

September 8, 1958

**Speech, Mao Zedong at the Fifteenth Meeting of the
Supreme State Council (Excerpt)**

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Summary:

Mao speaks about the strategy behind the bombardment of nationalist-controlled Kinmen Island in the Taiwan Strait, stating that Taiwan is a "is a steel noose and it ties America's neck."

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还是谈一谈老话。关于绞索，上一次不是谈过吗？现在我们要讲对杜勒斯、艾森豪威尔、对那些战争贩子使用绞索。对美国使用绞索的地方很多。据我看，凡是搞了军事基地的，就被一条绞索绞住了，例如：东方，南朝鲜、日本、菲律宾、台湾；西方，西德、法国、意大利、英国；中东，土耳其、伊朗；非洲，摩洛哥等等。每一个地方美国有许多军事基地，比如土耳其有二十几个基地，日本听说有八百个基地。还有些地方没有基地，但是有军队占领，比如美国在黎巴嫩，英国在约旦。

现在不讲别的，单讲两条绞索：一个黎巴嫩，一个台湾。台湾是老的绞索，美国已经占领几年了。它被什么人绞住了呢？被中华人民共和国绞住了。六亿人民手里拿着一根索子，这根索子是钢绳，把美国的脖子套住了。谁人让它套住的呢？是它自己造的索子，自己套住的，然后把绞索的一头丢到中国大陆上，让我们抓到。黎巴嫩是最近套住的，也是美国自己造的一条绞索，自己套上去的，绞索的一端就丢到阿拉伯民族手里。不但如此，而且是丢到全世界大多数人民手里，大家都骂它，不同情它，大多数国家的人民、政府手里拿着这个绞索。比如中东问题，联合国开了会。但主要是在阿拉伯人民手里套住了，不得脱身。它现在进退两难，早退好，还是迟退好？早退，那末所为何来呢？迟退，越套越紧，可能成为死结，那怎么得了呀？至于台湾，它是订了条约的，比黎巴嫩还不同。黎巴嫩还比较活，没有什么条约，说是一个请，一个就来了，于是乎套上了。至于台湾，就订了个条约，这是个死结。这里不分民主党、共和党，订条约是艾森豪威尔，派第七舰队是杜鲁门。杜鲁门那个时候可去可来，没有订条约，艾森豪威尔订了个条约。这也是国民党一恐慌、一要求，美国一愿意，就套上了。

金门、马祖套上了没有？金门、马祖据我看也套上了。为什么呢？他们不是讲现在还没有定，要共产党打上去，那个时候看情形再决定吗？问题是十一万国民党军队，金门九万五，马祖一万五，只要有这两堆在这个地方，他们得关心。这是他们的阶级利益，阶级感情。为什么英国人和美国人对一些国家的政府那样好？他们不能见死不救。昨天第七舰队的司令比克利亲自指挥，还有那个斯摩特，不是放大炮吗？引得国务院也不高兴、国防部也不高兴的那位先生，他也在那里跟比克利一道指挥。

总而言之，你是被套住了。要解脱也可以，你得采取主动，慢慢脱身。不是有脱身政策吗？在朝鲜有脱身政策，现在我看形成了金、马的脱身政策。你那一班子实在想脱身，而且舆论上也要求脱身。脱身者，是从绞索里面脱出去。怎么脱法呢？就是这十一万人走路。台湾是我们的，那是无论如何不能让步的，是内政问题；跟你的交涉是国际问题。这是两件事。你美国跟蒋介石搞在一起，这个化合物是可以分解的。比如电解铝、电解铜，用电一解，不就分离了吗？蒋介石这一边是内政问题，你那一边是外交问题，不能混为一谈。

现在五大洲，除了澳洲，四大洲美国都想霸住。首先是北美洲，那主要是它自己的地方，它有军队；然后是中南美洲，虽然没有驻军，但是它要“保护”的。再加上欧洲、非洲、亚洲，主要是欧亚非，主力是在欧亚两洲。这么几个兵，分得这么散，我不晓得它这个仗怎么打法。所以，我总是觉得，它是霸中间地带为主。至于我们这些地方，除非是社会主义阵营出了大乱子，它确有把握，一来，我们苏联、中国就全部崩溃，否则我看它是不敢来的。除了我们这个阵营以外，它都想霸占，一个拉丁美洲，一个欧洲，一个非洲，一个亚洲。还有个澳洲，澳洲也在军事条约上跟它联起来了，听它的命令。它用“反共”的旗帜取得这些地方好些，还是真正反共好些？所谓真正反共，就是拿军队来打我们，打苏联。我说，没有那么蠢的人。它只有几个兵调来调去，黎巴嫩事情发生，从太平洋调去，到了红海地方，形势不对，赶快回头，到马来亚登陆，名为休息几天，十七天不吭声。后头它一个新闻记者自己宣布是管印度洋的，这一来，印度洋大家都反对。我们这里一打炮，这里兵不够，它又来了。台湾这些地方早一点解脱，对美国比较有利，它赖着不走，就让它套到这里，无损于大局，我们还是搞大跃进。

至于紧张局势，也许还可以讲几句。你搞紧张局势，你以为对你有利呀？不一定，紧张局势调动世界人心，都骂美国人。中东紧张局势大家骂美国人。台湾紧张局势又是大家骂美国人，骂我们的比较少。美国人骂我们，蒋介石骂我们，李承晚骂我们，也许还有一点人骂我们，主要就是这三个。英国是动摇派，军事上不参加，政治上听说它相当同情。因为它有个约旦问题，它不同情一下，美国人如果在黎巴嫩撤退，英国在约旦怎么办呀？尼赫鲁总理发表了声明，基本上跟我们一致的，赞成台湾这些东西归我们，不过希望和平解决。这回中东各国可是欢迎啦，特别是一个阿联，一个伊拉克，每天吹，说我们这个事情好。因为我们这一搞，美国人对它们那里的压力就轻了。

我想可以公开告诉世界人民，紧张局势比较对于西方国家不利，对于美国不利。利在什么地方呢？中东紧张局势对于美国有什么利？对于英国有什么利？还是对于阿拉伯国家有利些，对于亚洲、非洲、拉丁美洲以及其他各洲爱好和平的人民有利些。

台湾的紧张局势究竟对谁有利些呢?比如对于我们国家，我们国家现在全体动员，如果说中东事件有三四千万人游行示威、开会，这一次大概搞个三亿人口，使他们得到教育，得到锻炼。这个事情对于各民主党的团结也好吧，各党派有一个共同的奋斗目标，这样一来，过去心里有些疙瘩的，有些气的，受了批评的，也就消散一点吧。就这样慢慢搞下去，七搞八搞，我们大家还不就是工人阶级了。所以，帝国主义自己制造出来的紧张局势，结果反而对于反对帝国主义的我们几亿人口有利，对于全世界爱好和平的人民，各阶级，各阶层，政府，我看都有利。他们得想一想，美国总是不好，张牙舞爪。十三艘航空母舰就来了六艘，其中有大到那么大的，有什么六万五千吨的，说是要凑一百二十条船，第一个最强的舰队。你再强一点也好，把你那四个舰队统统集中到这个地方我都欢迎。你那个东西横直没有用的，统统集中来，你也上来不得。船的特点，就在水里头，不能上岸。你不过是在这个地方摆一摆，你越打，越使全世界的人都知道你无理。

I am going to discuss something we have talked about before. About the noose issue we discussed at the last meeting, did we not? Now I want to say that we need to place nooses on Dulles, Eisenhower, and other warmongers. There are many places where the nooses can be used on the Americans. In my opinion, wherever an [American] military base is located, [America] is tied up by a noose. [This happens], for example, in the East, in South Korea, Japan, the Philippines, and Taiwan; in the West, in West Germany, France, Italy, and Britain; in the Middle East, in Turkey and Iran; and in Africa, in Morocco and other places. In each of these countries, America has many military bases. For instance, in Turkey there are more than twenty American military bases, and it is said that in Japan there are about 800. In some other countries, although there is no [American] military base, they are occupied by the troops [of the imperialists]. For example, American troops in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan.

Here I am focusing on two of these nooses: one is Lebanon, the other is Taiwan. Taiwan is an old noose since America has occupied it for several years. Who ties America there? The People's Republic of China ties it there. 600 million Chinese have a noose in their hands. This is a steel noose and it ties America's neck. Who tied America? The noose was made by America itself and tied by itself, and it throws the other end of the noose to mainland China, letting us grasp it. [America] was tied in Lebanon only recently, but the noose was also made by America itself, tied by itself, and the other end of the noose was thrown into the hands of Arab nations. Not only so, America also throws the [other end of the] noose into the hands of the majority of the people in the world. Everyone condemns America, and no one gives it any sympathy. The noose is held by the people and governments in many countries. In the Middle East, for example, the UN held meetings [on the Lebanon issue], but [America's] main problem is that it has been tied by the Arab people and cannot escape. At present, America is caught in a dilemma—is it better to withdraw earlier or later? If an early withdrawal, why did it come in the first place? If a late withdrawal, [the noose] will be getting tighter and tighter, and will become an encased knot. How can this be handled? Lebanon is different from Taiwan with which America has signed a treaty. The situation in Lebanon is more flexible as no treaty is involved there. It is said that one issued the invitation, and the other came, and [the noose] is hitched up. As far as Taiwan is concerned, this is an encased knot since a treaty was signed. There is no difference between the Democrats and Republicans in this case. Eisenhower agreed on the treaty and [Harry] Truman sent the Seventh Fleet there. Truman could come and go at will since there was no treaty during his time. Eisenhower signed the treaty. America is tied up [in Taiwan] because of the Kuomintang's panic and request, and also because America was willing [to be tied up there].

Is it [America] tied up at Kinmen and Matsu? I think that it has also been tied up at Kinmen and Matsu. Why do I think so? Did not the Americans say that they had not made any decision yet, and that they would make the decision in accordance with the situation after the Communists landed there? The problem lies in the 110,000 Kuomintang troops, 95,000 men on Kinmen and 15,000 on Matsu. America has to pay attention to them as long as these two large garrisons are on the islands. This concerns the interest and feelings of their class. Why do the British and Americans treat the governments in some countries so nicely? They cannot fold their hands and see these governments collapse. Today the Americans and Chiang are having a joint military exercise under the command of [Vice Admiral Wallace M.] Beakley, commander of the Seventh Fleet. Also is there is [Roland] Smoot,³⁵ the person who ordered the firing, which made the [U.S.] State Department and Defense Department unhappy. He is there, together with Beakley, to take the command.

To make a long story short, you [Americans] are noosed here. You may be able to get away if you take the initiative to leave slowly and quietly. Is there not a policy for getting away? In my view, you had a policy for getting away from Korea, and now a policy for getting away from Kinmen-Matsu is being shaped. As a matter of fact, those in your group really want to get away, and the public opinion also asks you to do so. To get away is to extricate yourself from the noose. How can this be done? That is, the 110,000 troops should leave. Taiwan is ours, and we will never compromise on this issue, which is an issue of internal affairs. The dealing between us and you [the Americans] is an international issue. These are two different issues.

Although you Americans have been associated with Chiang Kai-shek, it is possible to dissolve this chemical combination. This is just like electrolytic aluminum or electrolytic copper, the combination will be dissolved when it is electrolyzed. Chiang Kai-shek is [for us] a domestic issue, and you [Americans] are [for us] a diplomatic issue. [The two] cannot be mixed up.

America now attempts to dominate four out of the five continents, except for Australia. First of all, in North America, this is mainly America's own place, and its armed forces are there. The next is Central and South America where it intends to provide "protection," although it does not have garrisons there. Then, there are Europe, Africa, and Asia, to which [America] has given its main attention, and deployed its main force in Europe and Asia. I do not know how it [America] can fight a war with a few soldiers scattered everywhere. Thus, I believe that it focuses on occupying the intermediate zone. As far as the territories of our [socialist countries] are concerned, I believe that the Americans do not dare to come, unless the socialist camp encounters big trouble and they are convinced that the Soviet Union and China will totally collapse as soon as they come. Except for [the countries belonging to] our camp, America is seeking hegemony everywhere in the world, including Latin America, Europe, Africa, Asia, and, also, Australia. Australia has linked itself with America through a military alliance and follows its orders. Is it better for America to try to control these places by utilizing the banner of "anti-communism" or by fighting a real war against communism? To fight [a real war] against communism means to dispatch its troops to fight us and fight the Soviet Union. I would say that the Americans are not so stupid. They only have a few soldiers to be transferred here and there. After the incident in Lebanon, American troops were transferred there from the Pacific. After they arrived in the Red Sea area, the situation changed unfavorably [in the Pacific], and they turned around quickly and landed at Malaya. They announced that [the troops] were taking a vacation there, and kept quiet for seventeen days. Later, after one of their reporters claimed that [America] was taking charge of the Indian Ocean, everyone in the India Ocean [area] expressed opposition. When we began our artillery bombardment, America came here since there were not enough [of its] troops here. It will probably better serve America's interests if it leaves such places like Taiwan in an earlier time. If it continues to stay, let it be noosed here. This will not affect the overall situation, and we can continue the Great Leap Forward.

We should strive to produce eleven million tons of steel, doubling last year's output. Next year another twenty million tons, striving to reach thirty million tons. The year after next, another twenty million tons. Is it not fifty million tons by then? Three years of hard efforts, fifty million tons of steel. At that time, we will occupy third place in the world, next only to the Soviet Union and the United States. The [steel] output of the Soviet Union reached fifty million [tons] last year. In three years, they can make it sixty million [tons]. If we make hard efforts in the next three years, it is possible that [our steel output] may surpass fifty million tons. In another two years, by 1962, it is possible [for us to produce] eighty to a hundred million tons [of steel], approaching the level of the United States (because of the impact of economic recessions, America's [steel output] will probably only reach a hundred million tons at that time). [At the end of] the second five-year plan, we will approach or even surpass America. In another two years, in seven years, [we may] produce a hundred fifty million tons of steel, and surpass America to become the number one in the world. It is not good for us to name ourselves as the most superior in the world, but it is not bad to become the number one steel producer. [We should also] make hard efforts in the next three years to [increase] grain production. The output of this year is between three hundred fifty to four hundred million tons. [The output] will double next year, reaching, probably, seven hundred fifty million tons. We should slow down a little bit the year after next, for we have to find outlets for [extra] grain. Food will be grain's main outlet; but we also need to find other outlets in industry. For example, [using grain] to produce ethyl alcohol, and, through ethyl alcohol, to produce rubber, artificial fiber, plastic, and other things.

Let me talk a little bit more about the tense situation. You [Americans] cause the tense situation, and you think it advantageous to you, do you not? You may be

wrong. The tense situation can mobilize the people in the world, making everyone blame you Americans. When a tense situation emerges in the Middle East, everyone blames the Americans. When tension comes to Taiwan everyone again blames the Americans. Only a few people blame us. The Americans blame us, Chiang Kai-shek blames us, and Syngman Rhee blames us. Maybe there are some others [who blame us], but mainly these three. Britain is a vacillating element. While it will not be militarily involved, it is said that it has strong sympathy politically. This is because Britain faces problems in Jordan. How can it handle the situation in Jordan if the Americans withdraw from Lebanon because [the British] failed to show sympathy [to the Americans]? Nehru issued a statement, which basically echoed us, suggesting that Taiwan and other [offshore] islands should be returned to us, but hoping that a peaceful solution can be reached. The countries in the Middle East, especially Egypt and Iraq, warmly welcomed [our artillery bombardment] this time. They praise us every day, saying that we have done the right thing. This is because our [artillery bombardment] here has reduced the pressure the Americans put on them.

I think that we can tell the people of the world publicly that, in comparison, a tense situation is more disadvantageous to the western countries, as well as more disadvantageous to America [than to them]. Why is it advantageous to them [the people of the world]? Does the tense situation in the Middle East do any good for America? Does it do any good for Britain? Or is it more advantageous to the Arab countries and to the peace-loving people in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and other continents. To which side is the tense situation in the Taiwan [Straits] more advantageous? Let us take our country as an example. Our country is now experiencing a nationwide mobilization. If during the Middle East crisis about thirty to forty million people participated in the rallies and protest parades, this time [during the Taiwan crisis] we will probably mobilize 300 million people [to participate in rallies and parades], educating them and toughening them. This event will also benefit our unity with all democratic parties³⁶ in China because all the parties now share a common goal. As a result, those who in the past had knots in their hearts, who were unhappy, and who were criticized will now feel a little bit more comfortable. If we can continue to handle the situation in this way, doing it again and again, we will all belong to the working class one day. Therefore, in my view, the tense situation caused by the imperialists eventually becomes advantageous to hundreds of millions of Chinese people who oppose imperialism, to peace-loving peoples all over the world, and to all social classes, all social ranks, and the governments [in various countries]. They now have to believe that America, always arrogant and aggressive, is no good after all. [The U.S. government] moved six of its thirteen aircraft carriers [to the Taiwan Straits]. Among these carriers, there are some big ones with the size reaching 65,000 tons. It is said that with 120 ships, it forms the strongest fleet in the world. It does not matter if you want to make it even stronger. It does not matter if you want to concentrate all of your four fleets here. I welcome you all. After all, what you have is useless here. Even though you move every ship you have here, you cannot land. Ships have to be in the water, and cannot come to the land. You can do nothing but make some threatening gesture here. The more you play, the more the people in the world will understand how unreasonable you are.