

John Gerassi - 20th July 1967.

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But then under Johnson, of course, now we have no illusions ourselves. Johnson is on ~~xxx~~ record as having said at Camp Stanley, "Don't forget there are two hundred million of us in a world of three billion. They want what we've got, and we're not going to give it to them".

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With this kind of alternative - which is not accompanied by physical violence, which does not lead to the other aspect which I didn't describe, of the violence that because of the economic structure exists in the rest of Latin America, where you have people dying of old age at 28, where you have the vast majority of the population not being able to eat more than 500 calories a day, where you have more illiteracy today than ten years ago, where you have less people having ~~xxxx~~ potable water today than yesterday. Poverty is an abstraction for us whites. No matter how much we see it around us we really can't understand what poverty is because we haven't suffered that kind of poverty. That kind of poverty that I once met in Bolivia - and again, it was still told to me, I can't really imagine, I can imagine perhaps but I can't be sure - of how this woman really felt. I visited this woman in Bolivia just at lunch time, the one mealtime, and she had four bowls of rice ~~xxxxxxx~~ and she had five children and she gave four bowls of rice out, and the youngest one sitting in the corner didn't get anything. And I asked her: Why aren't you feeding that child? And she said: He's the weakest, he's the youngest, he's going to be the first to die anyway. I don't have enough food for all five, so I have to make a choice, and I'm not going to feed the one that's going to die first.

And when you're forced into this kind of situation,

that kind of peverty leads you to the hate that Che Guevara talks about - further, that Che Guevara insists must be there in order to be as brutal. You cannot defeat - his actual quote is that "Our soldiers must hate. A people without hatred cannot vanquish a brutal enemy." And this is certainly true, but it doesn't exist for us. We don't have that kind of hatred. It's an intellectual hatred, it's not the hatred that comes from this kind of choice with the five kids. We are not faced with this kind of hatred, yet rejecting the society and its values and knowing that it leads to all this, we tend to pull out. And so we pull out and we become diggers, hippies, drug addicts, whatever else there is.

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When the American ghettos get to the point where they become a real genuine revolutionary force, then the White suppressive forces will hit them, not with belly clubs but with machine guns. And the Negroes must be ready for that time too. The only way that they can do this is by an organization that is nation-wide. Alone, the Negroes are isolatable. You can physically wipe out a whole ghetto. Alone, the diggers are isolatable, they can be ~~physically~~ physically wiped out by an army that mows them down. Alone, American revolutionaries can be picked up, sent to concentration camp, executed. They can be wiped out. The only possibility is to fight on all fronts. This is the same lesson that Che Guevara learned from the great failures, the important failures of guerrilla movements throughout Latin America from 1961 through 1965. When you mass in Peru in the hills of the Andes like the ~~did~~ did, a very valiant and noble guerrilla operation backed with mass support; when it gains sufficient strength to go into phase 2 of the operation, which is open confrontation with the enemy, it was hit by napalm bombs.

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They didn't expect that, it underestimated the enemy, underestimated its cruelty. They got hit by napalm and most of the leaders were dead, were killed. [This will happen to any of us who seriously threaten the corporation-elite which dominated American economy, dominated its aspect of so-called political democracy, and dominates most of the underdeveloped world and tries to dominate the rest of it.]

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[Revolutions are never created by terrorists. Terrorism, tens can and do generate revolution, but they have to be in conjunction with something else. They have to be accompanied by a programme. And where is the revolutionary programme of the U.S.?)

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That too must come out of an organization, an organization that functions not just to give orders: You, go there and shoot this man. You, go there and disrupt this. But an organization that is revolutionary by the fact that it groups all of these who are genuinely opposed to the situation, who are genuinely rebellious against the situation, and who realize [and for the white man, this is the most difficult task ahead - to realize that no matter how well he lives now, no matter with how much ease he can pull out, no matter with what facility he can get drugs, he can sit and take a little trip somewhere, or he can even buy a farm somewhere and build an American kibbutz on it, no matter - all these things available to him, that he does it only, and only, because of his society's domination of the rest of the world. He is free to create a kibbutz because America is slaughtering Vietnamese.] And so the ultimate reason why he must become revolutionary, why there must be that alliance between all the forces, and why there must be an organization, an organization that doesn't have to end up being, with a kind of - that must lead to the kind of structure that we have in Russia. [There

is no law, again, that says that a national, a new communist party must be and must lead to the kind of communism that exists in Soviet Russia, or in China or wherever you wish. Cuba didn't think so. The Cubans developed their own Marxism. They made mistakes, who doesn't make mistakes? They developed their own concepts of things and some of them had to be junked. But gradually they evolved their own theory, in their own context, for their own country; and they found that the one way to guarantee that their people are genuinely free is not elections, is not free press, is not all the trappings that we have - it's a helluva lot better and it's a helluva lot surer: they armed the people. And when the people are armed, you can be sure that if the people don't like the government, they sure as hell can get rid of it.

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It ultimately leads back to there, because the bridge we who profit from our society must make is a moral bridge. It is a decision that we cannot live, and we must not live and we cannot accept to live as well as we do because we - our welfare is dependent on the suffering of others.

That's why it is the hardest of all for the white in developed countries to become revolutionaries, and that is why I would like to end with: It is the really - the most glorious and the most meaningful kind of adventure, the most meaningful kind of tasks that we face ahead in the years to come.