

TWELVE-POINT DIRECTIVE OF
THE CENTRAL CULTURAL
REVOLUTION GROUP CONCERNING
THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN FACTORIES
AND MINES (DRAFT)*

(November 17, 1966)

1. The great proletarian cultural revolution is to propagate forcefully Mao Tse-tung's thought, to reform the society with the proletarian view of the world, to abolish the ideologies of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, to destroy the four olds of the bourgeoisie and to establish the four news of the proletariat, for the sake of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, uprooting the revisionist roots, preventing the capitalist restoration, guaranteeing the permanence of our socialist regime, and greatly promoting the development of socialist productivity.

The working class is the leading strength and the most active element of the cultural revolution; workers are shouldering a specially great responsibility for this great proletarian cultural revolution; and the rising up of worker masses in factories, mines and enterprises to carry on the great cultural revolution is obliged by the general situation, is just excellent, and is unpreventable.

2. Party committees at all levels and leaders of all factories and mines must seriously carry out the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production" laid down by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee; they must not be afraid of the rising up of the masses, must not shirk their responsibilities, and must not oppose the masses. They must stand firmly with the masses, against the small handful of degenerate, ungrateful, selfish persons in authority taking the capitalist road who suppress the masses. They must also dare to mobilize the masses to criticize their own mistakes, and must not instigate workers to struggle against workers, or masses to struggle against masses.

3. The current problem is that the leaders of certain units erroneously put the cultural revolution movement in opposition against production. Some use the pretext of grasping the movement to suppress the revolutionaries and protect themselves, neglecting production; others use the pretext of grasping production to boycott the cultural revolution movement. These two mistakes are both a disregard of the whole situation, a violation of the policies of the Party, and a serious violation against the directive of "grasping revolution and promoting production". As one worker comrade pointed out: "They are afraid of the masses, of the revolution, of being dismissed from office, but not afraid of affecting productive tasks." The Center considers this criticism exactly to the point and very correct; it must be brought to the focus of attention of leaders at all levels of the factories, mines and enterprises.

4. The high degree of sense of responsibility of the working masses in the factories and mines who are concerned both with the great cultural revolution and the production tasks must be fully recognized; the high degree of sense of responsibility of the working class towards their own nation must be fully appreciated. As one welder foreman said, with production tasks unfulfilled, he would take his younger brother to assist him in the workshop. Some revolutionary workers work overtime to make up for lost time, for fear of not fulfilling their production tasks. These illustrate a high degree of sense of responsibility.

5. The Party Central Committee calls for the leaders at all levels to go actively to the workers, according to the Decision of the Party Central Committee Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, i.e. the Sixteen Articles, to explain clearly to the masses the great meaning of "grasping revolution and promoting production", to let the masses carry on full discussions, so that they may consciously realize grasping revolution while promoting revolution, and may make proper arrangements according to the conditions in their own units. There must not be mistakes such as doing all things for the masses, suppressing the masses, adhering obstinately to set patterns, and being afraid of the masses. Revolutionary masses who were branded counterrevolutionary workers must be rehabilitated. (There is a particular directive

for the question of rehabilitation.)

6. Many workers in factories, mines and enterprises have suggested that there should be proper regulations for the time spent for cultural revolution and for production. For instance, the eight-hour work system must be maintained; the cultural revolution must be carried on after working hours, ranging from three to four hours without taking up production time; meantime the worker comrades must be allowed to have necessary rest.

7. In order that the revolutionary movement of grasping revolution and promoting production might develop smoothly, there should be organized two mutually cooperating leaderships, which should be laid down solidly at each level. The cultural revolution is to be organized with dual leadership. The leading organs of the cultural revolution are the cultural revolution committees, cultural revolution leading groups, and cultural revolution congresses. These organs must not be manipulated from behind the scenes, but must be elected according to the system of the Paris Commune, after full consultation and repeated discussions of the masses, in the practice of a general election, and with the members capable of being changed and re-elected at any time.

The production command system of the factories must not be interrupted. Where the original administrative organs and Party committees have not been paralysed, the leadership should be reorganized, with experienced and politically reliable old workers as the bulwarks, and with the participation of technicians, in order to command the production. Now the leading organs in many places still exist, but seldom assume leadership, thus exist only in name.

8. According to provisions in the Constitution of the People's Republic of China, worker comrades have the right to establish all kinds of cultural revolution organizations; all revolutionary comrades must do things according to the principles and policies of the Party. Within the various revolutionary mass organizations and among the revolutionary masses, democracy must be fully advocated; differences in opinion and disputes on different

opinions should be settled through democratic means. We must guard against factionalism, refrain from armed struggle, protect production from being affected by troubles, and prevent stoppage in work.

9. Collective organizations of the workers had better adopt the forms of associations, representative conferences, congresses, etc. which are suitable for the worker masses. All good organizations should retain the characteristics of the working class of diligence and plainness, without being detached from the masses, and without a set of organs and material equipments detached from the masses. Personnel in workers' organizations should as a rule not be detached from production.

10. Working masses must stand firmly at their own posts, must be mindful of the general situation, and must not abandon productive labor and go out in groups for exchange of revolutionary experience so as to affect the production of their own units and other units. Those who went out for exchange of revolutionary experience on their own should hurry back to production; this also applies to part-time students with productive tasks.

11. Workers' organizations of factories and mines may go to other factories and mines in their own locality after working hours for visits, and to exchange their experience in the great proletarian cultural revolution.

12. Revolutionary student organizations may send representatives to factories, mines and enterprises for the exchange of revolutionary experience. Before the student representatives go there, they should first make contact with the workers' organizations in those factories and mines.

* This document is published in *Red Guard Journal*, December 23, 1966. It is preceded by these words: "Comrades Chen Po-ta, Wang Li, Kuan Feng, Chi Pen-yu and Tang Ping-chu held a seminar on November 17, 1966, from 3:25 p.m. to 6:17 p.m., with representatives of revolutionary workers of the capital, with the participation of some combatants of Peking Aeronautic College Red Flag. At the meeting Comrade Wang Li read the Twelve-Point Directive of the Central Cultural Revolution Group Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in Factories and Mines (Draft). Following is the full text."

CIRCULAR OF THE CCP
CENTRAL COMMITTEE CONCERNING
THE TRANSMISSION OF
IMPORTANT NOTICE OF
THE CCP PEKING MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE
OF NOVEMBER 18

To all regional bureaus of the Central Committee, all provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees:

The Important Notice issued by the Peking Municipal Committee on November 18 is very good. Now it is transmitted for distribution in the whole country. The provincial, municipal and autonomous region authorities are requested to reprint and distribute this document in large quantities in the name of the various provincial, municipal and autonomous region Party committees, to be posted in schools, factories, mines or other units. If there are similar cases in various places, they should be dealt with in accordance with this notice.

The Central Authority

November 20, 1966

Appendix:

IMPORTANT NOTICE

No factory, mine, school, organization or other unit is allowed to set up house of detention without authorization, to set up court of trial without authorization, or to arrest and torture people without authorization.

Such doings are a violation of the laws of the state and the disciplines of the Party.

Any person organizing such activities openly or secretly must

face the severe punishment of the state law and the Party discipline.

Starting from today, if there are more people committing the above-mentioned crimes, they must be dealt with immediately.

The Chinese Communist Party
Peking Municipal Committee

November 18, 1966