

November 3, 1964

**Record of Zhou Enlai's Discussion with British
Minister President of the Board of Trade Douglas Jay**

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Summary:

Having successfully executed a nuclear test explosion, Zhou Enlai describes the Chinese government's motivation for pursuing atomic weapons capabilities. Zhou argues that the Three-Nation Treaty (Limited Test Ban Treaty) is insufficient, that the United States remains committed to nuclear proliferation despite the agreement, and that China seeks to end the monopoly that other nuclear powers have thus far exploited. Zhou also calls for the organization of a global, truly equal summit at which to discuss the issue of nuclear weapons testing and proliferation.

Credits:

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Original Language:

Chinese

Contents:

Transcript - Chinese
Translation - English

你们下已很器满政天在
你图见得武是一国
使果意说核，弹同中
下，如的中毁议子是明
阁然政的底爆炸几们
诉当国脑彻议成功我
告。中首和会们成，
地度，府止脑我验此
率态题政禁首于试如
直和问国面府关核为
意见的各全政。次因
愿意器界现国的一正
我的武世实各望第也
，题核给了界愿们。
望问止写为世的我武器
愿军禁大是开平同武武
的裁于二，召和信核核
见和关第的出界的灭用
意器，和目提世脑消使
府武先明的们现首，先
政核首声验我实府断首
国止。的试。政垄会
中禁意表核断器国核不
取于愿发行垄武各破都
听关也日进核核界打，
望府我六们的止世是下
希政，十我国禁致的况
下国换月。大求府目情
阁中交十了核要政的何
相道见府楚破民国们任
首知意政清打人中我、
了府出国很了界和明候
达政提中、为世明说时
转新意在面是全声这何
你的愿经全，足府。任

面当。有，国全相国武器各论力小国武器。破坏、的核武器，破国器用加武器大武使参核会议器分核不家用会武分核不家用脑核不握证国使首为该掌保器不府认应未，武证政论且让限制核保国奥而该限无，各界，应到有务界世加，受只义世全参断家。担开然家华国的承召既国核的目家张，的破器的国主为有打武器的就认为核武器年们让，有核武去我该二拥毁核且，应第使销量而一，要底大，第全见是彻有次？安意正和拥一器的表，止使这武民发二禁促是核人权第面能仅毁界有。全才不销世都见到议们底着小意达会我彻胁小表能脑么和威、发才首止，国会后府为禁大大机然政

会使接会难的国议有。召开即国加很样个会所以加外召且合参是一几军界会参以另外而联权议议数裁世瓦家国另，被有会会少给全内国合要了能都的瓦。交由日矣联而夺不国加内悉又该种有在论，剥时各参日熟会应一由是论被一界家像为大题外只也讨利家世国，更，问另，议国权国全多议我会的。题会合法些使么会比大益器问种联合一该这的下国利武部这在的有应，加阁合民核局。以国还，说参，联人用讨论的可合也题下家验给界使讨论不联，问阁国经交世不只协脑在了的。数的议全是，成首相复矣会少议会到先样达府和恢攸开，会军系首那易政共利益外议军裁决矣，题容国民权利以会裁。明向问是各人法民国瓦果说方挝，界华合人合制内结这个老力世中的界联限日有。一或努么是国世在有于没复定题的什仅合全该开矣都重确问国为仅联同应召？次番使那加，不在是，先呢每轮促参说，国器题是商，断，度过会得和武问不协年上论印经人懂共核个是行少上讨矣如下民止这，进多序加有议，阁人禁论的先了程参讨论。然？华。讨集议开在家讨论的当议中纳议召会家，国像这开

的种是争什下界签
说这论战有搞世家
国得不核约继续全人
美觉科少条继让迫
是我斯减国要该强
者，莫会二还应，
或的在不，量，前
争样约订此力民面
战这条签如核人家。
部是验的。边人等
局法试约验多世在平
争的止国下宣到实国际
战府禁二地开系事是
界政分明和公关成不
世下部声散就题既，
论是下国再扩后问把治
论阁二一、字。是政
不果。员存签的订权
，如样官储科误签强
止。一和、斯错的是
停器法脑产莫是约这
不武想首生去础条，
争核的国的克基国的
战用国美器斯的二等
果使美，武腊约。平
如止同后核卿条决不
是禁这以止务国解是
点难为署禁国二能上
论很因签会国，才系
一个就，式不美为论关
一，险正也？认讨际
另战争是，呢们加国
的战很还险处我参在
下种法签危用。民。
阁特想草的么去人字

国问只入有国量缚核可三。转没试中尽束边就的。责任才乎说它要多它的污责后几有，是，。说过气大以，没议验就散验说空很了的国会议约扩试才到负够出中军核条和层刚说应验提果裁下国验气我于气试前如加地二试大如至空层年笑参要。国要正。的气几好国需清楚美需。明界大国真中国清许它反证世在美。要美很允旦其是染是是来人的而一得就污它本起有加目的。适话对。根叫就参的足式且讲它议案人，格它手方的，的，协草有验资。的验，试验搞的就试够器家试果累试才议，一不武国的效篇核它协次，我们核立要传的连层，约一我中木独需宣表大验国试，国进民是所发次试三才验美改缚验它员百核，在试，是束试到官四层说现核然别，下达国近气要国止当特定地有美将大不中禁。手。没，了要更。谈部验的散但后行需。了来乐试家扩不之进的过人俱核国核约字国国验通有核下义是。条签美美国试就没了地主就复国约，当下动也加行会量恢三条题有地改，参进社力以

You have conveyed His Excellency the Prime Minister's wish to hear the views of the Chinese government. I want to candidly tell Your Excellency so your new government may understand the views and attitudes of the Chinese government with regard to the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the issue of disarmament. Of course, should Your Excellency wish to raise some ideas for discussion, I am also willing to do that. First, on the issue of the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the Chinese government view has already been stated completely and clearly in the Chinese government's October 16 statement and in the letter addressed the next day to the heads of government of all the nations of the world. Our objective in carrying out nuclear testing is to bring about the total prohibition and complete elimination of nuclear weapons and to break the nuclear monopoly of the big nuclear powers. Our proposal in calling for a summit meeting of heads of world governments is designed to satisfy the desire of the peoples of the world for the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the achievement of world peace. With respect to [the fact that] the government statement regarding our atomic bomb explosion and the Chinese government's letter addressed to the heads of world governments were [issued] on virtually the same day as our first successful nuclear test, this shows that our purpose is to break the nuclear monopoly and eliminate nuclear weapons, and, for this very reason, we have stated that China at no time and under no circumstance will be the first to use nuclear weapons.

Why not only this time, but also last year, did we propose to convene a summit meeting of world heads of government to discuss the total prohibition and complete elimination of nuclear weapons? First, we believe that since world opinion holds the destructive power of nuclear weapons to be quite large and threatening to the safety of the world's people, we should allow all countries to participate and should not distinguish between large and small countries. Small and large countries both have the right to express their views. Second, to break the nuclear monopoly, we should allow countries that do not have nuclear weapons an opportunity to express their views. Third, only by restraining nuclear weapons countries, and guaranteeing the non-use of nuclear weapons, can we achieve our goal of the total prohibition and complete elimination of nuclear weapons. Only by having non-nuclear countries join in a summit meeting of the world heads of government can we spur countries possessing large quantities of nuclear weapons to accept their responsibility and guarantee not to use nuclear weapons.

Of course, some will say why can't the world heads of government discuss this in the United Nations, rather than by convening a separate meeting? As Your Excellency understands, not only has the People's Republic of China been deprived of its legal rights in the United Nations, but even if the legal rights of the People's Republic of China were restored in the United Nations, there are still some other countries that for the time being cannot be admitted by the United Nations. The prohibition of nuclear weapons is an issue affecting the interests of all the peoples of the world; we should give all countries in the world the right to participate in a meeting and discuss this issue; and we should convene a meeting outside the United Nations. Your Excellency says it would be very difficult to convene a meeting with so many countries participating, and perhaps [it would be better to] first convene a limited meeting, a meeting with a small number of countries participating, and hold consultations in a meeting like the Geneva Conference? Your Excellency is much more knowledgeable than I am about the experience of the Geneva Disarmament Conference. A small number of countries have convened for many years, each time without result. The Disarmament Conference has passed the ball to the United Nations General Assembly and the General Assembly has handed it back to the Disarmament Conference, with the agenda going back and forth. This shows that issues affecting the interests of all the world's peoples should be discussed with all the world's countries participating in and spurring the determination of policy, first of all the non-use of nuclear weapons. Another kind of Geneva Conference, such as those that discussed the Indochina or the Laotian issues, only discussed partial and local issues and only with the participation of concerned countries. It is easy to reach agreement in these kinds of meetings with the great effort of participating countries.

These kinds of meetings are also convened outside the United Nations.

Another of Your Excellency's arguments is that without the end to war, whether world war, local wars, or wars such as the United States calls a special kind of war, it is very difficult to prohibit the use of nuclear weapons. If this is the view of Your Excellency's government, I believe this kind of thinking is very dangerous, since this is the same as the thinking of the United States. After both the signing in draft and the official signing of the Three-Nation Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty in Moscow, American leaders and officials repeatedly stated that the signing of the Three-Nation Treaty would not diminish the threat of nuclear war, and would not prohibit the production, storage, proliferation and underground testing of nuclear weapons. In this way, of what use is the Three-Nation Treaty? U.S. Secretary of State [Dean] Rusk announced publicly after going to Moscow to sign that the multilateral nuclear force would continue to be implemented. We believe that the foundation of the Three-Nation Treaty is faulty. The issue involves all the peoples of the world and can only be decided after allowing all the peoples of the world to participate in the discussion. The signing of the Three-Nation Treaty puts a fait accompli before everyone, forcing them to sign. In international politics, this is unequal. It is power politics, not international equality.

Not only will the Three-Nation Treaty not achieve its publicized effect, but it will be just the opposite of what is wished. As I just said, this is proved by the lengthy and tedious statements made by U.S. officials after signing the Three-Nation Treaty. Regarding the issue of environmental pollution, the United States has carried out almost four hundred atmospheric nuclear tests. It should bear great responsibility for polluting the world's atmosphere. Only when the time came that the United States did not need atmospheric nuclear testing, did it then work out an agreement. Only after it had enough atmospheric nuclear testing, did it then turn to underground testing. It goes without saying that the draft of the Three-Nation Treaty basically was proposed several years ago by the United States, and then passed almost without any changes. China now has tested once and people are screaming. What a joke! If China had not tested, no one would be talking about the prohibition of nuclear testing, but as soon as we tested, people want China to participate in disarmament conferences saying that China has joined the nuclear club. Of course, the United States says that China is not qualified to participate. The United States needs underground nuclear tests and it carries out underground nuclear testing to the maximum extent possible, especially to improve strategic nuclear weapons. Its goal is very clear. The Three-Nation Treaty is aimed at binding the hands and feet of the socialist countries, and binding the hands and feet of the independent countries, while allowing the United States to test and proliferate. The multilateral nuclear force is precisely nuclear proliferation. Underground testing is the kind of testing it requires. If it should ever need atmospheric testing, it will be able to resume [atmospheric testing].