

**May 19, 1965**

**Liu Shaoqi, 'Speech at the Reception of the  
Comrades of the Central Military Commission War  
Planning Meeting'**

**Citation:**

"Liu Shaoqi, 'Speech at the Reception of the Comrades of the Central Military Commission War Planning Meeting'", May 19, 1965, Wilson Center Digital Archive, Dang de wenxian (Party Historical Documents) no. 3 (1995): 40. Translated by Qiang Zhai.  
<https://wilson-center-digital-archive.dvincitest.com/document/110410>

**Summary:**

Speech on China's state of preparations for war with the United States.

**Credits:**

This document was made possible with support from Leon Levy Foundation

**Original Language:**

Chinese

**Contents:**

Original Scan  
Translation - English

## 在接见军委作战会议全体同志时的讲话（节录）\*

（一九六五年五月十九日）

刘 少 奇

敌人方面有很多矛盾，有很多弱点，很多困难。它们的困难不比我们少。而我们的准备快一点，好一点，战争就可以推迟，它就不容易来。如果我们准备得很好，甚至它就不敢来。它们不来，我们也不打出去，这样的前途不是没有可能的。但是，这是要争取，要努力，要把大三线、小三线建设起来，各方面都做好，原子弹、氢弹搞好，远程导弹搞好。在这种情况下，虽然美国有日本、台湾、菲律宾作基地，但是，隔着海，那些船那么大的目标，很容易打。我们还是早点搞打飞机、打船的新技术，一个弹就可以把它的船打掉。我们的红旗一号、二号，可以把它的高空飞机打下来。高空飞机有把握打下来，低空飞机更有把握打下来。它的优势就是海军、空军、原子弹、导弹，海军、空军的优势是有限制的。用地面部队到中国来，我们不怕。所以，两方面，我们既在准备它各方面来，许多国家都来打中国，也要看到它没有理由，师出无名。我们不去打，它自己来，这个士气是不会高的。正义战争、非正义战争，在这个地方就决定了。

此外，还有一个增加兵员问题。为了筑工事，可搞一些工程部队，搞一个时候，把工事做好了，就可以回去。那些生产部队，准值班师也都要做工事。生产部队是农业生产多，至少农闲时期极大部分可以做工事。北方半年，长江流域四、五个月，就搞那个事情。至于打起仗来，要增加兵，只要一动员就来了。这个事情容易的。现在就是要搞好民兵。

打起仗来来不及的事情，一个是做工事，一个是三线，一个是基地，以及通信、侦察网，新技术等，这都是需要注意的。大三线、小三线、还有物资储备、尖端技术、科学研究、新武器的研究，都要搞，迟了就来不及，这是要花时间的。

至于讲兵员，多少军区、地方与军队统一领导等，这些事情打起仗来来得及搞的。有的要在敌人进来以后才能搞。把陇海路切断，把长江南北切断，把京汉路、津浦路切断，那个时期，就势必划成一块一块的，势必党政军要一元化领导。这是要到那个时期才能搞的现在不能搞。现在有火车、飞机，他是不会照你们那个办法搞的。到那时候，领导机关才会上山。现在，他一定是要住在城市里面，不住在城市里不方便。这个要在打了起来之后，甚至是敌人大部队进来把我们切断以后才可以搞的。他没有被切断还不会搞。譬如说，敌人不占领西安、潼关那些地方，陕西是不搞陕南、陕北军区的，他一定要到那个时候才搞，而且来得及搞。兵员动员也来得及，民兵工作现在就可以去抓，搞过四清的已经不少了，够你们抓的。过了今冬明春，就更多了。你们去搞几个典型试验，搞几个团，搞几个师。一个小县搞一个团，大县搞一个师。真正把民兵三落实搞好，搞出一个典型经验来。过去有过典型经验，有报告，我们报纸也登过。我想搞过四清就不同了，要搞个新的典型经验。各个军区搞一点，就可以搞出来。

---

\* 根据讲话记录稿整理刊印。

Speech at the Reception of the Comrades of the Central Military Commission War Planning Meeting (Excerpt)  
(29 May 1965)

Liu Shaoqi

The enemy has many contradictions, weaknesses, and difficulties. Its problems are no less than ours. If our preparations are faster and better, war can be delayed. The enemy will find it difficult to invade. If we make excellent preparations, the enemy may even dare not to invade. If it does not invade, we will not fight out. Such a prospect is not impossible. But we must work hard to achieve this goal. We must build the big Third Front and the small Third Front and do a good job on every front, including the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, and long-distance missiles. Under such circumstances, even if the United States has bases in Japan, Taiwan, and the Philippines, its ships are big targets out on the sea and are easy for us to strike. We should develop as early as possible new technology to attack aircraft and warships so that we can knock out one enemy ship with a single missile. Our Red Flag 1 and Red Flag 2 can shoot down the enemy's high-altitude airplanes. If we have assurance to shoot down high-altitude airplanes, we can have more assurance to knock down low-altitude ones. The enemy's strength lies in its navy, air force, atomic bombs, and missiles, but the strength in navy and air force has its limits. If the enemy sends ground troops to invade China, we are not afraid. Therefore, on the one hand we should be prepared for the enemy to come from all directions, including a joint invasion against China by many countries. On the other hand we should realize that the enemy lacks reasons and justifications in sending troops. If the enemy invades us without our attacking it first, the enemy's morale cannot be high. This will decide the difference between a just and an unjust war.

In addition, there is the issue of increasing the size of troops. In order to build fortifications, we can organize some engineer units. After working for a period and completing fortifications, they can be dismissed. Troops engaged in agricultural production and divisions on semi war alert should also construct fortifications. Production troops are busy with agricultural work, but during slack seasons they should spend most of their time building fortifications. This means that they can work on fortifications for half a year in North China and for four to five months in the Yangtze valley. If war begins and we have to expand troops, we just need a mobilization. This matter will be easy. At the moment, we need to do a good job in organizing militia forces.

What we cannot have time to prepare when war begins includes fortification construction, third fronts, bases as well as communications, a reconnaissance network, and new technology. We must pay attention to these issues. We should start work on the big Third Front, the small Third Front, material storage, state-of-the-art technology, scientific investigation, and research on new weapons. If we delay work on these matters, we will find ourselves unprepared later. To do these things needs time.

As to the issues of the size of troops, the number of military regions, and a unified leadership between the local civilian government and the military, we can have time to deal with them when war begins. Some of the issues will be dealt with only after the enemy has invaded our country. In case that the enemy occupies the Longhai Railroad, or the Yangtze valley, or the Jinghan Railroad, or the Jinpu Railroad, our country will then be divided into sections. If that happens, we have to practice a unified leadership of the party, the government and the army. But this will be decided at that time, not now. With trains and airplanes at its disposal, the enemy will not do things according to our methods. Only when that time comes will our leadership go to mountains. At present, the leadership must live in the city because it will be inconvenient if it does not live in the city. Only when a large number of enemy troops invades China and cuts us into parts will the leadership go to the mountains. It will

not do that when China is not cut into parts. For instance, if the enemy does not occupy cities like Xian and Tongguan, Shaanxi will not create a Shaanan Military region and a Shaanbei military region. The leadership will decide on this matter after the enemy has invaded, and there is time to do that. There is also time to mobilize troops. At present, we can begin the organization of the militia....[the rest of the speech is about how to organize the militia].