

DIRECTIVE OF THE
CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE
CONCERNING THE GREAT CULTURAL
REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE IN
THIS WINTER AND NEXT SPRING

1. After the progress of the great proletarian cultural revolution for over one year, the invincible Mao Tse-tung's thought has penetrated into human minds, and the vast poor, lower-middle peasants in the countryside have been further mobilized, and have seized a dual victory in revolution and production. The current situation in the countryside is highly excellent. The conditions are not good only in those small areas seriously affected by natural disasters or controlled by persons taking the capitalist road and landlords, rich-peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements.

2. The great proletarian cultural revolution in the countryside in this winter and next spring is to be carried on in accordance with the "Decision Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the CCP Central Committee, i.e. the Sixteen Articles, and the "Directive Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the Countryside (Draft)", i.e. the Ten Articles. The spearhead of the struggle should always be directed against the biggest small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road and their agents in all places. We must resolutely rely upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants. We must mobilize the masses without reservation, let the masses educate themselves, and not send work-teams to do a lot of gesticulation. Workers, town residents, cadres in organs, and students should all refrain from going out for exchange of revolutionary experience. Peasants are not to go to cities for exchange of revolutionary experience. When necessary, the People's Liberation Army may organize small but well-selected

Mao Tse-tung's Thought Propaganda Teams to propagandize Mao Tse-tung's thought and the principles and policies of the Party.

3. All units of municipalities, counties, people's communes, production brigades and production teams should participate in the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Study Classes. The vast commune members, cadres and militia should all take part in the study. We should hold aloft the great red flag of Mao Tse-tung's thought, take "combat self-interest and repudiate revisionism" as the theme, and carry on education by positive examples. We should profoundly study "The Three Constantly-read Articles"*, study Chairman Mao's important directives concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should develop a revolutionary great repudiation, to expose deeply and repudiate thoroughly the reactionary absurdities advocated by the biggest person taking the capitalist road in China such as "the theory of extinction of class struggle", "exploitation being not without merits", "the three-self and one assignment"**, "the four major forms of freedom"***, "the Tao-yuan experience",****, etc., and also the criminal conspiracy of "striking at the cadres at large and protecting the small handful" which they engage against cadres, as well as other criminal conducts which they engage in against the revolution for the restoration of capitalism. Meantime, the study of the study classes should be combined with the struggle, repudiation and reformation of one's own unit.

4. We should continue to carry out thoroughly Chairman Mao's principle of "grasping revolution and promoting production". We should learn from the experience of Ta-chai. We should persist in the road of socialism, and consolidate collective economy. We should make revolution with thriftiness, and should oppose speculation, corruption, thievery, dividing the land to the level of household, and farming on individual basis. We should forcefully abolish the four-olds of the exploiting class, and forcefully establish the four-news of the proletariat*****. The current system in the rural people's communes by which the ownership (of means of production) is held at three levels but with (production) team as the basis, and the system concerning self-retained land, should not be changed as a rule, and there should

not be movements for donations.

5. On the basis of organizing Mao Tse-tung's Thought Study Classes, the questions of the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-in-one combination at the county level and the commune level should be solved, and revolutionary leaderships at the county level and the commune level should be formed up, so as to lead better the great proletarian cultural revolution in the production brigades and production teams. As a rule, there should not be power-seizure in the production teams. In production brigades where power-seizure is needed, the question should be solved by firmly relying upon the poor peasants and the lower-middle peasants, realizing the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one combination", and re-electing the leadership. It should be affirmed that the majority of the rural cadres are good or relatively good.

6. Revolutionary masses should sharpen their class-alertness and strengthen the proletarian dictatorship. Landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements are not allowed to launch counter-attacks and back-reckoning, not allowed to engage in rumor-mongering, instigation and sabotage among the masses. In areas controlled by persons taking the capitalist road and by landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightist elements, the leadership must be seized and put into the hands of proletarian revolutionaries composed mainly by poor peasants and lower-middle peasants. We should realize the revolutionary great alliance, oppose factionism, persist in unarmed struggle, and prevent the small handful of persons in authority in the Party taking the capitalist road and other bad people from instigating armed struggle and instigating the masses to fight among themselves.

7. The Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Certain Questions in the Current Rural Work (Draft) issued on May 20, 1963, i.e. the Earlier Ten Articles, and Certain Question Raised in the Current Rural Socialist Education Movement issued on January 14, 1965, i.e. the Twenty-three Articles, were laid down under Chairman Mao's personal leadership. The Four Clean-Ups Movement carried out on the basis of these two

documents achieved great results and must be affirmed. Certain problems left over from the Four Clean-Ups Movement can be solved during the great proletarian cultural revolution movement.

December 4, 1967

* The Three Constantly-read Articles written by Mao Tse-tung: 1) *Serving the People*, 2) *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, and 3) *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*.

** "Three-self and one assignment", suggesting the giving of more land as self retained land (private plots), granting of a free market, and giving more responsibility to the enterprises to handle their own profit and loss, and assigning production to the household (instead of the collectives).

*** The "four major forms of freedom": freedom to practice usury, to hire labor, to buy and sell land, and to do business.

**** The Tao-yuan Experience refers to the experience of Wang Kuang-mei (wife of Liu Shao-ch'i) who was sent to work, on an experimental basis, in the Tao-yuan Production Brigade in Tangshan District, Hopei Province, from December 1963 to April 1964, to carry out the Four Clean-Ups Movement (or Socialist Education Movement). Her findings and recommendations were reported, and were approved by Liu Shao-ch'i for transmission to the whole country. Based on the Tao-yuan Experience, Liu drafted and persuaded the central authorities to pass a directive usually referred to as "The Later Ten Articles", which is now condemned by the Maoists as a betrayal of "The Earlier Ten Articles" drafted by Mao Tse-tung, i.e. "Decision of the CCP Central Committee Concerning Certain Questions in the Current Rural Work (Draft)" issued on May 20, 1963.

***** Four-olds and four-news: the old ideas, culture, customs and habits of the exploiting class and the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat.