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# China and the Nuclear Question

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## Foreword

Expressions of the dangers facing the world through the proliferation of nuclear weapons have now become little more than platitudes. But the danger itself grows rather than declines.

What can be contributed to the slowing of this dilemma by the one country which over the past twenty six years has solved for its own people so many vast problems – the feeding of the hungry, the clothing of the waked, the freeing of the slaves, bringing hope to the hopeless and purpose to the disenchanted?

The Peoples Republic of China is the one nuclear power which has repeatedly proposed that the threat of a nuclear holocaust be removed by a general agreement that ALL nuclear weapons be destroyed. Other nuclear powers have refused to take that proposal seriously.

But New China's position has contributed rather more than that and this booklet by a leading member of the New Zealand – China Society covers some of that ground. It also considers something of what lies behind the continuing expenditure on weapons of mass destruction by various other atomic powers.

The first edition of "China and the Nuclear Question" has been completely sold out – a fitting tribute to its usefulness and the Society is proud to produce this second edition (with minor additions).

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## CHINA AND THE NUCLEAR QUESTION

The people of New Zealand along with the rest of the world are confronted with the nuclear dilemma — that is a necessary choice between equally undesirable alternatives. During the French bomb tests at Muruoa in 1973, Auckland's mayor, Sir Dove-Myer Robinson was caught up in what was referred to as 'Robbie's Dilemma' — while accepting a gift from 15 Chinese guests he was explaining to them and to the Chinese Ambassador, Mr Pei Tsien-chang, that he could not 'receive them', nor any representative from any country that tested nuclear weapons.

The mayor's muddle-headed dilemma is shared by many because they do not have a comprehensive, historical understanding of the nuclear situation. As Chairman Mao Tsetung says: "In studying a problem we must shun subjectivity, one-sidedness and superficiality... To be one-sided and superficial is at the same time to be subjective. For all objective things are actually interconnected and are governed by inner laws".

To understand THE BOMB, one must necessarily understand colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism which includes the arms race, 'cold war', 'limited war', the profit system, exploitation, apartheid, etc. Dr Malcolm Caldwell, lecturer, School of Oriental & African Studies, London, states: "... the greatest threat to world peace today lies in the increasingly rash and desperate attempts of the Western powers, especially the USA as leader, ... to shore up the present grossly unfair, international economic system, of which neocolonialism is an absolutely integral part...It follows that radical reform of the international economic system, including an end to neo-colonialism, is one of the basic and indispensable demands of every campaign for nuclear disarmament."

### THE BEGINNINGS OF THE BOMB

To start at the beginning, Project Manhattan, set up by Du Pont, built the first bomb, and the first *practical* atmospheric test was carried out on 6 August 1945, when single 20,000-ton A bombs devastated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, even when the US government was aware that the Japanese were on the point of surrender. "I did it," boasted Truman in May 1950, during the Berlin crisis, "And I would say to you, I would do it again if I had to."

The Berlin crisis developed out of the breakdown of the Potsdam Agreement which stated: "During the period of occupation Germany shall be treated as a single economic unit. To this end common policies shall be established in regard to:

- (a) Mining and industrial production and allocation;
- (b) Agriculture, forestry and fishing;
- (c) Wages, prices and rationing;
- (d) Import and export programmes for Germany as a whole.
- (e) Currency and banking, central taxation and customs;
- (f) Reparation and removal of industrial war potential;
- (g) Transportation and communication."

### Article 14 on Economic Principles

The Agreement also made provision for setting up of a central German financial secretariat to precede the printing of a new common currency. But as General Clay's

financial adviser remarked to Wilfred Burchett: "How can we have a common currency with them unless we can control their imports and exports? To do that we would have to control their zone. And if we want to control their zone, they would want to control our zone. And where the hell would we be then?" And one of the British assistants stated: "We stand to take an economic loss if economic unity is achieved."

Printing of the common currency did commence in March 1948 at the state Printing House on the borders of the Soviet - U.S. sector of Berlin while US freighters were lying offshore in Bremen Harbour with new notes printed in US which were released for circulation on 20 June 1948 when the deliberate wrecking of the Potsdam Agreement had been completed by Britain and US with the aid of France which did not sign the Agreement but was invited to join as an equal member - and with Marshall plan dollars in their pockets came out with complete support for every proposal made by Anglo-American delegates.

US Military governor General Clay could and did make policy without reference to Washington and with the connivance of US War Department headed by the late James Forrestal - Dillion Read & Co banker. He and British military governor General Sir Brian Robertson, S. African soldier - businessman, once S. African director of Dunlop Rubber, made important decisions without any reference to the Control Council.

With the idea of a united Germany accepted and written into the Potsdam Agreement, it was difficult for the Western Powers to openly renounce German unity without turning German public opinion against them. Germany was divided into four zones of military occupation each controlled by one of USA, Britain, Russia and France. Berlin, geographically located well within the Russian or Eastern sector, was likewise divided giving the Western powers an enclave in 'enemy' territory.

initial blow to the four-power control came in 1947 when US and Britain fused zones (Bizonia) putting into effect economic and political policies in contravention of the Potsdam Agreement. The formal end came on Saturday, 20 March 1948 (while the common currency was being printed) when USSR military governor, Marshall Sokolovsky, chairman of the March monthly meeting, closed the session because Anglo-American delegates refused to discuss important decisions on Western Germany taken in London by Clay & Robertson without reference to the Control Council. On Monday Sokolovsky called a special meeting of the special finance committee but British, French and US delegates announced at the last minute they were "unable to attend". Later in the week Sokolovsky called for two meetings of the Finance Directorate. In each case the Western allies replied that as Sokolovsky had walked out of the Control Council, the latter no longer existed! In the following months the other military governors did not call their monthly meeting (April - French; May - USA; June - Britain), And on 20 June 1948 the new Deutsche - French/American British marks were put into circulation making the marks in the Soviet zone valueless and the whole of production in the Soviet zone could have been bought up with the new west marks.

The Russians immediately clamped a control on all road, rail and river transport leading into their zone from the West - the so-called Berlin crisis.

In 1949, Russia exploded her first A bomb at Yakut, breaking the US atomic monopoly, changing the balance of power and hotting up the 'cold war'.

## CHINA'S CHALLENGE

1949 also saw the beginning of the socialist reconstruction of the People's Republic of China, removing one-quarter of the world's population from the exploitation of the capitalist world. Can you imagine the loss of profits this would involve? Dr Caldwell says, "China's very independence and progress constitute in reality grave threats to the viability of neo-colonialism, since were other countries to follow her example, further areas of the globe would be closed to Western exploitation, extraction, investment and marketing." Therefore, the logical step was to smash China quickly, before example of her success stimulated other countries in Wall Street's hinterland of exploitation, to also take the socialist road, and this was expressed in the State Department White Paper on China released in 1949.

This burning desire to recapture China impelled the 25th June 1950 attack on Northern Korea. As the Tanaka Memorandum stated: "World rule cannot be achieved without first conquering China, and this in turn cannot be achieved without first subjugating Korea."

Between 1945 - 50, J.P. Morgan & Co and leading Wall Street firms took over \$1.5 billion worth of shares and bonds from the Japanese Oriental Development Co. on North Korean iron, nickel, tungsten, aluminium, gold, lead and graphite mines. (They lost the lot with the formation of the Korean People's Republic, plus annual dividends of 30%).

Between August 27 - November 24, 1950, over 1,000 aircraft violated China's border 200 times, even bombing villages, and the US Seventh Fleet operated off the China coast, while a UN resolution condemned China the aggressor!

The year 1950 opened with fear of economic crisis, but by the end of the year Wall Street was reporting fabulous profits. US News & World Report said: "The Korean outbreak chased the ghost of depression that has been haunting business in the US since W.W.2." Wall Street firms holding Japanese bonds were to receive \$700.00 in back interest on every \$1,000.00 face value, "dependent on continuation of the Korean war." And the same journal stated: "The biggest danger faced by America is the danger of a sudden turn to peace."

January 12th 1951, the US Joint Chiefs of Staff recommend that the war in Korea be extended to a war against China.

Britain's Attlee and France's Auriol were summoned to Washington and told they would receive advance notice whenever the decision to bomb China was reached, provided they submitted to the Pentagon's ukase for the immediate restoration of the Wehrmacht and Luftwaffe, and a speedy expansion of their armed forces under Eisenhower's command. Auriol agreed, "...provided France gets more dollars and bombs for our common cause in Vietnam."

General Clark demanded the bomb to break the military deadlock in Korea, BUT Washington was faced with the fact that "Soviet air-atomic strength had reached a point where it could devastate the USA." Nonetheless, Georges Bidault claims John Foster Dulles twice offered the use of the A bomb against Vietnam and China during the Battle of Dien Bien Phu (March 1954).

Then commenced the struggle between MacArthur/Dulles/Wall Street's 'Atomic War NOW' and the Truman/Acheson plan to first increase the Air Force, complete arming of the Western allies while conducting 'limited wars' to keep the economy buoyant.

To force Truman into 'Atomic War Now', MacArthur revealed that the objective of the Korean war, was, from the start, to overthrow China's government. For this breach of classified information he was relieved of his command.

Big business spokesmen agreed that since no immediate larger war was in sight, "we are due for a depression anyway," therefore it would be best to liquidate the unpopular Korean War while dealing with the depression under the umbrella of continued armament orders.

#### THE COLD WAR HOTS UP

Washington then launched its super-armament drive, placing orders at the rate of one billion dollars per week. Congress appropriated \$4 billion for secret air bases "within easy striking distance of the Soviet Union." It also allocated \$100 million to Project X to intensify diversions, sabotage and wrecking activities in the GDR and the People's Democracies.

In response to the Berlin blockade, US war bases in Britain were reactivated (1948), and USA and Britain (April 1949) reported agreement on facilities in England to be placed at the disposition of USAF for Truman's A bomb. Attlee took the decision to build the A & H bombs. The Western powers set up the independent West German government under Adenauer and formed NATO, the Korea war helping to make West German rearmament palatable.

Nazi war criminals/armament manufacturers (Fritz Der Meer of I.G. Farbin, Alfred Krupp, Friedrich Flick, Eduard Houdremont) were released from prison and Eisenhower was sent to West Germany to welcome them and ask their forgiveness. Krupp was presented with legal title to the six-square-mile area of Ruhr factories which the Nuremberg trials had ordered confiscated, plus an initial \$100 million gun order. In appreciation, the Bonn government transmitted to the Chase National Bank its first 'Eisenhower heritage' — a \$20 million interest and principal installment on the loans Wall Street had advanced to Hitler.

The 'cold war', using anti-communism as the lynch pin — the external and internal threat — made it possible for the Western countries to justify the creation and maintenance of unprecedented levels of 'peace-time' military spending; the deployment of Western army bases throughout the 'free world'; the tightening-up of 'law and order' legislation; and the increase of police powers at home.

As Dulles/Adenauer declared, 'only by maintaining some sense of urgency and danger can we prevail on West Germany to re-arm, on USA to finance that re-armament, and on the rest of Europe to acquiesce.' The US State Department's 'Peace Paper' (May 1949) proposed request for \$1.5 billion to strengthen the defence of Western Europe (i.e. NATO & Bonn government), and US Congress authorised \$5.4 billion to extend European recovery programmes (Marshall Plan Aid) for another 15 months.

Marshall Plan Aid became geared to the war budgets of Western European countries — for every million dollars worth of powdered eggs, they were ordered to procure a given number of bombs or machine guns. Thus, France in 1949 received 280 billion francs in 'aid', but on Washington's orders, spent 387 billion francs for arms. In Western Europe, the standard of living fell, unemployment rose and the economy deteriorated to the point where they organised the EEC to try and offset American influence.

From the US point of view, the Marshall Plan was a success. It castrated the Communist parties of France and Italy; made the new type of Western hegemony more palatable to public opinion at home and abroad; preserved regimes amenable to Western economic pressure and purpose, stifling revolutionary change, e.g. Latin America, Philippines, South Vietnam, Thailand, etc.; supported and sustained the incredibly profitable arms industry; and stabilised the economy of the Western nations.

The IMF played its role by using its influence to enforce policies of rigid and monetary orthodoxy, putting the interests of the world's central bankers before the interests of the

economic expansion of the country involved.

The World Bank (International Bank for the Reconstruction and Development — IBRD) has persistently favoured countries and projects acceptable to the US government and business interests — but not compatible with the long-term interests of the people of the Third World.

These then are the tools of neo-colonialism: IMF, IBRD, ANZUS, SEATO, NATO, US Seventh Fleet, military bases, 'tied' aid, 'limited war'. Anything that threatens to endanger or disrupt the prevailing system and its obscene profits must be uncompromisingly opposed — and China is a threat by her very economic example.

#### THE BOMBS SPREAD

Between 1945 — 62 US carried out 259 atmospheric tests including the detonation of the H bomb on Bikini in 1954, and in 1976 that place was still a denuded, radioactive atoll.

In 1952 Britain exploded her first A bomb on Christmas Island in the South Pacific. The Berlin crisis continued and West Germany became a hotbed of militarism.

In 1953 Western Europe co-ordinated their national research programmes, forming CERN (European Centre for Nuclear Research) and Euratom, which set up reactors in Norway and Britain. France and Britain co-operated on the Concorde.

In 1955, the Warsaw Pact was formed, being a USSR military/trade pact as a counter-move to NATO, and in 1957 NATO was equipped with tactical nuclear weapons,\* but under US Atomic Energy Act all nuclear warheads remain the exclusive property of the US, and in American custody. France opposed the responsibility of nuclear war by NATO resting with US and wanted a veto on the use of nuclear weapons by any NATO power.

Between 1946 — 56, Russia insisted on complete prohibition of nuclear weapons. The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated that it is *impossible to divorce cessation of nuclear tests from the question of disarmament.*

In 1957 Russia launched Sputnik, the first inter-continental ballistic missile, placing Russia in the lead in the nuclear race; she also concluded an agreement with China on new technology for national defence, but two years later (1959) Russia tore up the agreement, removed her technicians from China, refused to provide China with a sample of the bomb or technical data for its manufacture. Later, (Aug) the Soviet government notified China that Dean Rusk had proposed an agreement stipulating that the nuclear powers should undertake to refrain from transferring nuclear weapons and technical data re manufacture to non-nuclear countries; and continued with the ludicrous suggestion that countries not in possession should undertake to refrain from manufacturing them, from seeking them from nuclear powers, or from accepting information re their manufacture.

However, several years later, when it suited her purpose to proliferate nuclear weapons America launched her 'Atoms for Peace' programme, making the path to nuclear weapons easier for less powerful Western allies.

During this period (1959) Khrushchev was de-escalating the Berlin crisis. He withdrew his ultimatum for a settlement on Berlin and suggested a new scheme for complete disarma-

\* Long Johns: short-range mobile nuclear rocket for ground warfare — can be made nuclear in minutes by attaching warheads.

Corporals & Sergeants with 75-mile range.

Davy Crockett — smallest nuclear weapon yet developed, used at point-blank range, can be operated by two soldiers.

ment within four years. This proposal was followed by his meeting with Eisenhower at Camp David where the Paris Summit Conference was arranged for 1 May 1960 — but on the eve of the Summit Conference occurred the U2 incident wherein CIA emissary Gary Powers was shot down over Russian territory while on a photographic-espionage flight, completely scuttling the Summit Conference and any talk of disarmament.

In 1960 the first French nuclear test was carried out in the Sahara, and in 1961 — 62, USSR resumed nuclear testing to strengthen its national defence and counter the nuclear threat from the US. To monitor the Russian atomic testing, America instituted Project Vela, in which New Zealand's American military base, Woodbourne, was involved. To further this research, the US detonated atmospheric bombs in Johnston Island in the South Pacific.

Prior to 1962, Polaris was the ultimate deterrent, but was rendered obsolete by the new Russian defence system, at which time the USA developed the Poseidon missile. In 1962, the USA was known to have at least 41 Polaris submarines, of which 27 were constantly operational, carrying 432 Poseidon missiles.

This same year, under terms of the Nassau Agreement, the US 'permitted' Britain to build its own Polaris fleet with American know-how, at an initial cost of £300,000,000. However, each of Britain's nuclear subs was equipped with 16 obsolete A3 missiles, each of which was 35 times more powerful than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. France felt offended that the US favoured Britain over France in the provision of nuclear information. USA replied that they did not trust French security. In reprisal De Gaulle drove US tactical bombers off French soil and withdrew the French Mediterranean fleet from NATO.

#### "FLEXIBLE RESPONSE"

By 1963, USA had learned all it needed to know about atmospheric testing, while underground testing was needed to improve the effectiveness and yield of nuclear weapons. Soviet possession of nuclear weapons broke the US monopoly and threatened her supremacy. In the face of this unfavourable situation, US adopted the 'strategy of flexible response' which means, while maintaining the means of 'massive retaliation', she prepares for both nuclear and conventional war, while continuing to develop both strategic nuclear weapons for nuclear blackmail, and tactical nuclear weapons for 'limited nuclear wars'.

To this end, on 25 July 1963, the Test Ban (Tripartite) Treaty was signed by the three nuclear powers — USA, USSR, Britain, based on a draft treaty for a partial nuclear test ban put forward by the USA and Britain at the Geneva Disarmament Conference, Aug '62, at which time the Russian delegate, Kuznetsov pointed out the obvious aim of the treaty was to give the Western powers one-sided military advantage to the detriment of USSR and other socialist countries.

#### A RAY OF SANITY

On 31 July 1963, the Government of the People's Republic of China proposed the following:

1. All countries of the world, both nuclear and non-nuclear, should prohibit and destroy nuclear weapons completely. That is, they will not use nuclear weapons, nor export, nor import, nor manufacture, nor test, nor stockpile them; and destroy all 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.
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 USA, Soviet Union, China and Japan; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Central Europe; a nuclear weapon-free zone of Africa; 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 realise... the complete prohibition and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons.

On the other hand in a series of public statement between July 26 — Aug 8, 1963, John F. Kennedy said of the Tripartite Treaty:

It does not prohibit US from conducting underground tests, halt production of nuclear weapons by USA, reduce US nuclear stockpiles,

It does not hinder USA from spreading nuclear weapons to its allies,

It does not restrict use of nuclear weapons by USA in times of war,

It does not prohibit the nuclear arms race, mean an end to the danger of nuclear war, and assure world peace.

What does it do then?

John F. Kennedy answered that one too. "First advantage of this Treaty to the USA," he said, "is that it legalises underground nuclear tests in which the USA has more experience than any other nation, and the second advantage is that it prohibits nuclear tests in the atmosphere through which other powers could develop all kinds of weapons more cheaply and quickly than they could underground." Avriil Harriman was more direct. He said: "...we could work together to prevent China from getting a nuclear capability."

How effective is the Treaty?

Any member can withdraw unilaterally from the treaty at any time and resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space, or under water without having to consult with other signatories and obtain their affirmation; but any non-nuclear countries signing are unconditionally bound not to conduct any nuclear weapon tests.

As soon as the Treaty was initialled, John F. Kennedy declared 'USA remains ready to resume nuclear tests in the atmosphere', pointing out that the Treaty does not assure the world that it will be forever free from the fears and dangers of radioactive fallout from atmospheric tests, and he conducted an underground test one week after signing the Treaty and resumed the meeting in Washington to discuss the building of a 'multilateral force'. Dean Rusk said the Treaty would not prevent construction of the multilateral NATO force, while West German Defence Minister von Hassel gloated that the Treaty affected neither the building of a 'multilateral armed force' nor the conception of NATO and the West German armed forces as a whole.

#### CHINA'S FIRST A BOMB

In 1964 China exploded her first A bomb, declaring that the Chinese people would never be the first to use nuclear weapons, but they will in no circumstances allow themselves to be treated as nuclear slaves, and nuclear weapons in the possession of a socialist country

are always a means of defence against nuclear blackmail.

China's attainment of a nuclear capability set the American military junta, better known as the Pentagon, into an uproar.

Mendel Rivers, Democratic Chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee asked: "Should we use atomic power to wipe out Red China's atomic capability?", then answered his own question: "We must get ready to do this if we want to stop China. Even if we win the war in South Vietnam, I think we are merely postponing the final victory of Red China unless the nation is prepared to risk the possible consequences of destroying her nuclear capability."

And McNamara, American Defence Secretary (March '65) said he did not know of any policy restricting our use of nuclear weapons in any situation in the world when we believe it is desirable to use them in our own interest.

M.S. Arnoni wrote in the Minority of One that USA would have to strike before China developed a "true nuclear umbrella" saying: "Actual American activities are consistent with this prediction. The tremendous accumulation of military power far exceeds the dimensions of the Vietnam war. We are using that war as a pretext to erect a military establishment well beyond anything which is explicable in Vietnam. The USA is building enormous airfields, docking and oil dumping facilities, not only on islands in the Pacific, but also on islands in the Indian Ocean which are controlled by the British and Australians. It's an obvious attempt to complete our logistical ring around China, and to further intimidate her so that she does not dare to reply to our initial nuclear strike. These enormous construction projects are little reported in the American press. It is one of the best kept secrets of our time, and may well be an affair of \$20 — \$30 billion, mostly hidden in appropriations which are earmarked for other things." One example: at Sattahip on the Gulf of Thailand, USA is constructing the biggest military complex in Asia — a major deep-water port and mammoth air field with two 11,500 foot runways.

The Daily Telegraph reported (13.10.65): "The RAF and the US Air Force have produced a joint attack plan for all out nuclear and conventional high explosive attacks on China."

1967 saw the Space Treaty which bans only orbiting warheads and ignores all other types of militarily useful satellites — surveillance, communication, navigation, early-warning, weather — and according to Owen Wilkes of New Zealand, far more military satellites are launched each year than scientific ones.

1968 (27.9), N.Z. Herald reported on information supplied by Prof. Klaus Fuchs, that West Germany's nuclear programme was one of the biggest in the world and they had the technical ability to begin independent production of H bombs.

#### SOUTH AFRICA'S ROLE

At this point we must mention South Africa, that bastion of capitalism, cheap slave labour and therefore high profits, maintained by apartheid, which must be 'kept safe for investment'.

France has been collaborating with South Africa in the military field since the early '60's. She supplied Mirage 111 fighter-bombers, Mysteres, Alouette and Super-Frelon helicopters, and agreed to deliver Daphne submarines. Panhard armoured cars are made in South Africa under French licence. Many of the arms deals were paid in gold, and the reason given for French collaboration was the Gaullist policy of building up France's gold reserves as an alternative to relying on the dollar, and therefore subject to American domination.

In 1969, two French companies joined with the South African Council for Scientific & Industrial Research to develop an all-weather surface-to-air missile system known as Cactus. France also supplied five million francs worth of radar equipment. French firms are taking part in the Cabora Bassa Dam which has become a symbol of South Africa's determination to create a unified sphere of influence up to the Zambesi River.

Through France, South Africa has gained back-door entrance to the Common Market and 'dialogue' with independent Africa.

In 1969, the UN declared South African occupancy of Namibia (South West Africa) illegal and the International Court of Justice ruled that South Africa was to withdraw and cease occupation, with France and Britain opposing the decision.

Regardless, Rio Tinto-Zinc (80%) and South African Industrial Development Corp. began mining uranium in South West Africa — a major political triumph for South Africa's apartheid regime. Harold Wilson signed a secret agreement (July 1969) for the U.K. Atomic Energy Commission to buy 7,500 tons of uranium worth £38 million, on a contract running from 1976 — 82, without any safety clause, meaning it could be used for military purposes, placing Britain's nuclear defence programme partly dependent on South Africa's goodwill. After the British elections, Douglas-Home announced Britain would sell arms to South Africa. In return for uranium, West Germany has shared its nuclear knowledge with South Africa. Siemens and our old Nazi war criminal, Krupp, have helped to develop the experimental nuclear reactor at Pelindaba, and Siemens is providing equipment for the Cabora Bassa Dam.

In 1970 Vorster announced that South African scientists had developed a new process for enrichment of uranium and a pilot plant was being built. Enriched uranium has two uses: slightly enriched for nuclear power; highly enriched for bombs!

#### AND THE BOMBS SPREAD

What about some of the other countries in this exclusive 'nuclear club'?

India and Israel have arranged their atomic programmes so that nuclear weapons can be produced very rapidly. France secretly helped Israel to build her first nuclear reactor to the consternation of U.S.A.

Japan now permits US nuclear subs to be based on her territory and her first nuclear-powered ship, the \$20 million 8,350-ton Mutsu was completed last October but scallop fishermen are holding up the launching for fear of contamination of their catch. (Sunday Herald 29.7.73)

Japan's economic and military revival commenced 8 Sept. 1951 with Dulles' San Francisco (Japanese Peace) Treaty. Britain wanted economic restrictions placed on Japan and the People's Republic of China brought into the negotiations. Dulles refused. Australian and Philippine opposition were bought off with defence agreements: Anzus Pact and Philippine — US Mutual Security Pact.

The 1952 Security Pact was the result of Washington's pressure for speedier Japanese rearmament to rebuild Japan as an ally of the US in the struggle against Communism. In spite of Article 9 of the Potsdam Agreement which forbade Japan the possession of any armed forces, the National Police Reserve of over 70,000 men armed as infantry soldiers was created in 1950 and reorganised by 1954 into a well-equipped modern army, navy, airforce.

In the interests of 'recovery', reparations were terminated, civil reforms abandoned, while 'purged' political and business leaders resumed private trade with foreign countries.

Under the Security Pact there is nothing to prevent American forces in Japan being

equipped with nuclear weapons. US forces in Japan can take action against Japanese people if requested by the Japanese government, and there is no limitation of use of US forces in Japan in any fighting in other parts of Asia.

August 27, 1957, the Japanese Atomic Research Institute at Takaimura kindled its first atomic flame!

In 1974 the USA maintained 2,270 military bases around the world. War raged in South East Asia, 'limited wars' are going on anywhere you care to mention; Russia had detonated approximately 100 underground explosions; and (2.8.73) Auckland Star reported the US Navy was testing a variety of new, highly classified projects to challenge Russian supremacy in the Pacific, maintained by the "Soviet nuclear submarine armada". Russia had built five new atomic rocket launchers near the Chinese border, bringing the total to 19.

The N.Z. Herald (11.8.73), reported massive military build-ups along the Sino-Soviet border and other strategic zones. They give two major factors for this: the worsening political and economic situation, (Russia has recently had to export gold to cover deficits)\*; and China's rapid progress toward nuclear capability and her detente with Nixon posing a threat of US-Chinese alliance against USSR, which would indicate that USSR has moved from the socialist to the imperialist camp.

At the 1974 Commonwealth Conference (Ottawa), Mr Kirk, divorcing the nuclear question from general disarmament, called for "the ending of all nuclear tests, and specifically those in the atmosphere." To show his good faith he should have dismantled the three US military bases in N.Z., which are an integral part of the US nuclear missile offensive system.

These bases are:

1. Woodbourne — US Air Force station, involved in the Vela Project and now maintained for the purpose of detecting, identifying and locating nuclear explosions.
2. Mt. John (1969) from which a USAF unit is feeding data directly into huge Defence Department computers buried beneath 1,400 feet of granite in Colorado, together with 10,500 other data in-puts per day from all over the world, which is synthesised into a global, up-to-the-minute picture which tells US missile controllers whether or not to launch nuclear holocaust on the rest of the world, i.e. the socialist world. (Aerospace Defence Pamphlet 69-6, USAF Office of Information).
3. Harewood Weedons, US Navy/Airforce base, is a general purpose military base in which the CIA is a participant. It functions in support of any and all military tasks which need to be carried out in this part of the world: missile detection, submarine warfare, communications improvement, containing insurgencies, spying on other nations, maintaining 'assured destruction' nuclear capability, rounding up deserters from US warships, induction centre for American draftees in N.Z.; and maintains a jail outside the N.Z. judicial system to handle rapes, assaults, paternity suits, drug offences, etc among the 200 US servicemen stationed here.

Which brings us back to Robbie's dilemma, and also Kirk's dilemma.

France is engaged in an imperialist struggle with America based on the fears generated by the resurgence of West German militarism. She broke with NATO to develop her own nuclear deterrent. Rather than carry out her tests in her own back yard, she is subjecting her

\*USSR trade deficit (1972) = \$800,000,000, she was selling 35,000oz of gold per business day to Zurich.

colonists in particular, and the population of the Pacific region in general to the health hazards of radioactivity, as did the USA and Britain previously.

### CHINA'S REALISM

China, on the other hand, has repeatedly called for the complete prohibition and destruction of all nuclear weapons but the nuclear powers have failed to respond to this call. China is concerned about the health hazards arising from her nuclear testing which is being taken under compulsion. Her nuclear programme is strictly limited and carried out on her own territory, and she is ready to stop as soon as nuclear disarmament proposals are implemented. China does not need an armament race to promote prosperity! China has signed the Declaration supporting the establishment of a nuclear weapons-free zone in Latin America and declared never to use, threaten to use, stockpile, install, or deliver nuclear weapons in relation to that area.

On 8.8.73 N.Z. Herald reported France has been sufficiently affected by the waves of protest to consider a change of policy, and plans the next test series underground in France. You will realise by now that she is planning underground tests for the same reason US signed the Test Ban Treaty — because she has acquired the knowledge she needed from atmospheric testing. And the news item let this leak out as it says: "They may, however, be compelled to have another series in 1974. The doubtful point is apparently the detonator for the French H-bomb." So much for the news media, which is controlled by the ruling class and fashions and distorts public opinion to suit their ends — but it can only succeed in this when the public are ignorant, apathetic and fearful.

This same article reports French concern over West Germany's detente with Russia on disarmament, feeling that disarmament to which the Super-Powers subscribe will only increase Europe's dependence on them.

### CONCLUSION

This paper is but a rough guide to show that the nuclear race is but a part of the profit system and class struggle with its competition for markets and raw materials; and its armament race to create profits and maintain the dominant class. Interconnected and governed by inner laws it is a direct product of imperialism.

Our values system based on the exploitation of the oppressed classes produces the monstrous atrocities of Dresden, Hiroshima, Nagasaki, Dachau, My Lai which are not isolated phenomena, but the direct result of the Western values system. On the other hand China is successfully changing her values system through the building of a new socialist society, of socialist women, socialist men, and her philosophy of 'Serve the People' becoming a way of life.

So it was correct to oppose French Imperialism and its tests in the Pacific, but we must let nothing blind us to the main enemy — **IMPERIALISM.**



## ADDENDUM

8.9.73 N.Z. Herald: Laser weapons are one of the more exotic possibilities in the Soviet-American arms race, and by 1980's laser weapons may begin to influence aerial combat. This is the prediction of the International Institute for Strategic Studies. They said the Super Powers were showing little restraint in the missile field in spite of the missile limitation agreement of May last year.

The US had deployed 350 multiple-warhead Minutemen 3 Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBM) and was moving toward a programme involving 550 Minutemen 3 missiles with up to 1650 warheads by 1975, and possibly 8,000 warheads by 1980.

About 320 Poseidon multiple-warhead missiles had been deployed in some 20 submarines and conversions of another 11 submarines to Poseidon would be completed by 1975-76.

Russia had already deployed 1527 ICBMs and was continuing to develop three new IBM types. The Russians had launched about 31 missile submarines.

10.9.73 Auckland Star: Report from New China News Agency accuses Soviet Union of spreading a "detente myth" internationally to lull other countries into relaxing vigilance so it could "release its rabid ambitions for expansion and aggression when people are not on the alert."

It said the Soviet Government had painstakingly created an illusion of detente in the tense situation in Europe and the world while the Russians were engaged in an "all out" nuclear arms expansion programme.

"They have already begun testing a new group of nuclear guided missiles, stepped up the trial production of multiple independently targeted re-entry vehicles, steadily increased their naval vessels equipped with nuclear guided missiles, and replaced the weapons and equipment of their troops stationed in a number of East European countries."

Now, in mid-1976 this 'detents myth' stands exposed as the all-out nuclear arms expansion predicted. Over the last decade the USSR has doubled its naval tonnage and in the past four years has increased its nuclear submarines five and one-half times.

The new Soviet treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests merely outlaws all nuclear tests by other countries to prevent their attainment of a nuclear capability this leaving them open to the threat of nuclear blackmail, while leaving the nuclear powers the right to carry out "underground nuclear explosions" for "peaceful uses".

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) (1972) were a farce as they imposed no restriction on accuracy, penetrativeness and range of ICBM's and their launchers, encouraging obsolete weapons to be replaced by better ones and imposed no control on the number of nuclear warheads each missile can carry.

In fact, roughly half the world's total scientific and technical manpower are employed on improving existing weapons and developing new ones. In 1974 \$210 billion were spent on arms throughout the world.

In contention with USA for world hegemony, USSR abstained from voting in UN General Assembly and Security Council on the issue of the Indian Ocean peace zone and introduced the 'Asian collective security system' contending for hegemony in Asia; insisted on the right of 'free passage' for its warships through the Strait of Malacca; and has built naval, air and guided-missile bases on the four strategic northern Japanese islands occupied since WWII – not to mention her armed intervention in Angola along with South Africa.

Meanwhile, New Zealand is tied to the US war chariot. After asking to UN to declare the Pacific a nuclear-free zone, she has abandoned her principles and agreed to allow nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships to visit our ports. Also, this will allow the new 16,000-ton long-range TRIDENT subs, carrying 24 missiles averaging 16 independently targetable nuclear warheads to be fired from stations near New Zealand and Australia.

So, while Moscow warns the Soviet armed forces that they should be ready "for a war using any weapons" and for "launching a tactical offensive, with or without nuclear weapons," the People's Republic of China is still calling for "complete and thorough destruction of nuclear weapons as the only way to eliminate the nuclear threat and to prevent a nuclear war," declaring " THAT AT NO TIME AND IN NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL CHINA BE THE FIRST TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS."

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FIRST EDITION – 1974  
SECOND REVISED EDITION – 1976

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