Overcoming Empiricism
— Notes on studying Lenin's "Materialism and Empirio-Criticism"

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Chinese Defence Ministry Congratulates D.R.V.N. On Its Victory

The Ministry of National Defence of the People’s Republic of China on October 19 sent a telegram to the Ministry of National Defence of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, warmly congratulating the armed forces and people of north Viet Nam on their brilliant victory of downing 4,000 U.S. planes.

The telegram said: “The Chinese people and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army are elated upon learning the news of victory. We herewith extend to you our warm congratulations.

“Since April this year, U.S. imperialism has sent out massive naval and air forces to barbarously bomb and shell cities, populated areas and dykes and dams in north Viet Nam, and to mine and blockade the ports of north Viet Nam in an attempt to compel the Vietnamese people to submit and to save itself from defeat on the battlefield. However the U.S. Government has completely miscalculated. The important victory of bringing down 4,000 U.S. imperialist planes won by the Vietnamese armed forces and people has proved once again that the more frenziedly U.S. imperialism struggles, the more disastrous its defeat will be.

“We resolutely reaffirm that so long as U.S. imperialism refuses to end its aggression against Viet Nam and other countries in Indochina, the Chinese people will continue to do their utmost to give all-round support to the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation waged by the Vietnamese people and other Indochinese peoples till final victory is won.”

China-Japan Friendship Association Reception

On October 23, the China-Japan Friendship Association gave a grand reception in the Great Hall of the People to welcome Japanese friendly personages and celebrate the normalization of China-Japan relations.

Among the more than 420 guests at the reception were members of visiting Japanese delegations, of the Peking Liaison Office of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office and friendly Japanese firms, Japanese friendly personages, experts and journalists now in Peking.

Before the reception, Premier Chou En-lai, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien, N.P.C. Vice-Chairman Kuo Mo-jo, China-Japan Friendship Association President Liao Cheng-chih and others met and had a cordial and friendly talk with the Japanese friends, and leading members of the visiting Japanese delegations.

In his speech at the reception, Liao Cheng-chih said: “With the visit to China of Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka and through the friendly and frank talks between heads of governments of China and Japan, agreement had been reached on the important question of the normalization of relations between China and Japan and a joint statement of historic significance had been issued. This merits our joint celebration.”

Liao Cheng-chih added: “China and Japan are neighbours linked by a strip of water, and there exists a long traditional friendship between the people of the two countries. The termination of the state of war between China and Japan and the normalization of relations between them have opened a new chapter in the annals of relations between the two countries. This not only conforms to the vital interests of the Chinese and Japanese peoples but will certainly exert far-reaching influence on easing the tension in Asia and safeguarding world peace. The jubilation of the people of the two countries and the favourable comments made by the just-minded world public opinion over the past month have fully proved this.

“Chairman Mao Tsetung says: ‘The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history.’ The normalization of relations between China and Japan is the result of the long joint struggle by the people of the two countries, Japan’s supra-party ‘Dietmen’s League,’ the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox), the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association, the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office of Japan, the Japan International Trade Promotion Association and other friendly organizations, many far-sighted personages in the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party, Socialist Party, the Komeito (Komei Party) and the Democratic Socialist Party, as well as many friends from various circles and social strata — overcame difficulties, removed obstacles, worked untiringly and made important contributions to promoting Japan-China friendship and the restoration of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Some friends even gave their precious lives for it. ‘When we drink water we should not forget those who dug the well.’ I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to express deep gratitude and pay heartfelt tribute to all of you present here, to all the friends who have worked for this great cause.”

Liao Cheng-chih went on: “With the development of the relations between our two countries, the intercourse between our two peoples will be more frequent and the exchanges more varied. We still have a heavy task and a long journey ahead. We should redouble our efforts so as to live up to the eager expectations of the people of our two countries. At the same time, we should know that we shall still meet with difficulties and obstacles of one kind or another on our road of advance and that a handful of persons are still conducting sabotage and making trouble overtly and covertly. However, the development of the good-neighbourly relations between China and Japan
and the friendship between the two peoples from generation to generation is a general trend and common aspirations of the people, and no force can stop it. Let us join hands, continue to work hard and advance victoriously!"

Aichiro Fujiyama, Liberal-Democratic Member of the Diet, Chairman of the Dietmen’s League for Promoting the Restoration of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations and former Minister for Foreign Affairs; Selmin Miyazaki, Director-General of the Headquarters of the Japan-China Friendship Association (Orthodox); Torao Miyagawa, Permanent Director of the Japan-China Cultural Exchange Association; Kaheita Okazaki, representative of the Japan-China Memorandum Trade Office of Japan; Ichizo Kimura, Managing Director of the Kansai Chapter of the Japan International Trade Promotion Association, also spoke at the reception. They expressed their determination to make new contributions to the lasting friendship between the people of Japan and China and to the consolidation of Asian and world peace.

**Economic Delegation From Mexico**

Carlos Torres Manzo, Minister of Industry and Commerce of the United States of Mexico, and his wife; Leandro Rovirosa Wade, Minister of Water Resources, and his wife; and other members of the Mexican Economic Delegation arrived in Peking on October 17 for a friendly visit to China.

Premier Chou En-lai, Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei, Minister and Vice-Minister of Foreign Trade Pai Hsiang-kuo and Chen Chieh, and Minister and Vice-Minister of Water Conservancy and Power Chang Wentai and Tu Hsing-yuan on October 21 met all members of the delegation and their wives. On the delegation were representatives from the foreign affairs, trade, finance and banking departments, workers’ and peasants’ organizations, industrial and commercial enterprises.

The Television Group of the Mexican Department of Radio Diffusion led by Hector Gonzalez de la Barrera was present at the meeting.

Also present were Mexican Ambassador to China Eugenio Angulano and his wife.

A banquet was given on October 18 by Pai Hsiang-kuo to welcome the members of the Mexican delegation. Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien and responsible members of departments concerned attended the function.

In his speech at the banquet, Pai Hsiang-kuo warmly praised the Mexican people for their unremitting efforts and achievements in defending national independence and developing the national economy. He said that in international affairs, Mexico "stresses the unity of the third world and opposes big power hegemony. We support the just struggle of the Mexican Government and people, and rejoice at their victories."

He continued: "Latin American countries and people have been strengthening their unity in the struggle against the power politics and hegemony of the superpowers. Together with the Asian and African countries, the Latin American countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. As long as the Latin American people strengthen their unity and persist in their struggle, they will certainly achieve new victories in the struggle to defend national independence and safeguard state sovereignty and maritime rights."

Pai Hsiang-kuo expressed the belief that the visit of the distinguished Mexican guests to China would make new contributions to the growing friendship between the Chinese and Mexican peoples and the friendly relations between the two countries.

Carlos Torres Manzo said in his speech: "The formation of the Mexican Economic Delegation reflects the common desire of the various economic circles in Mexico. The very successful beginning of our current visit shows that we are both continuing our efforts to consolidate and promote the friendly exchanges between our two great countries."

"Legal equality between states is closely associated with the principle of economic co-operation with no strings attached. The contemporary world is suffering from the effects of the unfair and unequal international economic structure. However, there is no unequal exchange between Mexico and China, nor will there be."

**China’s Statement on Question Of Outer Space**

Chinese Representative Chen Chu issued a statement on the peaceful uses of outer space at the October 20 meeting of the First Committee (political and security) of the United Nations General Assembly.

He pointed out: "As from October 1, 1949, the day of the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the Chiang Kai-shek clique has no right at all to represent China. It has usurped the name of ‘China’ to become a party to a treaty, an agreement and a convention on the peaceful uses of outer space, namely: the 1967 ‘treaty on principles governing the activities of states in the exploration and use of outer space, including the moon and other celestial bodies,’ the 1968 ‘agreement on the rescue of astronauts, the return of astronauts and the return of objects launched into outer space’ and the 1972 ‘convention on international liability for damage caused by space objects.’ In this connection, the Chiang Kai-shek clique’s signatures on the above treaty, agreement and convention are illegal and null and void. The Chinese Government will undertake no obligations whatsoever. The Chinese Government will examine treaties, agreements and conventions of this kind before making a decision in the light of the circumstances as to whether or not they should be acceded to."

"The People’s Republic of China,” he said, “did not participate in the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space, and it still has to acquaint itself with and study the information and issues relevant to the..."
Overcoming Empiricism

— Notes on studying Lenin’s “Materialism and Empirio-Criticism”

by Ni Chih-fu

Following Chairman Mao’s teaching “Read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism,” I have stepped up my efforts to study several works by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and Chairman Mao’s works in a planned way over the past two years. Recently I have studied Lenin’s Materialism and Empirio-Criticism and I have come to realize more deeply than ever that it is all the more necessary for me, formerly an ordinary worker and now holding some leading posts, to redouble my efforts to study revolutionary theory, overcome empiricism and enhance my consciousness of the struggle between the two lines. Only in this way can I become a conscious and sober-minded proletarian revolutionary and firmly advance under the guidance of Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

Two Opposing Theories of Experience

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “Idealism and mechanical materialism, opportunism and adventurism, are all characterized by the breach between the subjective and the objective, by the separation of knowledge from practice.” (On Practice.) Bogdanov and other swindlers like him who had sneaked into the Party in Russia were such opportunists. In his Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Lenin concentrated his efforts on trenchantly exposing this characteristic of theirs. While these scoundrels opposed revolutionary practice, negated the materialist theory of experience and advocated the idealist theory of experience, they also opposed the revolutionary theories, viciously slandered dialectical materialism as “mysticism” and “dogmatism” and racked their brains to replace materialism and Marxism with idealism and revisionism. In this respect, they were by no means isolated cases; Liu Shao-chi and other political swindlers did exactly the same. While working overtime to trumpet the so-called theory of “genius,” they opposed the materialist viewpoint that man’s talent originates from practice; at the same time, they frantically attacked Marxism-Leninism as outdated and vainly attempted to separate the revolutionary theories from the revolutionary masses so as to lead them astray and deceive them. All this shows that while we wage struggles against opportunism, we must uphold the viewpoint of giving first place to practice and oppose idealist a priorism, and at the same time attach importance to the guiding role of the revolutionary theories and guard against and overcome empiricism so as to avoid landing ourselves in idealism and metaphysics.

Marxism maintains that experience comes from practice in class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. “All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience.” (On Practice.) This is true from my own experience. An example is the chun drill bit.* This has not dropped from the skies, nor is it innate in our minds. It is the outcome of one thousand experiments made by members of our research group who have had over a dozen years of experience at the bench and who have drawn on the advanced experience at home and abroad. In other words, it was created on the basis of the practical experience of the drilling machine operators.

Similarly, I have learnt much from my own experience. I became a child labourer at 11 in a factory owned by a foreign capitalist in Shanghai. Toiling like a beast of burden, I barely eked out a living. I had my fill of sufferings from harsh oppression by foreign capitalists and the exploiting classes. It was under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party that we drove away the imperialist pirates and overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang rule and the evil exploitation system. We workers have since become masters of our own destiny and are now living a happy life under socialism. Nurtured and educated by the Party, I quickly raised my political consciousness. My proletarian feelings — deep hatred of capitalism and ardent love for socialism — are not inborn but are the result of my personal experience. Prolonged practice in class struggle and the struggle for production has enabled me to realize that direct experience is very valuable because it is first in order in the process of cognition. Without direct experience, our knowledge would be like trees without roots and water without a source. In order to correctly know and

* This refers to a new-type drill bit invented by Ni Chih-fu and the group he belongs to by toppling conventional theories on bit designing. The new bit has increased efficiency and service life by two to fivefold and three to fourfold respectively. The fruit of collective wisdom, it is named after the Chinese character chun which means group or the masses.

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October 27, 1972
transform the world, we revolutionaries must respect practice and experience.

In opposing the materialist line with regard to knowledge, all idealists invariably do all they can to negate the objective reality of the contents of experience. In order to disguise themselves and deceive others, they often resort to the old trick of holding up the banner of “experience” but actually interpreting experience from an idealist point of view. This was exactly what Bogdanov and his ilk did. They babbled that experience and consciousness were “identical concepts,” the “psychical” and the sum total of sensations, and so on and so forth, that they did not originate in practice and had no objective contents, but came of themselves subjectively. So in appearance they were talking about “experience,” but in reality their distortions and adulterations had turned experience into something idealistic. Lenin incisively exposed and criticized their adulterations had turned experience into something.

Never Regard Experience as Absolute

Can we automatically do our work according to the materialist line on cognition when we have direct experience? No. We would commit mistakes of empiricism if we regard direct experience as something absolute and rigid — using partial experience as an unalterable formula and applying it everywhere, using old experience to look at new things which have developed and changed, or overrating our partial experience and underrating or even denying the correct experience of others and the masses. And the result would be that we still could not make a clean break with the idealist theory of experience advertised by Bogdanov and his like and would consciously or unconsciously sink into the quagmire of idealism.

All things in the world are interconnected and at the same time different from one another. In practice, we should not only pay attention to the general character of things. More important, we should pay attention to the individual character of everything, that is, the particular contradiction it contains which distinguishes it from other things, so as to take appropriate measures to solve the contradiction accordingly. This is what we mean by using the right key to open the lock. Likewise, we cannot use one prescription to cure all diseases. As to experiences gained from one thing, some may be applicable to other things, others may be partly applicable and still others may be completely inapplicable. To neglect the particularity of contradictions and mechanically apply old experience is empiricism.

For instance, I used to bore holes on steel, so I was quite familiar with the characteristics of processing all types of steel, but did not know much about the properties of cast iron and copper. Once when I was asked to process such metals, I took for granted that they were more or less the same as steel, so I worked in the same way as I processed steel parts. As a result, the first drill bit got burnt in no time and the second one was broken before it had bored deep. What was the reason? It was simply because I one-sidedly stuck to the old experience I had gained in drilling steel and regarded partial experience as something absolute. Since I took no notice of the specific properties of cast iron and copper and did not use different methods to resolve qualitatively different contradictions, I divorced the subjective from the objective and thus ran into snags.

Everything in the world is changing and manifests itself at a certain stage in the process of its development. Therefore our thinking should not overstep the given stage of development of the objective things and we should not do at present what can only be done in the future, dreaming of accomplishing everything at one stroke. Nevertheless, as the objective things change, our thinking must change accordingly, so that we will not lag behind the development of the objective reality and not use “old experience” to solve new problems. We say that past experience is correct because it is gained through practice. But if we cling to it when conditions have changed, then such experience becomes something subjective.

Since I took up a leading post in the factory, I have been confronted with many problems every day. Being an old hand in this factory, I subjectively thought that I was well acquainted with its conditions, political as well as in production, and that with my past experience I could adequately deal with any problem. But contrary to what I had imagined, I failed to do some of my work satisfactorily though I tried hard. The reason for this was that the conditions had been constantly developing and changing and that new problems different from those in the past kept cropping up, while I was still accustomed to doing things in the old way and my thinking was lagging behind reality. To remedy this situation, I later paid attention to carrying out investigations and study, and strove to improve my methods of work, freeing myself from routine work so as to devote more time and energy to problems relating to the political orientation and line. In this way, I gained greater initiative in my work.

The realm of practical activity is extremely wide, but the scope of an individual’s practice is always limited. While we attach importance to direct experience gained from personal practice, we should also treasure the creations of the masses, be good at making investigations and study, and learn with an open mind from other people’s experience. Only thus can we do our work well.

Recalling how the chun drill bit was invented and innovated, I came to a deep understanding that practice
by the masses is a veritable sea of wisdom. It was only after we had conscientiously studied and investigated the masses’ inventions and innovations in drilling and absorbed nourishment from their rich experiences that we were able to make the five comparatively big changes on the chun drill bit. One cannot have direct experience in everything. Actually most knowledge comes from indirect experience. If anyone believes only in himself and sets his personal experience against the masses’ and direct experience against indirect, he will also commit empiricist errors. Chairman Mao has said: “It is also necessary to learn with an open mind from other people’s experience, and it is sheer ‘narrow empiricism’ to insist on one’s own personal experience in all matters and, in its absence, to adhere stubbornly to one’s own opinions and reject other people’s experience.” (Problems of Strategy in China’s Revolutionary War)

In order to push their revisionist political lines, all opportunists, from Bogdanov in Russia to political swindlers like Liu Shao-chi in China, always frenziedly opposed materialism and advocated idealism. Empiricism is a manifestation of subjectivism and formalism. Ideologically, it runs counter to the fundamental principles of dialectical materialism and historical materialism. This is the ideological root cause why empiricists often blindly follow “Left” or Right opportunists. Following the victory of Marxism in theory, revisionists resort more and more to rumours and sophistry to deceive the people. As Lenin said: “An ever subtler falsification of Marxism, an ever subtler presentation of anti-materialist doctrines under the guise of Marxism — this is the characteristic feature of modern revisionism in political economy, in questions of tactics and in philosophy generally, equally in epistemology and in sociology.” (Materialism and Empirio-Criticism.) Under these circumstances, because those people with empiricism neglect the guiding role of Marxism in revolutionary practice, pay no attention to studying revolutionary theory, are complacent over occasional successes and glimpses of the truth, are intoxicated with narrow, non-principled “practicalism” and with being brainless “practical men” with no future, and lack firm and correct political orientation, they are easy ideological captives of political swindlers who are sham Marxists.

Overcoming Empiricism by Conscientious Study

The fundamental way to overcome empiricism is to study Marxism conscientiously. In his Materialism and Empirio-Criticism, Lenin summed up the historical experience of the struggle over ideology and political line within the Party in Russia and repeatedly explained the importance and necessity of studying Marxist theory. To criticize the Machists in Russia, he quoted copiously from Marx’s and Engels’ main philosophical works, dealing fatal blows at the idealist theory of experience of Bogdanov and his like, thereby setting a brilliant example for us theoretically and in practice. In order to criticize empiricism theoretically, we must study philosophy. Chairman Mao has said: “Those experienced in work must take up the study of theory and must read seriously; only then will they be able to systematize and synthesize their experience and raise it to the level of theory, only then will they not mistake their partial experience for universal truth and not commit empiricist errors.” (Rectify the Party’s Style of Work.) A worker-cadre like me has deep class sentiments for the Party and Chairman Mao as well as experience in my work, but simple class sentiments cannot replace consciousness in the struggle between the two lines and pure practical experience cannot replace Marxism-Leninism. If I should overlook the importance of studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, which is a summing-up of the experience of the world revolution and the Chinese revolution, I cannot avoid committing empiricist errors.

Although direct experience gained from practice reflects certain reality of the objective world, it is only perceptual knowledge and the reflection is superficial, partial and incomplete. “Without comparatively complete knowledge it is impossible to do revolutionary work well.” (Rectify the Party’s Style of Work.) To transform incomplete knowledge into comparatively complete knowledge, it is necessary to conscientiously study revolutionary theory, use the Marxist-Leninist standpoint, view and method to sum up one’s direct experience, especially the experience in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge through reconstruction — discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside. In this process, the correct standpoint, view and method are especially important. A leap in cognition cannot be realized without the Marxist standpoint, view and method. If one looks at things from the empiricist viewpoint, he will not be able to distinguish the dross from the essential, but will reverse falsehood and truth. And of course he cannot correctly learn from the experience — both positive and negative — in class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. It is only by studying conscientiously to gradually grasp the viewpoints of dialectical materialism and historical materialism that one can know the essence of things in a deep and comprehensive way, grasp the law of objective things, and enhance consciousness and avoid blindness in work.
New Medical Success

Severed Right Foot Transplanted on Left Leg

A PEASANT woman on Peking’s outskirts lost her right leg and left foot in a train accident. She has now recovered the use of her left leg to which doctors had grafted her right foot. After several months of treatment, with the transplanted foot fitted with an orthopaedic shoe and an artificial right leg, she can now walk up and down the stairs and take strolls in the park.

The accident happened in a thick fog at 10 o’clock on the morning of January 10 this year to 29-year-old Tsui Wen-chih. Her right leg was torn off, with the foot cleanly severed, and the left foot was crushed below the ankle. Workers in a nearby factory rushed her to the downtown Worker-Peasant-Soldier Hospital.

Conventional practice called for amputation of both lower limbs in such cases. The surgeons, who had grown much closer to the labouring people in the course of doing physical labour alongside of workers and peasants and touring the countryside to give medical treatment, decided to try their best to transplant the patient’s right foot to the left leg. Some problems arose, however, due to the inversion of the joints, nerves, tendons and blood vessels.

The hospital Party organization supported the idea of transplantation. A bone surgeon of the Chishuitan Hospital specializing in traumatic surgery was brought in for consultation. Medical workers were called upon to “put in 100 per cent of effort if there is 1 per cent of hope.”

The Operation

The operation began just one hour after the accident.

The surgeons cleansed the bloody limbs and painstakingly identified each tendon, nerve and blood vessel. They carefully planned the sutures and the length of each structure to be connected, fully aware that a slight error at any juncture might spoil the whole operation.

The upper part of the patient’s left heel bone was carefully impacted into the lower part of her right heel bone and they were fixed with screws. Thus the two halves of the heel bones from the two feet were joined together. The various tendons lying in opposite positions were then sutured. The main nerves were also joined so that the sole of the transplanted foot would be sensitive to cold and warmth and the height and consistence of objects it touches.

Six hours later, the operation entered the most crucial stage: the joining of the artery on the back of the foot. Using a hair-thin needle, one of the surgeons sutured the severed ends of the blood vessels, and the grafted foot immediately began to assume normal colour with the return of blood flow. But a short time afterwards, the blood flow was blocked. The doctors removed the blood clot and again sutured it. The flow resumed but stopped again after a short while.

After four hours of intense work, this delicate operation succeeded only at the third try by a more experienced specialist in suturing blood vessels. The whole operation lasted 10 hours from beginning to end. The doctors gave a sigh of relief when they saw the transplanted foot finally assuming flesh colour.

On the 18th day after the operation when the plaster was removed, some of the skin grafts on the back of the foot had become necrotic and the juncture of the leg and foot was badly infected.

After full consultation among the medical personnel, appropriate measures were found to stop the infection. The dead tissues were removed to enable the new skin to grow.

When the patient was told that her new foot was going to grow well, she clasped the hands of the doctor in gratitude. The doctor told her: “Thank the Party
Tsui Wen-chih's right foot successfully grafted on the left leg.

and Chairman Mao — we succeeded only under the leadership of the Party organization and with its support.”

**Learning to Walk**

The patient now faced the difficult task of learning to walk with her grafted left foot. Much effort was needed since it was originally a right foot.

Leading comrades of the hospital encouraged her to be brave and to persevere. Members from her commune also came, telling her not to worry about things at home since her children had the best possible care of her neighbours.

When the surgeons asked Tsui Wen-chih to exercise the transplanted foot, she said determinedly: “I'll do my best. I want to walk again so that I can return to my work. I will stand any amount of pain for the cause of the revolution.”

From spring to summer, Tsui continued to exercise her foot under medical instruction. Then came the day when, for the first time, she was helped by a nurse to stand on the floor with the whole weight of her body on her grafted foot. Sweat dripped from her forehead and she shivered with pain. Everyone in the room murmured encouragement, telling her not to give up.

With the support of crutches, she practised standing again and again. The seconds became minutes, and the minutes hours.

After a period of physiotherapy and exercise, the functions of her foot were restored. Examination showed that its blood circulation was normal, the connected bones, tendons and nerves were growing well, and the sole could feel elevation, cold and warmth and the consistence of objects it touched.

On August 27, Tsui Wen-chih was helped to put on an orthopaedic shoe (which enabled the patient to stand straight despite the inversion of the left foot) and fitted with an artificial right leg. She was helped on to her first few steps. Recalling the concern given to her — an ordinary peasant — by the Party organization and the doctors, nurses and other comrades in the past eight months, she said: “I'll try my hardest!” Carefully but confidently, she walked past the row of people gathered in the corridor to offer her congratulations and down the stairs.

The next day, she tried again and walked more than one kilometre.

Preserving a complete leg for Tsui Wen-chih marks another major achievement in China's traumatic surgery and transplantation of limbs since 1963, when a first successful venture was made by rejoining a worker’s severed arm. It is yet another success of the Chinese medical workers in carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in medical and health work.
The Spirit of Yenan

by Our Correspondents

YENAN, cradle of the Chinese revolution, is the symbol of the glorious tradition of the Chinese revolution. Known as the Yenan spirit, hard struggle and self-reliance make up an important part of this tradition.

Situated on a loess plateau in northern Shensi Province, northwest China, Yenan is hemmed in by mountains, with the Yenho River flowing through it. In the past it was not easily accessible to the outside world for lack of communications and was economically very backward.

In October 1935, the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army led by Chairman Mao arrived at the Shensi-Kansu revolutionary base area after its epic 25,000-li Long March. In January 1937, Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party moved to Yenan.

From Yenan Chairman Mao led the Chinese people in carrying through the War of Resistance Against Japan and the War of Liberation, defeating the aggression of Japanese imperialism and overthrowing the reactionary regime of Chiang Kai-shek who was backed and armed by U.S. imperialism. Of the 158 articles in the Selected Works of Mao Tsetung, 112 were written in northern Shensi and 92 of these were written in Yenan.

When we visited Yenan we had the opportunity of interviewing some old Party members and veteran cadres who had taken part in the heroic exploits of the forties. We asked them to tell us about those arduous years and how they had met and overcome their difficulties.

Enormous Hardships

In the early forties, Yenan and other Liberated Areas faced enormous material and financial difficulties resulting from the barbarous attacks by the Japanese aggressors against the Liberated Areas led by the Chinese Communist Party and the tight blockade of the Kuomintang reactionaries. The situation was as Chairman Mao described it: "For a time we had a very acute scarcity of clothing, cooking oil, paper and vegetables, of footwear for our soldiers and of winter bedding for our civilian personnel." (Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War.)

What was to be done? One measure was to levy more taxes on the people. Chairman Mao dismissed the idea. He pointed out that making endless demands on the people, disregarding their hardships and considering only the needs of the government and army was not only self-defeating but like "draining the pond to catch the fish," and "that is a Kuomintang mode of thinking which we must never adopt." (Economic and Financial Problems in the Anti-Japanese War.)

Under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, the "Great Movement for Production" of far-reaching significance in the history of the Chinese revolution was launched. Its watchword was: "Ample food and clothing by working with our own hands."

What the 359th Brigade of the Eighth Route Army (forerunner of the People's Liberation Army) did during the "Great Movement for Production" was typical. From former squad leader Chu Shao-ching and soldier Liu Pao-tsa of the 359th Brigade, who are now working in Yenan, we got the following account. Although the events had taken place more than 30 years ago, they were still fresh in their memories.

Reclaiming waste land.
Just after the autumn of 1940 Chairman Mao ordered the 359th Brigade to Nanniwan, 45 kilometres from Yenan, to guard the southern approaches and to open up the waste land. Life was real tough in those days, but the fighters' morale was high.

Nanniwan, a narrow, marshy valley 40 kilometres long by 20 kilometres wide, used to be covered with scrub. When the 12,000-strong brigade arrived at this desolate place frequented by wolves and other wild animals, there were no houses for them to live in, and they were short of food and tools for opening up the land. . . .

What should they do? Sit and starve? Disband? Or use their own hands? No one wanted to starve and no one wanted to disband. The only thing to do was to use their own hands! How had man lived since ancient times? By using their own hands, of course. Couldn't they use their own hands just as their ancestors had done?

After a thorough discussion, the commanders and fighters of the 359th Brigade buckled down to work. They were confident that all difficulties could be overcome. Their slogan was: "With a hoe and a gun, undertake production for self-support and defend the Party Central Committee!" Nanniwan which had slumbered for centuries began to bustle with life.

**Overcoming Difficulties**

The brigade posted pickets and, with the few tools they had brought, officers and men started to fell trees and build rough shelters to keep off the wind and rain.

It was cold early in winter in northern Shensi and the wind was piercing. At night, everyone huddled round bonfires, analysing the difficulties and thinking up ways to beat them. All the officers, whatever their rank, lived and worked together with the rank and file.

The masses have boundless initiative and creativeness. Some of the soldiers knew how to burn charcoal and some knew how to dig cave dwellings. Soon charcoal was made and dwellings hewn out of the cliffs to serve as barracks. As there were no sacks to bring in grain, they sewed up blankets or trouser-legs to serve the purpose. When food ran short, they gathered wild edible herbs; they made mattresses of straw and slept crowded together. For footwear they plaited straw sandals, and they wove leaves into hats and raincoats and learnt to use local herbs to treat various ailments.

Within three weeks, every company had dug its first batch of cave-dwellings.

Since shortage of tools held up the reclamation work, soldiers were sent in disguise to buy scrap iron in enemy-occupied territory. That was very risky, but metal was needed to make tools by means of home-made furnaces.

Pigs were raised for fat and meat. When clothes began to wear out, they began raising sheep too. They spun the wool themselves and made a dye out of tree-roots and sulphate of iron. The wool came in black or white, but after it was dyed it turned into dun which was plain and serviceable.

The soldiers were from impoverished working people's families and had never had any schooling. They only started to learn to read and write after joining the people's army. They used the bark of birch for paper and charcoal for pencil.

With large tracts of land opened up, the brigade achieved self-sufficiency in grain a year later, and life began to improve.

At the suggestion of the soldiers, the brigade leadership had a carpenter's shop, a tannery and workshops for oil-pressing and making shoes, soap, tooth-brushes, tooth powder, matches, paper and earthenware built, so that the daily material needs of the soldiers were gradually met.

From the winter of 1940 to 1943, the 359th Brigade reclaimed 100,000 mu of waste land from which it gathered in 4 million jin of grain. Not only did it achieve self-sufficiency in nearly everything it needed but had surplus grain to deliver to the government and some manufactured goods were also made available to the people in the Liberated Areas.

All this was something which the local people had never heard of. "It has always been the soldiers living off the people," they said, "but soldiers led by the Com-
Chairman Mao’s words gave great encouragement to everyone in the 359th Brigade. In 1944, the cultivated acreage in Nanniwan leapt to 270,000 mu and an extra big harvest was gathered that year.

Nanniwan was only one example. A great movement for production swept the whole of Yanan and the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. When we visited the Yanan Memorial Hall, we saw figures showing the achievements attained in that movement and heard many stirring stories.

In 1943, Chairman Mao met all the labour heroes and model workers who had gathered in Yanan for a conference to review the successes in the great movement for production.

One labour hero called Yang Pu-hao who had had his fill of suffering before the area was liberated was overcome with happiness when he met Chairman Mao. At the meeting he and other delegates heard how Chairman Mao and all the leading comrades on the Party Central Committee took part in productive labour like everyone else. He was so moved by all this that he could not sleep at night. At that time all cadres in the border region had the task of growing and handing in a certain amount of grain to the government each year. Out of his love for the leader, Yang Pu-hao asked the government to let him grow and hand in the amount for Chairman Mao. When he returned home he cultivated the fields with redoubled vigour to grow more grain. Twice every year, in summer and autumn, he loaded his donkey with sacks of grain — wheat or millet — and set off for Yanan. Chairman Mao personally received him and invited him over to have a meal and listened to him convey what the people in the border region had said and asked of the government.

Comrade Yang Pu-hao works at the former residence of Chairman Mao in Yangchialing, Yanan, now turned into an exhibition hall. When we called on him he fondly showed us the photos he had taken together with Chairman Mao. His words and actions showed he could never forget Chairman Mao’s care and concern for him.

Ample Rewards

The great movement for production brought bountiful rewards. The army in this border region reclaimed every inch of land so that in 1943 each soldier on an
average cultivated 18 mu. Nearly everything they ate, wore or used was produced by their own hands — vegetables, meat, cooking oil, cotton-padded clothes, knitted woollen garments, footwear and socks, the caves they lived in, the buildings and the big and small auditoriums they held meetings in right down to the tables, benches and chairs, paper and ink, firewood, charcoal and lime. With their own hands they achieved the goal of ample food and clothing. Each soldier spent only three months on production and the rest of the year was devoted to military training and fighting.

The government offices and schools in the border region relied on their own production to cover the greater part of their expenditures, and only a fraction was from the government. In response to Chairman Mao's call to "get organized," the people there also made energetic efforts to develop production.

By 1944, the number of public-owned factories in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region had increased to more than 80, with over 12,000 workers and staff members. Nearly all the industrial raw materials were obtained locally. Since there was no iron and steel industry, where did the ordnance and farm implements factories get their raw materials? The comrade at the Yenan Memorial Hall told us that 80 per cent of the raw materials were captured from the enemy and recovered bomb fragments. Scrap iron collected from towns and villages made up the rest.

"The Great Movement for Production" enabled the Liberated Areas to overcome the serious economic difficulties and laid the material foundation for the victory of the anti-Japanese war in 1945.

China's Growing Foreign Relations

UNDER the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in foreign affairs, China has made new and remarkable progress in foreign relations this year. Friendly contacts have become more frequent between the Chinese people and other peoples in more and more countries and regions. The policy of those who vainly attempted to isolate and encircle China has suffered an ignominious failure.

Continuous Development of China's Foreign Relations

China's fraternal revolutionary unity with other socialist countries — Albania, Korea, Viet Nam, Romania, its militant friendship with the genuine Marxist-Leninist Parties and organizations of the world, and its friendly relations and co-operation with other countries, particularly with the developing countries, have continued to be consolidated and strengthened. We have resolutely supported the people of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia in their struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, and supported the people of other Asian, African and Latin American countries in their just struggle to win and safeguard national independence and defend state sovereignty.

There has been a new and comparatively big development in relations between China and countries having different social systems, on the basis of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. This year...
China has established diplomatic relations successively with Mexico, Argentina, Malta, Mauritius, Greece, Guyana, Togo and Maldives, resumed diplomatic relations with Ghana and raised the level of diplomatic representation from charge d'affaires to ambassadors with Britain and the Netherlands. Last February, U.S. President Richard Nixon visited China, and the leaders of the two countries held earnest, frank and beneficial talks after the relations between China and the United States had been suspended for more than 20 years. The gate to friendly contacts between the people of the two countries is now open. Recently, Japanese Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka visited China on invitation. The joint statement issued on September 29 by the Governments of the two countries announced the termination of the abnormal state of affairs that had existed between China and Japan and the decision to establish diplomatic relations as from that day. This opened a new chapter in the annals of relations between the two countries. In October, Foreign Minister Walter Scheel of the Federal Republic of Germany visited China and signed a joint communique with China's Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei on the establishment of diplomatic relations of the two countries. In the first nine months of this year, China received on more than 30 occasions visiting heads of state or government, foreign ministers and other high-ranking government officials and government delegations.

Growing Friendly Contacts

The demand of the world's people for friendship and more frequent contacts with the Chinese people has now become an irresistible historical trend. Compared with last year, this year has seen more visits to China by more delegations and personages of all circles from more countries and regions. The same was true about Chinese delegations and personages visiting other countries. Up to September, over 500 delegations of various kinds and personages of all circles came to visit China from more than 90 countries and regions on the five continents, while a large number of Chinese delegations and personages paid friendship visits to some 50 countries and regions on these continents. Up to September, more than 500 visitors of various circles came to China from the United States. In the same period, visitors of various circles continuously came from China's neighbour Japan, numbering over 3,700. The number of foreign guests visiting China in the first eight months of this year exceeds that in the whole of last year. Sports exchanges between China and other countries have been more frequent this year. Up to September, Chinese table tennis, basketball, volleyball, football, ice hockey, badminton, skating and gymnastics delegations made friendly visits to 52 countries and regions in Asia, Africa, Latin America and other continents, including 16 countries which they visited for the first time. Among these 16 countries, some had no diplomatic relations with China or few non-govern-
Third World Countries Play Increasingly Important Role in International Affairs

The plenary meeting of the 27th Session of the U.N. General Assembly concluded its general debate on the evening of October 11. Representatives of over 120 member states had made policy speeches during the fortnight-long debate which started on September 25. Representatives of many small and medium-sized countries had in their speeches condemned imperialism, colonialism, and the superpower policy of hegemony.

The Main Current in Present-Day World Politics

These representatives noted that over the past year, although there were certain signs of relaxation in the international situation, imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist aggression, intervention, enslavement and control against a number of countries have not come to an end. The contention for world hegemony by one or two superpowers is still going on. So long as the root cause of world turmoil continues to exist, the world can have no genuine peace and security. These representatives, therefore, strongly demanded that the United States stop its aggression and intervention against Viet Nam and other Indo-Chinese countries and let the Vietnamese and other Indo-Chinese peoples solve their questions by themselves. Some of them also strongly demanded in their speeches the expulsion of the unlawful representative of the puppet Lon Nol clique from the United Nations and the restoration of the lawful rights of the Cambodian people's true representative, the Royal Government of National Union under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, in the United Nations. They expressed active support for the agreement on the principles and steps for the independent and peaceful unification of Korea reached between north and south Korea; they stood for an end to the activities of the "U.N. commission for the unification and rehabilitation of Korea," and for the withdrawal of foreign troops from south Korea so that the Korean people can realize independence and peaceful unification without foreign intervention. Representatives of quite a number of small and medium-sized countries also strongly condemned the two superpowers for their contention and collaboration in the Middle East and for maintaining a "no war, no peace" situation. They pointed out that this practice of the two superpowers in the Middle East had brought untold sufferings to the people of this region. They warmly supported the Palestinian people and the people of other Arab countries in their sustained just struggle for recovering the lost land and the right of national survival. At the meeting, quite a few African representatives indicted and denounced colonialism and neo-colonialism for their criminal colonial rule, racial discrimination and apartheid which they obdurately persist in in some regions in Africa. These representatives reiterated that the people of the African countries which have already won independence would continue their energetic support for the national-liberation struggle of their African brothers still living under colonial domination. In their speeches, representatives of many Asian, African and Latin American countries came down upon imperialism for plundering the natural resources of their countries, shifting economic crises on to others and engaging in various forms of exploitation. They reaffirmed their countries' resolve to safeguard national independence, defend state sovereignty and develop their national economy.

These just voices against aggression, intervention and exploitation have reflected the awakening of the world people and the main current in the present-day world politics. In the words of the Tunisian Foreign Minister: "Everywhere we hear voices uttering refusal to accept domination, refusal to allow occupation, refusal to condone aggression, refusal to accept control and manipulation from afar. From all sides we hear: We want to be free, truly free, politically and economically free, free to enjoy our culture, free to enjoy our ethos."

The Superpowers Are Isolated

The one or two superpowers have become very isolated under such circumstances. During the general debate, their representatives tried to make the most of the signs of relaxation of international tension in an attempt to create a false sense of security. Steering clear of those questions of pressing interest raised by the countries of the third world, they talked at great length about curbing "terrorism." In defiance of vehement opposition from many small and medium-sized countries, one superpower railroaded this question into the agenda of the General Assembly while another superpower, taking the hint, readily responded by hurling all kinds of abuse in his speech against the "terrorist actions" of the "participants in the Palestinian movement" and, gnashing his teeth, said that "it is certainly impossible to condone" them. The representatives of many small and
medium-sized countries immediately made energetic exposure and condemnation of such criminal motives of the superpowers. They pointed out that in describing the adventurer acts of terrorism by a handful of people divorced from the masses as a major factor endangering world peace and security, these superpowers not only aim to confuse public opinion and divert the attention of the world people from the aggression and expansion they are committing, but also to strike at and suppress the struggle waged by the oppressed people for liberation. These representatives made it clear that the people of the third world do not agree to the adventurer acts of terrorism by a handful of people, but they all the more oppose aggression, subversion, control and interference against other countries, which are acts of terrorism far more serious in nature.

High-Sounding Words Cannot Outvoice Sabre-Rattling

What merits attention still more is that one of the superpowers tried once again to drown its sabre-rattling with its loud talk of “peace” and “disarmament.” Apparently the contenter for world hegemony and perpetrator of aggression, subversion, control and interference against small and medium-sized countries, it went out of the way to disguise itself as a peace angel, alleging that its line “is the active defence of the peace, freedom and security of the peoples.” Apparently the instigator dictating one country to dismember another country by force, it professed that it “always sides with the victim of aggression.” Apparently a superpower which maintains military bases and stations large numbers of armed forces in the territories of other countries with its aircraft, warships and submarines, including those carrying nuclear weapons, flying and plying everywhere, it made a hullabaloo about the non-use of force in international relations. While prating about “the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons,” it steadily expands its nuclear arsenal. As a representative of an African country rightly put it, there are people who indulge in high-sounding words but in reality they have every kind of weapon. For the time being, they say they will not use these weapons, but they will use them when they deem it necessary. We cannot trust the words of these people. The representative of Upper Volta had this to say: “The two superpowers — and I am thinking here of the United States and the Soviet Union — continued to develop and improve quantitatively and qualitatively the most dire weapons they possess, and the smaller countries are perfectly justified in asking with some fear to what ends these weapons will be put.” The representative of Tanzania pointed out in his speech that all those agreements reached on disarmament are half-hearted and only peripheral. Instead of going to the root of the problem, they only nibble at its edge. He held that the importance of these agreements should not be exaggerated, for it will cover up the existing danger and create a false sense of security. He demanded the destruction of the large quantity of nuclear weapons in stock and the dismantling of all military bases on foreign soils. In his speech the representative of Sri Lanka wondered whether the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons could be reconciled with the right to produce and possess them. He urged all nuclear powers to undertake categorically not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear states.

Guard Against the Plot of Sham Relaxation but Real Expansion

More and more representatives have come to see that the question at the moment is not the lack of peace declarations of one kind or another, or insufficient discussion of this or that kind of disarmament proposals. The key question at present is to wage a resolute struggle against the power politics and hegemony of the superpowers, and in particular to guard against the plot of sham relaxation but real expansion. The Mexican representative pointed out that the greedy desire to divide the spheres of influence and to scramble for hegemony will not bring about a good international order. Referring to the root cause of tension in the Mediterranean area, the Algerian representative pointed out that the contention between the superpowers in the Mediterranean has led to the movements of war fleets, the strengthening of bases, political pressures and economic blackmail, and therefore maintains a state of tension in an area where they are aliens.

Reflecting the profound sentiments of the Chinese people who share the same lot with people of the third world countries, Chairman of the Chinese Delegation Chiao Kuan-hua in his speech enthusiastically responded to the just voices of many small and medium-sized countries. He said that countries of the third world are getting united on a wider scale and are playing an ever greater role in international affairs. He emphasized that “there is no essential change in the situation in which a superpower is pushing expansionism by all means in contending for world hegemony. The acute and complicated contradictions and struggles between imperialism on the one hand and the oppressed nations and peoples on the other have not abated” and that “the people of all countries must not be deflected by certain temporary and superficial phenomena of détente at the present time and develop a false sense of security. While striving for world peace and the progress of mankind, we must maintain sufficient vigilance and make necessary preparations against the danger of new wars of aggression any imperialism may launch.” His speech was warmly welcomed by the representatives of the small and medium-sized countries.

The general debate at the current General Assembly has further demonstrated that with the awakening of the world’s people, the small and medium-sized countries have come to realize this more clearly: They must unite and fight resolutely against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, against the hegemony and power politics of the superpowers. This is the only way to bring about a real détente in the international situation, the only way to safeguard genuine world peace.
Western Europe

The Nine-Nation Summit Conference

The Paris summit conference of the nine European countries came to a close at the small hours of October 21 after a two-day intensive discussion.

Taking place as it was at a time when the West European Common Market is to be enlarged, the conference will have an important bearing on the direction towards which the Common Market is to develop.

As far back as the early 1960s, Britain, Denmark, Ireland and Norway had applied for Common Market membership, although no agreement was ever reached due to the contradictions among the West European countries. On January 22 this year, a treaty concluded in Brussels approved the official admission of the four countries as from January 1 next year. The treaty was ratified by Denmark and Ireland but rejected by Norway after referenda in these countries. Hence the absence of Norway at the said summit.

Since French President Georges Pompidou’s proposal in August last year for a summit conference, the countries concerned have entered into negotiations with one another several times. On September 15 this year the French President sent out a letter formally inviting the heads of state or government of the West European countries to take part in the conference.

The Upshot

A communique released after the conference noted the results of the discussions. The document said, “The hour has come for Europe to become clearly conscious of the identity of interests, its increased capabilities and its important duties.” “Europe must be in a position to make its own voice heard in world affairs.” The communique stressed the determination of the member states to strengthen their community and to turn the Common Market which is now primarily an economic group into a European union before the end of this decade. A report on this would be prepared by the Community departments concerned before the end of 1975 for submission to another summit conference.

The results of the conference show that in spite of the clashes of interests and differences in opinion among the West European countries, with their independence and security increasingly threatened by the two superpowers’ keen rivalry in Europe, the West European countries are determined to take steps to further their union, to strengthen their economic and political cooperation, and to build an independent Europe which will “affirm its personality” and rid itself of the interference and control by the two superpowers.

Economic and Monetary Union

The conference discussed at length the creation of an economic and monetary union and decided on concrete measures to facilitate its establishment. The communique of the conference stressed that “necessary decisions should be made in 1973 so that the union could move into its second stage on January 1, 1974 for the establishment of the union by December 31, 1980 at the latest.”

To ensure the creation of the union, the conference made an important decision to set up a European monetary co-operation fund by April 1, 1973. At their Rome meeting last September 11-12, the finance ministers of the Common Market countries agreed on the establishment of a European monetary co-operation fund by the end of 1973 as a centre for consultations and financial settlements among the member states. The fund will provide short-term credits to the member states having unfavourable balance of payments so as to stabilize their currencies and keep the par­ties fluctuating within the smaller margins as fixed by the Common Market. The Paris summit decision to speed up the creation of this fund reflects the desire of the West European countries to strengthen their union and move towards independence on monetary affairs.

Another decision of the conference is that the members of the enlarged Common Market will adopt a common attitude in future negotiations on the reform of the monetary system of the capitalist world. In connection with the privileged position of the U.S. dollar in the monetary system of the capitalist world and its inconvertibility, the conference calls for a reduction in the role of national currencies as instruments of reserve in the future monetary system, a general free convertibility of currencies and the equality of rights and obligations for the members of the system.

The conference also agreed on a regional policy of the Common Market as well as social, industrial, scientific and technological policies. It decided to set up a regional development fund by the end of 1973 for aid to economically less developed areas of the Com­munity so as to eliminate the structural and regional imbalances that might affect the creation of an economic and monetary union.

The conference urged the Council of Ministers to adopt definite measures at their meeting at the end of
The West European Common Market

The West European Common Market, officially known as the European Economic Community, with its headquarters at Brussels, was inaugurated in January 1958 after a treaty was signed in Rome in March 1957 among the foreign ministers of six countries, viz., France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Since the signing of the Treaty of Rome, the Common Market Six have accomplished the following:

(1) Establishment of a customs union. The incremental reduction of tariffs among the member states and finally the removal of mutual tariffs among them; the general relaxation and eventual abolition of the import quotas system among the member states; the gradual alignment of tariffs towards third countries and working out common external tariff rates. Beginning from July 1, 1968, import tariffs and quotas on industrial products among the member states were completely abolished and the common external tariff was introduced.

(2) Inauguration of a common agricultural policy. A common price for farm produce was officially introduced as from August 1968; abolition of tariffs on intra-community agricultural products in 1969, thereby enabling their free movement as is the case with industrial goods; a common agricultural fund was founded mainly to subsidize the export of agricultural products to third countries.

(3) For the founding of an economic and monetary union. The Six decided on February 9, 1971 to establish an economic and monetary union to be completed in three stages within ten years beginning from 1971. It is planned that by 1980 the Common Market will have a common reserve fund, issue a common currency and work out a common financial policy to form an economic community in which there is free movement of goods, services and capital. This project, however, failed to materialize due to the eruption of crises in the monetary system of the capitalist world. In March this year, the Six reached another agreement on the preliminary measures for the establishment of an "economic and monetary union," a plan that will be put into effect step by step.

(4) Political co-operation. In November 1970 the foreign ministers of the Six met and made public a report on the question of political unity, providing that member states will hold foreign ministerial meetings twice every year, that a political commission composed of the heads of the political departments of the foreign ministries will meet four times every year to co-ordinate the international policies so that Europe can speak to the world in one voice.

(5) Establishment of various institutions such as the European Parliament, the Council of Ministers, the Commission, and the Court of Justice to ensure the implementation of the plan with the power, however, still vested in the hands of the respective governments.

On July 22 this year, agreements on the establishment of a free trade zone were concluded among the Common Market Six, its four candidate members (Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland) and Sweden, Switzerland, Liechtenstein, Austria, Portugal, Finland and Iceland, envisaging complete mutual abolition of tariffs on industrial goods after a 5-year transition period. The Common Market has also concluded association or preferential tariffs agreements with dozens of countries in Africa, the Middle East and other regions. At present, there are 91 countries having accredited concurrent or special ambassadors to the Common Market headquarters.

Foreign Policies and Institutions of the Common Market

The conference also discussed relations with the countries outside the Community. The conference expressed the desire to maintain a constructive dialogue with the United States, Japan, Canada and other industrialized countries and to adopt a common trade policy towards the Soviet Union and the East European countries.

The conference expressed satisfaction with the progress of the Common Market states in co-ordinating their foreign policies. It noted that the political co-operation among the member states in foreign policy had made a satisfactory beginning, and this co-operation must be improved. To this end, the conference decided that consultations at different levels will be increased and that the foreign ministers will meet four times a year instead of two for foreign policy co-ordination.

(Continued on p. 23.)
ROUND THE WORLD

D.R.V.N.

4,000th U.S. Plane Downed

An F-111 swing-wing fighter-bomber, the so-called most up-to-date U.S. plane, was shot down over D.R.V.N.'s Vinh Phu Province by militia home guards with heavy machine-guns on October 17 when it was wantonly bombing a densely populated centre. This was the 4,000th U.S. plane downed by the armed forces and people in north Viet Nam since August 5, 1964 and also the 554th since last April.

The fact that 4,000 U.S. planes have been downed well demonstrates the might of people's war. U.S. air raids can never shake the iron will of the Vietnamese people to resist U.S. aggression and save their country; on the contrary, they have brought more and more disastrous defeats to the aggressors themselves.

On August 5, 1964, U.S. imperialism concocted the notorious Bac Bo Gulf incident and blatantly sent aircraft to bomb north Viet Nam in an attempt to save itself from defeat in south Viet Nam and obstruct the north Vietnamese people from supporting their kith and kin in the south. From February 7, 1965 on, U.S. imperialism further escalated the war by throwing in naval and air forces to continue the attacks on north Viet Nam. Heroic resistance put up by the Vietnamese people, however, forced the U.S. Government to declare suspension of bombing north Viet Nam as of November 1, 1968.

In an attempt to avert the defeat of its plan of “Vietnamizing” the war, on April 16 this year the U.S. Government again resorted to the futile tactics of sending massive naval and air forces to carry out destructive raids and dump hundreds of thousands of tons of bombs and shells on the cities in north Viet Nam day and night. The forces involved include half of the total U.S. strategic bombers and aircraft carriers, over 1,000 tactical bombers and more than 60 naval vessels of various types.

The bombing caused great damage to many cities, destroyed many factories, schools, hospitals and historical relics and killed large numbers of people, including women and children, but it can in no way save U.S. imperialism from defeat. To fight against U.S. naval and air raids, the north Vietnamese people have carried out an all-round mobili-

CAMBODIA

Establishing Diplomatic Relations With Cameroon

After friendly talks, the representative of the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon and the representative of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia issued a joint communique on October 13, 1972, declaring that the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon decided to recognize the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the sole legal government of Cambodia. The two Governments decided to establish diplomatic relations at ambassadorial level.

The communique said: “The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia and the Government of the United Republic of Cameroon, happy with the fact that they both belong to the group of non-aligned countries, have agreed to work together for the respect in the world for the peoples’ right to independence and free determination of their destiny and for the total elimination of colonialism and racial discrimination in Africa.”

Under the leadership of the National United Front and the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, the patriotic Cambodian armed forces and people have won a series of important victories in military, political and diplomatic struggles since the beginning of this year. The Cambodian People’s National Liberation Armed Forces have launched one offensive after another in the Phnom Penh area and the southwest and northwest provinces and along major strategic highways, wiping out large numbers of enemy troops. Their combat effectiveness has been markedly raised. The
The liberated zone in Cambodia has been further consolidated and expanded. The recent visit of Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk to five European and African countries was a complete success. The Foreign Ministers’ Conference of Non-Aligned Countries in Guyana recognized the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia as the sole legal government of Cambodia. The Cambodian people’s just struggle in defence of their sovereignty and independence against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys has won universal sympathy and support from the people of the world. The international status of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia has been rising steadily. A proof of this is provided by the recognition of the Kingdom of Cambodia by Cameroon and the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Another Puppet Government Reshuffle

The Phnom Penh puppet regime, beset with internal and external troubles and crises, recently once again changed its horse.

Son Ngoc Thanh, the notorious chieftain of the traitorous “free Khmer” clique, resigned on October 14 from the post of “chief minister” of the Lon Nol puppet regime. Lon Nol then appointed Hang Thun Hak, a chieftain of the “social republican party” under the control of Lon Nol’s younger brother Lon Non, as the “premier” of a new puppet government, in which Lon Non has also assumed a portfolio.

Earlier in September, the traitorous Lon Nol clique staged a “legislative election” farce to disguise its military fascist rule in a “democratic” and “legal” cloak. However, because Lon Nol and his partners took everything in hand and excluded outsiders, the internal conflicts were aggravated among the puppet clique, and some political parties withdrew from the “election.” The Lon Non-controlled “social republican party” took up all the seats of the two chambers of the puppet “parliament.” Nevertheless, the Lon Nol clique finds itself facing increasing crises. Under the heavy blows of the Cambodian People’s National Liberation Armed Forces, it has continuously suffered serious military defeats and become more isolated politically. Moreover, it is confronted with insoluble rice shortage and financial and economic crisis.

Lon Nol’s cabinet reshuffle cannot extricate him from his difficulties at home and abroad. The AFP stated, “The new government will have numerous problems to face from the moment of its investiture, particularly the worsening of the military situation, the rice shortage, the rise in living costs and the immobility of a part of the administrative apparatus.” It also pointed out that “it will be difficult for the United States to produce a miracle” unless Lon Nol himself manages “to reverse the military situation — a hypothesis which appears improbable at the moment.”

SOVIET REVISIONISTS

New Crime Against Cambodian People

At the plenary meeting of the 17th Session of the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization on the afternoon of October 17 in Paris, the Soviet representative, ignoring the resolute opposition of many representatives, voted in favour of the participation of the representative of the Lon Nol clique which is spurned by the Cambodian people. This is a new criminating evidence that the Soviet revisionist clique colludes with the traitorous Lon Nol clique to oppose the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia (R.G.N.U.C.). It once again un_masks the Soviet revisionists who have always presented themselves as friends of the Indochinese people.

The crime of the Soviet revisionist clique in opposing the R.G.N.U.C. and flirting with the Lon Nol clique is not something new. Soon after the U.S. imperialists instigated the Lon Nol clique to stage a coup d’etat in Cambodia in 1970, the R.G.N.U.C. under the leadership of Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, which has received enthusiastic support from the broad masses of the Cambodian people and won recognition by many countries, set up in struggle. But a spokesman of the Soviet Embassy in Phnom Penh said at the time that the Soviet Union “has no plans to sever diplomatic relations with Cambodia (meaning the Lon Nol clique).” Up to now, the Soviet revisionists still refuse to recognize the R.G.N.U.C. as the sole legal government of Cambodia. A TASS dispatch even called the R.G.N.U.C. a “government in exile.” Shortly after the Lon Nol coup d’etat, the Soviet revisionist radio called Samdech Norodom Sihanouk “former Head of State of Cambodia.” The Soviet paper Literaturnaya Gazeta and TASS openly attacked Samdech Norodom Sihanouk as “opposing the Soviet Union and Soviet policy with all his zeal,” and as fabricating anti-Soviet slander, etc. The Soviet revisionists not only have maintained diplomatic relations with the Lon Nol clique, but have also abetted it. They have helped the traitorous clique economically. According to an AP report, the Soviet Red Cross Society sent a consignment of materials to Phnom Penh last year to build a Lon Nol clique-Soviet “friendship” hospital.

A handful of national outcasts of Cambodia who have brought disasters to the country and people and become absolutely isolated in the world, the Lon Nol clique has no right at all to attend international meetings as the representative of the country and government of Cambodia. The Soviet revisionists’ collusion with the Lon Nol clique against the Cambodian people will certainly be opposed by the people of Cambodia and the rest of the world.

MALAGASY

General Ramanantsoa in Power

A recent referendum in the Malagasy Republic has put an end to the presidency of the republic and empowered General Gabriel Ramanantsoa to lead the country for five years.

A referendum law inclusive of the above-mentioned contents was approved by 96.43 per cent of the
votes in the referendum held on October 8. The referendum law also provides for the revision of the constitution and the liquidation of the national assembly.

Malagasy students, workers and peasants held successive large-scale demonstrations last May demanding President Tsiranana's resignation. Opposed by the people of the whole country, Tsiranana transferred administrative power to General Ramanantsoa, Chief of the General Staff of the Armed Forces. The full power accorded to General Ramanantsoa to lead the country, as stipulated in the referendum law put forward by the Ramanantsoa government, was to be confirmed and ratified by universal suffrage.

After the results of the referendum were made known, Tsiranana was compelled to announce his resignation from the presidency on the evening of October 11.

In a message to the Malagasy people the following evening, General Ramanantsoa declared, “We have just vigorously taken over the leadership of renovation of our country.” He called on the Malagasy people to unite and accomplish the arduous task.

After taking over national administrative power last May, General Ramanantsoa said in a television speech on July 27, “With regard to foreign affairs, the establishment of genuine national sovereignty leads us to reconsider the nature and content of our commitments to our partners.” “All contractual arrangements which might be opposed to the realization of the national objectives will be rearranged through negotiations to conform to our true interests,” he added.

Ralsiraka, Foreign Minister of the new Malagasy Government, told a press conference on September 1 that the Malagasy Government completely rejected and denounced any “dialogue” with the racist regime of South Africa. It was reported that the Ramanantsoa government had also declared the abolition of the 1970 agreement of economic cooperation with the white colonial regime of South Africa.

SOUTH KOREA

"Martial Law“ Proclaimed

At 7 p.m. on October 17 the south Korean authorities dissolved the “national assembly,” suspended the effects of articles of the “constitution,” banned activities of all political parties, political press activities, assemblies and demonstrations and closed down all universities and colleges. At the same time, they proclaimed “martial law.” All these are another act of tyranny following the “state of national emergency” they declared on December 6, 1971 throughout south Korea.

A little past 6 p.m. on October 17, a large number of tanks and armoured cars appeared in the streets of Seoul and fully armed paratroops and special units were deployed around the “national assembly,” the “government building,” newspapers and radio stations, and civilian traffic was suspended. A terror-ridden atmosphere prevailed in the city.

This is an evident sign that the south Korean rulers fear the south Korean people; it is an act designed to dampen their desire and aspiration for the peaceful reunification of the country, and to further intensify the suppression of the people demanding democratic rights and freedom.

South Korean authorities have today been thrown into confusion.

News Briefs

▲ Vice-Chairman Soong Ching Ling on October 22 gave a dinner for American friendly personages Maud Russell and Ida Pruitt.

▲ Premier Chou and leading members of departments concerned on October 19 met Sardar Sultan Mahboud Ghazi, President of the Afghanistan-China Friendship Association and President of the Afghan Civil Aviation and Tourism Authority, and other members of the Delegation of the Afghanistan-China Friendship Association.

▲ The Delegation of the Lao Federation of Trade Unions, with Khamma Phomkong, General Secretary of the Lao Federation of Trade Unions, as its leader and Phomma, Secretary of the Trade Union of a construction department of Sam Neua Province, as the deputy leader, paid a friendly visit to China from September 29 to October 19.
ON THE HOME FRONT

Yunnan's Highways

Before liberation, there were only 2,700 kilometres of highways linking less than a third of the 120 counties in southwest China's Yunnan Province. There are now 33,900 kilometres of highways and all counties are linked.

Ninety per cent of the land in Yunnan are mountains, criss-crossed by rapid rivers and streams. The province used to be described as: "The hazardous terrain and narrow paths make it difficult even for donkeys. The precipitous ranges afford no thoroughfare." In the past, the score of nationalities inhabiting the province suffered greatly through the lack of communications. Daily necessities could not be sent in and local products could not be sent out. Unscrupulous merchants made the most of this: A woman had to give a hen in exchange for a needle.

Building roads in Yunnan Province presented tremendous difficulties. For each kilometre some 30,000 to 70,000 cubic metres and in some cases 150,000 cubic metres of earth and stone were moved. Sometimes it involved working in temperatures as high as 40°C, plus or as low as minus 20°C. In some stages the builders worked in snowbound mountains more than 4,000 metres above sea level and threw bridges across rushing mountain torrents. In the past, people could reach the other side of a river only by sliding across at a swift speed a rope of plaited bamboo slung between the cliffs. Bridge construction was particularly hard in such places.

The highways facilitated the interchange of goods between city and countryside and promoted the development of industrial and agricultural production. The present number of motor vehicles in the province is 11 times the 1950 figure. Large quantities of new-type agricultural machinery and chemical fertilizer and insecticides now reach the national minority areas by truck, gradually transforming the backward farming of these areas. Local produce, such as medicinal herbs, skins, tea, timber and animal products are now being exported to other parts of the country.

Spare-Time Education for Shanghai Workers

With the development of socialist revolution and construction, China's workers are increasingly eager to take up spare-time studies to raise their political, educational and technical levels so as to make still bigger contributions to the motherland. Shanghai has set a good example in this respect. Now 80 per cent of the factories and stores on the city's industrial, communications and financial and trade fronts have opened spare-time schools of different types with a total enrolment of more than 700,000.

The Shanghai No. 22 State Cotton Mill which has over 6,000 workers is among the earliest to give the workers spare-time education. At the outset, it only planned to open several classes enrolling 300 workers, but more than 1,200 applied. Thanks to the effective measures taken by the mill's Party committee, over 4,000 workers have over the past year and more attended classes with gratifying results. Many veteran workers who could not afford to go to school in the old society can now read Manifesto of the Communist Party, The State and Revolution and other Marxist-Leninist works. Through their studies, the workers have also generally raised their technical level.

Encouraged by the experience of this mill and other units, the Party organizations of many factories and stores realized that spare-time education was a good way of training talents for the proletarian revolutionary cause. While strengthening leadership and regularly discussing problems relating to teaching plans and materials and teaching staff, they saw to it that the workers were given the time needed for study. As a result, spare-time education has made rapid progress. In the No. 17 State Cotton Mill, for instance, about 70 per cent of its workers have taken or are taking part in literacy classes or classes equivalent to those found in secondary vocational schools or colleges.

Political and theoretical studies have helped the workers deepen their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and enhance their political consciousness. The contents of technical and cultural education vary according to needs. The Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, for instance, has opened classes on machine building, hydraulic pressure, electronic technology, drawing and so on, and there are special classes for worker-technicians to learn foreign languages.

Apart from full-time teachers, there are large numbers of worker-teachers. Most of the 30,000 teachers in the spare-time schools of the city's industrial, communications and financial and trade departments are workers who teach during off-hours. Working in close co-operation with the full-time teachers, they are playing an active part in giving well-prepared lectures with on-the-spot demonstrations. The students also take part in practice during the classes. This has produced good results. The teaching materials are jointly com-
Training Agro-Technicians

In the Yuehtan Brigade, Yenshih County, Honan Province, nearly 300 peasants have been trained as agro-technicians with both theoretical knowledge and rich practical experience. They make up one-third of the brigade's adult population.

Through research during the past decade and more, these agro-technicians have developed five improved wheat strains as well as introduced many good strains to the brigade from outside. At the same time they have supplied other places with some one million jin of good-strain wheat seeds and written a book summarizing their experiences in wheat production. Their efforts have been welcomed by agricultural scientists and technicians as well as peasants.

The brigade is located on the southern bank of the Yellow River in its middle reaches. Windstorms, sandstorms, floods and dry spells here were detrimental to production, so that per-mu yield of wheat was only a little over 100 jin just after liberation. But thanks to the efforts of the brigade's Party branch and the peasants, who built dams, improved the soil, checked the sand and carried out capital construction of farmland, grain output has been gradually raised in the past ten years and more. Especially after scientific methods were introduced, average per-mu wheat yields reached some 700 jin over large areas, and output on experimental plots topped 1,000 jin per mu. These achievements made the brigade a nationally advanced unit in wheat-growing.

In 1959 the brigade opened a spare-time agro-technical school, assigning it 100 mu of farmland and other small plots for experimentation. Students come from various production teams to study for one and a half years or two, then go back. The teaching is done by team cadres, veteran peasants, outstanding production hands and agro-technicians. Their method is to link theory with practice. While studying the science and technical know-how of wheat cultivation, students are asked to learn from the experience of other places in raising wheat output. Occasionally well-known model peasant Liu Yin-hsiang, Party branch secretary of the brigade, and other experienced peasants are invited to give demonstrations out in the fields.

There is a lively two-way traffic: Students bring advanced technique and experience from the school to their teams, while from their teams they bring production problems to the school to be solved with the help of the teachers. Teaching material is enriched thereby, and difficulties in production overcome. No wonder this type of school is welcomed by the peasants.

Some of the agro-technicians trained become not only a backbone force in improving technique, but also the mainstay of the brigade leadership. They conscientiously carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and lead the masses in scientific farming.

Since 1965 the Yuehtan school has enrolled 700 outside students and the brigade has sent 150 agro-technicians to 80 counties and cities in six different provinces to spread their experience and help train more agro-technicians.

CHINESE WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
AT A GLANCE

1 jin = 0.5 kilogramme or 1.1023 pounds
1 mu = 0.06 hectare or 0.1047 acre

(Continued from p. 18.)

The leaders of the nine nations debated heatedly on the ways to strengthen the institutions of the Common Market. But the final communique of the conference showed that agreement on principle was reached to improve and strengthen the institutions to facilitate the union of the members.

* * *

Commenting on the Paris summit, French President Georges Pompidou described it as an "encourage-ment" to those who wish to create a European union determined to take the destiny into its own hands. British Prime Minister Edward Heath said, "We can find our place and make our voice heard if we work together and act with a common will." Chancellor Willy Brandt of the Federal Republic of Germany said that the fact that the nine West European countries unite in the desire for an ever closer union "is an event of historic significance."

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