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Zhou Enlai's Discussion with a Kenyan African National Federation Delegation (Excerpt)

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Summary:

Zhou Enlai criticizes the Three-Nation Treaty (Limited Test Ban Treaty) of 1963, arguing that it signifies an attempt by the US, UK, and USSR to monopolize nuclear weapons. Enlai warns that the agreement will allow larger nuclear countries to commit "nuclear blackmail" against smaller, non-nuclear countries.

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Chinese

Contents:

- English Translation
- Chinese Transcription

Now, the United States is again using the Three-Nation [Limited Test Ban] Treaty together with the Soviet Union, and some large countries are monopolizing nuclear weapons. Atmospheric nuclear testing, of course, has already ended, since people around the world oppose it, and, in fact, they already don't need atmospheric nuclear testing. Why? Since they have already gotten the essential data. Besides this, everything else remains as it was. That is to say, use of nuclear weapons is permitted, underground nuclear testing is permitted, continued production is permitted, massive stockpiling is permitted, transport abroad and proliferation is permitted, and provision by the United States of nuclear weapons data to its allies and countries under its control is permitted. Of course, people all over the world oppose these things, and demand the total end to nuclear testing and the complete destruction of nuclear weapons. [But] by signing the Three-Nation Treaty, except for a temporary halt in atmospheric nuclear testing, everything else has been legitimized. All the countries that signed onto the treaty are restrained by the treaty, that means that all peace-loving countries that signed have no right to possess nuclear weapons, even while they still have to face nuclear blackmail and the danger of annihilation by nuclear weapons. This is one-sided.

On the other hand, countries allied with American imperialism can still obtain nuclear weapons and data necessary to produce nuclear weapons. As the United States has said to France, you don't need to test in the atmosphere, [since] we can give you the data and you can become a nuclear great power. The three countries have all agreed to this. The countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are all American allies, [and] the United States has said that it will establish a multilateral nuclear force in these countries and allow every country to get nuclear weapons. The Three-Nation Treaty does not prohibit this, but merely binds the hands and feet of our peace-loving countries and peoples, [while] they can even more unscrupulously carry out nuclear blackmail. But the socialist countries do not have this right, since the Soviet Union has undertaken this obligation. The United States and Britain only signed once they attained this enormous concession. Isn't this simply the height of deception! After signing, the United States spoke up immediately, issuing a series of pronouncements, from [President] Kennedy, [Secretary of State] Rusk, [Undersecretary of State] Harriman, [Secretary of Defense] McNamara, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, and the chiefs of all the armed services, all the way to the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The essence of it all was that this treaty assuredly does not prohibit the United States from using nuclear weapons, continuing to produce nuclear weapons, stockpiling nuclear weapons, and conveying nuclear weapons to its allies and countries under its control, and, moreover, that it will expand underground nuclear testing. Sure enough, after signing on August 5th, it carried out three underground nuclear tests. The U.S. Deputy Secretary of Defense said that [they] intend to expand the scope of underground nuclear testing, that all prohibited nuclear testing to the extent possible will be carried out underground; that [they] will expand defense expenditures, in order to establish more nuclear sites to produce nuclear weapons; and that [they] are prepared when necessary to resume atmospheric nuclear testing; and, moreover, publicly designated the establishment of an atmospheric nuclear testing site in the Pacific Ocean. Everybody knows this. How can this not increase the threat of nuclear war? Not only has world peace not been assured, but it has now been placed under even greater threat. In the past, people all over the world opposed this, and now it's turned into a situation where all the signatory countries cannot oppose this. First of all, the Soviet Union can't say a word, since it is a signatory country. Only a month after signing, the United States was even more aggressive, to an extent never before seen. Britain said nothing, since it is a follower of the United States. But the Soviet Union is a country in opposition [to the United States], and it didn't utter a word either. The United States is even freer to continue to implement nuclear blackmail and bind the hands and feet of our peace-loving countries. So we oppose this.

Why is there no complete prohibition on nuclear testing? They say they want to take a step at a time. This sounds good, but this is duplicitous. With the United States so aggressive after signing, where is there any intention of a total prohibition [of nuclear weapons]? If there is no intention to fight, and no willingness to prohibit [nuclear weapons], what is the purpose? The purpose is to use this [situation] to carry out nuclear blackmail. Towards whom? Towards countries that do not have nuclear weapons, especially small, weak countries, Asian, African and Latin American countries. There are two ways to accomplish this: One is to listen, to sign and to bind up

one's own hands and feet; the other is not to listen, [and] then they will use nuclear weapons to carry out nuclear blackmail toward you, since you don't have any. If you don't sign, they will say you love war, that you are a "warmonger." Take a look around. Where in China is there any atmosphere in favor of war? There are still some people in the world who speak on the basis of facts. Even some Western capitalist newspapers tell the truth, saying that they find no articles or discussions by Chinese indicating China wants to launch a nuclear war and cause the annihilation of half the population of the world. Not only France, Japan, northern Europe, and Britain have people who speak the truth, even the United States has some. This is really interesting. The Soviet Union says we are this type of war-lover, but the West says this is not so. Can it be that the West is especially good to us? No. The West exploits the contradiction between China and the Soviet Union. We will not fall for Western tricks, and will not be manipulated. We have come to a conclusion. The Three-Nation Treaty is a huge swindle. It is not the first step in prohibiting nuclear weapons, but an extremely dangerous step.

周恩 同肯尼 非洲民族 盟代表 的 ()

1963年9月5日

目前,美又用三 同 在一起,几大 核武器。大气核 本就已停止了,因全世界人民都反,事上它已不需要大气核 了。什么?因主要的料它已得到了。除此以外,其他的 保留。也就是,允使用核武器,允地下核,允生,允大量存,允向外送散,允美把制造核武器的料它的盟和受它控制的家。本 些事全世界人民都反,都要求全面禁止核,底毁核武器。三,除了大气核 不搞外,其他 合法化。凡是在上字的家都受的束,就等于凡是了字的好和平的家,都有有核武器的利,但仍要遭受核和被核武器毁的危。是一方面。

另一方面,美帝主的盟仍然可以得到核武器和生核武器所需要的料。如美法,你不用在大气了,我可以你料,你可以成一核大。点它三都承。北大西洋公的家都是美的盟,美要在些家中多核力量,使每家都得到核武器。三有禁止些,而只是把我好和平的家和人民的手脚束起,它却可以更肆无忌惮地行核。可是社主家有 利,因已承了。英美取得么大的步才了字,不是欺!字后,美上就了,肯尼迪、腊斯克、哈里曼、克拉、副防部、各种,直到三席主席,有一系列的言。中心是,并不禁止美使用核武器,不禁止生核武器,不禁止存核武器,不禁止把核武器出盟和它控制的家,并且要大地下核。果然,八月五日字后就行了三次地下核。美副防部,要把地下核的范大,凡是禁止的核都要可能地在地下行,要增加防,生核武器建立更多的核基地,准在需要恢复大气核,并公指定在太平洋建立大气核地。些大家都是知道的,怎么能不增加核的危呢?世界和平不但有得到保障,而且受到了更大的威。去世界人民反些,在成凡是字的家都不能反。首先不腔,因它是字。字后一月,美就更,有。英不,因它是美的追者。但是立的家,它也一不腔。美更自由了,行核,却把我好和平家的手足束起,所以我反。

什么不全面禁止核呢?他要分步走。听起好听,但是人的。字以后美如此,哪有什么全面禁止的意。既不打算打,又不肯禁止,目的何在呢?目的是拿行核。呢?有核武器的家,特是弱小家、非和拉美家。法有:一是听,字,把自己的手足束起;一是不听,它就用核武器你行,因你有。如果你不字,它就你好,是“子”。你看,中什么地方有的气氛?世界上是有一些事的人,西方有的也有真的,找不到中人的文章和表明中要核,造成世界一半人口的死亡。不法、日本、北、英有真的,甚至美也有。很有趣。我是的好,西方不是,道西方我特好?不是。西方是利用中矛盾。我不上西方的,不受挑。我得出,三是一大局,它不是禁止核武器的第一步,而是很危的一步。