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THREE HIGHLIGHTS IN JOHNSON'S FAR EAST TOUR

Credit for providing the most graphic description of what were probably the three main highlights in Johnson's "barnstorming" tour of the Far East goes to Pete Hamill of the liberal New York Post. He was one of the crew of reporters assigned to accompany the great leader in the traveling circus.

Outside the airport at Manila, Pete Hamill wrote, "the car carrying Lyndon Baines Johnson to the Asian summit conference passed one of those tar-black eddying creeks, with a crush of iron-roofed shacks dropping away to the water's edge. It was in the district called Paranaque, and coming up from its filthy banks were the inhabitants: Gnarly women, 10-year-old girls holding infants on their hips, hard-eyed young boys in sports shirts and shower shoes, people with sores on their blank-eyed faces and the smell of poverty and disease everywhere."

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"On the seventh day of his journey," continued Hamill, "Lyndon Johnson had finally arrived in Asia."

The second highlight was the scene of Johnson's arrival at Bangkok, the capital of Thailand:

"Lyndon Johnson stepped out of the chopper, to see a vast open square dominated by the black equestrian statue of King Rama V of Siam, and a scene that could easily have been staged by Dino De Laurentiis for a movie starring Steve Reeves.

"Seven gold motorcycles manned by cops in gold uniforms stood at the ready. The King of Thailand's gold Daimler Benz limousine was waiting alongside a gold Mercedes, and rows of Thai troops from all services stood at present arms. Against the far edge of the square, reporters were eddying around a row of scalloped-edge tents, while a middle-aged Thai in a green uniform handed out Cokes. A cannon started belting a 21-gun salute, 'the Star-spangled Banner' was played, followed by the Thai national anthem, and after that all was silence."

The third scene described by Hamill was the fiesta prepared for the remarkable barnstormer during his performance in Manila. "You caught sight of Johnson riding with Lady Bird in a real live donkey cart complete with a real-live donkey. He was dressed in a silk barong shirt and a red neckerchief, his face sickly in the light from the yellow bulbs in the acacia trees. With the reins in his hands as he came down the path, he somehow looked like the sort of man who had helped win the West with a cure for gout."

As for Johnson's "peace package," Hamill offered the following candid opinion:

"The communiqué had also stolen a march on the Communists, by saying that the allies were prepared to withdraw troops six months after 'the other side' withdraws theirs to the north.

"This, of course, was patently ridiculous. There is simply no way to sit down and list all the Communists in South Viet Nam, nor for that matter, all the northerners. If it came down just to the northerners, they could easily begin with Gen. Ky. Perhaps the North Vietnamese troops could be relocated north, but they could easily reply that they would agree to do so six months after the Americans leave.

"The communiqué attempted to stir the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese by declaring the following goals: 'to be free from aggression,' 'to conquer hunger, illiteracy and disease,' 'to build a region of security, order, and progress' and 'to seek reconciliation and peace throughout Asia and the Pacific.' These are not even noble thoughts, because they are not, to begin with, thoughts. They are words. Nothing more.

"Nowhere did the communiqué even mention the bombing of North Viet Nam, and on the possibilities of invading North Viet Nam it refused even to be anything like concrete. 'The South Vietnamese people have no desire to threaten or harm the people of the North or invade their country,' the paper said. The key word is 'desire.' We didn't desire to bomb them either. But we're doing it."

ESCALATION OF MILITARY AID TO THAILAND ANNOUNCED

As a "reward" to the King of Thailand for the "gold car" reception given President Johnson there during his tour of the Far East, it was announced October 30 in Bangkok that the United States would increase its "military aid" to the monarchy by fifty percent.

The announcement gives added weight to the growing fear that Thailand may possibly become another south Vietnam. As Pete Hamill of the New York Post observed in an October 29 dispatch from Bangkok:

"The U.S. now has 32,000 fighting men in Thailand which is 9,000 more than we had in South Viet Nam in January, 1965. Some 80 per cent of all the bombing of North Vietnam and the Ho Chi Min trail in Laos comes from six Thai bases. We have Special Forces men here training the Thais in guerrilla warfare. We are building a giant

\$500,000,000 sea-air base at Sattahip with a landing strip that will accommodate B-52s. We have already poured more than a billion dollars in economic and military aid into the country, and are donating more at the rate of \$100,000,000 a year."

Thailand may fit into further escalation of the war in Southeast Asia in still another way. Mohammed Hassenein Heikel, the influential editor of the Cairo Al Ahram and a confidant of President Nasser, declared October 28 that he had received information that the U.S. is making "nuclear preparations in Thailand." The aim of the preparations is ostensibly to "deter" the People's Republic of China from offering more vigorous backing to the Vietnamese freedom fighters.

Heikel also said that the Manila conference was a "clear indication" of an American "tendency to escalate the war in Vietnam" and that it had been staged to bolster Johnson's popularity and to help the Democrats in the coming congressional elections.

CHINA'S FOURTH NUCLEAR TEST AGAIN CATCHES WASHINGTON BY SURPRISE

The announcement October 28 by the government of the People's Republic of China that the country's fourth test of nuclear weapons had been successfully carried out not only took the world headlines away from Johnson at the height of his tour in the Far East, it caused consternation throughout imperialist ruling circles. While the experts in their pay had correctly predicted that another test was forthcoming, they were once again caught by surprise by the speed with which China is developing its nuclear capacities.

What astonished the experts in particular was that China's scientists and engineers combined a guided missile test with the explosion of the weapon. This was taken to mean that China now has the capacity to reach 400 miles beyond its borders to answer any attack mounted by an aggressive power like the United States.

In announcing the test, the Hsinhua news agency again repeated China's promise not to be the first to use nuclear weapons: "The conducting of necessary and limited nuclear tests and the development of nuclear weapons by China are entirely for the purpose of defense, with the ultimate aid of destroying the nuclear weapons. We solemnly declare once again that at no time and in no circumstances will China be the first to use nuclear weapons."

This promise stands in diametric opposition to the ominous publicity, emanating from even such figures as former President Eisenhower, advocating the use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. and suggesting a preemptive strike against China.

To this it should be added that the U.S. already has a grim record in this respect. President Truman gained the obloquy of all mankind for all time to come by ordering two atom bombs to be dumped on populous cities in Japan. He claimed that this frightful action would "save lives" and "shorten the war." The truth was that the Japanese government was already suing for peace. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were sacrificed in part as a mere experiment, in part to terrorize the Soviet Union and as an indication of what the U.S. proposed to begin with in World War III.

The reaction in Washington to Peking's announcement of its latest success, was reported by the New York Times October 29. "Some atomic weapon experts privately acknowledged that they had been caught by surprise by the missile test, which came sooner and was more technically advanced than had been expected," said the Times. "Furthermore, the Chinese ability to make a warhead small enough for a missile -- one of the biggest challenges of atomic weapon technology -- was viewed by some experts as further confirmation of the progress Communist China was making."

Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, who is senior Republican on the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, summed up this reaction in an interview with United Press International:

"I don't know of any other country that succeeded in getting a guided missile and getting it on target the first try. But I think we should take the position they have done it. It takes a pretty highly complicated engineering and physics program to get one of these things on the road."

EUROPEAN SOCIALIST YOUTH STAGE VIETNAM SOLIDARITY MARCH

Brussels

More than 4,000 youth from all over Europe participated in an anti-imperialist demonstration in Liège on October 15. It was an impressive gathering from any point of view, even the police putting the number of demonstrators at 3,000.

The feature giving the demonstration a new character was the hundreds of young revolutionists who came from twelve other countries to join the Belgians. These included the Young Socialists from England, the youth grouped around the French publication Révolte, the Revolutionary Communist Youth of France and less numerous groups from Denmark, West Germany, Spain, Italy and still other countries as well as delegations from Canada and the United States.

Besides sending delegations, the participating organizations utilized the Liège demonstration as a topic for agitation and propaganda in their own countries. The Revolutionary Communist Youth in the south of France, for instance, who were too distant to send a big contingent, campaigned to show their solidarity with the demonstration.

The demonstration, which was conceived as a united front action in solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, met with an unfavorable response from some of the Stalinist centers. Thus at Havre and Gennevilliers, physical intimidation was utilized against activists belonging to the Revolutionary Communist Youth who came out in support of the Belgian Socialist Young Guard, the organization that sponsored the demonstration.

In Belgium, under pressure from the rank and file, the leaders of the Communist Youth agreed, with some reluctance, to support the October 15 demonstration. They even pasted up leaflets publicizing the demonstration, featuring some of the slogans ("Kick NATO Out of Belgium!" and "U.S. Aggressors Get Out of Vietnam!"). But they did not mention the sponsoring organization, the Socialist Young Guard [Jeune Garde Socialiste]. A case of identity in opposites? Keep Left, the publication of the Young Socialists of England and Révolte likewise omitted mentioning that the initiative in organizing the demonstration came from the Socialist Young Guard.

The appearance of a slogan, carried by the English Young Socialists, hailing the Hungarian revolution of 1956, was seized on by the leaders of the Belgian Communist Youth as a convenient pretext, offering a semblance of justification for withdrawing from the united demonstration and lining up with the position of the French Stalinists.

The Young Socialists could be asked why the members of the organization with which they are in political solidarity, the Socialist Labour League, did not carry a similar banner when they participated in the Shell bus strike in 1958. At that time they correctly refused to force all their positions on the workers. Does the united front consist of nothing more than a constant confrontation of all the positions of its participants?

After the leaders of the Belgian Communist Youth, followed by a large number of members (about 100), left the demonstration, the march began. Aside from a group of young "Provos" from Holland, it consisted mainly of young revolutionists.

The Liège demonstration constituted a first step along the road of coordinating their organizations and engaging in common actions. The obstacles and pitfalls on this road are not small ones. In the October 15 demonstration, for instance, the Belgian authorities refused to permit the carloads of young Dutch socialists from entering the country.

For the European bourgeoisie, the ministers, technicians and military brass of any country can meet in Brussels to put the finishing touches on their military plans. But when youth of these countries seek to come to Liège to protest against the aggression in Vietnam and against NATO, it's a crime!

STUDENTS WIN RELEASE OF FOUR COMRADES FROM MORELIA JAIL

By Manolo Sarmiento

Mexico City

In reply to repressive measures directed against the students in Morelia, the capital of the state of Michoacán, the students of the University of Mexico organized a series of protest actions, including meetings and the use of flying squads which circulated throughout Mexico City to call public attention to the arbitrariness of the government in ordering the Mexican army to occupy the University of San Nicolás de Hidalgo de Morelia.

Some revolutionary organizations sent representatives to Morelia itself to register protests. The Liga Obrera Estudiantil 23 de Marzo, a revolutionary Marxist group in the National School of Political Sciences, sent a delegation of four members: Carlos Durán, Juan Leal, Enrique Martínez and Humberto Torres.

Their mission was to help organize defense efforts for the students of Morelia and Mexico City who were jailed as a result of the military move. They also had the task of bringing to the attention of the people the energetic protests of the group against the government provocation and of calling for self-defense committees to carry on the revolutionary struggle of the people of the city and the peasants in the surrounding region.

The four students fell into the hands of the secret service in Morelia which had established a quasifascist control of the city. The McCarthyite gutter press controlled by the government and the monopolies set its propaganda machine going at once. The students were pictured as "promoters of a vast nationwide conspiracy" in which the events in Morelia were "one more cog." They came as representatives of a terrorist group that was "out to overthrow the government." They were alleged to belong to a "Trotskyist Soviet" (sic) organization seeking to destroy "democracy" in Mexico.

All the daily papers in the country set up a hysterical anti-Communist clamor such as has become routine in this year of crisis 1966. Apparently it has been a long time since Mexico had a government threatened by so many plots as the present Díaz Ordaz regime. Newspaper readers have been told this year of three big governmental crises provoked by Communist groups which, by magic, in spite of being "tiny groups of foreign lunatics, having no connection with the national life, separated from the Mexican people, desperate terrorists, foul criminals, prophets without followers, isolated as if they had small-pox," etc., have thrice greatly endangered the powerful government that smashed them. The first time was during the conflict at the University of Mexico when they caught the "international band of Argentinians controlled by Adolfo Gilly" that wanted to take advantage of the opportunity to "overthrow" the government. (The followers of Posadas arrested at the time played no role in the student movement in question.) The second time was when they caught the MRP [Movimiento Revolucionario del Pueblo] group headed by the journalist Víctor Rico Galán. The third was when they launched the repression in Morelia.

In each of the three occasions the specter haunting "democracy" was "Trotskyism, this rabid Communism, linked up with Peking and the USSR." All the "decent people" joined in the chorus of hate against the "professional subverters of law and order." One sector succeeded in making its own shrill voice heard above all the rest, this was the "left" group headed by Lombardo Toledano. They have openly approved and encouraged the "hunt for the Trotskyists, agents of imperialism," acting, in short, as if they were still living in the good old days of Stalinism.

Up until the arrest of the four revolutionary Marxist students, the government jailed its victims on charges of "inciting rebellion." This time the machine stopped half way. The energetic protests of the students in the National School of Political Sciences stood in the way. As a matter of fact, in contrast to the previous occasions, these four students had strong ties with the student body; they are integral members of the student community in which they have gained distinction as vanguard fighters. They are not isolated from all sectors of the population. This saved them from the heavy charges laid against the defendants in the earlier cases.

By way of protesting the arrest of the four, the students took over twenty-three buses on various lines in the city. This was in return for the arbitrary arrest of the four revolutionary students. The authorities, anxious to avoid a conflict at

the University of Mexico after the Morelia disaster, sought to nip things in the bud. They refrained from pressing heavy charges and released the students without demanding bail. The firm attitude of the Liga Obrera Estudiantil, backed by the unanimous approval of the students in their school (in the general assembly of the National School of Political Sciences only four votes were cast in favor of returning the buses before their jailed comrades were released) and the students belonging to the university group of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (the followers of Posadas) proved decisive.

A fact worth noting was the complete bankruptcy of the leaders of the left student groups adhering to the Maoist orientation. Together with the young revolutionary Marxists they have constituted the most dynamic sector of the student left. These student leaders scored the action of the members of the Liga Obrera Estudiantil as "adventurist" and refused to collaborate in carrying it out, some of them not even expressing verbal solidarity.

After they were released the revolutionary Marxist students told how barbarously they had been treated. They had been pounded and kicked and submitted to long periods of questioning (at times up to twelve hours). Their hair had been cut off. Although they had been held for a week, no charges had been brought against them. The police held them incommunicado for four days, refusing relatives permission to visit up to the last minute. They tried to terrorize them with threats. For food they were given something remotely resembling coffee and a tortilla with some beans. The four students had to sleep in a hole without beds and without toilet facilities.

In short, the government violated the highest law of the country, the federal constitution which they shout so much about in public. In the most frenetic way the government accuses "the reds" of violating the constitution when it is only the government that is doing this, and in a systematic way. It is the government that stands back of the hysterical campaign being waged over the radio and television and in the press. It is a way of chaining down revolutionary action and covering up the way the government has compelled both the bourgeois and revolutionary opposition to go underground in political activities. In Mexico we are witnessing a radical change in political trials. They are now part of an indiscriminate repression that is arousing profound social unrest among the people.

The main lesson to be drawn in this context from the energetic student action is that the struggle to free the political prisoners from the jails throughout the country is bound up with advancing a genuine struggle for socialism. This cannot be done through lukewarm actions and looking for an impossible alliance with the liberal sectors of the bourgeoisie; but only through an intransigent social struggle at all levels that will bring the workers to establishing their rule. And this poses the urgent necessity of constructing a revolutionary Marxist party in Mexico.

CREW'S SOLIDARITY ACTION WITH VIETNAMESE BRINGS PUNISHMENT ON COMPANY

A novel lawsuit, arising out of the refusal of a crew of Greek seamen to transport military matériel from the U.S. for use against the Vietnamese is being heard at Norfolk, Virginia. The U.S. government, accusing the Marilena Navigating Company of breach of contract, attached the Marilena P. when she arrived from Canada with a load of pig iron. Washington is seeking \$65,962 for losses involved in loading and unloading 400 tons of arms and having to charter a substitute carrier. The shipping company is expected to file a counterclaim for \$65,000 plus interest and lost profits.

En route between Seattle and Tacoma in September 1965, the crew were told that they were to pick up cargo and sail for Vietnam. When the ship reached Tacoma and the crew saw tanks and guns coming aboard, they balked. The crew complained to U.S. immigration officials, who took a vote among them. The vote was 26 to 3 to stay away from Vietnam. Chief Engineer C. Dimitrakis, the only member of the original crew still aboard the ship, was quoted as saying through an interpreter, "All men told, one by one, I don't go to Vietnam now because I'm afraid for my life." Only he, the captain and the chief officer voted to go.

At the time, West Coast antiwar demonstrators sent a telegram of congratulations to the crew. When the militant seamen returned home, the Greek government, as a gesture of appeasement to the State Department, suspended their papers for six months.

DANGER OF A COUP D'ETAT IN URUGUAY

Buenos Aires

The impressive series of strikes in Chile and Uruguay may signal a new upsurge of the working class in Latin America. In Uruguay, however, there are indications that this may be offset by a coup d'état. The Uruguayan ruling class is thinking in terms of a coup d'état that would radically change the country's traditional democratic pattern. This is mainly due to an economic and social crisis that is getting increasingly out of their control.

In relation to its size and population, Uruguay has enjoyed a relatively privileged position in Latin America. With an economy a great deal like that of the province of Buenos Aires, it held a favorable position in the world market. In wool, for instance, its ties with the rugmaking industry in the United States were particularly advantageous. With the rise of synthetic fibers, this privileged position became seriously undermined. Another important export was meat. The narrowing of the European market and a drop in British buying made deep inroads in this field.

As a result, the Uruguayan economy underwent a steep decline. The economic crisis led to a sharp struggle among the exploiters over division of the national income and to intensified exploitation of the workers in order to compensate for the losses on the world market.

The general offensive against the working class touched off a chain reaction, one strike after another occurring during the past year. This culminated in the unification of all the currents in the trade-union movement in a single center. Thus the last general strike was practically a total one.

The Uruguayan bourgeoisie is trying to cope with the contradictions among its own sectors on the one hand and with the combativeness of the workers on the other. An attractive solution from their point of view would be a strong government that could play the role of arbiter among all these conflicting forces. Such a government could be established in two ways. One would be through an amendment to the constitution making possible the election of a "strong" president with full power to confront and repress the working class while arbitrating differences among the different sectors of exploiters. If that should fail, the other way would be to resort to a coup d'état. Since Uruguay has no permanent or mercenary army such as existed in Cuba before the revolution, an attempt to undertake a coup d'état could prove to be very risky if it is met with armed resistance from the labor movement.

Unfortunately, since the bulk of the Uruguayan labor movement is led and controlled by the Communist party, there is no danger of this leadership taking the orientation of organizing armed resistance in face of the threat of a coup d'état. However, the rise in the mass movement together with the crisis caused by Castroism among the opportunist and petty-bourgeois leaderships of the Latin-American masses, including the Communist parties, precipitated a series of splits and led to the appearance of various left revolutionary currents among the traditional Socialist and Communist workers parties.

The situation in Uruguay urgently requires that these revolutionary currents work out a common program of revolutionary action, of action in the streets, to bring to bear a polarizing revolutionary tendency against the opportunist leaders of the Uruguayan mass movement. Responsibility for what is happening cannot in good conscience be laid against the opportunist leaders if the revolutionary groups and currents do not live up to their own obligation to join in a big revolutionary united front with a common program of street action to meet the offensive of the bosses and their government and the danger of a coup d'état.

It is high time for the left currents to launch the slogan of a workers militia and the arming of the entire Uruguayan workers vanguard to meet the threat with action in the streets.

Only through such joint action under a common program that boldly poses the perspective of a confrontation instead of mere polemics with the reaction can a coup d'état be prevented and the perspective opened for a genuinely revolutionary struggle in Uruguay.

CHINA EMERGES AS AN ADVANCING INDUSTRIAL POWER

An unusually interesting estimate of the stage of technology in the People's Republic of China was featured by the Scientific American, the well-known New York monthly magazine devoted to popular presentation of scientific subjects, as the leading article in its November issue. The article, "Technology in China," is by Genko Uchida, the international economic secretary in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry of the Japanese government. As a member of the ministry's China Study Group, he initiated the analysis three years ago. He had available, of course, the full resources of the Japanese government in gathering and assembling information. In estimating where China stands today, Uchida uses as his yardstick the Japanese experience in advancing from a primitive technological level to one of the most industrially advanced countries of the world. It should be noted that although Uchida approaches his subject matter from the viewpoint of a pure specialist, appearing virtually apolitical, he is not unsympathetic to China. He indicates his approach as follows:

"One should understand at the outset that, although the most conspicuous aspect of modern China is her system of communistic control, in a fundamental sense she is more a 'developing' country than a communistic one. That is to say, her economic policies are rooted primarily in her needs as a still poor, backward nation. This may help to explain why her views on Marxism and communism differ in some respects from those of the more advanced U.S.S.R. It also accounts for the extremely aggressive, evangelistic role adopted by the Chinese central government in directing the development of the national economy. In a country seeking to transform itself rapidly from the primitive, impoverished state to a modern industrial power, patriotic zeal and strong central control over the economy are indispensable."

In Marxist terms -- China is confronted with tasks logically belonging to the capitalist stage, but has no way of achieving these except by means of planning methods that are socialist in principle.

Uchida notes that "zeal has tended to run far ahead of capability." Yet under "the lash of experience," a certain evolution is observable which is "subtly reflected" in changing slogans. "They began with a simple appeal: 'Catch up and overtake.' They believed that by heroic efforts their immense, determined country could soon establish a modern industrial economy and outdo the advanced nations of the West. To that end they threw all the capital and labor they could command into the industrialization sector. They soon learned that this was a self-defeating policy. It took too much labor and capital from the agricultural sector and thus left the population intolerably short of food. Furthermore, the Chinese leaders (like the politically oriented leaders in most developing countries) had underestimated the importance of technical know-how. They had failed to realize that industrialization requires not only capital and a work force but also an adequate staff of technically trained personnel who understand the machines. Without this third essential element much of the capital and labor was wasted."

Three years of bad weather between 1959 and 1962 which ruined crops compounded the agricultural problem. The government thereupon shifted its emphasis and introduced a new slogan: "Stable production and more crops."

Another setback had occurred however. As an outcome of the Sino-Soviet dispute, the Soviet bureaucrats suddenly withdrew their technical advisers and workers from China in August 1960, leaving factories uncompleted and those in operation without skilled personnel. "Faced with the necessity of training her own people to complete the construction projects and run the factories, the Chinese government issued a new slogan: 'Self-development.'" This meant depending on Chinese resources for training engineers, technicians and researchers.

"She became timid and notably suspicious in her dealings with other countries, Communist or non-Communist, friendly or unfriendly," Uchida observes. "Her feeling was that those with whom she could trade were out to 'pick her clean.' For this feeling there was some justification, as some of the equipment China had bought from Communist countries turned out to be obsolescent. The Chinese government in recent years has insisted on buying only the latest models of equipment, often overlooking the fact that the newest models are not necessarily the best for China's own needs. The Chinese also ask for a two-year or three-year supply of spare parts for the equipment, fearing that in the event of an increase in international tension the suppliers

might refuse to deliver parts. All in all, the Chinese suspicion of foreigners is so strong and the drive for self-reliance so determined that there is a general reluctance to use foreign machinery at all."

In Uchida's expert opinion, China now has a "well-organized establishment" for the direction of science and technology. He notes how it is specifically organized and reports that the National Science Department "maintains about 100 research institutes, employing a total of about 7,000 investigators who work on research projects assigned by the government."

"The new generation of engineers that China is producing is an impressive national asset," he continues. "The profession is not limited to men; it is attracting increasing numbers of women. China's young engineers are confident, ambitious, eager to learn. They are acquiring, mainly from foreign publications, a detailed theoretical knowledge of the latest advances in technology."

He notes, however, that the Chinese engineering establishment is still weak in two "crucial" requirements: "seasoned leadership and the resourcefulness that can come only from practical experience."

The Japanese technologist explains: "In an industrialized country the engineers are imbued by education and job experience with a generalized expertise that enables them to cope with a wide range of tasks and with new problems as they arise. In addition to their specific training they have automatically absorbed a fund of basic knowledge and skills -- one may call it a common sense -- that is the heritage of the nation's industrial traditions."

China, naturally, lacks this. "Her engineers' knowledge is largely theoretical; the questions they ask of foreign engineers often betray a naïveté that shows lack of experience in applying the theories. The lack of practical experience has led China's leaders into some serious errors in industrial policy."

Among the errors, one category has to do with imitation. "It is natural, and indeed inevitable, for a developing country to begin by copying the products of advanced countries. Unfortunately there are grave pitfalls in such a policy. First of all, one had better be careful about what one selects for copying. A case in point is an agricultural machine China began to produce a few years ago. It was copied from a machine that had been designed and produced by a small manufacturer in Japan. After a year or so the Chinese found that the machine was poorly designed -- and that the Japanese manufacturer who had produced it had gone into bankruptcy."

In China, the "corrective" of bankruptcy is lacking; and once the model went into production, "politics and bureaucracy made it very difficult to stop."

Uchida cites as two other examples, imitation of a badly designed laboratory oscillograph and an automobile displayed at a Tokyo trade show. The Chinese engineers copied a 20-year-old model of a Western car. By adding new equipment like air conditioning, they made the sedan as heavy as a small dump truck.

Inherent in imitation is another pitfall -- "it retards the development of a capability for design." China, observes Uchida, "has succeeded in copying many sophisticated machine tools of the U.S.S.R., Germany, the U.S., Switzerland and Japan. This itself is no small achievement. Yet although China has developed high skill in copying designs, she has not developed much ability to improve on them or to design new machinery of her own. Indeed I have seen no evidence that any factory in China has a research and development division for the design of new products."

Japan went through a phase like this and then recognized that the development of a technology of design was itself an essential step toward full industrialization. "China now seems to be coming to the same realization; she has begun to seek technical assistance and knowledge from non-Communist countries."

A second mistake committed by the Maoist leadership was to follow a policy of production first, what is called in the U.S. a crash program. "This is the policy of putting all the available resources to work at any cost to turn out some article for which there is an urgent need." Uchida cites what can happen:

"For example, the Chinese at one point found there was an acute shortage of steel angle irons for agricultural development, and all the steel factories were

therefore ordered to make angle irons, whether or not they had efficient equipment for doing so. The result was a deluge of angle irons and a sharp reduction in the country's total industrial output. This lack of balance or planned programming has been characteristic of Chinese factories and of the overall economy."

Uchida thinks that the leaders of China have learned a lesson in this and that they have begun to rectify the tendency to engage in crash programming. But there are other related problems:

"Chinese technology shows many signs of severe imbalance. For example, the country is mass-producing agricultural machinery but has not yet persuaded the farmers to make full use of it. China is building many dams and hydroelectric plants; however, because she has not mastered the technology of control of river systems, there are often harmful repercussions upstream from the dams. China's factories are producing machine tools of excellent design but so poor in the quality of the materials that their reliability is far below standard."

In manufacturing, the basic existing weakness, a heritage from the past, is the lack of feeder industries for making parts and components. "The plants producing final products (for instance the leading factory for building trucks) must make their own nuts and bolts. A factory that makes electrical measuring instruments assigns a considerable proportion of its 4,000 workers to turning out precision screws on bench lathes and to die-casting metal parts. A plant that produces testing machines must build its own oil pumps." The lack of feeder industries is thus, "a severe obstacle to the development of high special skills and efficient production."

The first steps toward remedying this situation are now being taken. "From Japan's experience," Uchida declares "it must be said that the full integration of satellite parts plants into the industrial system as a whole will take a long time."

Uchida makes one more observation on the general problem which he says Japan learned some time ago and which China's leaders now begin to show signs of appreciating. "A populous country is tempted to believe any project, however formidable, can be accomplished if one only puts enough people to work on it -- the 'human sea' idea. This method has been demonstrated as working wonders in circumstances such as the restoration of a bombed road in wartime with only human hands as tools, but it is certainly an unsound one for building an industrial system or a modern civilized society. Man is not an ant. China, with all her hundreds of millions of people, is now turning to emphasis on modern tools -- mechanization and automation -- for building her society."

As specific measurements of China's technical progress, Uchida considers three basic industries: iron and steel, chemicals, and machinery. He notes that the assessment must be relative and that production figures alone cannot be taken as a guide. This is due to the structure and quality of management and the prevailing attitude toward productivity, all of which "are still in a highly primitive stage." In addition, "Chinese policies have given scant regard to production efficiency. The net result is that the productivity of labor in China's industries is very low: it averages only about a tenth to a fifth of the productivity of workers in Japan." Uchida leaves these considerations aside and singles out the state of industrial techniques. He comes up with some highly interesting conclusions.

"China's iron and steel industry is a mixture of large-scale and small-scale operations, of modern methods and primitive ones. In her hurry to industrialize, the new Chinese nation urged the farmers to turn to making iron and steel in their spare time. Some 400,000 small shops, hardly more than smelting sheds, sprouted all over the country. This effort proved to be so inefficient and so injurious to agriculture that only about 300 of the small mills are still operating. They supply, however, about a third of China's pig iron and steel, and they remain politically important because they enable farmers to contribute to the nation's industrialization."

Aside from the famous backyard furnaces, China does have some big steel plants. There are about twenty of them. They do not have the most modern equipment. The rolling mills are mostly imports from the U.S.S.R. and East Germany "that are not up to date and are operated by control instruments that had to be improvised by Chinese engineers, since the Russian technicians left in the midst of the installation of the mill machinery. The Chinese plants have no strip-milling equipment. Nor are they yet able to produce or process high-grade special steels (such as stainless steel) in any substantial quantity."

However, Uchida offers an encouraging prognosis: "On the whole I estimate that in steel technology China today is about 15 years behind Japan (which is the world's third-largest producer of iron and steel, behind the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.). It is quite possible that China, as a larger country, will achieve her goal of passing Japan and becoming third in total steel production by 1973, but that does not mean she will have caught up in technology. If she depends only on her own resources, it will take her considerably more than six years to develop her own strip mills and reach the present world standards in modernization of steelmaking. In this connection it should be remarked that China has recently signed a contract with several companies in West Germany to obtain a complete rolling mill for the production of thick steel plates."

In chemical technology, Uchida estimates that China stands at a similar point -- some 15 years behind Japan. "There too her development is repeating Japan's history. In a developing country the first chemical industries to receive attention are those required for the production of fertilizers, acids (principally sulfuric acid for fertilizers) and alkalis (comprising two main industries: soap and detergents and soda, which supplies raw materials for glass). China's fertilizer industry is already sizable: she produces some 7.5 million tons of chemical fertilizer a year. This is still far short of her needs, however. Although she adds to her own production by importing upward of four million tons a year (which makes her the world's largest importer of fertilizer), her total supply amounts to only 12 pounds per acre of cultivated land -- about a tenth of the amount used per acre in Japan. Moreover, her production consists mostly of ammonium sulfate and includes only negligible amounts of urea and high-grade compound fertilizers that are now in common use in Western countries. It appears that unless China obtains substantial help from outside it will take at least five to 10 years to raise her agricultural productivity to a level at which it can provide her with sufficient capital for a major breakthrough in industrialization."

Uchida forecasts, on the basis of Japanese experience, that the next stage in the development of China's chemical industry will be the extraction of products from coal tar. This will then be followed by "the age of synthesis, meaning the production of new chemicals from basic raw materials." The possibility of combining the two stages is suggested by Uchida's observation that China has already made a beginning in the establishment of synthetics industries by importing complete plants from abroad.

"In oil refining and the production of petrochemicals China is held back, as are all but the most advanced countries, by the fact that modern large-scale operation in this field depends entirely on automation. Like some other developing countries, however, China has recently made a beginning by entering into contracts to buy oil refining plants (from Italy, West Germany and France in her case)."

Efforts to speed up development of the chemical industries have been undertaken by the Chinese government through the purchase of plants of various types from a number of countries. "Experience has shown, however, that a country cannot make great progress in industrialization until it has acquired the ability to build its own equipment....China is now taking the first steps toward such self-reliance in chemical technology."

Turning to the machinery industry, which is the "clearest index to a nation's industrial development," Uchida again offers some instructive observations. "As in the chemical industry, in launching a machinery industry a developing country's first concern must be the needs of agriculture. The Chinese have put great emphasis on the production of farm tractors. A single large factory in Loyang is turning out 300 to 400 45-horsepower tractors a month, plus some power shovels and graders. The production cost of the tractors is reported to be about \$10,000 apiece -- 30 to 40 percent higher than the standard in industrialized countries. To Japan, which produces tractors mainly for construction jobs rather than for agriculture, China's investment in tractor production seems disproportionately large, since labor-saving in farming is less urgent than increasing the productivity of the soil."

Besides tractor factories, China has also developed "a substantial industry in the manufacture of pumps, which are used to a large extent for agriculture." The pumps are "quite modern, and so is the equipment employed in producing them, except for the final testing instruments."

In railroad rolling stock, Uchida cites Japanese experience. When Japan started producing this equipment some 90 years ago, it took her nearly 20 years to catch up with the technical level prevailing at the time. "China began to build locomotives 15 years ago and is now reported to be producing almost all her supply of

these machines in her own shops."

In shipbuilding, however, China is lagging considerably. It took Japan 20 years to catch up in the nineteenth century. China, having relatively little foreign trade and depending "mainly on overland and inland-waterway transport within her own country" is not under great impulsion to develop shipbuilding. She has no facilities yet for building a ship of more than 12,000 tons and lacks modern techniques such as the block-building system or construction of giant tankers."

As for trucks and automobiles, China "does not yet have an automotive industry in the modern sense."

After the development of machines for agriculture and transport, the next stage in the development of a modern industry is the production of machine tools and major power sources. This means making boilers, turbines and heavy electrical machinery. "China has entered this second stage. As I have mentioned, many of her factories are equipped with modern machine tools that were imported from various countries: East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, West Germany, the United Kingdom, France and Japan. China herself is only beginning, however, to produce machine tools of her own, and her progress so far is very uneven. Her output of tools of the grinding class, for example, is good, but her boring tools are below standard. We can estimate the level of the Chinese machine-tool industry by noting that it does not produce transfer machines, roll grinders or jig borers and it cannot turn out really large machines; the boring machines are limited to 150 millimeters (about six inches), hobbing machines to 2,500 millimeters, vertical boring and turning lathes to 6,000 millimeters and planomillers to 3,000 millimeters."

Uchida notes that China's dependence on foreign machine tools has held back her own education and practice in designing such tools but on the other hand has given her engineers an advantage in not being inhibited by experience. "They can boldly explore unorthodox approaches. For example, in a machine-tool factory in Shanghai they have put all the operations, from machining of the various parts to final assembly, in one huge, temperature-controlled room -- perhaps the largest room in the world for making machine tools. With increasing sophistication in the techniques and synthesis of the various operations, this room might eventually turn out the world's best machine tools."

Judging from Japanese experience, Uchida thinks that China is about 15 years behind in the machine-tool industry, but, by importing foreign know-how "might easily catch up in a decade."

He believes that the same holds true in the production of heavy electrical machinery.

As for automobiles, Uchida estimates that it will take China "more than 20 years to develop an industry capable of producing automobiles comparable to those of the advanced countries. The same is true of her production of aircraft. She has begun to produce small planes by herself, but almost all are complete copies of Russian models."

In electronics, China has not yet gone much beyond laboratory investigations although keen interest is being shown in this field.

Taking Japan as "typical" of a modern industrialized country, Uchida concludes that by nearly all the indexes China is 10 to 15 years behind in technology. "It is a striking fact that the Japanese engineers who have visited China recently have in almost every case found Chinese engineers today confronted by the same problems Japan attacked about 15 years ago."

Uchida makes the following forecast: "In 1950 Japan's income as a nation was \$9.3 billion, amounting to \$93 per capita. She soon passed the level of \$100 per capita, and thereafter she was able to devote an average of about 30 percent of her annual gross national product to capital investment; in 1961 she actually allocated 43 percent of her G.N.P. to expanding her productive capacity. This high rate of investment enabled the nation to generate a growth rate of 10 to 20 percent a year in G.N.P. By 1965 her national income had risen to \$62 billion, or \$620 per capita. In 15 years it had multiplied sevenfold.

"China's present national income is estimated to be about \$100 per capita, or \$60 billion in total for her estimated 600 million population. Most of that income

of course comes from agriculture. She has emerged from the 'takeoff' stage (to borrow a term from the U.S. economist W.W.Rostow) and entered the industrialization stage. If she follows the experience of Japan, she will soon accumulate enough technical knowledge and capital to make a breakthrough into a period of rapid economic growth, a growth that is driven by industrial investment. In 10 to 15 years she might attain a per capita income equal to Japan's present figure (\$620). In that case China's gross national income would be about 70 percent as large as that of the U.S.

"How far off is the impending breakthrough for China? My own estimate is five to 10 years. One may wonder, of course, whether recent political events in China, apparent to the outside world largely in the activities of the so-called 'Red Guards,' will affect this timetable. In this connection I shall observe that Japan suffered from similar political instability in the years before World War II. Thereafter the pace of her progress toward industrialization was quicker."

Two items are to be especially noted in Uchida's forecast. (1) He agrees that China has definitely crossed the threshold and entered the industrialization stage. (2) He thinks that outside of unpredictable contingencies the period of rapid economic growth may begin within five to ten years.

These conclusions, which seem to be solidly based on the evidence emerging from the three-year study undertaken by the government department which Uchida heads, are of enormous world importance. Their significance can be judged simply by comparing the status of India. India is still stagnating. Under the rule of Indian capitalism and its American and British backers, the perspective facing the masses is hopeless.

And what opened a bright perspective for China? Two events: a profound revolution that overthrew capitalist rule and the establishment of a planned economy. Whatever the errors, shortcomings and backslidings, the possibilities inherent in a planned economy based on the destruction of private capitalism have been proved once again as in the case of the Soviet Union.

This lesson will become more and more deeply imbedded in the consciousness of the masses throughout the world as China forges ahead.

STUDY SHOWS RATIONING IN CHINA HAS HELPED ASSURE EVEN DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD

Rationing in China has functioned "successfully on the whole," Ralph W. Hueneman declares in a study on rationing in China's urban centers which was published in the April-June issue of The China Quarterly. Among other things it has helped assure a more even distribution of food and thus made it possible to prevent famine even in years of great agricultural difficulty. Before the revolution, uneven distribution of supplies was one of the main causes of death on a mass scale from starvation when crops failed.

Rationing has also helped to maintain stable prices and to counteract inflation, which became a difficult problem in the period when a heavily unbalanced rate of growth in industrial expansion was attempted.

Hueneman notes in passing a certain relationship between rationing and the promulgation of egalitarian themes in the official publicity.

When rationing was first instituted, he points out, egalitarianism was under heavy attack. As support for their attacks, writers cited Marx's "Critique of the Gotha Program" in which "Marx had strongly criticised the utopian socialists' belief that inequalities of income could be quickly eliminated from society." In actual practice at the time it was possible for the better-paid strata in the cities to find things they could buy despite the rationing.

In the period of "rectification," following the blooming of the Hundred Flowers, the tone changed. While references were still made to the incorrectness of the egalitarian view, the cudgels shifted to attacking undue concern about wages and personal gain. At the height of the enthusiasm over the Great Leap Forward, a further shift was made, a policy being envisaged of distribution "to each according to his needs." It was thought that rationing, like the scarcity making it necessary, would soon be a thing of the past.

"By 1959, however, as the euphoria of the Great Leap wore off," notes Hueneman, articles defending the principle of 'to each according to his labour' once again began to appear in Chinese publications, and in the years since, egalitarianism has remained out of favour. In this atmosphere, rationing remains in force, but with much the same status as before: a pragmatic policy, without a hint of ideological pretension."

MAO'S BELATED RECOGNITION OF THE DANGER IN VIETNAM

It was the official view of the government of the People's Republic of China as late as five months after Johnson began escalating the war in Vietnam that there was no special cause for alarm. On July 8, 1965, Radio Peking stated that the U.S. "dares not and does not have the power to launch suddenly a large-scale war of aggression."

Since then Mao seems to have realized that the danger was much greater than his thought had led him to believe. Unfortunately, while seeking to strengthen China's defenses, he has failed to respond in a Leninist way. In Indonesia he continued to cover up and support the opportunist policies of the Indonesian Communist party, even after the catastrophe they led to. And on the fighting front in Vietnam, he has gone so far as to reject a united front on a governmental level with the other workers states, thereby weakening the Vietnamese revolution and playing into the hands of the Khrushchevists who would like nothing better than to leave Vietnam and the heroic freedom fighters in the lurch.

MAO'S ERRORS "MOST DANGEROUS" SINCE THIRTIES, DECLARES DEUTSCHER

In a penetrating article, "Mao at Bay," in the October 31 issue of the liberal American weekly, The Nation, Isaac Deutscher offers the opinion that the Mao regime has undergone a deep and grave political crisis that has been partly concealed behind the dramatics of the "cultural revolution." "The Chinese Communist Party is in disarray," he points out. "At least since the early summer, large and influential sections of its hierarchy have been in revolt against Mao Tse-tung and his policies. Peking speaks openly of Right, Left and Center factions struggling against one another within the party, and although the official spokesmen do not identify the programs and the leaders of the factions, the admission itself is unprecedented in post-revolutionary China."

At the August plenum of the Central Committee, Deutscher holds, "Mao found himself in a minority, and was either outvoted or was on the point of being outvoted." He responded with the "cultural revolution," which amounts to a coup against the majority. Besides mobilizing students and undergraduates against the party hierarchy, Mao threatened to use the army. This was the meaning of the sudden elevation of Marshal Lin Biao to second in command.

"The reports that have come out to us," Deutscher continues, "indicate that all aspects of Mao's policy, domestic and foreign, were under attack; but the main issue was his stubborn refusal to open any negotiations with the present Soviet leaders. Mao's critics demanded resumption of talks with Moscow; and he was bent on obtaining from the Central Committee a resolution decrying on principle any 'united front,' i.e., any coordinated action with the Russians over the war in Vietnam or over any other aspect of Communist policy."

In Deutscher's opinion Mao is committing an exceedingly grave error in holding that Brezhnev and Kosygin are mere agents of American imperialism. Even if they wished to play this role, the basic antagonism between the Soviet Union and the United States provides the objective possibility, "and from a Communist viewpoint the imperative need," for joint action. "By refusing such action Mao weakens China's position and brings on himself the odium for the break in the Communist camp. His tactics are ultra-Left rather than Left; and his radical verbiage and the fireworks of the 'cultural revolution' conceal a policy which is essentially passive and inert. Liu Shao-chi and his adherents argue that Peking needs a more flexible policy precisely in the interest of anti-revisionism, and that the Chinese party should press the Russians relentlessly for joint action over Vietnam. The argument is sound enough. Indeed, not since the early thirties, when the German Communist Party refused to join hands with the Social

Democrats against the Nazis, has any Communist party committed as many dangerous and even suicidal mistakes as Mao is committing at present."

On Mao's "cultural revolution," Deutscher voices sharp indignation. "In the name of Marxism and Leninism, the Guards have denounced Balzac and Victor Hugo, Shakespeare and Beethoven, as the products of a rotting bourgeois culture; they have defaced Pushkin's monument in Shanghai, and have voiced their contempt for the works of Chernyshevsky and Herzen, the progenitors of the Russian revolutionary movement. Peking's 'cultural revolutionaries' are, it seems, quite unaware of Marx's lifelong admiration of Shakespeare and Balzac; of Lenin's love for Pushkin and Beethoven, and of the formative influence Chernyshevsky had on him."

Moscow's attempt to make capital of Peking's assault on some of the great treasures in mankind's cultural heritage, draws scorn from Deutscher. "Undertaking the all too easy task of ridiculing these exploits," he says, "the Soviet press has harked back to Proletkult, the Russian literary and artistic movement of the early years of the revolution, which renounced bourgeois art and promised to create a proletarian culture. A writer in Pravda has named Trotsky as the inspirer of Proletkult; an attribution presumably designed to make both Proletkult and the Chinese 'cultural revolution' stink in our nostrils. The truth is that by comparison with the Chinese riot, Proletkult, which was akin to Western European futurism of those years, was an almost civilized affair; it was supported by Bukharin and Lunacharsky, while Trotsky, far from being its inspirer, wrote a whole book, Literature and Revolution, to repudiate it. Pravda could have found a much more contemporary parallel to recent events in China: in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Stalin, Zhdanov and Pravda's writers 'disciplined' the intelligentsia, thundered against 'kowtowing to decadent Western culture,' banned the works of Einstein, Freud, Mendel and many other foreign thinkers, and indulged in a hysterical glorification of all things Russian."

Pravda avoids drawing that parallel because the Soviet Union is still suffering from the effects of that period and in fact is still maintaining many of the bans. "But the parallel is close enough; and it suggests that the Maoist 'cultural revolution' is a deadly serious affair. Its effect on China's spiritual and intellectual life will, in all probability, be just as devastating and lasting as were the consequences of the Stalinist witch hunts."

The "cultural revolution" also signifies that China, like "Russia in the last years of the Stalin era" has "now plunged headlong into a self-centered isolationism and nationalism and has shut itself off more hermetically than ever from all outside world political and cultural influences."

A prominent reason for this turn, Deutscher holds, is the "recent setbacks" on the world scene, "above all the collapse of the pro-Maoist Communist Party of Indonesia and the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of its members." The events in Indonesia "mark a deep ebb of revolution and a disaster for Maoism."

The "cultural revolution" was contrived as an "extra-powerful booster to national morale." In Deutscher's opinion it is a poor substitute for a correct policy.

"It can be said in advance that the 'positive' effect of this booster shot to national morale will be short-lived, but that its adverse consequences will be felt for a long time. The party, its hierarchy and cadres, will not soon recover from the humiliation the 'Red Guards' have inflicted on them. The old intelligentsia -- the scientists and the technicians, but especially the writers and artists -- who have been associated with the broad current of the Maoist revolution and have directed the educational work among the masses since 1949, are being degraded and eliminated from their posts. They have not, yet, been destroyed as Stalin destroyed their Russian counterparts, but they are forced to make room for a new intelligentsia, one brought up since the revolution and thus having far fewer ties with either their own native cultural tradition or the heritage of the outside world.

"To some extent, this change of generations is inevitable in any post-revolutionary society, but when it is carried out as abruptly, brutally and demagogically as it was in Stalinist Russia, and now in China, the nation suffers losses it can ill afford: a gap in its cultural consciousness, a lowering of standards and an impoverishment of spiritual life. Post-Stalinist Russia is still smarting from such losses, and Maoist and post-Maoist China will be hurt similarly for years to come."

THE COMPUTER INDUSTRY -- A CASE STUDY IN MODERN MONOPOLY

By John Marshall

Nowhere is the overwhelming preponderance of U.S. capital in today's world so pronounced as in the computer industry. Its monopolistic grip on this field has just been highlighted in the October 21 announcement that Paris had worked out an agreement with Washington to lift its ban on the sale of several advanced computers to France.

In the last two years, Washington has refused to grant export licenses on French orders for at least ten units of sophisticated equipment whose value runs to many millions of dollars. Several pretexts were given for the turndown: first, that the machines were not available; and, later, that Washington would not permit the use of American machines to assist in the production of atomic weapons. The real reason was the Johnson administration's wish to exert pressure on de Gaulle to revise his posture of independence in foreign policy.

The computers on order can be used for scientific and civilian as well as military purposes. The biggest machine on the French list, an IBM 360-92, of which there are only three in the world, is for the big nuclear research center at Saclay, outside of Paris. Another is for Electricité de France, the government-owned national power company.

The blocking of these sales by the U.S. prodded the French Government to develop its own computer technology. Recently de Gaulle launched a top-priority Operation Computer and appointed a computer czar to speed the creation of a purely French computer industry, privately owned but government aided.

However, French interests have a long way to go, even in their own country, to catch up with U.S. competition. At present the French subsidiary of the International Business Machines Corporation (IBM France) dominates the market and Machines Bull -- General Electric, of which the American General Electric corporation owns one-half, is second. GE's takeover of Bull three years ago threatened to impose total American control on the West European market.

The making of computers, an offspring of wartime research and development, especially in the United States, has become the prime "growth industry" of the postwar period. As the basis for cybernation and automation, it is vital to modern technology. It serves indispensable functions in space exploration, nuclear developments and missile warfare. Its applications in science, industry and business are radiating in many directions.

In the past decade, American corporations have secured a stranglehold on the world market. Britain is the only capitalist country whose computer industry is not completely annexed by American manufacturers. Yet despite the combined efforts of the government, business and unions, even the British computer market is split between native and U.S. companies.

The two leaders in the battle for the multimillion computer market in England are International Computers and Tabulators of Britain and IBM. Although ICT is large by British standards, it is only moderate-sized compared to the Yankee giants. It is smaller than any major U.S. computer manufacturer. It had sales of \$150,000,000 in 1965; IBM rolled up a \$3,500,000,000 volume!

IBM is the General Motors of the computer industry. It stands heads and shoulders above all other companies at home and abroad -- and its lead keeps increasing. Its paramount position was facilitated by its prior predominance in tabulating or punch-card machinery. It has been assured by big orders from the U.S. government and Defense Department and its access to unmatched reservoirs of capital generated by its favored status among investors in the New York stock market, its tremendous sales volume, influx of cash and superprofits. This has enabled IBM to generate much of its own capital and to finance the expansion of its far-flung operations without undue strain.

The computer business requires immense sums of capital for research, development, manufacture and service that can press hard upon the resources of the ordinary company and even of governments. This was recently emphasized by a British banker,

S.S. Griffiths, who observed: "It takes a great deal of money to develop computers, it takes money to market computers, and it takes even more money to service computers -- and American companies have the money."

The English firm, ICT, has managed to get along up to now thanks to state aid through research subsidies and direct government grants to companies which buy computers to modernize their operations. About one-third of ICT's new computers are sold to foreign customers -- and it takes large quantities of money to finance such sales in overseas markets. Here IBM and other American companies have assets that render ICT's prospects uncertain.

The computer industry most graphically expresses the main tendencies of contemporary capitalist development. Most noteworthy among its features are:

(1) The unassailable supremacy of the American monopolies on both the domestic and foreign markets.

(2) The multinational character of the U.S. monopolies, marked by the conquest of the markets of the most advanced as well as the most backward nations.

(3) The international centralization of capital represented by the dominance of a single firm like IBM which sets the pace and towers over all rivals.

(4) The important role of the U.S. military budget plus government tax and depreciation policies in stimulating the swift growth of an industrial monopoly.

(5) The immediate monopolization of a new type of industry by a giant corporation, skipping over a prolonged stage of competition among numerous firms.

(6) The advantages accruing to the most efficient and highly capitalized companies which, through price-fixing and superprofits, can build up enough reserves of capital to handle large-scale expansion.

As it unfolds within the framework of corporate ownership, the current industrial revolution serves to speed up the concentration of capital at an unprecedented pace and to promote its centralization to the limit. "Free enterprise" in this key branch of the new technology means in reality free sway for the IBM empire, headquartered in the United States, to capture control of the whole world market.

A COMPUTER GAMBIT FOR BRITAIN IN CRASHING COMMON MARKET?

The Economist suggests in its October 22 issue that the Wilson government should have another try at getting into the Common Market. The influential British magazine feels that de Gaulle might not exercise a veto as he did in 1963.

Among the reasons advanced by The Economist is the need for European capital to close ranks against the U.S., particularly in the development of the new technological industry. Britain has something to offer, being almost equal to the Six as a whole in this field.

The attractiveness of bringing in Britain is strengthened by the latest signs that the Soviet Union and the other East European countries are turning toward the West, mainly Europe, for "co-operation in setting up their new industries."

"The feeling is strengthened further by the plight outside America of the new industry which may become the most important of them all. This is the computer industry," declares the magazine. "Computers look more and more likely to pervade the whole industrial and economic society of the future; and the European market (which up to now has lagged) should grow faster than the American market in the coming years. But American companies control 95 per cent of the world market, and two-thirds of western Europe's. If the European governments fail to devise research and development and, above all, procurement policies to keep some European firms effectively in the business, many Frenchmen (and others) fear that the flow of brains to America will widen into a broad stream, and Europe will become industrially a province. That thought in itself may not be enough to make General de Gaulle accept Britain's suit. But it does suggest another technological gambit that might be tried."

CULTURAL REVOLUTION IN A SILK MILL

[The following report, datelined Hangchow, September 28, appeared in the September 30 daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency.]

* * *

Workers of the Tungfanghung Silk Mill (originally Tuchinsheng Silk Mill) in Hangchow are producing great numbers of finely worked pictures of Chairman Mao to meet the huge demand from revolutionary people both at home and abroad.

As the great proletarian cultural revolution surges forward throughout the country, more and more people are buying such pictures of Chairman Mao. Every day, even before the shops open, long queues of workers, peasants, soldiers, youngsters and others of the revolutionary masses form up outside the shops to buy the picture. Orders are pouring in from Peking, Kwangchow, Chengtu, Harbin and other cities.

The silk mill, which was originally noted for its decorative landscape-and-figure designs done in silk, still continued to display, even after liberation, the old shop sign with the name given it by the capitalist owners, the ruthless exploiters of the working people.

On August 23, in response to a proposal by the Red Guards of Hangchow's schools and colleges, the workers banded together with these young fighters, smashed the old sign and changed the name of the shop to one with a revolutionary meaning: "Tungfanghung" (the east is red).

The workers, deeply moved, gave a pledge: "Chairman Mao is the red sun in our hearts and in the hearts of people the world over. We must weave more silk pictures of Chairman Mao, of finer quality and at greater speed, to make the red sun from the east shine out all over the world."

The revolutionary workers of the mill then set to work to convert a number of the silk-weaving looms for the production of pictures of Chairman Mao.

Sixty-year-old veteran worker Hsu Kang-chien said: "It is the brilliant leadership of Chairman Mao that has inspired us to smash the bad old shop sign and replace it with a glorious new one. Chairman Mao is the red sun in the hearts of us workers. We must overcome every difficulty in the way of turning out greater numbers of fine-quality silk pictures of Chairman Mao, because these are wanted by the revolutionary people at home and abroad."

The silk mill sent to Peking for the latest photos of Chairman Mao. Newly designed head-and-shoulders portraits showing Chairman Mao in the olive-green uniform of the Chinese People's Liberation Army with the red arm band of the Red Guards will shortly be put into production.

Over the past few days, the daily output of the woven silk pictures of China's great teacher, leader, supreme commander and helmsman, Chairman Mao, has practically quadrupled.

BOOM IN PUBLICATIONS INDUSTRY IN CHINA

[The following account, offering statistics on a rise in output in the publications industry in China, appeared in the September 30 daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency. It is datelined Peking.]

* * *

Chinese printing workers, full of revolutionary enthusiasm and affection for their great leader, Chairman Mao, are rushing off the press volumes of Chairman Mao's works and portraits of him.

In the past month and more, they have printed more than 3,000,000 sets of the four volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung in addition to over 5,000,000 single volumes. They have also turned out tens of millions of Selected Readings from Mao Tse-tung's Works, Quotations from Chairman Mao and his articles in pamphlet form.

A total of about 30,000,000 copies of Chairman Mao's portraits are expected to come off the press before China's national day, October first.

Printing-house workers all over the country were greatly encouraged by the recent decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party on speeding up the mass production of Chairman Mao's works. They beat drums and gongs to express their joy and excitement and wrote big-character posters and held meetings to express their determination to implement the party's call.

Comments like these are often heard: "Mao Tse-tung's thought is the never-setting red sun in the hearts of the people of China and the whole world. Chairman Mao's writings are the steering wheel and illuminating light for the revolution. The party's Central Committee places the greatest trust in us printing workers by calling on us to make as our most honoured, urgent and important task, the printing of Chairman Mao's works and his portraits."

They immediately set to work and placed the publication of Chairman Mao's works as their supreme political task. So that millions of revolutionary people could obtain Chairman Mao's works as soon as possible and arm themselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought and millions of revolutionary households could put up Chairman Mao's portraits and see the smiling face of their most respected and beloved leader every day.

The dozens of printing houses in the capital are all busy turning out works by Chairman Mao and portraits of him. Since the decision of the party Central Committee more than a month ago, Peking has printed 6,600,000 volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and 4,000,000 copies of Chairman Mao's portraits, exceeding the total printed in the last few years. The printers of various nationalities at the nationality publishing house are turning out Chairman Mao's works in the Tibetan, Uighur, Kazakh, Mongolian and Korean languages.

The quantity of Chairman Mao's works to be printed in Shanghai, China's printing center, this year alone will equal the total printed in the past decade and more.

Printers in Urumchi, capital of the Sinkiang-Uighur autonomous region, have pledged to send newly printed writings by Chairman Mao to the peasants and herdsmen north and south of the Tianshan Mountains and make newly printed portraits of Chairman Mao available in the remotest areas in Sinkiang before national day.

Printers in many parts of the country have raised the slogan of "Study well, apply well and print Chairman Mao's writings well." They put up Chairman Mao's portraits in the workshops and quotations from his works at the side of their machines and study Chairman Mao's writings before and after work. They regard the large-scale printing of Chairman Mao's works as a revolutionary undertaking and a glorious task that must be fulfilled in the spirit of revolution, quickly and well. In a number of printing houses that are printing Chairman Mao's works for the first time, the workers displayed the spirit of daring to struggle and to win and overcame many difficulties before they turned out high quality products. Happy at their success, the workers said, "This is the victory of Mao Tse-tung's thought, the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution."

The number one printing house in Wuhan and the Hsinghua printing house in Kiangsu province are small and poorly equipped establishments which used to print forms and receipts. But the workers succeeded in overfulfilling their plans for printing the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung and Selected Readings from Mao Tse-tung's Works before national day. When they received the assignment, the workers said, "Chairman Mao teaches us that man is the decisive factor. Machines are dead things, while man is living. Armed with the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung, we can surmount any great difficulties." The workers made outmoded machinery work effectively.

While printing Mao Tse-tung's works, workers of the Hsinhua printing house in Szechuan province found a way to lengthening the life span of the lead plates, which can now be used to make 410,000 impressions as against 110,000 formerly. After studying Chairman Mao's article, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains,"

the workers finally succeeded in making the plates last longer after conducting no fewer than 50 experiments. Many of the workers remarked: "Printing the works of Chairman Mao means producing powerful spiritual atom bombs. We will read and print Chairman Mao's works all our lives and be propagandists of Mao Tse-tung's thought."

PEKING SCULPTORS, PAINTERS PERFORM GLORIOUS TASKS

[The following two paragraphs have been extracted from a report on the preparations for celebrating the seventeenth anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China which appeared in the September 30 daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency.]

* * *

The painting and sculpturing of portraits and busts of Chairman Mao has been the glorious task of the revolutionary teachers and students of the city's art schools, who take great pride in performing it. A four meters high plaster statue of the great leader which now stands in the grounds of the Central Academy of Fine Arts is the work of the Red Guards, the revolutionary teachers, students and workers of the academy's sculpture faculty, the result of three weeks of collective effort. This statue of the beloved leader will be displayed in public on national day.

In the Peking Working People's Cultural Palace, a group of Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students have been at work on a huge oil painting showing Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the Red Guards, to be carried by the leading contingent in the coming national day parade. Pictures of Chairman Mao Tse-tung with the revolutionary masses and of the splendid victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution are being painted by Red Guards and revolutionary teachers and students on walls along Peking's main streets. These pictures express the boundless love felt by the people of all nationalities in all parts of the country for their most respected leader, Chairman Mao, whom they see as the red sun in the hearts of the revolutionary people and whose heart is linked with the hearts of the revolutionary masses.

EXCITEMENT HIGH OVER "SELECTED WORKS"

[The following report, entitled "Red Letter Day for PLA Airforce Unit," appeared in the August 29 daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency under a Peking dateline.]

* * *

August 25 was a red letter day for the airmen and members of ground crews of an airforce unit under the Peking military command. On that day, they all bought copies of the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung.

They had been tremendously eager to obtain the books, for Chairman Mao's thought is the red sun in their hearts. For years they had persisted in studying his writings and living according to his instructions. By so doing, they had found an inexhaustible source of strength and inspiration.

Many of them did not sleep much on the previous night as they were too elated at the thought of being able to fulfill their cherished ambition the next day. Some spent the whole night decorating the station with posters and slogans, and others got up early that morning to give the camp a thorough cleaning.

As the decorated lorry, laden with newly printed volumes of Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, appeared in the distance, the airmen and members of the ground crews lined up at the station entrance burst into thunderous cheers. They shouted: "Long live Chairman Mao!" "Long live the Chinese Communist Party!"

Leading members of the unit, who had come along with the lorry, presented the airmen with the books in the course of a solemn ceremony.

As soon as they got the books, the airmen opened them and began to study. In

the light of Chairman Mao's "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," they discussed the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary actions taken by the Red Guards to wipe out the old ideas, culture, habits and customs. They expressed the view that Chairman Mao was the greatest Marxist-Leninist of today. The fundamental point in Mao Tse-tung's thought was criticism, struggle, and revolution. The spirit of the Red Guards of daring to rise up in revolution was good, and they, as PLA [People's Liberation Army] men, supported the Red Guard's actions.

Airman Chu Yun-ying had for some time been an enthusiastic student of Mao Tse-tung's writings and, as a result, he had made rapid progress politically. When he again studied "Serve the People," from which he had constantly obtained inspiration in his work, he said: "I shall always be loyal to Chairman Mao. I shall study Mao Tse-tung's thought diligently, implement it resolutely, disseminate it enthusiastically and valiantly defend it."

MAO ACCORDED RESPECT DUE HIM

It is not only in China that Mao Tse-tung is being praised to the skies. Few issues of the daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency go by without reports from all over the world on how highly the supreme commander is esteemed. Two examples should suffice:

The August 30 issue reported that in an interview with Hsinhua, Mathew F. Masimosa, a member of the Tanzanian journalist delegation that recently visited China, said, "Chairman Mao Tse-tung is the saviour of the Chinese people and all oppressed people of the world."

The same issue of Hsinhua reported the enthusiastic response of Arabs who visited the Chinese pavilion at the thirteenth Damascus international fair:

"Visitors who packed the area displaying Chairman Mao's works showed their deep respect for Chairman Mao. One entry in the visitor's book said: 'Mao Tse-tung is the greatest man in the world. People throughout the world should read his works and follow the road pointed out by him.'

"Before the fair opened an old Syrian worker with his son asked the Chinese staff to let them in to view Chairman Mao's portrait. Being let in, he stood respectfully and paid tribute to Chairman Mao in front of the portrait."

WORDS OF WISDOM FROM A NIGHT-SOIL COLLECTOR

The cultural revolution in China has stimulated an upsurge of huge proportions in the production of aphorisms and wise sayings. One of the most memorable to come to our attention was reported in the September 29 daily bulletin of the Hsinhua News Agency. Shih Chuan-hsiang, a 50-year-old night-soil collector in Peking, in talking about the need for international solidarity, particularly in relation to Vietnam, was moved to observe: "Chairman Mao's teaching has brought me enlightenment. Carrying the night-soil bucket, I keep the whole world's affairs in my mind."

RISING RATE OF DESERTIONS FROM SAIGON FORCES

Desertions from the South Vietnamese forces under the command of Hitler-loving General Ky are rising significantly, reports the Vietnam News Agency. In a Hanoi dispatch dated October 7, the agency quotes the daily Nhan Dan on this symptom of the low morale in the puppet army.

In 1961 there were 17,100 desertions. The figure jumped to 27,200 in 1962. For 1963 it was 36,980. By 1964 it had risen to some 80,000. It shot up to 113,000 in 1965. The present average monthly rate is 15,000 so that the 1966 figure will probably be around 180,000.

HALT THE ESCALATION!

[The following appeal to revolutionary militants and workers of all countries was issued October 3 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.]

* * *

During the past twenty months, the Fourth International, the World Party of the Socialist Revolution, has repeatedly called attention to the incalculable consequences that could arise if the escalation of the imperialist aggression in Vietnam did not meet with a sufficiently energetic rejoinder to stop it short and cause it to fall back.

Today the Fourth International again appeals to you in face of the threat that a new step will soon be taken in the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution.

The first aim of the imperialist aggression against the Vietnamese revolution was to prevent a quick victory of the National Liberation Front which at the time seemed inevitable within a short period. Despite their heroism, unparalleled in recent history, the Vietnamese revolutionists are no longer on the verge of overturning the rotten regime of Marshal Ky, the admirer of Hitler, whom the colossal military power of the United States has undertaken to maintain in Saigon at any price.

The imperialist aggression aimed secondly at preventing a rapid extension of the colonial revolution in Southeast Asia as a whole. Although courageous revolutionists have unleashed an anti-imperialist struggle in Thailand and have resumed combat in the Philippines, this aim, too, has largely been attained. The revolution suffered a very heavy defeat in Indonesia and ceased widening in this part of the world, a consequence, at least partially, of the imperialist aggression.

The third aim of the imperialist aggression was to intimidate the colonial revolution on a world scale. By intervening on a massive scale in the Vietnamese civil war, American imperialism served warning, particularly to the revolutionists of the entire world: if they place the capitalist system in danger anywhere in the world, Washington has arrogated the right to intervene and pour torrents of fire down on them.

It cannot be said that the revolutionists have let themselves be intimidated. The masses, their vanguard organizations and courageous groups of guerrillas are pursuing the anti-imperialist struggle on a more or less vast scale and with variable results in a number of countries in the world, from Mozambique to Guatemala and from Colombia to Southern Arabia.

But the fact that American imperialism was able to intervene in Vietnam with impunity and has been able to continually increase its counterrevolutionary intervention at no higher cost than a moderate inflation and a growing opposition against the war among its own people and in international public opinion, has unquestionably contributed to emboldening and strengthening the reactionaries, the military caste and the oligarchical camarillas of all stripes.

The fourth aim of the imperialist aggression was to prepare a step by step "roll back" of the workers states in Asia. The strengthening of these states is considered to be a mortal threat to the imperialist empire in the Pacific, even to the survival of capitalism throughout Asia. Hence the direct military attack against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Hence the increasing preparations for war against the People's Republic of China.

Washington is acting in this in accordance with a method whose logic is obvious from the viewpoint of the class interests of Big Capital. Washington is not deliberately choosing the road to a nuclear world war. Such a decision, a last resort, would be taken only when all seemed lost. Washington will not even deliberately take the road to an armed conflict against the collective might of the workers states. It seeks to advance step by step, reducing and then overcoming one by one the obstacles in the way of reestablishing its domination throughout Asia. It is ready to retreat if suddenly confronted with energetic countermeasures. But so long as energetic countermeasures are not taken, the Pentagon is inclined to see no reason for not seeking first to liquidate the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, then to bomb out

of existence the industrial centers of China, above all her nuclear centers.

The heads of the Soviet bureaucracy seek to justify their criminal passivity in face of the imperialist aggression, invoking the necessity of "safeguarding the peace." These arguments are false. History has shown many times that to back down in face of an aggressor does not appease his hunger, but on the contrary only sharpens it. By delaying energetic countermeasures that could have stopped the imperialist aggression in Vietnam, the Kremlin objectively facilitated extension of the war against both Vietnam and the Chinese revolution. At the same time it facilitated a relative weakening of the fighting Vietnamese masses. This could end in enabling imperialism to obtain through diplomatic means what it could not obtain in the field.

The heads of the Chinese bureaucracy refused to set up the united front which is so necessary for all the workers states in aiding the Vietnamese revolution, alleging that it is impossible to unite with "revisionist accomplices of imperialism" and that revolutionary victory in each country is essentially the concern of the people of that country. Behind these false arguments lies the understandable desire of the Peking leaders to delay an imperialist aggression against their country. But far from achieving this aim, Peking's stubborn refusal to place the so-called "allies of imperialism" against the wall by proposing concrete measures to them for amplifying the anti-imperialist struggle in Vietnam and all of Southeast Asia made it more difficult to help the Vietnamese revolution, in effect encouraging imperialism in its preparations for aggression against China.

The balance sheet speaks eloquently, moreover, on the ineffectiveness of the policies touted in both Moscow and Peking. The purely verbal countermeasures, material aid measured out with an eyedropper, have not at all prevented American imperialism from taking one step after another in escalating the war up to now. After having submitted south Vietnam to fire and sword; after having poisoned trees and rivers and massacring the inhabitants; after having begun with impunity to bomb the sovereign state of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and extending the bombings to the big urban centers of Hanoi and Haiphong, Washington is openly preparing, in full sight of the world, the next stage of "escalation." After the November elections in the United States, Washington is preparing to land troops in north Vietnamese territory, to invade the territory of Laos and Cambodia, to bomb the dikes protecting the rice paddies of the Tonkin plain. At the same time, the repeated violations of Chinese air space, the bombing of Chinese villages "by error," the numerous attacks against Chinese vessels, add up to provocations and test runs to determine just how far things can be carried with impunity.

It is vital for the future of socialism, for the revolution and mankind as a whole, for the working masses and the workers states to react vigorously and in time against this escalation which threatens to hurl humanity into a nuclear holocaust. If imperialism is not stopped now, it will continue the escalation, it will attack China. The USSR itself will end up, first isolated, then threatened and attacked; and the inescapable rejoinder will occur under such conditions that the most terrible means risk being employed by both sides. Quick and energetic countermeasures by the workers states constitute the only means of stopping the aggression at a time when the threat of nuclear war is not yet actually before us.

During recent months, others have independently reached similar conclusions. Fidel Castro called for the workers states to back Vietnam with all their military might. Progressive figures like Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre called on the USSR and China to send large numbers of MIGs and missiles to Vietnam, and to answer the imperialist escalation with a counterescalation. The Communist party of North Korea called for sending large numbers of volunteers from all the workers states to south Vietnam.

All these different voices express one and the same indignation over the passivity which those, claiming to be for socialism, display in face of the crimes imperialism is committing daily against the Vietnamese revolution. All these different voices express the same anguish, the anguish of seeing this passivity encourage the escalation up to the point of no return -- when a nuclear world war becomes inevitable.

Thus once again we repeat our appeal:

Support and help the heroic Vietnamese revolution by all possible means!

Send them all the help you can get together in the way of volunteers, arms,

matériel, medical supplies and money!

Combat the imperialist aggression by bigger and bigger mass mobilizations, by street demonstrations, strikes, refusal to transport imperialist soldiers and arms to Vietnam!

Develop your actions against the war more and more into actions against the imperialism and the capitalism responsible for the aggression. Warn the American officials in this way that the longer they prolong the war, the more revolutionary struggles will flare up in various areas of the globe, the more the aggressors will be compelled to disperse their forces!

Exert the maximum pressure on the Kremlin and on Peking to increase the aid to Vietnam. Let them send the most modern arms and in sufficient quantities. Independently from their different ideologies and policies -- which can continue to be debated -- let them form a united front to help the Vietnamese revolution!

Demand everywhere and on every occasion that the Kremlin publicly and vigorously reaffirm that it will support without reservation and with all its means the People's Republic of China in case of aggression by the U.S.!

Time is growing short. Act before it is too late. What is involved is the fate of the Vietnamese revolution, the fate of the Chinese revolution, the fate of all the revolutions in the world, the fate of all of humanity!

October 3, 1966

United Secretariat of the
Fourth International

NEW REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST PUBLICATION IN AUSTRALIA

We have received the first number of a new revolutionary Marxist publication put out in Australia. Socialist Perspective is a monthly journal of the Fourth International. In an accompanying announcement, the editors state that the mimeographed journal will appear ten times a year and that its aim is to present material dealing with the international scene as well as Australian questions.

The first issue contains a résumé of the resolution passed by the last congress of the Fourth International on the Sino-Soviet conflict and the crisis in the world Communist movement plus material on the current status of the dispute. One of the features is the full text of Jean-Paul Sartre's editorial calling for more vigorous aid to the Vietnamese revolution.

A subscription to ten issues of Socialist Perspective costs \$1 [Australia's new monetary unit is equal to US\$1.12] and the address is Socialist Perspective, Box A444, Sydney South PO, Sydney, NSW, Australia.

CUBAN MAGAZINE PUBLISHES EXCERPTS FROM SPEECH BY MALCOLM X

Among the items featured in the May-August issue of Casa de la Américas, which has just been received in New York, is a selection of extracts from Malcolm X's speech at the Militant Labor Forum in New York on January 7, 1965. Given only a month before he was assassinated, the speech is one of those clearly indicating the advance of Malcolm's thought toward internationalism, independent political action and the need for militant defense against white racists.

Casa de las Américas, which is published in Havana, is a quarterly devoted to literary, social and political topics. Opinions expressed are the responsibility of the contributors. The Spanish translation of the excerpts from Malcolm X's speech is credited to a book published in Mexico, La Protesta Negra. A different choice of excerpts from Malcolm X's speech is available in English in Malcolm Speaks [Merit Publishers, New York]. The full transcript of the speech has not yet been published.