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**Politburo Talk by Zhou Enlai on Receiving a Group of
Central Military Commission Operational Meeting
Comrades**

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Summary:

Speaking at the Politburo, Zhou Enlai explains how nuclear weapons capabilities have won China newfound admiration in the non-aligned world and instilled fear in the other nuclear powers, particularly the United States and Soviet Union.

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Contents:

Transcript - Chinese

Translation - English

在出好太是主力到南试我通次化祝我主我多实际你接最，不。权碰在要。有一变是。国。么实。直是月是验会，议，验没第有还们帝憾这心。势是就五的考员看会发试，在况们我在遗人内兴形都验四们个委上盟出止票选情我持们说的它高的且试在我一门治结人停两们次对支他又呼是，展而弹间对是专政不吓，有我这后就，以欢但贺发，子时反这了从次从愿只次能背们面所次，庆个事原的时候，给，一，请，这可，他方，这气，一出，的定时间，候第发联验，一，验，一约到吭呼是，是处次确个期天，时年出苏试后题试面另条料不欢，到这，这会一个一肋、核会问止一。验有面，动在们投，大哪这六威国行家个停那强试没表多，运现我空月结选。九从美进国这好的加核也，最革命。是五团，量一是赴要盟虑最常的止们用映革看离为在非然商是粹分不结考说反量禁我作反的主叛，们在。同，表中次没憾们是部是们民主看族众弹我选了卿验手代劝二是遗他又个但我本民族美得子。间是瑞经一了，第不说为，一个。低日民丁搞原间时就罗史显派议在，面因奋有况降括拉拉，颗时把炸跟历要，提选间表。振还情要包非，在的二选们，我个夫对来是期，性来，的它，非，来第月我吧是有晓反出炸议人面带下样为民亚一惹要两反一方会赫大度我结很的仅诱到，界是看它定五相骂后开，得印年团到义不的碰少世别洲是决四正被，纳候惹，去非碰主们联都映全特非都年在？正定加时果炸。亚非族他苏方反次势在，今是呢反映决在个结爆了，亚民对在地国这形，义们就多，是方议那，有炸前在明弹，些美。际看主我，还心前会，的没就以们说子下这有的国一国。行年决要结开大还们议我也原之的只心的看帝明不去的体团夫颗年我会为了力过年担前洲美证也比下具非拉一去，非因。有压走今是目亚自的早会席，亚斯验们过亚。贺义们。上

试验子弹？还上赢利原。考万，，的，说我们是
 试问子弹子呢？后头要胜炸内要一反搞界一你人
 炸中原子原争以国是的上在民有相样这样说。
 爆了是原颗战，中总争头括人本们那得这听了
 核都有颗两气弹到们战们包国日我。赢我我起
 行人们两那毒子用我帝我也美。和样会是一
 进些我有了有对原后，反在民，大本那也但说在
 在这，挨没反是以人得为人候们日能样，他站。
 正而说上果会在，少赢因国时我在不那的，们了
 我们，我头如么现器多，。美个比现们，争话我高
 我的，们。怎。武性平了连那失。我价战实，提
 ，，验话你争，了子牺和临。，损设。代怕老呼望
 时试次。战害用原中得来民步的建阪点是了欢威
 国弹两弹子的敢术争赢间人一步的业大付总说该的
 中子了子原气不战战，时界第他工到备分的应上
 在原谈原对毒就用核进步的，世界的，修准部有得际
 体们对反对反过南在进灭了斗来多京要大且觉国
 团反他反都受以越来越消翻虎上么东们，而在
 术是同家有的，在将赢后惹观头那从我人。反在
 艺它我共大没价许论将最就山们有，些心我现
 个，。们上？代也不们争那坐他，道以这信，们
 两过右我界呢了国，我战是它从上铁所的了的说
 有性偏，世意有美心，核但是弹岛上。界有一
 本辆间弹在注，，雄的是，就子个地大木起样来
 日它中子此界说弹个说就失，那原几搞多艺一这看
 验，，的原因世也导一席那损，，的是失本在你点
 验弹有了，起席程样主，分话考虑大它损日站经一
 测子，有献引主远这毛话部的考么，得。国，这
 种原左民贡能毛有有像的一管要那道晓们中意从
 一颗偏人有可。会要正们有不在铁不我跟满。
 样两间本界么的还人。我要联民中下来持为不的
 这过中日世怎价，国平打然苏人集地争支认也作
 过挨的于全，代弹中和它当果本，搞战来就后工
 做本有等对牲有氢们界果，如日口是核，们以做
 还日，你们牺是有我世如弹时，人不起情他验以
 我。子，你的总会。得。子那虑万它打同，试可

现在苏联对我们也是故意低估，实际上是怕它。柯西金跟夏斯特里说，中国的第二颗原子弹是个小玩意儿，我们也是故意低估，实际上是怕它。柯西金跟夏斯特里说，中国的第二颗原子弹是个小玩意儿，我们也是故意低估，实际上是怕它。

The present international situation is one of development, especially with regard to the national democratic revolutionary movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Take a look at Asia, take a look at Africa, take a look at Latin America, things are bubbling everywhere, and they all directly stem from American imperialism. It has stirred things up everywhere, with the masses rising in rebellion and its friends deserting it. The best proof is our atomic bomb test this time. This year we have decided that since our second atomic bomb explosion will be by air-drop, the time fixed [for the explosion] will be in May or June, too early is not good, so the time chosen will be during the two months of May and June. If we choose May, won't there be even more opposed to us than last year? Exactly the opposite. We have chosen a time during the Asian-African Unity Conference, and this will be a test. The Chairman [Mao] has decided to explode [a device] since whatever we do there will be the criticism. Of course, in setting which day, we have given the power to the Special Commission and, concretely, to the front-line to decide, with consultations in the rear-area between Comrade Luo Ruiqing and me. This time, viewed politically, we are running into a meeting of the Asian-African Unity Conference in Ghana. There is an historical precedent. When the First Non-Aligned Conference convened in 1961 in Yugoslavia, Khrushchev, seeking to play his hand, and motivated purely by a desire to intimidate and scare, wanted to test a large one [nuclear weapon], with the result that he stirred up universal opposition. Sending a delegation to the United States, the Soviet Union begged forgiveness and halted testing. Last year, even before we exploded [a bomb], India proposed a motion, urging that China not carry out the nuclear test, but, with only two votes. It failed to pass by only two votes, and we then exploded [a bomb]. Last year we chose to explode [a bomb] after the Second Non-Aligned Conference. This time we have chosen [to do so] before the Second Asian-African Unity Conference, and even considered [doing so] during the Asian-African Unity Conference; the situation now may have changed. We have met many people in Asia and Africa who outwardly express regret, stating that it would be best to halt testing, but behind our backs congratulate us. This illustrates nationalist ambivalence. Owing to their opposition to imperialism, they support us. Our possession of the atomic bomb inspires them and also strengthens [their] power. On the other hand, under imperialist pressure and under Soviet cajoling and coercion, there is still a measure [of support for] the treaty to prohibit nuclear testing, and this is why they express regret. Wherever we go in these places, we run into this situation. But we never foresaw that so many people would cheer us on this time. This year only the response in the United States has been limited, since they want to downplay our role. Outwardly, they don't say much, but in their heart of hearts they are worried. This time the people of the world, including the Japanese, whose response has been the greatest, acclaim and congratulate us, and are happy.

I even performed this kind of test. We were right in the middle of carrying out our nuclear explosive test when two Japanese art troupes were in China. Japan endured two atomic bombs. They sacrificed and they oppose atomic bomb testing. But these people were all middle-of-the-roaders, some middle-of-the-road leaning left, and some middle-of-the-road leaning right. I spoke twice to them, saying that if we possess the atomic bombs this is the same as the Japanese possessing the atomic bomb, and we both oppose the atomic bomb. You had two atomic bombs fall on your heads, and you made a contribution to the whole world, since everybody in the whole world opposes atomic warfare. If there had not been the sacrifices [caused by] those two atomic bombs, how could the world's attention have been focused? If there had been no harm wrought by poison gas, how could there have been opposition to poison gas warfare? There is always a price to be paid. As Chairman Mao has said, once a price was paid, no one will dare use the bomb. Now there is the atomic bomb, and later there will be the hydrogen bomb, and there will also be long-range missiles. The United States may use strategic atomic weapons in Vietnam, and later use them on China. We Chinese have this type of lofty aspiration. No matter how many people we may sacrifice in a nuclear war, we will in the end attain world peace. Just as Chairman Mao has said, we will gain progress, peace and victory in an anti-imperialist war. If they attack us, that means we will face the inevitable destruction of nuclear war, since, if atomic bombs are exploded over our heads, naturally we will suffer some losses, but that will stir up all the people of the world, even including Americans

among them. If the Soviet Union sits back without getting involved, it will [constitute] watching in safety while others fight, then reaping the rewards when both sides are exhausted. The Americans and the Japanese need to realize that if atomic bombs fall on their heads, their losses will be greater than ours. Japan has a population of 100,000,000 concentrated on those not so large islands, and with so much industrial infrastructure. Now Japan is in an opposite position from us. It is not constructing subways, but [rather] constructing an over-ground railway from Tokyo to Osaka. We can't do that. If we do that, and there is a nuclear war, we don't know how great the losses will be. Therefore, we have to prepare to pay some price and, in that way, gain world sympathy to support for us. Most of these people from Japanese artistic circles still fear war, but when I say this, they have confidence if they stand with China. Moreover, some of them speak frankly, saying that we hear you are still not satisfied after your test, and, on hearing this, on the contrary we feel that [we] should cheer you on and stand together with you. We can work on this. From this point of view, our international prestige has now been raised.

Now the Soviet Union is purposely underestimating us, [but] actually it also fears [us]. [Soviet Premier Alexei] Kosygin told [Indian Prime Minister [Lal Bahadur] Shastri that the second Chinese atomic bomb was a small toy, [but] in fact he is also fearful. Now the United States is afraid. Britain is also concerned. France also thinks it's falling behind, and knows that it cannot replicate our production method. Despite the fact that they've been at it for so many years, they have only exploded a couple devices; they cannot air-drop; and their Uranium-235 plant will only be in production in 1969. Since this is the situation, if the United States decides on a massive strike [on Chinese nuclear facilities], and the Soviet Union joins in, this will necessarily entail a number of steps, and will not be that easy. We must prepare for this. The more prepared we are, the more they will back off. This is [the law of] dialectics.