



**SELECTED WORKS  
OF  
MAO TSETUNG**

**Volume V**

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The present volume is the authorized English translation of the first Chinese edition of the fifth volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, published in April 1977 by the People's Publishing House, Peking.

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毛泽东



## PUBLICATION NOTE

The works of our great leader and teacher Chairman Mao Tsetung are immortal monuments of Marxism-Leninism. In accordance with the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* has now been published and the subsequent volumes will come out in succession.

The previously published Volumes I to IV of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contain important writings from the period of the new-democratic revolution. Volume V and succeeding volumes contain important writings from the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction.

In the new historical period since the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Tsetung, consistently upholding the principle of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution, inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism as he led our Party and our people in a series of struggles; these were struggles to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to oppose the revisionist lines of Kao-Jao, Peng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Wang-Chang-Chiang-Yao, to fight against imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries and to combat modern revisionism with the Soviet revisionist renegade clique as its centre. During this period Comrade Mao Tsetung's greatest contributions to theory were to sum up systematically the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and abroad, analyse the contradictions, classes and class struggle in socialist society by means of the fundamental concept of materialist dialectics, the unity of opposites, and thereby to reveal the law of development of socialist society and create the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The new ideas, new theses, of Comrade Mao Tsetung concerning the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat have greatly enriched the treasure-house of Marxist-Leninist theory in the realms of philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism. They not only chart the Chinese people's true road for consolidating the

dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism, but are also of great and lasting world significance.

Volume V of the *Selected Works of Mao Tsetung* contains important writings from September 1949 through 1957. It was in these writings that Comrade Mao Tsetung for the first time put forward: the scientific thesis that the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, will still exist for a long time after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production; the teachings about correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of contradictions in socialist society that are different in nature, those between ourselves and the enemy and those among the people; the great theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat; and the ideas underlying the general line for building socialism. Later, particularly during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Mao Tsetung continued to enrich and develop this body of brilliant thought on the basis of the practical experience of the revolution.

Comrade Mao Tsetung was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our time. Mao Tsetung Thought is the victorious banner under which our Party, our army and our people will fight in unity and continue the revolution; it is a treasure shared in common by the international proletariat and the revolutionary people of all countries. Comrade Mao Tsetung's thought and teachings will live for ever.

Some of Comrade Mao Tsetung's writings from the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction contained in the *Selected Works* have been published before; others have not, and they include documents drafted by him, his manuscripts and official records of his speeches. Some necessary technical editing of the records of the speeches was done in the course of compilation.

Committee for Editing and Publishing  
the Works of Chairman Mao Tsetung,  
Central Committee of the Communist  
Party of China

March 1, 1977

## CONTENTS

### *THE PERIOD OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION (1)*

THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP! ( <i>September 21, 1949</i> )	15
LONG LIVE THE GREAT UNITY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE! ( <i>September 30, 1949</i> )	19
ETERNAL GLORY TO THE HEROES OF THE PEOPLE! ( <i>September 30, 1949</i> )	22
ALWAYS KEEP TO THE STYLE OF PLAIN LIVING AND HARD STRUGGLE ( <i>October 26, 1949</i> )	23
REQUEST FOR OPINIONS ON THE TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH RICH PEASANTS ( <i>March 12, 1950</i> )	24
FIGHT FOR A FUNDAMENTAL TURN FOR THE BETTER IN THE NATION'S FINANCIAL AND ECONOMIC SITUATION ( <i>June 6, 1950</i> )	26
DON'T HIT OUT IN ALL DIRECTIONS ( <i>June 6, 1950</i> )	33
BE A TRUE REVOLUTIONARY ( <i>June 23, 1950</i> )	37
YOU ARE MODELS FOR THE WHOLE NATION ( <i>September 25, 1950</i> )	41
ORDER TO THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS ( <i>October 8, 1950</i> )	43
THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUNTEERS SHOULD CHERISH EVERY HILL, EVERY RIVER, EVERY TREE AND EVERY BLADE OF GRASS IN KOREA ( <i>January 19, 1951</i> )	44
MAIN POINTS OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE EN- LARGED MEETING OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ( <i>February 18, 1951</i> )	45
I. Twenty-two Months for Preparation	45
II. Propaganda and Education Campaign for Resisting U.S. Aggression and Aiding Korea	45
III. Agrarian Reform	46
IV. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries	46
V. Urban Work	47



VI. Party Consolidation and Party Building	47
VII. United Front Work	48
VIII. Rectification Movement	49
THE PARTY'S MASS LINE MUST BE FOLLOWED IN SUPPRESSING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ( <i>May 1951</i> )	50
STRIKE SURELY, ACCURATELY AND RELENTLESSLY IN SUPPRESS- ING COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES ( <i>December 1950 - September 1951</i> )	53
PAY SERIOUS ATTENTION TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE FILM <i>THE LIFE OF WU HSUN</i> ( <i>May 20, 1951</i> )	57
GREAT VICTORIES IN THREE MASS MOVEMENTS ( <i>October 23, 1951</i> )	59
ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE "THREE EVILS" AND THE "FIVE EVILS" ( <i>November 1951 - March 1952</i> )	64
TAKE MUTUAL AID AND CO-OPERATION IN AGRICULTURE AS A MAJOR TASK ( <i>December 15, 1951</i> )	71
NEW YEAR'S DAY MESSAGE ( <i>January 1, 1952</i> )	72
ON THE POLICIES FOR OUR WORK IN TIBET - DIRECTIVE OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ( <i>April 6, 1952</i> )	73
THE CONTRADICTION BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE BOURGEOISIE IS THE PRINCIPAL CONTRADICTION IN CHINA ( <i>June 6, 1952</i> )	77
LET US UNITE AND CLEARLY DISTINGUISH BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE ENEMY ( <i>August 4, 1952</i> )	78
HAIL THE SIGNAL VICTORY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S VOLUN- TEERS! ( <i>October 24, 1952</i> )	82
COMBAT BUREAUCRACY, COMMANDISM AND VIOLATIONS OF THE LAW AND OF DISCIPLINE ( <i>January 5, 1953</i> )	84
CRITICIZE HAN CHAUVINISM ( <i>March 16, 1953</i> )	87
SOLVE THE PROBLEM OF THE "FIVE EXCESSES" ( <i>March 19, 1953</i> )	89
LIU SHAO-CHI AND YANG SHANG-KUN CRITICIZED FOR BREACH OF DISCIPLINE IN ISSUING DOCUMENTS IN THE NAME OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION ( <i>May 19, 1953</i> )	92
REFUTE RIGHT DEVIATIONIST VIEWS THAT DEPART FROM THE GENERAL LINE ( <i>June 15, 1953</i> )	93
THE YOUTH LEAGUE IN ITS WORK MUST TAKE THE CHARAC- TERISTICS OF YOUTH INTO CONSIDERATION ( <i>June 30, 1953</i> )	95
ON STATE CAPITALISM ( <i>July 9, 1953</i> )	101

THE PARTY'S GENERAL LINE FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD (August 1953)	102
COMBAT BOURGEOIS IDEAS IN THE PARTY (August 12, 1953)	103
THE ONLY ROAD FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF CAPITALIST INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE (September 7, 1953)	112
OUR GREAT VICTORY IN THE WAR TO RESIST U.S. AGGRESSION AND AID KOREA AND OUR FUTURE TASKS (September 12, 1953)	115
CRITICISM OF LIANG SHU-MING'S REACTIONARY IDEAS (Sep- tember 16-18, 1953)	121
TWO TALKS ON MUTUAL AID AND CO-OPERATION IN AGRI- CULTURE (October and November 1953)	131
I. The Talk of October 15	131
II. The Talk of November 4	135
ON THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA (June 14, 1954)	141
STRIVE TO BUILD A GREAT SOCIALIST COUNTRY (September 15, 1954)	148
LETTER CONCERNING THE STUDY OF <i>THE DREAM OF THE RED CHAMBER</i> (October 16, 1954)	150
THE CHINESE PEOPLE CANNOT BE COWED BY THE ATOM BOMB (January 28, 1955)	152
SPEECHES AT THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE COM- MUNIST PARTY OF CHINA (March 1955)	154
Opening Speech	154
Concluding Speech	158
1. Evaluation of the Present Conference	158
2. On the First Five-Year Plan	160
3. On the Anti-Party Alliance of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih	161
4. On the Current Situation	167
5. Strive for the Successful Convocation of the Eighth National Congress of the Party	169
IN REFUTATION OF "UNIFORMITY OF PUBLIC OPINION" (May 24, 1955)	172
PREFACE AND EDITOR'S NOTES TO <i>MATERIAL ON THE COUNTER- REVOLUTIONARY HU FENG CLIQUE</i> (May and June 1955)	176
Preface	176
Editor's Notes (Selections)	178
ON THE CO-OPERATIVE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE (July 31, 1955)	184

RELY ON PARTY AND LEAGUE MEMBERS AND POOR AND LOWER-MIDDLE PEASANTS IN THE CO-OPERATIVE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE ( <i>September 7, 1955</i> )	208
THE DEBATE ON THE CO-OPERATIVE TRANSFORMATION OF AGRICULTURE AND THE CURRENT CLASS STRUGGLE ( <i>October 11, 1955</i> )	211
I. The Relationship Between Agricultural Co-operation and the Transformation of Capitalist Industry and Commerce	212
II. A Summing-up of the Debate on the Question of Co-operation	216
III. On the Question of Comprehensive Planning and More Effective Leadership	218
IV. On Ideological Struggle	223
V. Other Questions	226
PREFACES TO <i>SOCIALIST UPSURGE IN CHINA'S COUNTRYSIDE</i> ( <i>September and December 1955</i> )	235
Preface I	235
Preface II	238
EDITOR'S NOTES FROM <i>SOCIALIST UPSURGE IN CHINA'S COUNTRYSIDE</i> ( <i>September and December 1955</i> )	242
REQUEST FOR OPINIONS ON THE SEVENTEEN-ARTICLE DOCUMENT CONCERNING AGRICULTURE ( <i>December 21, 1955</i> )	277
SPEED UP THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF HANDICRAFTS ( <i>March 5, 1956</i> )	281
ON THE TEN MAJOR RELATIONSHIPS ( <i>April 25, 1956</i> )	284
I. The Relationship Between Heavy Industry on the One Hand and Light Industry and Agriculture on the Other	285
II. The Relationship Between Industry in the Coastal Regions and Industry in the Interior	286
III. The Relationship Between Economic Construction and Defence Construction	288
IV. The Relationship Between the State, the Units of Production and the Producers	289
V. The Relationship Between the Central and the Local Authorities	292
VI. The Relationship Between the Han Nationality and the Minority Nationalities	295
VII. The Relationship Between Party and Non-Party	296

VIII. The Relationship Between Revolution and Counter-Revolution	298
IX. The Relationship Between Right and Wrong	301
X. The Relationship Between China and Other Countries	303
U.S. IMPERIALISM IS A PAPER TIGER ( <i>July 14, 1956</i> )	308
STRENGTHEN PARTY UNITY AND CARRY FORWARD PARTY TRADITIONS ( <i>August 30, 1956</i> )	312
SOME EXPERIENCES IN OUR PARTY'S HISTORY ( <i>September 25, 1956</i> )	324
IN COMMEMORATION OF DR. SUN YAT-SEN ( <i>November 12, 1956</i> )	330
SPEECH AT THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE EIGHTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA ( <i>November 15, 1956</i> )	332
TALKS AT A CONFERENCE OF SECRETARIES OF PROVINCIAL, MUNICIPAL AND AUTONOMOUS REGION PARTY COMMITTEES ( <i>January 1957</i> )	350
I. The Talk of January 18	350
II. The Talk of January 27	359
ON THE CORRECT HANDLING OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE PEOPLE ( <i>February 27, 1957</i> )	384
I. Two Types of Contradictions Differing in Nature	384
II. The Question of Eliminating Counter-Revolutionaries	396
III. The Question of the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture	399
IV. The Question of the Industrialists and Businessmen	402
V. The Question of the Intellectuals	404
VI. The Question of the Minority Nationalities	406
VII. Over-all Consideration and Proper Arrangement	407
VIII. On "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend" and "Long-Term Coexistence and Mutual Supervision"	408
IX. On the Question of Disturbances Created by Small Numbers of People	414
X. Can Bad Things Be Turned into Good Things?	416
XI. On Practising Economy	417
XII. China's Path to Industrialization	419
SPEECH AT THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY'S NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PROPAGANDA WORK ( <i>March 12, 1957</i> )	422

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PERSEVERE IN PLAIN LIVING AND HARD STRUGGLE, MAINTAIN CLOSE TIES WITH THE MASSES ( <i>March 1957</i> )	436
THINGS ARE BEGINNING TO CHANGE ( <i>May 15, 1957</i> )	440
THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE CORE OF LEADERSHIP OF THE WHOLE CHINESE PEOPLE ( <i>May 25, 1957</i> )	447
MUSTER OUR FORCES TO REPULSE THE RIGHTISTS' WILD ATTACKS ( <i>June 8, 1957</i> )	448
WEN HUI PAO'S BOURGEOIS ORIENTATION SHOULD BE CRITI- CIZED ( <i>July 1, 1957</i> )	451
BEAT BACK THE ATTACKS OF THE BOURGEOIS RIGHTISTS ( <i>July 9, 1957</i> )	457
THE SITUATION IN THE SUMMER OF 1957 ( <i>July 1957</i> )	473
BE ACTIVISTS IN PROMOTING THE REVOLUTION ( <i>October 9, 1957</i> )	483
HAVE FIRM FAITH IN THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE ( <i>October 13, 1957</i> )	498
A DIALECTICAL APPROACH TO INNER-PARTY UNITY ( <i>November 18, 1957</i> )	514
ALL REACTIONARIES ARE PAPER TIGERS ( <i>November 18, 1957</i> )	517

**THE PERIOD OF  
THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND  
SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION (I)**



# THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAVE STOOD UP!

*September 21, 1949*

Fellow Delegates,

The Political Consultative Conference so eagerly awaited by the whole nation is herewith inaugurated.

Our conference is composed of more than six hundred delegates, representing all the democratic parties and people's organizations of China, the People's Liberation Army, the various regions and nationalities of the country and the overseas Chinese. This shows that ours is a conference embodying the great unity of the people of the whole country.

It is because we have defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government backed by U.S. imperialism that this great unity of the whole people has been achieved. In a little more than three years the heroic Chinese People's Liberation Army, an army such as the world has seldom seen, crushed all the offensives launched by the several million troops of the U.S.-supported reactionary Kuomintang government and turned to the counter-offensive and the offensive. At present the field armies of the People's Liberation Army, several million strong, have pushed the war to areas near Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechuan and Sinkiang, and the great majority of the Chinese people have won liberation. In a little more than three years the people of the whole country have closed their ranks, rallied to support the People's Liberation Army, fought the enemy and won basic victory. And it is on this foundation that the present People's Political Consultative Conference is convened.

Our conference is called the Political Consultative Conference because some three years ago we held a Political Consultative Conference with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang.<sup>1</sup> The results of that

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Opening address at the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.



conference were sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices; nevertheless the conference left an indelible impression on the people. It showed that nothing in the interest of the people could be accomplished together with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplices. Even when resolutions were reluctantly adopted, it was of no avail, for as soon as the time was ripe, they tore them up and started a ruthless war against the people. The only gain from that conference was the profound lesson it taught the people that there is absolutely no room for compromise with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, the running dog of imperialism, and its accomplices — overthrow these enemies or be oppressed and slaughtered by them, either one or the other, there is no other choice. In a little more than three years the Chinese people, led by the Chinese Communist Party, have quickly awakened and organized themselves into a nation-wide united front against imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and their general representative, the reactionary Kuomintang government, supported the People's War of Liberation, basically defeated the reactionary Kuomintang government, overthrown the rule of imperialism in China and restored the Political Consultative Conference.

The present Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on an entirely new foundation; it is representative of the people of the whole country and enjoys their trust and support. Therefore, the conference proclaims that it will exercise the functions and powers of a National People's Congress. In accordance with its agenda, the conference will enact the Organic Law of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the Organic Law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China and the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference; it will elect the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and the Central People's Government Council of the People's Republic of China; it will adopt the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China; and it will decide on the seat of the capital of the People's Republic of China and adopt the chronological system in use in most countries of the world.

Fellow Delegates, we are all convinced that our work will go down in the history of mankind, demonstrating that the Chinese people, comprising one quarter of humanity, have now stood up. The Chinese have always been a great, courageous and industrious nation;