measures Embody Universal Demand Of World's People**

U.S. nuclear bases cover the whole world, U.S. nuclear submarines ply the waters of every ocean and U.S. aircraft carrying nuclear weapons fly over every continent. All this poses a serious menace to world peace and the security of the people of all countries. Many countries are thus placed in the frontline of a nuclear war which the United States is preparing to unleash. The people there live constantly under the grim shadow of nuclear war. The Japanese people in particular have already been the victims of U.S. atom bombs, and for that very reason hate all the more the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear war preparations. The people throughout the world demand the dismantling of all military bases overseas, including nuclear bases, and the evacuation of nuclear weapons and all their means of delivery including nuclear submarines and nuclear weapon carrying aircraft. Is it not absolutely fair and just for the Chinese Government to raise this universal demand in its proposal? Is it not a minimal step towards a ban on nuclear weapons?

But the U.S. imperialists say that it is unrealistic and stands no chance of being considered seriously. This clearly proves that the talk about "general and complete disarmament" in the U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. treaty and Kennedy's remark that "a journey of a thousand miles must begin with a single step," are just so much eyewash!

To do away with the threat of nuclear war, the peoples of all countries demand the establishment of separate nuclear weapon-free zones in different regions of the world. In August 1960, the Chinese Government proposed the setting up of a nuclear weapon-free zone covering the Asian and Pacific region and including the United States. This proposal has received warm support from many countries in Asia and on the Pacific coasts and is regarded as "a greater step towards a peaceful world." The Polish Government proposed, as early as October 1957, the establishment of a nuclear weapon-free zone in Central Europe. Fifteen Latin American countries and 31 African countries proposed successively this year that similar zones be set up in their two continents. These proposals, too, have received widespread approval among the peoples. The Chinese government statement precisely embraces these proposals.

But the U.S. imperialists say that these proposals are unrealistic and stand no chance of being considered seriously. This means that the United States refuses to undertake obligations relating to the proposed nuclear

weapon-free zones, refuses to pledge that it will not use nuclear weapons against the countries in these regions, and insists on using nuclear weapons in its aggression and threats against these countries. What is more, the United States actually considers itself the supreme judge and wants to supervise these regions. A few days ago, U.S. State Department officials declared, without any sense of shame, that inspection must be provided for if the African countries hoped to set up a nuclear weapon-free zone. What nonsense is this? The U.S. marauders, brandishing their nuclear weapons and committing all sorts of crimes in the world, must be exempt from inspection, while non-nuclear countries—victims of its aggression and threats—have to accept inspection! This is sheer effrontery!

The people the world over demand that all nuclear countries refrain from exporting nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture; they demand that all non-nuclear countries refrain from importing these weapons and the technical data for their manufacture. The Chinese Government's proposal includes precisely this universal demand.

But the U.S. imperialists declare that it is unrealistic and stands no chance of being considered seriously. This means that U.S. imperialism is determined to preserve its freedom to spread nuclear arms as it pleases, so that it may provide its allies and countries under its control with such arms. It is well known that U.S. imperialism is planning to set up a so-called "multilateral nuclear force" for the North Atlantic alliance. Its outcry about "preventing nuclear proliferation" is intended only to tie the hands of the socialist countries and prevent these countries, besides the Soviet Union, from possessing the means of resisting U.S. nuclear threats.

It stands to reason that the people throughout the world demand an end to nuclear testing in all forms as an integral part of a total ban on nuclear weapons. Many countries have pointed out, with good reason, that a partial nuclear test ban, excluding underground tests, is devoid of any meaning and that an end must be put to all nuclear tests. The Chinese Government's proposal precisely includes this universal demand.

But the U.S. imperialists now declare that this proposal is unrealistic and stands no chance of being considered seriously. U.S. imperialism doggedly opposes a complete ban on nuclear tests and insists on underground nuclear tests because, while making continuous efforts to improve its strategic nuclear weapons, it is energetically developing tactical nuclear weapons and actively preparing to wage "limited nuclear wars" against the socialist countries and the national-liberation movement in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Both the development of tactical nuclear weapons and the improvement of strategic nuclear weapons depend on underground tests. The Moscow treaty which is lauded to the skies has deliberately left out underground nuclear tests. This exactly conforms to the desire of the United States.

#### **Only U.S. imperialist Nuclear Blackmailers And Their Partners Fear China's Proposal**

Is the proposal of the Chinese Government realistic or not? The question is quite clear: to all those who

genuinely desire the banning of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war, the Chinese government proposal is realistic; it is unrealistic only to those who have no desire at all to have nuclear weapons banned.

The Chinese Government's proposal is another major effort towards the banning of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war and is an important political move in the interests of world peace and the people of all countries. All those who are sincere in defending world peace will welcome this proposal and only U.S. imperialism which is engaged in nuclear blackmail and its partners fear it. The more they attack this proposal, the more they expose themselves as the enemy of world peace and the more they reveal their own guilty conscience.

In a sense, the Chinese Government's proposal is a mirror to show up monsters. It reflects the ugly face of U.S. imperialism which is aggressive by nature as well

as the servile features of those who are warmly embracing U.S. imperialism. The exposure of these freaks and monsters in their true colours is an excellent thing for the revolutionary struggle of the peoples and the cause of defending world peace.

Nuclear weapons cannot save imperialism and its followers from their doom. The more desperately they cling to nuclear weapons, the more closely they will find themselves encircled by the world's people. Nuclear weapons can be prohibited. Nuclear war can be prevented. However great the difficulties and obstacles, the Chinese people will steadfastly persevere in their just stand and will never barter away principles. They will resolutely unite with the people of the socialist countries, with all oppressed peoples and oppressed nations and with all peace-loving countries and people of the world to struggle until victory for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and for the defence of world peace.

## A Betrayal of the Soviet People!

*Following is a translation of the August 3 editorial of "Renmin Ribao" entitled "This Is Betrayal of the Soviet People!" Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**I**N concluding the partial nuclear test ban treaty the Government of the Soviet Union in partnership with the Governments of the United States and Britain has perpetrated a big fraud jeopardizing the interests of the peoples of the world and the cause of world peace. Now, the Soviet leaders and the Soviet press are doing their utmost to boost this treaty, in an attempt to increase the effect of this fraud and to lull and deceive still more the peoples of the world who oppose imperialism.

### **Soviet Leaders Have Betrayed Themselves**

What after all is the meaning of the initialling of this treaty which divorces a ban on nuclear testing from a ban on nuclear weapons and excludes a ban on underground nuclear tests? One does not have to go to the "wild men" of the West to get the answer. The Soviet leaders and the Soviet press have provided the correct answer. They have now betrayed themselves.

In the past they declared that to sign such a treaty would "tie the hands of the Soviet Union," and would be "to the detriment of the interest of the Soviet Union and other socialist states." But now they have betrayed themselves and claim that it is a triumph of the Soviet policy of "peaceful coexistence."

In the past they declared that to sign such a treaty would help the United States "improve its nuclear weapons" and would "ensure for the Western powers unilateral military advantages." But now they have betrayed themselves and claim that the treaty "blazes the path towards completely freeing mankind from atomic and hydrogen calamities."

In the past they declared that to sign such a treaty would be "tantamount to encouraging the aggressors to carry out their designs which are dangerous for the whole of mankind" and would be "a disservice to the cause of peace." But now they have betrayed themselves and claim that it is "a decisive step along the road to world peace."

In the past they declared that when submitting their draft treaty on August 27, 1962, the United States and Britain tried to "speculate on the humanity of all mankind." But now they have betrayed themselves and claim that the refurbished version of that draft treaty "conforms to the lofty humanitarian principle of socialism."

In the past the Soviet leader solemnly declared: "The Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a bargain. A deal of this nature is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation." But now he has betrayed himself and has taken part in this same fraudulent deal.

This is a complete right-about turn. In making this about-face, they have betrayed not only their own correct stand and the interests of the Soviet people, but also all those who supported them.

### **What Distresses Those Who Supported the Correct Stand the U.S.S.R. Once Held**

It is recalled that the Soviet Government decided in August 1961 to resume nuclear tests to strengthen its national defence and counter the nuclear threat from U.S. imperialism. At that time, U.S. imperialism, other imperialist countries and the reactionaries of all countries went all out to attack the Soviet Union, creating a foul atmosphere for a time. In the interests of the entire socialist camp and the cause of world peace and irrespective of how rabid was the enemy and how violent the storm,

the Chinese Government and people persevered in principle, stepped forward unhesitatingly to fulfil their proletarian internationalist duty and gave resolute support to the just action of the Soviet Government.

It is further recalled that when the Soviet Government in August 1962 justly rejected the draft treaty on partial stopping of nuclear tests put forward by the United States and Britain, the Chinese Government expressed unequivocal support for the position of the Soviet Government and pointed out that the U.S.-British draft treaty was in essence designed to promote the policy of nuclear blackmail and to step up preparations for a nuclear war. It also pointed out that in the circumstances when U.S. imperialism had no sincerity whatsoever for a ban on nuclear weapons, the socialist countries must reinforce their strength for self-defence and must not cherish any unrealistic illusions.

In fact, even up to early June this year after it had reached an agreement with the United States and Britain on the holding of nuclear test ban negotiations in Moscow, the Soviet Government formally notified the Chinese Government that the Western countries' position on the question of a nuclear test ban could not serve as the basis for reaching an agreement at present, and whether the talks could yield any result or not depended entirely on the Western side.

But soon afterwards, the Soviet Government completely forsook its original correct stand. This is what distresses the Chinese Government and Chinese people as well as all those who supported the correct stand of the Soviet Union.

### **Diplomacy of Capitulation Pure and Simple**

Incontrovertible facts show that the Soviet Government has sold out the interests of the Soviet people, the interests of the peoples of the socialist camp including the Chinese people and the interests of the peace-loving people throughout the world. This is not "diplomacy marked by patience" but the diplomacy of capitulation pure and simple. This is not a victory of the policy of "peaceful coexistence" but a concentrated manifestation of capitulationism.

To cover up this capitulationist diplomacy, the Soviet paper *Izvestia* published a remarkable article arrogantly teaching others: "One should open one's eyes to the yesterday and today of the world; it would be absurd even to equate 1962 with 1963." What does this mean? Does it mean that it was precisely in June-July 1963, no sooner or later, that the Soviet Government had all the reasons why it should capitulate to U.S. imperialism?

In its red-faced anger over the Chinese people's resolute exposure of the fraud produced by the Soviet leaders in partnership with U.S. imperialism, the *Izvestia* accused the Chinese people of taking an "absurd" position. This is strange indeed. We are now opposing the tripartite treaty from the same position which prompted us in the past to support the Soviet Union, and which was the position maintained by the Soviet Union itself in the past. It is the position taken by the Soviet leaders today which is truly absurd. What is more absurd is the fact that the *Izvestia* actually scurrilously abused the Chinese people as having ganged up with the "wild men" in the United States. No, the Chinese people have not had that "honour."

It is not us, but you who embraced the U.S. imperialists in joyous abandon, that has ganged up with the "wild men" in the United States. He who claims to be the legitimate heir of Lenin now joins hands with the chieftain of imperialism. This is indeed "a curious company."

### **U.S.-Soviet Co-operation to Dominate the World**

The Soviet leaders see only the U.S. imperialists. They believe that everything would be plain sailing if only the U.S. imperialists would give a nod and pat them on the shoulder. In their eyes, the other socialist countries and all other peace-loving countries are nothing. The Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., Nikita S. Khrushchov, has publicly stated: "If peaceful, friendly relations were established between the United States and the U.S.S.R., it is doubtful whether anyone could complicate the international situation, as he would have to reckon with the position of our two countries." He has also more than once called for "all-round co-operation" between the United States and the Soviet Union. This "all-round co-operation" appears to be what the Soviet leader has been going all out to obtain from Camp David to Vienna, and from Vienna to Moscow. Now they have cooked up this treaty in Moscow with the United States and its partner—Britain, they want the more than 130 other countries to put their signatures to it. What is more, they have said that this is "a good start," which means that they intend to proceed along this path of U.S.-Soviet co-operation to dominate the world.

It is most obvious that the tripartite treaty is aimed at tying China's hands. The U.S. representative to the Moscow talks has said publicly that the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union were able to arrive at an agreement, because "we could work together to prevent China getting a nuclear capability." Recently, while fraternizing with U.S. imperialism on the most intimate terms, the Soviet leaders and the Soviet press have been gnashing their teeth in their bitter hatred towards socialist China. They use the same language as U.S. imperialism in abusing China. This is a U.S.-Soviet alliance against China pure and simple.

Inspired by Moscow, the West is giving publicity to the allegation that "a real 'redivision' of the world was taking place" (AFP). The U.S. propaganda machine has even declared: "If Khrushchov only turns a fish eye at China—which he is inclined to do anyway for purposes of his own—we might go far to accommodate him" (*New York Times*). And the *Chicago Sun Times* was even more outspoken when it called for "a reversal of alliances" by the Soviet Union and said that Washington "is offering a red carpet welcome for a returning Soviet prodigal." Obviously the red carpet is being unrolled to welcome the returning prodigal.

### **No Betrayal Will Succeed**

But the U.S. imperialists and their partners must not rejoice too soon. The Soviet Union is a great socialist state, the Soviet people is a great people with a glorious revolutionary tradition, and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a great Party which was founded by Lenin himself and which has grown up in the course of struggle against opportunism of various stripes. Eventually, any deal which betrays the Soviet Union, betrays the Soviet people, and betrays the Communist Party of the Soviet Union will definitely end in failure.

# Thoroughly Expose the Reactionary Nature of the Tripartite Treaty

Speech by LIAO CHENG-CHIH

*Following is a translation of the full text of the speech made by Liao Cheng-chih, Vice-Chairman of the China Peace Committee and Chairman of the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, at the Peking mass rally on August 1, 1963, in support of the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs and of the Japanese people's patriotic anti-U.S. imperialist struggle. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

## Comrades and Friends:

We, the people, representing all circles of the population of our capital, are gathered here today at this rally to voice our support for the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs due to be held in Hiroshima, Japan, to express our deep interest in the Hiroshima conference and to wish it positive achievements. Here, on behalf of the Chinese people, I would like to extend hearty greetings to the Japanese people, who are carrying on a heroic struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and against U.S. imperialism.

The World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs was initiated by the Japanese people; from the very beginning it received the support of the people of the world and it has now become an international conference with a glorious militant tradition.

The questions discussed and the documents adopted at the previous conferences expressed the common will of the Japanese people and all the peace-loving people of the world. Those conferences clearly pointed out to the world that **U.S. imperialism is the enemy of peace; that the root cause of the threat of nuclear war is U.S. imperialism; that prevention of nuclear war, the movement to defend world peace and the national-independence movement are indivisible; that the testing, manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons must be completely banned and all existing nuclear weapons destroyed and that the movement against atomic and hydrogen bombs must be linked up with the struggles against foreign military bases and military treaties of aggression.** These correct conclusions of the previous conferences have forcefully exposed and dealt telling blows against the U.S. imperialist policies of war and aggression and shown clearly the people of the world the path they should take in their struggle against nuclear war. They have greatly inspired and encouraged the people of Japan and the world in their anti-imperialist struggle and have made positive contributions to the cause of defending world peace.

The achievements of the World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs are inseparably linked with the heroic struggle of the Japanese people. Since the 8th

World Conference, the Japanese people's just and patriotic struggle against U.S. imperialism has surged to a new height. In order to oppose the Japan-U.S. "Security Treaty" and the "Japan-ROK Talks," to strive for the recovery of Okinawa and the withdrawal of U.S. military bases and U.S. troops, and in particular to oppose the stationing in Japan of U.S. nuclear submarines and F-105D planes, the Japanese people have launched one gigantic national united action after another. Up to yesterday, there have already been twelve such nationwide united actions. In these struggles, the Japanese people fully displayed their dauntless spirit of daring to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against U.S. imperialism and have shown their will and determination to unite in a common struggle against their enemy. The Japanese people's united actions have dealt heavy blows at the strategic measures in the Far East taken by U.S. imperialism to turn Japan into a base for nuclear war.

## Five Militant Tasks

The Chinese people have consistently supported the Japanese people's just and patriotic anti-U.S. struggle and have consistently supported all the correct conclusions of the previous World Conferences Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs demanding the prohibition of nuclear weapons and opposing nuclear war. **On the eve of the 9th World Conference, the Japanese Communist Party clearly set forth the following five militant tasks for the current movement to ban nuclear weapons: (1) prevent the entrance of U.S. nuclear submarines into Japanese ports and oppose the stationing of F-105D planes in Japan; (2) oppose nuclear war; prevent the arming of Japan with nuclear weapons; demand the removal of U.S. military bases and the return of Okinawa; oppose the arming of the "self-defence forces" with nuclear weapons and the transformation of Japan into a missile base; (3) demand the conclusion of an international agreement to ban all nuclear weapons, including the use, manufacture, stockpiling and testing of nuclear weapons; (4) turn the Asian and Pacific region into a nuclear-free zone; and (5) aid victims of nuclear weapons.** We are of the opinion that these proposals of the Japanese Communist Party are completely correct. We are confident that through the joint efforts of the Japanese Communist Party and all the patriotic and progressive forces, with the active participation of the broad masses of the Japanese people and with the support of the peace-loving countries and people of the world, the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs will achieve even greater successes.

Comrades and Friends! On the eve of the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, the

struggle of the people of the world for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and against nuclear war is confronted with an extraordinarily acute and complicated situation. **A treaty for a partial nuclear test ban was initialled by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union in Moscow on July 25. This is a treaty to consolidate the nuclear monopoly of the three nuclear powers and bind the hands of all the peace-loving countries subjected to the nuclear threat. This is a treaty which runs diametrically counter to the interests of the people of the world. It is a big fraud to fool the people of the world.** The Chinese Government issued a statement on July 31, thoroughly exposing the reactionary nature of this treaty which undermines world peace and harms the people of the world. In order to make this point clear, let us make a brief analysis of this treaty.

### **Analysis of Moscow Tripartite Treaty**

**First, this is a treaty of fake peace and real preparation for war.** The people of the world unanimously oppose the imperialist arms drive and war preparations; they demand an effective defence of world peace and unanimously demand the complete and thorough prohibition of nuclear weapons and the elimination of the nuclear threat. But this treaty completely divorces the cessation of nuclear tests from the total prohibition of nuclear weapons. Far from contributing anything to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the elimination of the nuclear war threat, it legalizes the continued manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons by the three nuclear powers.

In his radio and television speech on July 26 Kennedy said outright that "this treaty does not mean an end to the threat of nuclear war, it will not reduce nuclear stockpiles, it will not halt the production of nuclear weapons, and it will not restrict their use in time of war." He added, "This treaty is not the millennium. It will not resolve all conflicts." From this it can be seen that this treaty not only will have no restraining effect on the U.S. imperialist policy of increasing nuclear armaments, but will greatly help U.S. imperialism to step up its preparations for nuclear war.

**Secondly, this is a treaty which helps the development of nuclear weapons by U.S. imperialism and restricts non-nuclear countries from gaining nuclear self-defence capability.** The people of the world demand a complete ban on nuclear weapons tests and want to achieve the further goal of completely and thoroughly banning nuclear weapons. But this treaty only prohibits nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and permits continued underground nuclear tests. Thus U.S. imperialism is given a legal right whereby it can unscrupulously utilize underground nuclear tests to improve its strategic nuclear weapons and develop its tactical ones. Referring to the fact that the treaty on a partial nuclear test ban permits underground nuclear tests, Kennedy said, "This treaty is a limited treaty which permits continued underground tests and prohibits only those tests that we ourselves can police." He further said that "the United States has deliberately chosen to concentrate on more mobile and more efficient weapons, with lower but entirely sufficient yield."

We must point out that U.S. imperialism already has an adequate stockpile of strategic nuclear weapons, that through over two hundred nuclear tests, it has gained the necessary technical data for manufacturing nuclear weapons, and that at present its requirements can be met even with just underground nuclear tests. Therefore it is not U.S. imperialism but those countries which have not yet gained nuclear self-defence capability that are restricted by this treaty on a partial nuclear test ban. So one of the main aims of this treaty is to prevent the non-nuclear countries, especially the non-nuclear socialist countries, from ever gaining nuclear self-defence capability. If non-nuclear countries work to gain nuclear self-defence capability, U.S. imperialism can use this as a pretext to tear up this treaty at any time and resume nuclear testing in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, and at the same time shift the responsibility onto others. On the very next day after the initialling of the treaty, Kennedy declared to the world: "Our own vigilance and strength must be maintained, as we remain ready to withdraw and to resume all forms of testing, if we must."

**Thirdly, this is a treaty that allows the U.S. imperialists to export nuclear weapons at will.** The people of the world demand that U.S. imperialism dismantle all its military bases, including nuclear bases, and oppose its arming of West Germany and Japan with nuclear weapons. But this treaty, which runs counter to this urgent desire of the people of the world, permits U.S. imperialism, as in the past, to strengthen its world network of military bases, including nuclear bases, to install various kinds of nuclear weapons and the means to deliver them in all the areas under its control, and to step up implementation of the plan for a so-called "multilateral nuclear force." In his recent speech Kennedy openly declared that this treaty "will not reduce our need for arms or allies or programmes of assistance to others." We can be perfectly sure that following the conclusion of this treaty, U.S. imperialism will certainly be even more unbridled in carrying out the above-mentioned criminal activities.

**Fourthly, this is a treaty which consolidates the nuclear monopoly of the nuclear powers and facilitates their continued posing of a nuclear threat.** The people of the world are resolutely opposed to the destiny of the people of the world being manipulated by a few big powers monopolizing nuclear weapons. The nations and peoples subjected to oppression and aggression have already suffered greatly from big-power chauvinism; and this treaty is the concentrated expression of big-power chauvinism.

### **Is It Better Than No Treaty?**

Some people may argue that though this is not a good treaty it is better to have one than to have none. Is it really so? No, absolutely not! As has been pointed out already, this is a treaty which is advantageous to U.S. imperialism for maintaining its nuclear monopoly, gaining a nuclear superiority, continuing its nuclear blackmail and stepping up its nuclear war preparations, but binding the hands of all the countries and people subjected to oppression and aggression. It not only fails to solve any practical problems with regard to the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the prevention of nuclear war or in any degree reduce the danger of a nuclear war, but covers up the truth of the matter and gives an illusory

sense of security to the people of the world. This is precisely why it makes it easier for the U.S. imperialists to delude the people of the world and lull their vigilance and also makes it legal for them to increase their nuclear armaments and prepare for a nuclear war. Therefore, it is worse to have this treaty than not to have it.

### Is This Really a "Step Forward"?

Some people may say that things always proceed step by step and that when it is impossible completely to ban nuclear weapons and eliminate the danger of nuclear war, the conclusion of a treaty on the partial prohibition of nuclear tests is after all a forward step to be welcomed. Now the U.S. imperialists and their accomplices are everywhere with one voice propagandizing the idea that the conclusion of the treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests by them is the first step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. Is it actually so? No, this is a complete lie!

As everyone knows, the United States has stockpiled large quantities of nuclear warheads and possesses a great number of guided missiles and aircraft for delivering them, and these weapons are scattered about in various parts of the world. What is more, since 1961, Kennedy has ordered that one-eighth of all the U.S. heavy bombers carrying nuclear bombs should be on airborne patrol day and night. These actions of the United States constitute a serious menace to the security of all peoples and cause universal anxiety. If the United States really is sincere in taking the first step in prohibiting nuclear weapons, it should, first of all, remove its nuclear threat to other countries, immediately dismantle all its military bases, including nuclear bases, on foreign soil; withdraw from abroad all its nuclear equipment, nuclear submarines and aircraft carrying nuclear weapons, and in deference to the desire of the people of all countries, reach agreement with the countries concerned on the establishment of zones free of nuclear weapons. The United States, however, has all along obstinately refused to do all this. Obviously, U.S. imperialism is not willing to take any practical step towards the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The reason why the United States has been so keen on concluding a treaty on the partial halting of nuclear tests is just because such a treaty in no way touches its programme of increasing nuclear arms and nuclear war preparations. On the contrary, the treaty makes it easier for the United States to carry out its nuclear threat and blackmail. We would like to ask: How can the signing of such a treaty be described as a "forward step" in the struggle to ban nuclear weapons and to oppose nuclear war?

Some persons may perhaps say that the signing of this treaty may anyway reduce atomic contamination of the air and water and produce a sense of relief. True, a temporary suspension of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water will somewhat reduce atomic contamination. But this treaty was by no means signed for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of the people. On the contrary, the treaty not only allows the nuclear powers to resume at any moment their nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, but also increases the danger of a nuclear war. It is proper and understandable for the people of the world to demand the stopping of nuclear tests and the elimination of the danger

of radioactive substances. But it is absolutely intolerable for the imperialists to exploit the people's desire for peace and engage in double-dealing so as to achieve their goal of preparing a nuclear war.

### Is a Small "Nuclear Club" Really Safer?

Some persons perhaps may say that it may be safer anyhow if the number of nuclear powers is small and not large. But such is not the actual state of affairs. As is well known, the atom bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki back in 1945 are so far the only atom bombs ever used in war. Those two atom bombs were dropped not at a time when a considerable number of countries were in possession of nuclear weapons but at a time when the United States had the exclusive monopoly of nuclear weapons. That was the inception of the nuclear catastrophe which led to the struggle of the people of Japan and the world against atomic and hydrogen bombs. **The facts are very clear: Nuclear weapons are not the source of war; the source of war lies in U.S. imperialism from which the threat of nuclear war also comes. In order to remove the threat of nuclear war, the only thing to do is for the people of the world to get united and wage a resolute struggle against U.S. imperialism and to compel it to destroy all its nuclear stockpiles and guarantee not to produce any more nuclear weapons. Before this aim is achieved, the only effective way to avert the threat of a nuclear war is for more socialist and other peace-loving countries to possess nuclear self-defence capability. Only thus will U.S. imperialism not dare to act rashly and unleash a nuclear war at will.**

The partial nuclear test ban treaty initialled by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union is nothing new. It is an undeniable fact that it is actually a reproduction of the draft treaty on a partial halting of nuclear tests put forward by the United States and Britain a year ago at the meeting of the Disarmament Commission in Geneva, which so glaringly defended the interests of imperialism to the detriment of the socialist countries. The U.S. bourgeois political commentator Walter Lippmann has said: "The draft of the test ban treaty, which has been worked out in Moscow by Khrushchov, Harriman and Hailsham, is, it appears, substantially the same treaty we offered the Soviet Union nearly a year ago on August 27, 1962." Lippmann even considered that "this proposal in turn was very like the one made by President Eisenhower to Chairman Khrushchov on April 13, 1959." The Kyodo News Agency of Japan also held the view that the partial test ban treaty just initialled in Moscow was by and large similar to the draft put forward by the United States and Britain last year and that in some respects it coincides with the U.S.-British draft even in minor wording. It is easy to see that the imperialists are of course glad to sign such a treaty.

### Soviet Leaders' Former Views Opposing Underground Nuclear Tests

The Soviet Government once clearly rejected the draft treaty put forward by the United States and Britain, pointing out that it was a draft detrimental to "the interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." According to TASS, the head of the Soviet delegation Kuznetsov severely criticized this U.S.-British draft for not hindering

underground nuclear tests. He said that this was speculating on the humanity of all mankind in an attempt to get public support for a programme which contained a serious threat to the lives of millions upon millions of people. He asked: Could one forget that the United States should be held responsible not only for its conducting of nuclear weapon tests, but also for the use of nuclear weapons against the millions of defenceless inhabitants of Hiroshima and Nagasaki? Kuznetsov also referred to another serious danger contained in the Anglo-American proposal, that is that the proposal was obviously aimed at providing the Western powers with a one-sided military advantage to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He noted that the United States had been using underground tests to improve its nuclear weapons for many years already, and that should underground nuclear tests be legalized with a simultaneous prohibition of such tests in the atmosphere, this would mean that the United States could continue improving its nuclear weapons and increase their yield and effectiveness, whereas the Soviet Union would have its hands bound in the question of strengthening its defence potentiality.

In 1961, when U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan issued a joint statement proposing a halt in atmospheric tests but allowing underground and high altitude tests, the Soviet Union resolutely rejected it. In criticizing this joint statement, the Soviet government head Khrushchov said, "This is not the first time the Governments of the United States and Britain have sought to confine a nuclear test ban to tests in the atmosphere alone. They made similar proposals, for instance, in 1959. Why has the Soviet Government always been against such an approach to the question of discontinuing nuclear weapon tests? Because agreement on the cessation of one kind of tests only — in the atmosphere — would be a disservice to the cause of peace. It would mean deceiving the peoples. Such agreement could create the harmful and dangerous illusion among the peoples that steps were being taken to put an end to the arms race, while in fact nothing of the kind would have been done." Khrushchov further said, "The conclusion of an agreement that started a kind of race in underground nuclear tests, and if you like, in outer space or under water, could be assessed by the peoples, and with good reason at that, as a dishonest deal. Of course, the Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a bargain. A deal of this nature is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation."

### **Capitulation to Imperialism**

Not too much time has passed since then but the Soviet Government, making a 180-degree about-face turn, has discarded its former correct stand by accepting a reproduction of the U.S.-British draft and made a deal with the U.S. and British imperialists to deceive the people. This is capitulation to imperialism and a gross selling out of the interests of the socialist countries and of the people of the world.

It is by no means accidental that the Soviet Union should have collaborated with the U.S. and British imperialists in signing such a treaty which runs counter to

the interests of the people of the world. After the treaty was initialled, the U.S. representative Harriman said it had been possible to reach agreement on this treaty because Khrushchov "very much wanted one at this time." As everybody knows, in the past few years the Soviet leaders have all along been anxious to make a deal with U.S. imperialism in order to push ahead the Soviet "general line of peaceful coexistence" and to dictate the destiny of the people of the world in collusion with U.S. imperialism. Yet because U.S. imperialism refused to yield one inch to them, they not only failed to achieve anything but found themselves in an increasingly difficult position. In these circumstances, the Soviet leaders have not hesitated to lower the price again and again and even capitulate to U.S. imperialism in return for "coexistence" with it. The signing of this treaty is an inevitable outcome of the Soviet leaders' implementation of this line.

The conclusion by the Soviet Union of the partial test ban treaty, which goes against the interests of the people of the world, with U.S. and British imperialism is a most unseemly affair. Yet the Soviet leaders and the Soviet press extolled the treaty to the skies. The press of the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other countries and of the French and Italian Communist Parties are tailing after the Soviet Union in raising a chorus of cheers. They say that this treaty is "of great international importance," "a good start," "a great triumph for the policy of peaceful coexistence" and a "turning-point in the history of mankind." Their purpose in so exerting themselves to prettify this treaty is no other than to use it as a shot in the arm to bolster up their revisionist theories which have long gone bankrupt. They try to use the signing of this treaty to prove that the nature of imperialism is changeable, that the heads of a few big powers can dictate the destiny of the people of the world, that world peace can be got easily and that the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world is unnecessary. All this is absurd and is a capitulationist viewpoint absolutely unacceptable to revolutionary Communists and the revolutionary people.

### **Chinese People Resolutely Support Their Government's Statement, and Oppose Rotten Fraud**

Comrades and Friends! We can now clearly see that the conclusion of the treaty for a partial nuclear test ban represents a big conspiracy in which the imperialists and their hangers-on join hands against the socialist countries, against China and against the forces of peace of the whole world. It is a big conspiracy against the interests of the people of the world and the cause of world peace. In its statement the Chinese Government has expressed its determined opposition to this dirty treaty and its resolute refusal to be a party to this dirty fraud; it has exposed that fraud with a high sense of responsibility to the people of the world. We, the Chinese people, fully support this just stand of our Government.

Like the other peoples of the world, the Chinese people are firmly opposed to a nuclear war and to a world war. The Chinese Government and people have consistently and resolutely stood for the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. The Chinese Government has, since long ago, proposed time and

again the establishment of a zone free from nuclear weapons in the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States. And now the Chinese Government has in a clear-cut and systematic way put forward in its statement proposals concerning the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons. They are:

(1) 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 existing establishments for the research, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons in the world.

(2) In order to fulfil the above undertakings step by step, the following measures shall be adopted first:

a. Dismantle all military bases, including nuclear bases, on foreign soil, and withdraw from abroad all nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

b. Establish a nuclear weapon-free zone of the Asian and Pacific region, including the United States, the Soviet Union, China and Japan; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Central Europe; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Africa; and a nuclear weapon-free zone of Latin America. The countries possessing nuclear weapons shall undertake due obligations with regard to each of the nuclear weapon-free zones.

c. Refrain from exporting and importing in any form nuclear weapons and technical data for their manufacture.

d. Cease all nuclear tests, including underground nuclear tests.

(3) A conference of the government heads of all the countries of the world shall be convened to discuss the question of the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons and the question of taking the above-mentioned four measures in order to realize step by step the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

These proposals of the Chinese Government not only reflect the Chinese people's aspirations, but also conform to the interests of the people of the world. The Chinese people resolutely support the statement of their Government. We are confident that the Chinese Government's stand will surely enjoy the understanding, sympathy and support of the people of the world. As in the past, the Chinese people will stand together with other peoples of the world and fight to the end for the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons.

### **Unite and Struggle for Positive Results at 9th World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs**

The struggle for the prohibition of nuclear weapons is not an isolated one. It is closely linked with the struggles of the people of the world against the imperialist policies of war and aggression, in defence of world peace

and for national liberation, people's democracy and socialism. Today, the struggle of the people of the world in defence of world peace and the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed nations and peoples are continuously scoring new victories. In such a highly favourable situation, all socialist countries and Communists throughout the world should, of course, stand together with all the oppressed peoples and nations and the broad masses of the peace-loving people and guide them in steadfast struggle and advance from victory to victory. But at this important juncture, a handful of people have actually betrayed the revolutionary cause of the people of the world and regarding enemies as friends, have colluded with the imperialists in an attempt to arbitrarily check the advance of the wheel of history. This has confronted the forthcoming 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Japan with a complicated international situation. Within Japan, the U.S. imperialists, the Japanese reactionaries and their cohorts are conspiring to disrupt the unity of the patriotic and democratic forces and sabotage the Japanese people's struggle for a ban on nuclear weapons and nuclear warfare and against U.S. imperialism and to undermine the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs. This has also added to the difficulties of the conference. Nevertheless, we are confident that the nationally conscious Japanese people, experienced in the fight against imperialism, will succeed in strengthening their unity and overcoming the difficulties before them and, together with the people all over the world, carry forward the movement for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and against nuclear war, thus enabling the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs to achieve positive results as all the previous conferences have done, and to make new contributions to the cause of opposing imperialism and defending world peace.

In conclusion, let us shout:

For a complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons!

Oppose the nuclear fraud of the tripartite treaty!

Oppose the U.S. imperialist policy of nuclear threat and blackmail!

Oppose U.S. imperialism turning Japan into a nuclear base!

Oppose U.S. imperialism arming Japan with nuclear weapons!

Dismantle U.S. imperialists' military and nuclear bases throughout the world!

U.S. imperialism, get out of Japan! Get out of Taiwan! Get out of Asia! Get out of all the places it has occupied!

Salute the valiant Japanese people!

Long live the great unity of the people of the whole world!

Long live world peace!



# Down With U.S. Nuclear War Plots, Destroy All Nuclear Arms

*Following is an abridged translation of the August 4 editorial of "Rodong Shinmoon," organ of the Central Committee of the Korean Workers' Party. Its original title is "We Must Fight Against U.S. Imperialism's Nuclear War Provocations and for the Destruction of Nuclear Weapons." Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**I**N order to remove the menace of nuclear war created by the imperialists, a total ban on and destruction of nuclear weapons is necessary; that is, there must be a ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons; all nuclear bases must be dismantled; all nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles introduced into other countries by the imperialists must be withdrawn; and all nuclear weapons must be destroyed. We also maintain that a nuclear test ban can have practical meaning only when it is linked with the prohibition of the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons, and that the nuclear test ban itself must not be just a limited one but a thoroughgoing one prohibiting all nuclear tests.

This is the demand of all the peoples, including the Korean people, who are fighting for the removal of the nuclear war threat, and it constitutes a thoroughgoing, radical means of solving this question.

## **Moscow Treaty Divorces Test Ban From Ban on Weapons**

Contrary to the demand of the world's peace-loving people, however, the Moscow treaty for a partial nuclear test ban divorces the banning of nuclear tests from the banning of nuclear weapons; furthermore, the test ban itself deals only with the prohibition of nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, leaving out underground tests.

Today the imperialists led by the United States are increasing their production of nuclear weapons which they use in their attempts to intimidate the peace-loving people of the world. Planning to provoke new wars they have installed nuclear weapons and their means of delivery on the territories of other countries such as south Korea, Japan, Turkey and Greece. In these circumstances, it is an urgent task in the fight for peace and for the security of mankind to enforce a ban on the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons, to get nuclear weapons and their delivery vehicles withdrawn from the territories of other countries and to destroy all existing nuclear weapons.

This is not the demand of the Korean people alone. Today the peoples of Japan and all other countries into whose territories the U.S. imperialists have introduced nuclear weapons are fighting for their immediate withdrawal.

However, the Moscow treaty on a partial nuclear test ban totally ignores such urgent practical issues.

## **Treaty Puts No Restrictions on U.S. Imperialism**

The treaty clearly shows that it does not really restrain the U.S. imperialists from continuing to manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons, nor does it restrict their policy of nuclear war provocations. This was fully confirmed in Kennedy's radio and television speech of July 26 on the initialling of the treaty.

At the same time the treaty still permits underground nuclear testing. This makes it meaningless.

It not only legalizes the underground nuclear tests still being conducted by the imperialists but, in divorcing the banning of nuclear tests from the banning of nuclear weapons, it also legalizes the manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons.

Furthermore, immediately after the initialling of the treaty, Kennedy was already declaring that the United States would "resume atmospheric tests" and that "we remain ready to withdraw" from the treaty and "resume all forms of testing" when necessary.

Of what value is the treaty under such conditions?

The aggressive circles of the United States do not conceal the fact that following the signing of this treaty they will be able to go on "perfecting" their nuclear weapons through underground nuclear tests and so attain nuclear supremacy.

Thus the treaty has in fact paved the way for U.S. imperialism to get nuclear supremacy and further develop its nuclear armaments, thereby increasing the threat of nuclear war.

## **Real Aim of "Preventing Proliferation"**

All this shows more clearly than ever that the U.S. imperialists are using this treaty to pursue another aim under the pretext of "preventing the proliferation" of nuclear weapons. The U.S. ruling circles headed by Kennedy are using the occasion of the initialling of the nuclear test ban treaty to clamour about "the danger of emergence of new nuclear powers." They rejoice at the fact that the treaty agrees to "prevent the proliferation" of nuclear weapons, and regard this as a major success.

Is Kennedy really so "apprehensive" and "concerned" about the fact that the spread of nuclear arms would increase the threat of nuclear war and is therefore pleased with the settlement of this question? Far from it. The U.S. imperialists are so pleased because another sinister aim of theirs is being realized.

A clear answer to this is provided by Harriman, Kennedy's special envoy to the recent tripartite talks. He said in a speech that one of the reasons why the United States was able to reach agreement with the Soviet Union and Britain on a test ban was that "this might stop the proliferation of nuclear weapons and that we could work together to prevent China from getting a nuclear capability."

It is obvious that the true aim pursued by the U.S. imperialists under the spurious signboard of preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons is to obstruct China and other socialist countries from possessing nuclear weapons and thus to weaken the defence capabilities of the socialist camp.

On their part, however, the U.S. imperialists are free to hand over nuclear weapons to their allies as they wish. Kennedy's speech reveals the sinister intention of the U.S. imperialists to hand over nuclear weapons to their "allies" in the form of "aid" or "sales."

Through the Soviet-U.S.-British tripartite treaty, the U.S. imperialists attempt to pursue its heinous aim of hampering the socialist and other peace-loving countries from strengthening their national defence capabilities for just purposes, while allowing themselves and their allies unbridled nuclear arms expansion in order to step up their policy of nuclear blackmail towards the socialist camp.

### **Treaty Is Part of U.S. "Peace" Strategy**

The U.S. imperialists falsely represent the treaty as the "outcome of peace-loving aspirations." This is part of the "peace" strategy advertised more noisily than ever by the U.S. imperialists of late. Their aim is to create by means of this treaty the delusion among the people that U.S. imperialism has a certain interest in the prohibition of nuclear weapons and in "peace."

They stress that the treaty helps to prevent contamination by radioactive fallout; they scheme by this to conceal their real aims.

Contamination by radioactive fallout is harmful, but even more dangerous today is the attempt of the U.S. imperialists to drive mankind into the disaster of a thermonuclear war. The cardinal task is, therefore, to fight to eliminate the threat of nuclear war by banning and destroying nuclear weapons.

The U.S. imperialists seek to continue to increase their nuclear armaments under cover of the partial nuclear test ban treaty; they are trying, at the same time, to create the false impression that the treaty can lessen international tension and that it does something towards diminishing the threat of nuclear war. They hope in this way to blunt the vigilance of the peoples and draw them away from the anti-imperialist struggle.

All the facts clearly prove that U.S. imperialism, behind a false front of "prohibiting nuclear tests," is playing every trick up its sleeve to deceive the peace-loving people of the world. They also show with what malevolence it is utilizing the peaceful aspirations of the peoples in pursuing its ugly aims.

We must sharply see through the ugly, shameless, real intention of the U.S. imperialists in their treaty on a partial nuclear test ban and must never be taken in by their deceitful machinations.

The aggravation of international tension and the threat of a new world war today come precisely from U.S. imperialism and its aggressive policy, particularly its policy of nuclear blackmail. These policies of U.S. imperialism have not shown the slightest change. The world's peace-loving people must fight more resolutely to gain lasting world peace and to remove the danger of nuclear war.

To save mankind from the menace of nuclear war, nuclear weapons must be prohibited and destroyed; their manufacture, stockpiling and use must be banned and nuclear bases dismantled; nuclear weapons and their means of delivery must be withdrawn from the territories of other countries and all nuclear weapons destroyed; and a total ban on nuclear testing must be enforced.

### **Question of Banning Nuclear Arms Cannot Be Settled by a Few Countries**

Such questions concerning the security of all mankind as the prohibition of nuclear weapons cannot be discussed and settled by a few countries alone. All countries are duty-bound to ensure the settlement of this question in the interests of mankind.

The world's peace-loving people must organize a powerful mass struggle for the prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons. An active struggle must be waged against the nuclear arms race and the policy of nuclear blackmail of the imperialists, and ceaseless blows must be dealt at them and pressure exerted on them so that they will be compelled to assent to an agreement on banning nuclear weapons.

At the same time, all the anti-imperialist peace forces must unite closely, heighten to the utmost their vigilance against the imperialists' policies of aggression and war provocations and expose and shatter them.

All the anti-imperialist peace forces must wage active struggles in all forms in firm unity and tie the hands of the imperialists.

With the imperialists stepping up their activities of war and aggression, persisting in opposing the total prohibition of nuclear weapons and carrying out nuclear blackmail, the socialist countries must endeavour in every way to strengthen their national defence capabilities to safeguard the fruits of the revolution and ensure the security of the people.

The Korean people, together with the world's peace-loving people, will fight ceaselessly against imperialism and to safeguard world peace, for banning and destroying nuclear weapons to remove the danger of nuclear war no matter what conspiratorial activities the imperialists may carry out. No vicious intrigue or threat of nuclear and other lethal weapons on the part of the U.S. imperialists can obstruct the forward movement of the peoples for peace, national independence and social progress. The imperialists will surely perish; the people will surely win victory.

# For the Total Banning and Destruction Of Nuclear Weapons

*Following is the abridged translation of an article entitled "Nuclear War Can Be Effectively Prevented Only When Nuclear Weapons Are Totally Banned and Destroyed" carried in "Zeri I Popullit," organ of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour, on July 31. Subheads are ours.—Ed.*

**T**HE prohibition of nuclear tests and the banning of nuclear weapons is and has always been the earnest desire of the people of the world and the pressing demand of all peace-loving countries. For many years now they have been struggling against the use of new thermonuclear weapons, for a ban on their manufacture and stockpiling, and for the destruction of all now in stock.

Only when nuclear weapons are totally banned and destroyed is it possible to prevent a nuclear war effectively.

## **Partial Test Ban Treaty — A U.S. Imperialist Trap**

Defying this demand of the peoples, the warmongering imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism have been working in every way to increase their manufacture of nuclear weapons, using nuclear blackmail and preparing for war. Subjected to the constant pressure of world opinion, however, the U.S. imperialists are at the same time trying to pull the wool over the eyes of the people of the world and blunt their vigilance. One of their tricks and traps is the treaty recently concluded by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. Actually the treaty solves nothing whatsoever that is essential to the questions for which the people of all countries are struggling, nor does it solve the question of banning and destroying nuclear weapons, or in any way helps to remove the danger of thermonuclear war.

In the first place, the Moscow treaty lays down only a partial ban, to the exclusion of underground tests. In other words, the nuclear powers will still be able to test [nuclear] weapons, of both old and new types, improve their manufacture and increase their range of types. Technically speaking, there is little difference between tests under the ground and in the atmosphere.

Nor does the treaty prohibit the manufacture of nuclear weapons, which can go on interminably on the basis of the technical data already accumulated in previous tests.

It is most important to stress this point, for the danger of imperialism starting a nuclear war lies not in their tests, but in their continued manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and their intention to use them. It is obvious that the Moscow treaty does not at all touch on the U.S. imperialists' intention of increasing their nuclear armaments, preparing for war and using atomic weapons for blackmail. The partial test ban treaty serves as a smokescreen for the U.S. imperialists to cover up the true state of affairs and paralyse the vigilance of the people of the world.

The Moscow treaty also reveals Washington's aim to perpetuate the monopoly of nuclear weapons and prohibit their spread. It is crystal clear that through the Moscow treaty the U.S. imperialists want first of all to prevent the Chinese People's Republic from possessing its own atomic weapons. In this way they seek to weaken the defence capabilities of the socialist camp which is confronted with increasingly serious atomic threats from the imperialist countries, and particularly from U.S. imperialism.

It is thus clear that the partial test ban treaty concluded in Moscow is a dangerous trap, a sinister scheme directed against the defence capabilities of the Chinese People's Republic and the socialist camp as a whole. As far as the imperialist camp is concerned, while the United States, Britain and France already possess nuclear weapons, there is every indication that the United States has been trying to equip its main allies with its ready-made nuclear weapons. Kennedy's "multilateral nuclear force" programme is actually an important step towards equipping its allies with atomic weapons.

The partial test ban treaty is concluded in conformity with the wish of the U.S. imperialists. It corresponds only to the interests of the U.S. imperialist warmongers, and goes against and impairs the interests of the socialist camp and of the struggle for the maintenance of peace.

## **Khrushchov Group Openly Colludes With Imperialism**

As on many other questions, everybody can see the renegade stand taken and the acts of betrayal committed by Khrushchov and his group on this question which has a vital bearing on the Soviet Union itself, on the socialist camp and on all peace-loving peoples. In supporting the manoeuvres of the imperialists to deceive the peoples and blunt their vigilance; in supporting their plots hostile to

the socialist camp, particularly to the Chinese People's Republic; and in accepting the treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water, Khrushchov has not only committed another act of capitulation to the imperialists and allowed himself to fall into their trap, not only made a new, unprincipled concession and compromise, but also openly co-operated with the imperialists to harm the socialist camp and its defence capabilities, thus seriously jeopardizing the cause of peace and the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world.

Casting to the winds the interests of socialism and the peaceful aspirations of the people of the world, Khrushchov has trampled underfoot the general line of the international communist movement defined at the Moscow meetings of 1957 and 1960 for the cause of peace, for the strengthening of the defence capabilities of the socialist countries and for the cause of revolution. In concluding the partial test ban treaty, Khrushchov has also trampled underfoot the resolutions jointly made by all the Warsaw Treaty member countries.

By means of the Moscow treaty on nuclear tests, Khrushchov is trying to impose a different line on the international communist movement, on the socialist camp and on the Warsaw Treaty member states. His line is a line of unconditional concession and capitulation to the imperialists, a line of rapprochement with U.S. imperialism.

The People's Republic of Albania declares that the line adopted by Khrushchov is illegal, for it arbitrarily alters the line defined in common, for it goes diametrically against the interests of the socialist camp, of the Warsaw Treaty and of world peace. As everybody knows, although the People's Republic of Albania is a full member of the Warsaw Treaty, it has been denied its right to discuss and to have its say in the matter.

It should be especially noted that Khrushchov and the Soviet Government—who are now vigorously attempting to describe the partial nuclear test ban treaty concluded in Moscow as a victory—regarded such a treaty as harmful and unacceptable only two years ago.

Could it be that the U.S. imperialists have given up their arms drive and preparations for nuclear war? Has

anything changed? In point of fact, the plans, intentions and manoeuvres of U.S. imperialism have not changed. What has changed is only Khrushchov himself, who in the past two years has gone out of his way to undermine the socialist camp and the international communist revolutionary movement, and who in the past two years has not only come more and more into the open in trying to form his united front of revisionism, but also drawn close to the U.S. imperialists, with a view to realizing, with their help, his most odious designs against Marxism-Leninism and against socialism. While trying to monopolize nuclear weapons, the United States, like Khrushchov, is working to gain the strength to impose upon others its dangerous policy of undermining the interests of socialism and peace.

We are neither afraid of the curses of the revisionists and the imperialists, nor of their attacks. We are convinced that time will bear out more clearly that it is the path Khrushchov has taken which leads to war, and that it is his line of rapprochement with imperialism which encourages the schemes of the imperialists against the people of all lands.

### **Expose Imperialists' Fraud and Revisionists' Betrayal**

Now that the partial nuclear test ban treaty has been concluded, the peace-loving people of all countries, the Communists and all the progressives of the world are confronted with a most important task. They must effectively expose the fraud of the imperialists and the betrayal of the modern revisionists. They must explode the myth jointly spread by the imperialists and the revisionists that a step has been taken towards disarmament.

World war can be prevented and peace safeguarded only if the people of all countries heighten their vigilance and increase their militant unity against imperialism, if the socialist camp steadily strengthens its defence capabilities, if efforts are made to ensure the thorough prohibition of nuclear weapons, their manufacture and use, and the destruction of all in stock, and if a relentless struggle is made against the imperialist plans of aggression and war.

## **Akahata**

# **On the Partial Nuclear Weapons Test Ban**

*Following is a translation of excerpts from an editorial carried by "Akahata," organ of the Japanese Communist Party, on July 29, 1963. Subheads are ours. — Ed.*

**A**FTER conducting a series of big nuclear tests in the atmosphere and outer space last year, the United States Government is now carrying out its nuclear weapons tests

underground in a continued effort to develop nuclear weapons. And the [Moscow] treaty does not cover underground nuclear tests. Furthermore, the treaty stipulates: "Each party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country." This makes it possible for the imperialists to create

pretexts for the resumption of nuclear weapons tests in the atmosphere and outer space. In view of the large quantities of stockpiled nuclear weapons, the danger of nuclear war has not lessened in the least degree.

If one soberly examines the contents of the treaty and reviews the objective situation, one will find it quite understandable that a certain degree of optimism and uneasiness should exist side by side among the Japanese people who have been fighting for a total ban on the manufacture, stockpiling, use, and testing of nuclear weapons.

In order to stop the development of nuclear weapons and remove the threat of nuclear war, efforts should now be made to get an international agreement signed prohibiting nuclear weapons themselves. Whether this can be realized or not depends entirely on the future development of the struggle of the people of all countries (including the Japanese people).

### **Defeat U.S. Imperialists' Dual Policy**

One must maintain the highest vigilance against the dual policy of U.S. imperialism. In face of the upsurge of the struggle of the world's people against imperialism and for peace and independence, the U.S. Government is talking ever more glibly than before about "peace," and at the same time increasing preparations for aggressive nuclear war. While professing themselves in favour of the "easing of international tension," the U.S. imperialists have installed nuclear missiles of various types, nuclear submarines, and hydrogen bomb-carrying F-105D fighter-bombers in Japan and various other parts of the world and are bent on carrying out their scheme for a "multilateral nuclear force." This fact has thrown into strong relief the deceitfulness of the U.S. imperialists' dual policy.

U.S. imperialism is turning Okinawa into its biggest nuclear strategic base in Asia. Using Yokosuka as its base, the U.S. Seventh Fleet, equipped with nuclear weapons, has been in constant action in the areas surrounding Asia. U.S. imperialism is sending nuclear submarines and other nuclear weapons not only to Japan but to Europe and to the Near and Middle East. That is why the struggle against U.S. deployment of its nuclear submarines and other nuclear weapons is now a common international task.

It would be absolutely wrong to drop one's guard because of the conclusion of this partial test ban treaty and allow the current struggle to end. In view of the fact that the United States is seeking to use the treaty to cover up its increased efforts to develop nuclear weapons and to strengthen its nuclear armaments, we must resolutely demand the total prohibition of nuclear weapons and call for the peaceful use of atomic energy — man's highest scientific achievement — in the interests of human civilization.

In connection with the question of preventing nuclear war and defending peace in Asia and the world, one should not overlook the fact that the U.S.-Japanese reactionaries are stepping up their anti-China propaganda.

Harriman, U.S. Under Secretary of State, on one occasion declared that the U.S., Britain, and the U.S.S.R. needed the cessation of nuclear tests also to prevent China from becoming a nuclear power. This remark clearly reveals

one of the outstanding U.S. motives in concluding this treaty and implies that China is creating the danger of nuclear war, which is a slander.

### **No Slander Can Distort China's Stand for a Total Ban on Nuclear Weapons**

China consistently stands for a total ban on nuclear weapons and the creation of a nuclear weapon-free zone in Asia and the Pacific, including the United States. This is a generally known fact. However, U.S. imperialism has always been opposed to an agreement on banning the use of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, the whole of Japan, Okinawa included, has become a base for nuclear rockets directed against the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist countries. A sober review of the foregoing will show that the anti-China propaganda campaign is nothing but a deceptive trick played by the U.S. imperialists to "legalize" their nuclear arming of Japan and Taiwan.

The only rational way of eliminating the danger of a nuclear war in Asia is to oppose the arming of Japan with nuclear weapons by U.S. imperialism and to turn Asia and the Pacific region into a denuclearized zone. Fundamentally speaking, this is to advance the common struggle of the peoples for a total ban on nuclear weapons.

At the present time, on the eve of the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, we are confronted with a most complicated situation and many difficulties which have been caused by the dual tactics pursued with redoubled vigour by the U.S. imperialists and the domestic Japanese reactionary forces in an attempt to split the democratic forces, and paralyse the popular struggle ideologically. A section of the Right-wing social democrats and the anti-Party revisionists are taking advantage of this situation to engage in surreptitious splitting activities. The resolution of the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party has pointed out that U.S. imperialism, which finds itself isolated among the Japanese and other Asian peoples as a result of the struggles waged by the people, is resorting to intrigues to create splits.

### **Unite Against U.S. Imperialism, Ring-Leader Of World Reaction**

For the Japanese Communist Party and the democratic forces it is now more important than ever to hit back at such splitting activities, strengthen unity, and develop the struggle in accordance with the basic principle of combating U.S. imperialism — ring-leader of world reaction, international gendarme, and the common enemy of the people of the world — and the Japanese reactionary forces which are subservient to it. Peace and independence cannot be won if the strength of unity is not relied on and an unyielding struggle is not waged against the enemy.

The present situation has clearly shown that the current five-point common targets advanced by the Japanese Communist Party and aimed at preventing the outbreak of a nuclear war are correct. Let us work with confidence for the success of the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in accordance with this basic principle!

# The Tripartite Treaty—A Refurbished Version of the U.S.-British Draft

The tripartite treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water which has been concluded in Moscow by the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union is a treaty designed to strengthen the nuclear monopoly position of the big nuclear powers. It is, in fact, a refurbished version of a draft proposed by the U.S. and Britain on August 27, 1962. When that draft was put forward just a year ago, the Soviet Government opposed and criticized it. The objections to it were made clear by V. Kuznetsov, then head of the Soviet delegation, in a speech made at the Disarmament Committee in Geneva on August 29, 1962.

Following are the full texts of the treaty and the draft, and the related parts of Kuznetsov's speech. — Ed.

## The Tripartite Treaty

### Title

**Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Under Water**

### Preamble

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, hereinafter referred to as the "Original Parties,"

Proclaiming as their principal aim the speediest possible achievement of an agreement on general and complete disarmament under strict international control in accordance with the objectives of the United Nations which would put an end to the armaments race and eliminate the incentive to the production and testing of all kinds of weapons, including nuclear weapons,

Seeking to achieve the discontinuance of all test explosions of nuclear weapons for all time, determined to continue negotiations to this end, and desiring to put an end to the contamination of man's environment by radioactive substances,

Have agreed as follows:

### Article I

1. Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to prohibit, to prevent, and not to carry out any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion at any place under its jurisdiction or control:

A. In the atmosphere, beyond its limits, including outer space, or under water, including territorial waters or high seas; or

B. In any other environment if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial

limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted. It is understood in this connection that the provisions of this subparagraph are without prejudice to the conclusion of a treaty resulting in the permanent banning of all nuclear test explosions, including all such explosions underground, the conclusions of which, as the Parties have stated in the Preamble to this Treaty, they seek to achieve.

2. Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes furthermore to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion, or any other nuclear explosion, anywhere which would take place in any of the environments described, or have the effect referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article.

### Article II

1. Any Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendment shall be submitted to the Depositary Governments which shall circulate it to all Parties to this Treaty. Thereafter, if requested to do so by one-third or more of the Parties, the Depositary Governments shall convene a conference, to which they shall invite all the Parties, to consider such amendment.

2. Any amendment to this Treaty must be approved by a majority of the votes of all the Parties to this Treaty, including the votes of all of the Original Parties. The amendment shall enter into force for all Parties upon the deposit of instruments of ratification by a majority of all the Parties, including the instruments of ratification of all of the Original Parties.

### Article III

1. This Treaty shall be open to all states for signature. Any state which does not sign this Treaty before its entry

into force in accordance with paragraph 3 of this Article may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory states. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Governments of the Original Parties — the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — which are hereby designated the Depositary Governments.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force after its ratification by all the Original Parties and the deposit of their instruments of ratification.

4. For states whose instruments of ratification or accession are deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty, it shall enter into force on the date of the deposit of their instruments of ratification or accession.

5. The Depositary Governments shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding states of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each instrument of ratification of and accession to this Treaty, the date of its entry into force, and the date of receipt of any requests for conferences or other notices.

6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depositary Governments pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### Article IV

This Treaty shall be of unlimited duration.

Each Party shall in exercising its national sovereignty have the right to withdraw from the Treaty if it decides that extraordinary events, related to the subject matter of this Treaty, have jeopardized the supreme interests of its country. It shall give notice of such withdrawal to all other Parties to the Treaty three months in advance.

#### Article V

This Treaty, of which the English and Russian texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depositary Governments. Duly certified copies of this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depositary Governments to the Governments of the signatory and acceding states.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done in triplicate at Moscow, this 25th day of July, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixty-Three.

## The U.S.-British Draft Treaty

### Draft Treaty Banning Nuclear Tests in the Atmosphere, Outer Space and Under Water

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America, hereinafter referred to as the Original Parties,

Desirous of bringing about the permanent discontinuance of all nuclear weapon test explosions and determine to continue negotiations to this end,

Confident that immediate discontinuance of nuclear weapon test explosions in the atmosphere, in outer space, and in the oceans will facilitate progress toward the early agreement providing for the permanent and verified discontinuance of nuclear weapon test explosions in all environments,

Have agreed as follows:

#### Article I

##### Obligations

1. Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes to prohibit and prevent the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion at any place under its jurisdiction and control:

A. In the atmosphere, above the atmosphere, or in territorial or high seas; or

B. In any other environment if such explosion causes radioactive debris to be present outside the territorial

limits of the state under whose jurisdiction or control such explosion is conducted.

2. Each of the Parties to this Treaty undertakes furthermore to refrain from causing, encouraging, or in any way participating in, the carrying out of any nuclear weapon test explosion anywhere which would take place in any of the environments described, or have the effect proscribed, in paragraph 1 of this article.

#### Article II

##### Explosions for Peaceful Purposes

The explosion of any nuclear device for peaceful purposes which would take place in any of the environments described, or would have the effect proscribed, in paragraph 1 of Article I may be conducted only: (1) if unanimously agreed to by the Original Parties; or (2) if carried out in accordance with an annex hereto [no annex was attached to the text transmitted by USIS], which annex shall constitute an integral part of this Treaty.

#### Article III

##### Withdrawal

1. If any Party to this Treaty determines

A. That any other Party has not fulfilled its obligations under this Treaty,

B. That nuclear explosions have been conducted by a state not a Party to this Treaty under circumstances

which might jeopardize the Determining Party's national security, or

C. That nuclear explosions have occurred under circumstances in which it is not possible to identify the state conducting the explosions and that such explosions, if conducted by a Party to this Treaty, would violate the Treaty, or, if not conducted by a Party, might jeopardize the Determining Party's national security, it may submit to the Depositary Government a request for the convening of a conference to which all the Parties to this Treaty shall be invited, and the Depositary Government shall convene such a conference as soon after its receipt of the request as may be practicable. The request for the Determining Party to the Depositary Government shall be accompanied by a statement of the evidence on which the determination was based.

2. The conference shall, taking into account the statement of evidence provided by the Determining Party and any other relevant information, examine the facts and assess the significance of the situation.

3. After the conclusion of the conference or after the expiration of a period of 60 days from the date of the receipt of the request for the conference by the Depositary Government, whichever is the earlier, any Party to this Treaty may, if it deems withdrawal from the Treaty necessary for its national security, give notice of such withdrawal to the Depositary Government. Such withdrawal shall take effect on the date specified in the notice, which shall in no event be earlier than 60 days from receipt of the notice of the Depositary Government. The notice shall be accompanied by a detailed statement of the reasons for the withdrawal.

#### Article IV

##### Amendments

1. Any Party may propose amendments to this Treaty. The text of any proposed amendments shall be submitted to the Depositary Government which shall circulate it to all Parties. Thereafter, if requested to do

so by one-third or more of the Parties, the Depositary Government shall convene a conference, to which it shall invite all Parties, to consider such amendment.

2. Any amendment to this Treaty or its annex must be approved by a vote of two-thirds of the Parties, including all of the "Original Parties." It shall enter into force for all Parties upon the deposit of ratifications by two-thirds of the Parties to this Treaty, including ratification by the Original Parties.

#### Article V

##### Signature, Ratification, Accession, Entry Into Force and Registration

1. This Treaty shall be open until . . . . . to all states for signature. Any state which does not sign this Treaty may accede to it at any time.

2. This Treaty shall be subject to ratification by signatory states. Instruments of ratification and instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Government of . . . . ., which is hereby designated the Depositary Government.

3. This Treaty shall enter into force on . . . . . for states which have deposited instruments of ratification or accession on or before that date, provided that the ratifications deposited include those of the Original Parties. If ratifications by all three Original Parties are not deposited on or before . . . . ., this Treaty shall enter into force on the date on which ratifications by all of them have been deposited.

4. Instruments of ratification or accession deposited subsequent to the entry into force of this Treaty shall become binding on the date of deposit.

5. The Depositary Government shall promptly inform all signatory and acceding states of the date of each signature, the date of deposit of each ratification of and accession to this Treaty, the date of its entry into force, and the date of receipt of any requests for conferences or notices of withdrawals.

#### NEWS IN BRIEF

The 1963 protocol for a Sino-U.A.R. trade agreement was signed in Cairo on July 14 on behalf of their Governments by Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Yang Hao-lu and U.A.R. Under Secretary of State for Economy Hussein Khalad Hamid.

The Chinese Red Cross Society has made a donation of medicine and medical apparatus — worth 100,000 yuan — to the Liberation Red Cross Society of south Viet Nam to support the courageous struggle of the south Vietnamese people. The Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the China Peace Committee and

four other people's organizations have also decided to send welfare gifts to the people of south Viet Nam.

A protocol on the tenth session of the joint committee of Chinese-Czechoslovak scientific and technical co-operation was signed in Prague on July 15. Under the protocol, the two countries will exchange scientific and technical experience in the chemical, metallurgical, and machine-building industries, especially in the production of chemical fertilizers, dyes, medicines, and mathematical instruments.

Nosaka Sanzo, Chairman of the Japanese Communist Party, on July 18 received the visiting delegation of the Foreign Languages Press of China led by

Lo Chun and had a cordial talk with them.

The third session of the executive organ for scientific and technical co-operation between China and Viet Nam was held in Hanoi from July 9 to 18. A protocol was signed by the delegations of the two countries.

The Brazil-China Cultural Society gave a cocktail party on July 19 in Rio de Janeiro to the three visiting Chinese delegations, the educationists' delegation led by Fang Ming, the students' delegation led by Chu Liang, and the preparatory working team of the Chinese economic and trade exhibition headed by Hou Fa-tseng. More than 100 Brazilian guests



6. This Treaty shall be registered by the Depository Government pursuant to Article 102 of the Charter of the United Nations.

#### Article VI Authentic Texts

This Treaty, of which the English and Russian texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Depository Government. Duly certified copies of

this Treaty shall be transmitted by the Depository Government to the Governments of the signatory and acceding states.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed this Treaty.

Done at . . . . . this . . . . . day  
of . . . . . , One Thousand Nine Hundred and  
Sixty-Two.

## How the Soviet Delegate Criticized the U.S.-British Draft Treaty a Year Ago

**K**UZNETSOV analysed the second draft advanced by the United States and Britain—the partial nuclear test ban draft treaty. He noted the groundlessness of A. Dean's contentions that the treaty, which would ban nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, space and under water, but would not hinder the continuation of underground nuclear tests, would nevertheless be a definite check on the arms race. Gentlemen, he said, we were much surprised when we heard and saw this assertion in the file. Only ten days ago we heard Mr. Dean saying just the opposite.

Having quoted such statements by Dean, Kuznetsov declared that as regards the realities, one should not ignore that the continuation of underground nuclear blasts could in no way stop nuclear armament, and as a result of which, the threat of thermonuclear war would increase.

Kuznetsov also refuted Dean's allegation that even when underground tests were continued, further spread of nuclear weapons could be prevented if tests were discontinued in the atmosphere, in space and under water.

On the contrary, the legalization of underground tests would make it possible for the countries to create their own nuclear weapons, the Soviet delegate said. It was not difficult to see that this was speculating on the humanity of all mankind, in an attempt to get public support for a programme which contained a serious threat

to the lives of millions upon millions of people. Could one forget that the United States should be held responsible for not only its conduct of nuclear weapon tests, but also for the use of nuclear weapons against the millions of defenceless inhabitants in Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

Kuznetsov pointed out another danger contained in the proposal of the United States and Britain. The proposal was obviously aimed at providing the Western powers with one-sided military advantages to the detriment of the interests of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. He noted that the United States had been using underground tests to improve its nuclear weapons for many years already. Should underground nuclear tests be legalized with a simultaneous prohibition of such tests in the atmosphere, this would mean that the United States could continue improving its nuclear weapons, increase their yield and effectivity, whereas the Soviet Union would have its hands bound in the question of strengthening its defence potentiality.

The Soviet Government, Kuznetsov concluded, firmly abode by the position that it was necessary to reach agreement without delay on the ending of all tests of nuclear weapons without exception—in the atmosphere, outer space, under water and under the ground. The extensive discussion on this subject had shown with exhaustive clarity that this task must and could be solved.

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were present and it was a most friendly and enjoyable gathering.

\* \* \*

The 1963 executive plan for implementation of the cultural co-operation agreement between China and Cuba was initialled in Peking on July 24.

\* \* \*

On July 26, Premier Chou En-lai and Vice-Premier Chen Yi received on separate occasions and had cordial talks with Mohammed Isa, Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Nationalist Party and Rector of Sriwidjaja University.

\* \* \*

A British exhibition of plastics, industrial carbon and refractory materials, sponsored by the three British companies, Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., Formica International Ltd. and Morganite

Exports, opened in the Peking Exhibition Centre on July 29.

\* \* \*

China and Ceylon signed a maritime transport agreement on July 25 in Colombo. Hsieh Ke-hsi, Chinese Ambassador to Ceylon signed for the Chinese Government and Maithripala Senanayake, Ceylon Minister of Commerce and Industries, for the Ceylon Government.

\* \* \*

Premier Chou En-lai on July 31 sent a message to President P. Stambolic of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council expressing condolences for the victims of the earthquake at Skoplje. The Red Cross Society of China has informed its Yugoslav counterpart that it is sending a gift of 25,000 yuan for the relief of Skoplje victims.

\* \* \*

On July 27, between 07:16 hours and 07:19 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area south of Swatow in Kwangtung Province.

On August 1, between 12:55 hours and 13:14 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air over the Yunghsing, Shih and Tung Islands of the Hsisha Islands in Kwangtung Province.

On August 3, between 19:32 hours and 19:47 hours, a U.S. military plane intruded into China's territorial air space over the area east of Tungtai in Kiangsu Province.

The Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman has issued the 251st, 252nd and 253rd serious warnings against such U.S. provocations.

# The "General Line of Peaceful Coexistence" Leads to Capitulation

Below we publish a number of past statements made by N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., against underground nuclear tests, past statements and memorandum published by the Soviet Government upholding the correct stand it once took on the nuclear test ban issue, and a record showing how the Soviet Government made one concession after another until it finally capitulated in the nuclear test ban talks. These materials show that by signing the partial nuclear test ban treaty the Soviet Government betrayed its original stand, sold out the interests of the Soviet people and perpetrated a fraud upon the world's people. — Ed.

## Past Statements of Khrushchov Against Underground Tests

**N.S.** KHRUSHCHOV, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., has spoken on many occasions in the past on the banning of nuclear tests and many times expressed opposition to the proposal of the U.S. and British Governments for a partial nuclear test ban treaty which excludes underground tests.

Following are excerpts from statements made by Khrushchov on this question over the last few years:

In a report at the fourth session of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. on January 14, 1960, entitled "Disarmament for Durable Peace and Friendship," Khrushchov denounced U.S. President Eisenhower's declaration that the United States would resume nuclear tests and his attempt to defend the resumption of underground nuclear testing under the pretext that the technical means to detect nuclear explosions were imperfect.

Khrushchov said, "We wish to re-emphasize that **the Soviet Union holds firmly to the view that all types of nuclear weapon tests in the air, on the ground, underground, and under water must be discontinued. If a decision were adopted to ban tests only in the atmosphere, this would shatter the peoples' hopes of a complete discontinuance of tests.**"

In a memorandum to U.S. President Kennedy published on June 11, 1961, on the ending of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, Khrushchov said: "The position of the Soviet Government at the Geneva talks is clear and simple. The Soviet Union wants nuclear weapon tests of all kinds to be ended everywhere and for all time. **But the Soviet Government cannot agree and will never agree to the test ban treaty becoming an empty scrap of paper which could be used as a cover for further experiments with nuclear weapons for the purpose of improving them and developing new means of mass destruction. There can be no ex-**

**emptions from the treaty: all kinds of nuclear weapon tests must be banned, in the air, under water, underground, and in outer space."**

Speaking over the radio and television on June 15, 1961, on his meeting with Kennedy in Vienna, Khrushchov said, "It is clear to everyone, of course, that the ending of nuclear weapon tests would not by itself prevent a nuclear missile war. We can ban nuclear weapon tests, but the existing stockpiles will remain, the production of these arms will continue and, consequently, their stockpiling will go on. **Thus the danger of a nuclear missile war will keep mounting.** It is quite obvious that **the ending of nuclear weapon tests would on its own not be some sort of a dam barring the way to the arms race."**

At a mass meeting welcoming the Government Delegation of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam in the Kremlin in Moscow on June 28, 1961, Khrushchov said: "The discontinuation of atomic and hydrogen weapon tests, on which the Western countries now centre their attention, **does not in itself solve the problem.** The Soviet Union is against any nuclear explosions. Our Government has always been and remains in favour of an international agreement banning nuclear tests under strict and equal international control. The conclusion of such an agreement is obstructed by the refusal of our American and British partners in negotiations to take the Soviet interests into account. I would like to say once again that the discontinuation of nuclear weapon tests in itself will not rid the peoples of the threat of a devastating war. General and complete disarmament would be a cardinal solution."

On September 3, 1961, U.S. President Kennedy and British Prime Minister Macmillan in a joint statement proposed that the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain conclude an agreement on the cessation of nuclear tests in the atmosphere. They proposed that in the ab-

sence of an agreement with regard to inspection and means of control, tests in the atmosphere be discontinued indefinitely while permitting underground and high altitude tests. This proposal was at that time rejected by the Soviet Union.

Speaking at the Soviet-Indian friendship meeting held in Moscow on September 3, 1961, Khrushchov said of the above U.S.-British joint statement: **"The Governments of the United States and Britain now pose as the most zealous opponents of nuclear tests. They even came out with a proposal against holding any nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, because this is injurious to human health. But they did not expect their proposal to be seriously discussed, let alone accepted. This was purely a propaganda device designed to mislead public opinion."**

Khrushchov added, "The entire purport of the proposals of the United States and Britain is to gain unilateral military advantages over the Soviet Union. They proposed agreement to ban tests only in the atmosphere, while underground explosions could be carried on. Moreover, France would not be bound by any restrictions on nuclear weapon tests which she is conducting in the interests of the whole NATO bloc, because the test ban would not extend to her in general.

**"By their proposals the leaders of the United States and Britain wanted to confuse people not versed in the tricks of Western diplomacy. They try to take cover behind talk about love of man, about human health. But at the same time they are stockpiling, at a furious pace, means for destroying human life.**

"There is an apt saying: if the head is gone, no use crying over the coiffure. The imperialist gentlemen are preparing death for people in the fire of war and they chatter about people's health.

"They themselves threaten us, work up tension to the limit, and expect us not to take measures to strengthen our security and world peace! There is no other name for this but sacrilege."

On September 9, 1961, Khrushchov issued a statement in connection with the joint statement dated September 3, 1961, of the U.S. President and the Prime Minister of Great Britain on nuclear weapon tests. Khrushchov's statement said: "First of all, one's atten-

## Right-About Turn

Following the conclusion of the negotiations on the partial nuclear test ban treaty, N.S. Khrushchov answered a number of questions put to him by reporters of the Soviet papers *Pravda* and *Izvestia*.

Khrushchov told the newsmen that he regarded the successful conclusion of the talks as "an event of great international importance" and that "conclusion of a treaty on the ending of nuclear weapon tests should contribute to a general relaxation of international tension, and thereby to the establishment of a situation favourable for the solution of international problems long due for settlement."

The Soviet Prime Minister also paid a compliment to the U.S. and British authorities for their co-operation in this matter, saying: "I should also like to pay tribute to the efforts of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, to their representatives, who were authorized by those Governments to conduct the negotiations."

UPI reported that when Harriman was ushered in for their third meeting in Moscow "Khrushchov jumped up from behind his desk," "rushed towards Harriman, with arms outstretched and embraced the U.S. Under Secretary of State."

*Newsweek* (August 5) wrote that "when Harriman arrived for a farewell meeting at the Kremlin, Khrushchov clapped him on the shoulder and cried: 'Molodyetz,' a Russian expression meaning 'brave' or 'fine fellow.' 'I hope you will come back with Mr. Rusk,' the Soviet leader added. 'Will Gromyko give me permission?' quipped Harriman. 'He's your right-hand man now,' Khrushchov replied with a broad grin."



tion is caught by the fact that the leaders of the United States and Britain have not uttered a single word about the gravity of the period we are living through, about the tense international situation, although they should realize, one would think, that the position with regard to nuclear tests cannot be considered in isolation from this situation. It is precisely from the Governments of the United States and Britain, which decide matters in the Western military blocs, that the peoples have a right to expect a clear and direct reply as to when they will finally discontinue their sabre-rattling, when they will finally stop pushing the world toward the catastrophe of nuclear war?

"Leaving all this aside, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan not only divorce the question of nuclear weapon tests from the problem of disarmament, of which it is part, but are trying to consider it in isolation, as though in a test-tube, unrelated to important international events. Each line of the statement by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain reveals a desire, cost what it may, to ensure for the Western powers and their allies in aggressive military blocs unilateral military advantages to the detriment of the security interests of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states. Moreover, the leaders of the United States and Britain are even trying to make it look as though their joint state-

ment was dictated by concern for the easing of international tension, for the interests of all mankind. But **no matter what high-sounding words the leaders of the United States and the British Government choose in their attempt to whitewash their line in the question of nuclear weapons, these cannot help them to put over an aggressive policy as a peaceful one, barbarity as humanism.**

"To make clear the purposes of this statement, let us see what is its concrete content.

"The statement advances the proposal that the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain should immediately reach agreement not to hold nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere provided, however, that the question of experimental blasts of such weapons underground and in outer space should not be affected by such an agreement.

"It is not very difficult to guess the meaning of this proposal. They propose to us that the United States and Britain, let alone France which remains altogether outside this proposal, should retain the opportunity to go on improving their nuclear weapons. But even this is not enough for them. **They have to try to see whether they can manage to tie the hands of the Soviet Union even tighter in the raising of its defence potential.** In other words, they want to kill two birds with one propaganda stone: **to get the Soviet Union's blessing on their preparations in the sphere of nuclear armaments, and at the same time trip up their partner in the negotiations — the Soviet Union.**

"Indeed, it is common knowledge that **the program of developing new types of nuclear weapons which has been drawn up in the United States now requires precisely underground tests, that is the kind of experiments to which the American-British proposal is to give the green light.** For several years the United States has striven at the Geneva negotiations of the three nuclear powers **to legalize underground nuclear tests,** which has been one of the main obstacles to the conclusion of a treaty on the complete stopping of nuclear tests. After all, it is an open secret that the United States has long since planned underground nuclear tests and appropriate pits and huge underground galleries are kept in readiness in the state of Nevada.

"If any further proof was needed that the objectives of the joint statement of the United States President and the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom are too transparent, it was furnished by Mr. Kennedy himself when he issued instructions to resume underground nuclear tests on September 5, i.e., the day following the message to the Soviet Union. The Government of the United States was so impatient that it evidently did not even occur to it, if only for the sake of appearance, to wait for the Soviet Government's reply to the American-British statement. Does this not show that from the very outset it was not intending to concert its actions with the forthcoming reply of the Soviet Government to this statement?

"This is not the first time the Governments of the United States and Britain have sought to confine a nuclear test ban to tests in the atmosphere alone. They made similar proposals, for instance, in 1959. Why has the So-

viet Government always been against such an approach to the question of discontinuing nuclear weapon tests? Because **agreement on the cessation of one kind of tests only — in the atmosphere — would be a disservice to the cause of peace. It would mean deceiving the peoples. Such agreement could create the harmful and dangerous illusion among the peoples that steps were being taken to put an end to the arms race, while in fact nothing of the kind would have been done.** In fact, the states would continue, in a sort of legalized way, to improve existing types of atomic and hydrogen weapons, using for this purpose underground tests, including those for so-called peaceful purposes, and tests in outer space. Besides, there would still be the possibility of designing new, still more destructive types of nuclear weapons on the basis of the data obtained as a result of these experiments. Of course, the military circles of the NATO member states would just rub their hands with glee, since they know full well that **the implementation of such a plan would only add grist to the mill of the NATO bloc — the potential aggressor.**

"Thus, the nuclear arms race would continue and its dangerous consequences would be no whit less than they are now. The conclusion of an agreement that started a kind of race in underground nuclear tests, and if you like in outer space or under water, could be assessed by the peoples, and with good reason at that, as **a dishonest deal. Of course, the Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a bargain. A deal of this nature is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation.**

"**The Soviet Union stands for the ending of all kinds of nuclear weapon tests, without any exception, everywhere and for all time to come.**"

On September 5, 1961, in an interview with the *New York Times* commentator Sulzberger, Khrushchov said: **"What use would there be in cessation of tests if the arms race continued and war industry went on working full blast creating nuclear weapons in ever growing numbers? . . .**

"I would say this would be in some way **tantamount to lulling public opinion, lulling man's vigilance. People would think something had been done to prevent war while in effect nothing was being done, and on the contrary the military machine would go on working full blast.**

"Besides, the Kennedy-Macmillan proposal says nothing on cessation of underground test explosions and on so-called explosions for peaceful purposes. . . .

"Thus the proposals put forward by President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan are not aimed at assuring security for nations but to pursue propaganda purposes to shift responsibility onto others while they themselves quietly continue their old policy of stockpiling thermonuclear weapons and preparing war against the socialist countries. We cannot agree to that. We must soberly assess the situation and take care of our own security."

(From the Hsinhua News Agency's news release of July 31.)

## Past Soviet Statements Upholding Its Former Correct Stand

**T**HE Soviet Government said in its memorandum on nuclear weapon tests dated September 28, 1961: "Taking into consideration the interest of many U.N. member states in the question of nuclear weapon tests, the Soviet Government deems it necessary to present to the United Nations its position on this question, which is closely and indissolubly tied to the task of general and complete disarmament."

The memorandum added: "This policy of the U.S.A., Britain and France to secure unilateral military advantages over the Soviet Union was made perfectly obvious during the Geneva talks on a treaty to discontinue nuclear weapon tests."

**"The Government of the U.S.A. stubbornly sought to legalize underground testing of nuclear weapons, inasmuch as the United States had long ago developed a programme for perfecting nuclear weapons precisely by the method of carrying out underground tests in the mine and underground galleries in the state of Nevada."**

"With the same objective of securing loopholes for itself to be used in the further improvement of nuclear weapons, the U.S. Government persistently demanded that the Soviet Union agree to an indefinite number of nuclear explosions for so-called 'peaceful purposes.' Anyone who knows something about modern nuclear techniques is aware that a nuclear installation that serves so-called 'peaceful objectives' will serve military objectives as well and may be used to perfect nuclear weapons."

"These demands, stubbornly repeated over a long period of time, were used as a smokescreen for the intensified preparations in the U.S.A. for underground testing of nuclear weapons. In 1960, the U.S.A. started large-scale preparations for another series of nuclear weapon tests. U.S. officials did not even think it necessary to conceal these preparations. The American press published reports on the preparatory work, photographs of the tunnels, statements of high-ranking officials in the U.S.A. about the necessity of the earliest possible resumption of nuclear tests, etc."

"It is characteristic that **on September 5, 1961, it was already announced that the U.S.A. was undertaking a large-scale programme of just such underground tests.** Even more—the message of the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Britain, dated September 3 this year and forwarded to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R., also contained a proposal to agree only to ban nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere. **As to the question regarding underground and space tests explosions of these weapons, it was separated from the suggested agreement and this again showed the tendency on the part of the United States and Britain to reserve for themselves the possibility of carrying out nuclear tests and to tie the hands of the Soviet Union in taking measures to improve its defence ability.**

"While the Geneva delegates of three powers were negotiating the question of nuclear tests, the U.S.A.,

Britain, France, the Federal German Republic and other NATO member states continued to intensify the arms race, particularly the race in nuclear, chemical and bacteriological weapons.

"Practical preparations were started in NATO to equip the West German Bundeswehr with rocket and nuclear weapons. More and more American military bases designed as a springboard of aggression against the socialist states were built with feverish haste all over the world."

The memorandum said: "The Western powers' policy of preparation for war, their intensified military preparations and the sabotage of the decision of the U.N. General Assembly to achieve agreement on general and complete disarmament threw new light on the entire question of discontinuing nuclear weapon tests."

**"It became clear that the conclusion of a separate treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests at a time when the Western powers were pursuing a reckless arms race could only create a general illusion that something was being done to prevent a nuclear war, whereas the Western powers were actually pushing matters precisely to such a war."**

**"The conclusion of a treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests in such an atmosphere and in isolation from a programme for general and complete disarmament could only give the peoples of the world a false sense of security, and would act as a kind of drug to lull their vigilance on the question of the preservation of peace."**

"Indeed, it is perfectly clear that a **treaty on discontinuing tests, by itself would not, for a single day, check the accumulation by the nuclear powers of weapons of mass annihilation, to say nothing of the fact that the available stocks of these weapons would remain intact.**

"For instance, if the West German revanchists and militarists, backed by the U.S.A. and NATO, were to jeopardize the fate of mankind in a mad attempt to forcibly revise in their favour the results of the last war and to draw the NATO member states into another world slaughter, **a treaty on the ending of tests would be no obstacle to the employment of nuclear weapons.**

"Hence, **the conclusion of a treaty on the ending of tests, in isolation from the general problem of disarmament and with a continual nuclear arms race in progress, besides failing to do any good to the cause of peace, might even lead to the contrary—it might camouflage preparations for a nuclear war."**

The memorandum pointed out: "With the Western powers continuing the nuclear armaments race, the conclusion of a separate treaty on the ending of nuclear tests could not help resolve the problem of preventing the further spread of nuclear weapons."

**"Since the nuclear arms race is not being discontinued, there is no one to prevent states which do not so**

**far have nuclear weapons from mobilizing their research and technical potential to develop this weapon.**

"A three-power ban on nuclear weapon tests negotiated in Geneva, would in isolation from general and complete disarmament place states under no obligations but moral ones. And France crassly violated all such moral obligations and did this with the good offices of the U.S.A. and Britain. In reply to the statement that the three powers had discontinued atomic tests it was said that the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and Britain had already tested nuclear weapons and were manufacturing them, whereas France was also eager to join the 'nuclear club,' i.e., to manufacture nuclear weapons and conduct unrestricted tests. It follows that if persistent and resolute struggle is not conducted for general and complete disarmament, no one can guarantee that some other states will not start testing their nuclear weapons tomorrow, even if the three-power treaty on the discontinuation of tests were a fact.

"The facts must be looked in the face: **The question at issue is not the harmful effects of atomic radiation on living organisms but the deliverance of mankind from the danger of a thermonuclear war, the saving of tens and hundreds of millions of human lives, the prevention of the use of atomic weapons, and this can be achieved only by general and complete disarmament. This is the main aim, the main task.**"

The memorandum said: **"What then, would it mean, in present conditions, if the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Britain concluded a treaty on the ending of tests? Nothing but the legalization of a system under which the Soviet Union—a powerful bulwark of peace, independence, and the security of peoples—would be robbed of the possibility of improving its nuclear weapons, which are necessary for the defence of peace, in a world where general and complete disarmament had not been implemented, while the Western powers would be continuing tests of new and more destructive types of atomic and hydrogen weapons in preparation for war. To allow such a situation to develop would be tantamount to encouraging the aggressors to carry out their designs, which are dangerous for the whole of mankind."**

The memorandum said: "What is the way out? How could the question of ending nuclear weapon tests be solved in present conditions?"

"The Soviet Government perceives a real and reasonable way out by settling the question of ending nuclear tests not in an isolation but on the basis of general and complete disarmament. Such an approach will sweep away all obstacles and difficulties, stop up any loopholes and preclude circumventions which those who do not want peace, who are banking on deceiving the peoples might try to make use of.

"If the states implement general and complete disarmament under effective international control, if all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons, are liquidated and armies disbanded, there will be no incentive to improve nuclear weapons, and so to carry out tests of such weapons. Then, no one will be tempted to test nuclear weapons on the ground, underground, in the atmosphere or in outer space, and there will be nothing to test, since nuclear weapons will have been destroyed."

The Soviet Government in a statement of August 31, 1961, on its decision to resume nuclear weapon tests said: **"Agreement on a test stoppage would not of itself put an end to the arms race. States already possessing nuclear weapons would inevitably be tempted to act in contravention of such an agreement, search for new ways and loopholes for perfecting their weapons, apart from the fact that the tests conducted by three or four powers are quite sufficient for unlimited stockpiling of the most dangerous thermonuclear weapons of existing types."**

The statement said that the Soviet Union "over many years consistently and perseveringly worked for cessation of all types of nuclear weapon testing, everywhere and for all time. With that aim in view, it unilaterally ceased nuclear testing, though that entailed a certain risk, inasmuch as the U.S.A. and Britain had carried out more nuclear tests than the U.S.S.R. and it was thanks to the initiative and efforts of the Soviet Union that the three nuclear powers began their negotiations in Geneva. Throughout these negotiations the Soviet Government patiently sought mutually acceptable solutions, repeatedly taking important steps to meet the wishes of the United States and Britain.

"But what policy did the Western powers oppose to the Soviet Government's clear and sincere position?"

"Their reply to the Soviet Union's unilateral cessation of nuclear testing was to carry out a series of nuclear bomb explosions of unparalleled intensity. The Soviet Union repeatedly sought to bring the positions of the three negotiating powers closer together. But every time the U.S.A. and Britain replied by going back on their own proposals, on which they had insisted only yesterday, and did everything they could to prevent agreement. In effect, they cancelled out the unanimous findings and recommendations of the scientific experts, including their own, American and British, experts, on methods of detecting nuclear explosions and appropriate control of a test stoppage treaty.

"The Western powers insisted, and still insist, that the test stoppage treaty should not include a ban on underground nuclear explosions. Yet it should be perfectly clear to every informed person that such explosions, even if it is claimed that they are carried out for peaceful purposes, are merely a disguised form of perfecting existing types of nuclear weapons or experimenting with new types. A nuclear device that can be effectively employed for, say, 'earth-removal' explosions—and the Western powers want to secure for themselves the right to conduct such explosions—can be effectively employed for military purposes. **In other words, while professing a desire to stop nuclear testing, the United States, and also Britain, are actually pursuing another purpose, namely, to build into the treaty loopholes for continued perfection of thermonuclear weapons through underground testing or through explosions for supposedly peaceful purposes.**"

"The whole record of the Geneva talks is convincing proof that **the Western powers' object is factual legalization of the types of nuclear tests in which they are interested, and establishment of an international control body that would be their pliant tool and in effect, an**

appendage of their general staffs. **The hypocritical statements of U.S. and British representatives on cessation of testing and international control have proved to be no more than camouflage.**"

The Soviet Government in a statement dated December 4, 1961, on the negotiations for the discontinuance of nuclear weapon tests said: "Is there anyone who does not realize that the continuation of nuclear weapon tests by the Western powers anywhere—underground, in the atmosphere, in outer space or under water—would deal

a blow at the aspirations of the peoples especially at the time when, thanks to the new initiative of the Soviet Union the green light has been given to the immediate conclusion of an agreement to end all nuclear tests."

The statement added: "The Soviet Government declares firmly that **if the Western powers continue testing their nuclear weapons, underground included, the Soviet Union will be compelled, in order to safeguard its security, to hold such nuclear weapon tests as it will deem necessary for consolidation of its defence capacity.**"

## The Record of the Soviet Government's Capitulation

**I**N the talks held between the Soviet Union and the West in the past few years on disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons, the United States and its allies have persisted in their stubborn reactionary stand and they have used the talks as a smokescreen for their arms drive and war preparations. On the other hand, the Soviet Government has made one concession after another to meet the demands of the other party. Abandoning the fundamental principled stand, it has finally accepted a reproduction of the U.S.-British draft treaty and in Moscow on July 25 concluded with them the partial nuclear test ban treaty, thus jointly perpetrating a great fraud upon the people of the world.

The following review shows how the Soviet Government retreated step by step on this question till it fell on its knees and capitulated:

As early as a year after the end of World War II, the Soviet Union, on June 19, 1946, submitted to the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission the draft of an international convention for the banning of atomic weapons, which stipulated that the contracting parties "solemnly declare that they are unanimously resolved to prohibit the production and employment of weapons based on the use of atomic energy." In the many years following, the Soviet Union persistently worked for the prohibition of the use, manufacture and stockpiling of atomic weapons and consistently exposed the various plots of the United States, Britain and other Western countries to obstruct agreement on the question of banning atomic weapons.

After the Soviet Union declared in 1949 that it had its own atomic weapons as early as 1947, it still firmly adhered to its clear and definite stand for the prohibition of atomic weapons and disarmament. Between 1952 and 1956, the Soviet Union submitted to the United Nations and its related organizations a series of proposals for the "unconditional" and "total" prohibition of the use, manufacture and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional armaments.

In its proposal "Concerning the Conclusion of an International Convention on the Reduction of Armaments and the Prohibition of Atomic Weapons" submitted on May 10, 1955, the Soviet Union for the first time raised the question of banning nuclear tests. However, in that proposal, this question was put forward only "as one of the first measures for the execution of the programme for the reduction of armaments and the prohibition of atomic

weapons." The draft convention also provided for the undertaking by the various countries of the obligation not to use nuclear weapons and the dismantling of army, navy and air force bases in foreign countries.

In 1957, the Soviet Union went back on its position of regarding the nuclear test ban as part of a total ban on nuclear weapons and proposed for the first time in March that year that the question of banning nuclear tests be settled as a separate question from the general question of the total prohibition of nuclear weapons. It also appealed to the United States and Britain to reach agreement with itself on this question. In 1958, the Soviet Union announced a unilateral cessation of nuclear tests and repeatedly stressed the necessity of reaching an agreement, as soon as possible, on the banning of nuclear tests so as to prevent other countries from possessing nuclear weapons.

On the proposal of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union started talks at the end of October 1958, on the banning of nuclear tests. During the 353 sessions of the tripartite talks, two principal questions were discussed. One was the question of a nuclear test ban and the other was the question of a nuclear test ban control.

Throughout the talks, the Soviet Government in 1960 and 1961 released one after another a large number of statements and documents opposing the separate conclusion of a nuclear test ban treaty, especially a partial nuclear test ban treaty which would make an exception of underground nuclear tests, and pointing out that this was a trick to fool the peoples and to help the aggressors to realize their plot to endanger mankind. However, in face of Western insistence and pressure, the Soviet Government failed to maintain a consistent position.

On the question of a nuclear test ban, the first of the two principal questions discussed at the talks, the Soviet Union at first advocated a total nuclear test ban. The United States, in the first stage of the talks, put forward the proposal that nuclear test ban should not include high altitude and underground tests; then it modified its plan to exclude underground tests below a certain yield. The Soviet Union indicated that it could agree to a partial test ban under certain conditions. In November 1961, it officially declared its acceptance of the Western position of prohibiting only nuclear weapon tests conducted in the atmosphere, under water and in outer

space. The Soviet Government at the same time demanded that the countries concerned should refrain from conducting underground tests pending an agreement on the question of control with regard to such tests. But this proposal was rejected by the United States and Britain.

In a memorandum on the cessation of nuclear testing forwarded to U.S. President Kennedy in June 1961, Khrushchov reversed the Soviet stand that the prohibition of nuclear tests should be dealt with separately from the question of disarmament and proposed that **the question of discontinuing nuclear tests be solved by starting with the question of general and complete disarmament.** Following this the three-power Geneva conference made no progress and its indefinite recess was announced at the end of January 1962. Following this, in March 1962, the Soviet Union indicated its willingness to form with the Western countries a "Subcommittee on the Banning of Nuclear Tests" under the U.N. Disarmament Commission in Geneva to continue the discussion exclusively of the question of prohibiting nuclear tests. In his letter to U Thant, U.N. Secretary-General, in the same month, the Soviet Foreign Minister once again clearly put forward the concept of "preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons" which the Soviet Union had expounded as early as 1958.

**On August 27, 1962, the United States and Britain at the Geneva disarmament talks put forward two draft treaties for a complete or partial nuclear test ban and asked the Soviet Union to choose one.** The first draft treaty for a "complete" test ban stipulated that an "International Scientific Commission" be established to check the implementation of the treaty. This commission could appoint officials to form groups to conduct "on-site inspections" on the territory of or controlled by any of the parties to the treaty. The second draft treaty stipulated the discontinuance of test explosions of nuclear weapons in only three spheres, "in the atmosphere, above the atmosphere, or in the territorial or high seas," and excluded underground nuclear tests.

**Later developments proved that the Soviet Union had accepted as the basis for the negotiations the second U.S.-British draft whose substance was entirely incorporated in the agreement concluded on July 25, 1963.** Meanwhile, the demand put forward by Khrushchov in his speech of July 2 in Berlin that a non-aggression pact be concluded between the NATO members and Warsaw Treaty countries when an agreement on the banning of nuclear tests was signed did not materialize because the West firmly rejected it.

Over the second question discussed—the control of a nuclear test ban, the Soviet Union also acted in a direction contrary to the correct stand it had taken after World War II. The Soviet Union at that time denounced the schemes of the United States and its allies to reject disarmament on the pretext that "effective international control" was needed. It indicated that it did not oppose international control if it was designed to bring about the prohibition of atomic weapons, but it insisted that international control was out of the question if atomic weapons were not prohibited in the first place. At the same time, the Soviet Union stressed that the powers and functions of the control organization must be strictly defined and they should not become arbitrary and unlimited and that

no interference in other countries' internal affairs and infringement of their state sovereignty should be tolerated on the pretext of international control.

**From the very beginning of the three-power Geneva conference in 1958, the Soviet Union expressed agreement to the establishment of "control posts" on Soviet territory.** At the end of April 1959, it abandoned the principle of unanimity it had advocated for agreement among the three powers in the control organizations. In the following year it agreed that "on-site inspection" could be conducted on Soviet territory "about three times" a year. In addition, it agreed that the "control posts" could be manned mostly by foreign personnel.

**After the United States and Britain put forward their own proposals in August 1962, the Soviet Union, with a view to meeting Western demands, proposed in December of the same year that each nuclear power should have unmanned "automatic seismic stations"—known as "black boxes"—on their own territory.** It expressed readiness to set up three such stations on Soviet territory and to permit the entry of foreign inspectors into the Soviet Union to check the records of automatic observation installations. Then Kennedy demanded an extension of areas where the automatic observation stations could be sited, and an increase in the number of on-site inspections. Khrushchov in his reply of January this year to Kennedy indicated that he would not object to inspections in non-seismic areas.

Three crucial questions stood out throughout the Geneva negotiations. First, whether the cessation of nuclear tests should be taken as a part of the general task of achieving a total ban on nuclear weapons to check the nuclear arms race and to eliminate the danger of nuclear war or whether it should be dealt with in isolation from this general task? Secondly, whether there should be a total ban on nuclear weapon tests or a partial ban which would permit and legalize underground tests? And, thirdly, what sort of international control should be permitted? Leaders of the Soviet Government and its representatives to the negotiations have made a great number of statements and proposals on these issues, but in practice they have gone back on their words and finally submitted and capitulated to U.S. imperialism, after forsaking their own correct position and principled stand.

1. On the question of the relationship between general disarmament and the prohibition of nuclear weapons on the one hand and the ban on nuclear weapon tests on the other.

**On September 10, 1961, the Soviet news agency TASS carried the text of the *New York Times* commentator C.L. Sulzberger's interview with Khrushchov. Khrushchov said: "Cessation of thermonuclear tests without solution of the disarmament problem would not meet the main goal. What use would there be in cessation of tests if the arms race continued and war industry went on working full blast creating nuclear weapons in ever growing numbers?"**

**The Soviet Government said in its memorandum dated September 28, 1961, on nuclear weapon tests: "It became clear that the conclusion of a separate treaty on discontinuing nuclear tests at a time when the Western powers were pursuing a reckless arms race could only create a**



general illusion that something was being done to prevent a nuclear war, whereas the Western powers were actually pushing matters precisely to such a war. . . . The conclusion of a treaty on the ending of tests, in isolation from the general problem of disarmament and with a continual nuclear arms race in progress, besides failing to do any good to the cause of peace, might even lead to the contrary—it might camouflage preparations for a nuclear war."

On January 26, 1962, the Soviet representative S.K. Tsarapkin read out a Soviet Government statement at the conference on ending nuclear weapon tests which said: "The Soviet Government has repeatedly pointed out that a final solution of the problem of ending nuclear weapon tests is only possible given general and complete disarmament. When nuclear weapons are banned and all stockpiles liquidated, there will be no incentive for testing them."

But a proposal contradictory to this had been put forward as early as March 18, 1957, by the Soviet representative V.A. Zorin in his speech at the meeting of the subcommittee of the Disarmament Commission. He said: "It is however expedient at the present time to single out from the general problem of banning atomic and hydrogen weapons the question of stopping tests of these weapons and to solve it now without linking agreement on the termination of tests with agreement on other disarmament problems." During the Geneva negotiations which started in October 1958, the Soviet Government, in the main, in spite of its changeable position, followed this line pointed out by Zorin.

2. On the question of a total or partial ban on tests, Khrushchov said in a statement issued on September 9, 1961: "Agreement on the cessation of one kind of tests only—in the atmosphere—would be a disservice to the cause of peace." He said that this would be "a dishonest deal. Of course, the Soviet Government cannot and will not strike such a bargain. A deal of this nature is wanted by those who build their policy on deceit of the peoples, on playing at negotiation." Khrushchov said in an interview with *Pravda* on August 30, 1958, that the Soviet Union's point of departure in the negotiations on ending nuclear weapon tests was that "such talks must have as their purpose the conclusion of an agreement to end tests of atomic and hydrogen weapons of all kinds by all countries for all time to come."

On October 31, 1958, the very day the United States, Britain and the Soviet Union began their talks on the discontinuance of nuclear testing in Geneva, the Soviet Union put forward at the meeting a draft agreement which stipulates that the three contracting parties "shall not conduct testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons of any type."

But shortly after the talks began, the U.S. delegate, with ulterior motives, put forward a proposal for a partial nuclear test ban to the exclusion of underground tests.

After the advent of the Kennedy Administration in 1961, the U.S. and British representatives jointly put forward a draft treaty on stopping nuclear tests on April

18 at the Geneva conference. This draft treaty again exempted underground nuclear tests of small yields.

The Soviet representative S.K. Tsarapkin said on April 19 at the talks that "there is nothing new" in the entire draft treaty jointly submitted by the U.S. and British representatives for immediate signing and that it was "unacceptable" to the Soviet Union.

Later the Soviet representative indicated that he could agree to the U.S. proposal under certain conditions, that is, the various countries should continue to negotiate for a cessation of underground tests and they should refrain from or temporarily cease underground tests while the negotiations were in progress. The U.S. and British representatives rejected this proposal.

On the third day after the United States and Britain jointly submitted two draft treaties on a total and on a partial ban on nuclear tests to the 18-Nation Disarmament Committee on August 27, 1962, V. Kuznetsov, head of the Soviet delegation, exposed the danger and the true intent of the second draft treaty. (See p. 25.)

However, hardly a year has passed and the Soviet Union has, on July 25, concluded with the United States and Britain a partial nuclear test ban treaty which is exactly a reproduction of the partial test ban draft treaty advanced by the United States and Britain mentioned above.

### 3. On the question of international control.

At a session of the tripartite talks in Geneva on the discontinuance of nuclear tests on July 10, 1961, Soviet delegate S.K. Tsarapkin said that now the United States was striving to impose a treaty which would ensure its "freedom of action," that is, a treaty that would permit the United States to resume nuclear weapon tests at any time it wanted, and would permit it to institute control without disarmament.

In a note to the U.S. Government on August 9, 1961, on the question of the cessation of nuclear tests, the Soviet Government pointed out that the efforts of the United States were aimed mainly at actual legalization of the holding of tests and creating such an international control agency which would be a pliant tool in the hands of the Western powers and would be used by their general staffs to collect required intelligence.

On January 2, 1962, the Soviet Government said in a statement forwarded to the U.N. Disarmament Commission that the fact that "the Western powers so insistently demand what they call 'international control' is a proof that they are out to achieve this for the sake of the interests of their own general staffs, in order to facilitate and expedite the drafting of criminal projects for attacking peace-loving states."

But, pressed by the United States, the Soviet Union has made retreat after retreat over this question. As early as the summer of 1958 at a session of the eight-nation nuclear experts conference in Geneva, the Soviet Union, in disregard of the interests of the other countries, entered into agreement with the West unanimously on the establishment of a network of nearly 180 "control posts" throughout the world: on continents and on islands, as well as on ships. On December 10, 1962, the

Soviet delegate, in order to satisfy the demands of the U.S. and British delegates, advanced a further proposal at the Disarmament Committee meeting that unmanned "automatic seismic stations" ("black boxes") be installed on the territory of the "nuclear powers," and said that the Soviet Union was ready to set up three such stations in the Soviet Far East, Central Asia and the Altai area. The Soviet delegate further indicated that the Soviet Union was ready to permit the entry of foreign inspectors into the Soviet Union to check the records of automatic observation installations. The Soviet Union also demanded that such stations be installed in countries "near the borders" of the nuclear powers. In a message in reply to Kennedy on December 19, 1962, Khrushchov expressed agreement, "when it is found necessary, to have two-three inspections a year" "in areas where some suspicious ground shocks may occur."

However, Kennedy was not satisfied with this. In a reply to Khrushchov on December 28, 1962, he said that the establishment of three automatic seismic stations did "not seem to me to go far enough." He demanded that on-site inspection should be allowed in areas in the Soviet Union where earthquakes do not usually occur. Kennedy also demanded the establishment of automatic seismic stations in the Kamchatka and Tashkent zones of the Soviet Union. He further demanded that stations be set up in Hokkaido in Japan, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Kennedy also demanded that the number of "on-site" inspections be increased to, say, "eight to ten" times a year.

Under pressure from Kennedy, Khrushchov, in a reply to Kennedy on January 7 this year, indicated that the Soviet Union would not object to inspections in non-seismic areas.

## U.S. Imperialism Rejoices at the Treaty, Its Appetite Grows With the Eating

For us, the enemy is a teacher by negative example. The statements made by the ruling circles in the U.S. following the initialling of the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty throw further light on the true meaning of that treaty. Kennedy made it clear that the treaty is to the advantage of U.S. imperialism. This shows that it runs counter to the interests of the people of the world. Below we report what Kennedy, Rusk and Harriman say about the treaty. — Ed.

### The Treaty Benefits U.S.A., Says Kennedy

**U.S.** PRESIDENT Kennedy, in his radio and television speech on July 26, set the tone on the U.S. assessment of the treaty. He stated bluntly what the treaty means and what it does not mean. He admitted candidly that it did not "mean an end to the threat of nuclear war. It will not reduce nuclear stockpiles; it will not halt the production of nuclear weapons; it will not restrict their use in time of war. . . . This treaty is not the millennium. It will not resolve all conflicts, or cause the Communists to forego their ambitions, or eliminate the dangers of war. It will not reduce our need for arms or allies or programs of assistance to others."

He further indicated that the treaty would help the United States in maintaining its nuclear capabilities permanently, thus enabling it to carry on its policy of nuclear blackmail. "Under this limited treaty," he said, "on the other hand, the testing of other nations could never be sufficient to offset the ability of our strategic forces to deter or survive a nuclear attack and to penetrate and destroy an aggressor's homeland. We have, and under this treaty we will continue to have, all the nuclear strength that we need.

"It is true that the Soviets have tested nuclear weapons of a yield higher than that which we have thought to be necessary; but the hundred megaton bomb of which they spoke two years ago does not and will not change the balance of strategic power. **The United States has deliberately chosen to concentrate on more mobile and more efficient weapons, with lower but entirely sufficient yield. . . .**"

Kennedy went on to say that "any nation which signs the treaty will have an opportunity to withdraw if it finds that extraordinary events related to the subject matter of the treaty have jeopardized its supreme interests; no nation's right to self-defence will in any way be impaired."

This means that the United States may at any time resume its nuclear testing and even use nuclear weapons on the claim that its "supreme interests" have been jeopardized or that it is exercising its "right to self-defence."

On the other hand, Kennedy disclosed that the treaty was mainly aimed at preventing those socialist countries now having no nuclear arms from possessing nuclear defence capabilities. For the first time he named France as the fourth nuclear power in the hope of easing France's public opposition to a test ban. "This treaty," he said, "can be a step towards preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to nations not now possessing them. During the next several years, in addition to the four current nuclear powers, a small but significant number of nations will have the intellectual, physical and financial resources to produce both nuclear weapons and the means of delivering them. In time, it is estimated, many other nations will have either this capacity or other ways of obtaining nuclear warheads."

Kennedy continued: "**We have a great obligation — all four nuclear powers have a great obligation — to use**

whatever time remains to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons, to persuade other countries not to test, transfer, acquire, possess or produce such weapons.

"This treaty can be the opening wedge in that campaign. It provides that none of the parties will assist other nations to test in the forbidden environments. It opens the door for further agreements on the control of nuclear weapons. And it is open for all nations to sign."

Kennedy said he believed that the treaty "can limit the nuclear arms race in many ways, which, on balance, will strengthen our nation's security far more than the continuation of unrestricted testing."

The U.S. President expressed it as his opinion that the partial test ban treaty also helped the United States in making a "breakthrough" in East-West relations and would be a step towards "broader areas of agreement." The United States, he said, was going "to seize this rare opportunity for progress."

Kennedy admitted that "secret violations are possible and secret preparations for a sudden withdrawal are possible, and, thus, **our own vigilance and strength must be maintained, as we remain ready to withdraw and to resume all forms of testing, if we must.**" Nevertheless he sanctimoniously described the treaty as "a shaft of light (that) cut into the darkness" and "a step towards peace—a step towards reason—a step away from war," adding that "the path of peace may be open" and that

the treaty "offers to all the world a welcome sign of hope."

On the other hand, he did not hesitate to attack and vilify the socialist camp and the revolutionary movement of the peoples and call for a continuation of the arms drive and war preparations. "We have no illusions now that there are short cuts on the road to peace. At many points around the globe the Communists are continuing their efforts to exploit weakness and poverty. Their concentration of nuclear and conventional arms must still be deterred," he declared, and he added: "The familiar contest between choice and coercion, the familiar places of danger and conflict are still there, in Cuba, in Southeast Asia, in Berlin and all around the globe, still requiring all the strength and the vigilance that we can muster. **Nothing could more greatly damage our cause than if we and our allies were to believe that peace has already been achieved and that our strength and unity were no longer required.**"

Reiterating these same themes of Kennedy, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Rusk, in a television talk two days later [on July 28], admitted that the treaty "does not reduce nuclear stockpiles. It does not eliminate nuclear war or the threat of nuclear war. It does not prevent any arms race." He stressed that the treaty itself "does not do a great deal," but it may be the turning point [in East-West relations] . . . at which other questions could be taken up for further exploration.

## Anti-China Plot, "Breakthrough" in East-West Relations

**I**N the many statements made since the initialing of the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty, the U.S. rulers made no secret of the fact that the treaty is mainly a conspiracy between the United States and the Soviet Union directed against China and that Washington is using the anti-China plot as a bait to explore the possibility of reaching a comprehensive detente with the Soviet Union.

At his press conference on August 1, Kennedy disclosed that the tripartite treaty is mainly directed against China. He said: "What we are anxious to do, and one of the reasons why we have moved into the limited test ban, even though we recognize its limitations, is because we don't want to find the world in as great a danger as it could be in the 1970's."

He was referring to China when he talked about the great "danger," in the 1970s.

He said: "We would like to take some steps now which would lessen that prospect that a future president might have to deal with."

Answering the question of how to assess the power of China, he said: "It may take some years, maybe a decade, before they [China] become a full-fledged nuclear power." He said that all this would produce in the 1970s "potentially a more dangerous situation than any we faced since the end of the Second World War."

Kennedy made it clear that he wanted to use opposition to China as a bait to explore the possibility of reaching a "genuine" and broad detente with the Soviet Union. He said: "I think we should pursue, however, the next step to see if we can bring about a genuine detente—we don't have that yet—a genuine one, which covers a broad area."

Since his return from Moscow, Harriman on more than one occasion indicated that the speedy conclusion of the partial test ban treaty was mainly the result of a plot between the United States and the Soviet Union to tie the hands of China.

On July 29, Harriman explained to the press why the Soviet Union agreed now to the test ban terms it had previously rejected. He gave as the first reason the current differences between the Soviet Union and China.

He recalled that, during the tripartite talks in Moscow, he had discussed with Khrushchov the possibility of China's development of a nuclear capability. "Mr. Khrushchov did not appear overly concerned over such a development," Harriman said. "He told me it would be a long, long time before they [China] had a nuclear capability of any importance." According to AP, Harriman said that Khrushchov voiced the belief that China lacks the industrial base for the development of a nuclear capability, including weapons and delivery systems. Harriman added that Russia had not given Red China any technical assistance of an industrial nature since 1960.

Harriman said that Khrushchov accepted France as a nuclear power, "but Red China he did not consider a nuclear power." "We would want to think it [the test ban treaty] over," should China explode a nuclear device, Harriman said.

In a speech delivered at the National Press Club on July 31, Harriman also said that the partial test ban treaty might be a "signal event" in a "breakthrough" in East-West relations. According to the USIS, Harriman said that although the objectives of the U.S. and the Soviet Union were "irreconcilable" and the U.S. had "no

illusion" about it, "there are certain areas in which we have a common interest" and the importance of a limited test ban treaty was one such area. It was important to continue to explore the "areas of agreement" with the Soviet Union.

Speaking in a national television interview on August 4, Harriman again explained the reasons

why Khrushchov was so anxious to conclude the tripartite treaty. Harriman emphasized that he did not believe Khrushchov was playing a trick on the United States by signing the treaty. What Khrushchov wanted was to "have world opinion look with scorn on the Chinese," to "put the Chinese Communists on the spot," as "opposing world peace," Harriman said.

## Britain Sees an Opportunity Not to Be Missed

**I**N Britain, Macmillan acclaimed the treaty as a "major triumph" of Anglo-American diplomacy, "an event of surpassing importance" and "a new opportunity that we [Britain] must not fail to seize."

Speaking at a Conservative Party rally on July 27, Macmillan indicated that Britain was able to participate in the tripartite talks "by the right and authority . . . of our own nuclear power," and that Britain would never abandon its position as a nuclear power. He praised U.S. Under Secretary of State Averell Harriman and British Minister of Science Hailsham for their "skill and resourcefulness in the negotiations." "It would be right," Macmillan said, "to express our thanks to Mr. Khrushchov for his readiness to accept the only practicable way in which a step forward could be made in this field."

On the importance of the partial test ban treaty, Macmillan said that it was "far more important as a founda-

tion upon which great new developments became possible."

Speaking in the same vein in a nationwide television speech on August 1, Macmillan said gleefully, "I think there is a great chance that now things may begin to improve." It merits attention that Macmillan compared the Moscow talks which led to the conclusion of the partial test ban treaty with the lumberjacks breaking up a log-jam, "taking with great skill" one log out of the jam to get the whole thing moving again.

In an interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation on July 29, the British Foreign Secretary Home also expressed the hope that the partial test ban treaty would lead to more talks between the West and the Soviet Union. On the problem of war, Home emphasized that "the important thing is that Russia has publicly modified the doctrine of Lenin and Stalin." He added: "This is a substantial gain, and from this we can try to go on."

### Asian-African Opinion

## Smash the Test Ban Treaty Fraud!

**T**HE initialling of the U.S.-U.K.-U.S.S.R. partial nuclear test ban treaty has been lauded by the imperialists and modern revisionists but wide-awake popular opinion in the Asian and African countries warns of the urgent need to remain vigilant. Many papers in these countries have the full measure of this treaty and demand the elimination of all existing nuclear weapons, and a total ban on their testing and manufacture. This shows that the Chinese government statement of July 31 advocating the complete, thorough, total and resolute prohibition and destruction of nuclear weapons and proposing a conference of the government heads of all countries of the world to this end, is in accord with the aspirations of the people of the world at large. This statement has already enlisted widespread support. At this time of writing a number of Japanese public leaders and Nepal's Bahadur have expressed their firm support for it. The Indonesian paper *Bintang Timur* greets its positive proposals and the Pakistan paper *Evening Star* states that the threat of a nuclear war can be averted only by acting in accordance with the Chinese proposals.

### **Firm Support for Chinese Government Statement**

Yoshitaro Hirano, Chairman of the Japanese National Peace Committee said: The Chinese government state-

ment has charted a political line for the world peace movement in the future. It shows clearly that the cessation of nuclear tests and the complete destruction of nuclear weapons are inseparable; anything else is quite meaningless. Now when the 9th World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs is meeting soon, this point as made clear in the Chinese government statement is highly significant and will have a far-reaching effect.

Kenzo Nakajima, Director General of the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association, both Seimin Miyazaki and Sadao Furuya of the Japan-China Friendship Association, believed that the measures proposed in the Chinese government statement truly accorded with the views of the Japanese people and would help advance their struggle.

Yuichi Kobayashi, Chairman of the Japanese Congress of Journalists, said that the penetrating analysis of the partial test ban treaty made in the Chinese government statement would enable anyone to recognize the fraudulent nature of the treaty and its proposal afforded the only real way to eliminate the threat of nuclear war and to prevent such a war.

Minoru Takano, Vice-Chairman of the Japanese National Metal Workers' Trade Union, described the Chinese government proposal as a timely one and considered it necessary to unfold a mass movement in accordance with this concrete and comprehensive demand.

Other well-known Japanese public figures who have gone to Hiroshima to take part in the anti-A and H-bomb conference also welcomed and supported the Chinese government proposal while pointing out that the tripartite partial nuclear test ban treaty is a big fraud and a great conspiracy of the nuclear powers to try and monopolize nuclear weapons. They were Tokumatsu Sakamoto, Director-General of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of Japan, peace movement leaders Kiyoshi Sakuma, Keima Shibata, youth leader Tokio Sakata and military commentator Takeo Shinmiao.

Poorna Bahadur, Chairman of Nepal's Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, also regarded the Chinese Government's stand as reasonable and correct. Besides welcoming the Chinese government proposal, he pointed out that "it is not good for a few big powers to settle world affairs. All countries, big or small, are equal and every country has a say in settling world affairs."

Pakistan's *Evening Star* supported the Chinese proposal for the convocation of a conference of the government heads of all countries to discuss the prohibition of nuclear weapons. Its editorial, expressing the belief that all peace-loving people would back that proposal, hoped that all those in America and Europe who love peace would respond to it.

### As Asian-African People See It

**Ban All Tests, All Nuclear Weapons!** *Ghanaian Times* (July 26): It must be noted that the treaty does not ban underground tests and, in a sense, may even create an impression that these are not harmful. . . . We still feel that the treaty can have little value unless steps should be taken without much delay to include a ban on underground tests.

Nor can even this be the end of the journey; the ultimate objective of the peoples of the world is to secure a ban on all nuclear weapons, their manufacture, testing and stockpiling. It is only on such a condition that the threat of nuclear conflagration can be completely removed and peace thus safeguarded.

**Greatest Disservice to World Peace.** *Morning News* (Pakistan, July 29): To continue to manufacture and stockpile nuclear weapons with the freedom to test them underground and simultaneously to impose a partial ban on atmospheric testing is ludicrous in the extreme.

The crystallization of nuclear disparity between the "haves" and the "have-nots" by the treaty is the greatest disservice to world peace. How could other emerging nuclear powers be made to desist from such testing, placed as they would always be at an increasing disadvantage in nuclear weapons? Only complete prohibition of the use and manufacture of nuclear weapons could convince the non-nuclear world of the efficacy of a nuclear test ban treaty.

**Tripartite Treaty No Disarmament Measure.** *Istiqlal* (a Moroccan weekly): This treaty is not a disarmament

measure properly speaking because it permits the three big powers already in possession of nuclear bombs to keep these weapons.

*Al Alam* (a Moroccan paper, July 29): All those who have read the treaty agree that they should not be too optimistic. Further struggle is necessary before true peace can be realized throughout the world.

It is precisely because of this provision [permitting underground nuclear explosions] that important leaders have appealed to their peoples not to be too optimistic.

**Benefits Imperialism.** *Mandalay Times* (July 27): U.S. scientists frequently say that important nuclear tests must be carried out underground. This demonstrates that U.S. imperialism has been in need of underground tests for some time in the past in an attempt to produce new weapons. Therefore, the treaty is not beneficial to the people of the world but merely conforms to the interests of U.S. imperialism.

*Ludu* (Burma, July 30): The U.S. imperialists by signing this treaty are reaping great political benefits. The signing of the treaty may give people the mistaken idea that U.S. imperialism loves peace.

At present, the Soviet Union, instead of using nuclear weapons for defence, is bargaining with imperialism. This is a wrong and reactionary step taken by it.

Today, the people of the world want the complete banning of nuclear weapon tests and nuclear weapon production. But since a group of people still can carry out underground tests and continue to produce nuclear weapons, signing of this partial test ban treaty by the Soviet Union with the imperialists amounts to obstructing the people from equipping themselves with arms to oppose the threat of imperialism and playing tricks on the people of the world.

**They Have No Right to Treat Others as Idiots.** Allal Al Fassi, President of the Moroccan Istiqlal Party, wrote: We have always stood in the forefront of those who demand an end to nuclear tests and are among those who have asked the big powers to set an example to others in this field to avoid an irreparable step and to avert a situation in which the question of atomic armaments will become more and more difficult to solve.

We can tell Kennedy and Khrushchov . . . if you have decided to preserve the infernal devices in your possession and since you have not undertaken any obligation not to explode them by testing them or to punish those who are not in agreement with you, what is the use of deceiving the people by such an agreement?

If you ban testings in space and reserve complete freedom to carry on underground tests, what difference does this make to this or that way of destruction?

Two men like you, no matter how great, have no right to deceive the people or to treat their compatriots and all other innocent people as idiots.

**Three Nations Cannot Decide Fate of World.** *Bintang Timur* (Indonesia, August 3): In this agreement, there is also no guarantee that stockpiles of atomic weapons will be scrapped and that the possessors of such weapons will not use them.

Implementation of this treaty means that those who possess nuclear weapons and those who are able to make gains in this aspect would become monopolists who possess developed nuclear weapons. That means of course to prevent those countries which do not yet have nuclear weapons from having them or making efforts in this aspect. Apart from the three countries concerned, this is not a happy situation for those countries who do not yet have nuclear weapons.

There are more positive things expressed in the proposals of the Chinese Government and by public opinion in many Asian and European countries. That is, if real prevention of the use of nuclear weapons is to be achieved, then all nuclear tests including underground tests must be banned and all existing stockpiles of atomic weapons destroyed. Discussions should be held and a decision made concerning total and thorough disarmament throughout the world.

This question is related to the interests of all nations and countries. Therefore, it is not correct if this is not discussed and decided on at a meeting in which all countries participate. The fate of the world and nations cannot depend on the decision of these three countries.

On August 5, the same paper published another commentary on the treaty. It held that it was appropriate to convoke a world conference to discuss the following questions: prohibition of all nuclear tests; prohibition of the stockpiling of existing nuclear weapons; removal of all imperialist military bases in other countries (or regions),

such as U.S. bases in Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, south Viet Nam, Latin America, West Germany, Britain and the African and Arab countries.

**Bringing the World Nearer to Nuclear War.** Radic Ghana (August 3): In a space of barely one week since a partial nuclear test ban treaty was initialled in Moscow, the elation of the peace-loving world is turning into doubt and even dejection.

Some people hailed the Moscow treaty because they thought it would pave the way for an agreement in other fields including the destruction of nuclear stockpiles.

But what are the prospects? Early this week former U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon said in Paris that the Moscow treaty must not stop the West equipping itself with the most up-to-date nuclear armaments. On Monday General de Gaulle announced that France would go ahead building her independent nuclear striking force. President Kennedy announced yesterday [August 2] that the United States would help France build up her nuclear power if only France would co-operate with NATO. He also stated that the United States would share nuclear secrets with France.

If France has refused to be a party to the Moscow test ban treaty and the United States is prepared to share nuclear secrets with France, is it not logical to conclude that the Moscow agreement is being rendered ineffective?

The loopholes of the Moscow treaty, ironically, would bring the world nearer to nuclear war.

## THE WEEK

(Continued from p. 6.)

tion of Taiwan. "The Chinese people will surely liberate their own territory of Taiwan," said the General. "U.S. imperialism must get out of the island."

### Brisk Fruit and Vegetable Market

Green groceries in Peking are doing a roaring trade. It is a reflection of the big upswing in the capital's agricultural production that has become steadily more noticeable as the year grows more mature. With millions of kilogrammes of vegetables and fruits being sold every day, trade is so brisk that shops have branched out to set up thousands of temporary stalls all over the city and in the suburbs to get the goods closer to consumers' homes. Delighted housewives have a wide choice before them: tomatoes, cucumbers, green peppers, French beans, eggplants and a dozen other vegetables; watermelons, muskmelons, apples, peaches and other local fruits, as well as lichees, bananas and pineapples from the southern parts of the country.

Every day lorries and horse-drawn carts, piled high with fresh vegetables

and fruits, roll in from the people's communes and state farms on the city's outskirts and in neighbouring areas to stock the groceries and mobile stalls. With tomatoes at only four or five cents and cucumbers about nine cents a kilogramme, a beaming housewife can buy a large basketful of fresh vegetables for less than fifteen cents.

Since the beginning of the year, the capital has been getting an ample and steadily increasing supply of fresh vegetables. For the past few weeks, the daily supply averages out at about 4 million kilogrammes a day. At the height of the season in mid-July, when tomatoes were arriving in the city by the carload, the daily supply of vegetables topped 6 million kilogrammes.

Peking residents have also been getting a good supply of fresh fruits since the spring. Most of these come from orchards set up around the capital after liberation. After the stored fruit of the winter — apples, pears, oranges, etc. — Peking began to get local apricots and plums and, of course, the fruits from the south: lichees, pineapples, bananas. Now the fruits are appearing in greater quantity and

variety. In the past fortnight, close to a million kilogrammes of watermelons have been put on sale every day. Apples are now coming in in large quantities, with pears and grapes soon to follow. The vineyards on the city's outskirts have already alerted the fruit market and wineries to be ready to handle a bigger and finer crop of grapes than last year's which was a bumper one.

### Fruits of Great Leap Forward

Such an abundance of vegetables and fruits, as old Peking residents know, is unprecedented in the history of the city. The supply of fresh vegetables and fruits before liberation was scanty. The impoverished market gardeners and fruit growers around Peking did not have the means to put their plots on a highly productive basis and the run-down city did not have the means to buy on a big scale. At that time, an ordinary worker ate about 30 kilogrammes of fresh vegetables a year. Now each Peking resident consumes around a kilogramme a day! Today Peking's population is bigger than ever and, with better wages and standards of living, they demand vastly greater quantities of vegetables and fruit than before. The



A well-stocked vegetable stall in a Peking market

local communes and state farms have risen efficiently to the occasion. There has been a big expansion of market gardens and orchards since liberation, and particularly since 1958 when the rural people's communes were established.

In the past five years, 39 reservoirs of varying sizes were built on Peking's outskirts, with canals and irrigation ditches totalling over 10,000 kilometres in length — longer by far than the Great Wall. High-tension transmission lines carrying power to the villages around Peking now total 1,500 kilometres; this is twice the distance from Peking to Shanghai and more than twice the length of high-tension transmission lines set up in Peking in the 60 years from the day the Empress Dowager began using electric lights in her palace to Peking's liberation in 1949. All this, of course, means better irrigation for the market gardens and orchards by electrically powered pumps and, consequently, a year-to-year increase in the yield of vegetables and fruits.

#### More Meat and Eggs

Besides fresh vegetables and fruits, Peking's food stores are well stocked

with processed food. Favourite buys among housewives are famous delicacies — sausages, salted duck, ham and salted pork — from various parts of the country. A survey by the city's trading department shows that Peking citizens now consume twice as much meat and five times as many eggs as they did last summer.

Other cities of the nation enjoy an equally abundant supply. Recent surveys show that, since mid-June this year, the supply of vegetables to 23 large cities and industrial and mining areas, including Shanghai, Tientsin, Harbin, Shenyang and Lushun-Talien, has exceeded 500,000 tons,

with per capita consumption at between 1 to 2 kilogrammes a day. For the first six months of this year, the supply of pork, beef, mutton, chicken, fish and eggs was double or treble that of the same span last year.

It is good planning and rapid development of the collective economy in the countryside that has done the trick. The great nationwide drive to aid agriculture is now paying off in a steady and growing supply of vegetables, fruits and meat to the people throughout the year and everywhere in the land.

#### Thriving Pharmaceutical Industry

Time was when China depended for Western medicines chiefly on imports. The few small and poorly equipped pharmaceutical plants she had before liberation were mainly engaged in processing imported medicinal raw materials. A radical change has taken place today. The nation's flourishing pharmaceutical industry now makes practically all the modern Western medicines with the exception of a few special drugs.

This self-sufficiency in most of the widely used medicines is the result of

vigorous efforts made by China's pharmacists and scientists during the First and Second Five-Year Plans. Every province and autonomous region in the land has its own pharmaceutical plant; a relatively comprehensive pharmaceutical industry has been established in the country.

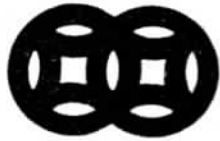
Both output and variety have increased from year to year. In the early post-liberation years, only a dozen kinds of medicines were produced; today, hundreds of drugs are made. Production figures for the first quarter of this year show that the average five-day output was equivalent to the total output of 1949. In the case of some drugs, China even enjoys a surplus which is exported.

China's booming pharmaceutical industry lays special emphasis on the manufacture of antibiotics. Under reactionary Kuomintang rule, the country had to import these from a dozen foreign countries. Supplies were insufficient, and the price was far too high for ordinary working people. The first plant for making penicillin was built in Shanghai soon after liberation. Now there are about a dozen or so plants making penicillin, streptomycin, syntomycin, aureomycin, terramycin and other antibiotics.

Production of sulfa drugs has also shown big increases in recent years. Last year's output was 2.4 times the amount in 1957. In the first quarter of this year, across the board increases have been recorded for the more or less complete range of sulfa drugs which China makes today.

What is remarkable about the nation's growing pharmaceutical industry is that intensive research work and experiments carried out over the past few years have enabled many pharmaceutical plants to produce highly effective medicines to combat schistosomiasis (snail fever), ancylostomiasis (hookworm disease), filariasis and other diseases caused by parasitic worms. These diseases which used to plague the people in various parts of the country are now kept well under control.

The flourishing state of the modern pharmaceutical industry and the expanded production of Chinese traditional medicines as well give the medical services a fine base for the successful protection of the people's health.



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