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all-important relationship between the original guerrilla nucleus of intellectuals and the peasants who give substance to social theory and muscle to the incipient popular army. His choice of the countryside as a starting place is equally pragmatic; he fully recognizes the need to carry the struggle to the rest of the country once the base has been secured. His own death in Bolivia only underscores his emphasis on the difficulties of the early months of struggle, including the need for a thorough knowledge of the terrain. In death, as in life, he stayed clear of both the utopian and the idealistic. For Che, the utopians were those who still looked to Latin America's "democrats" and the Alliance for Progress; the idealists were those who spoke of peaceful coexistence and nonviolence "without analyzing the practical results of this peace" (poverty, degradation, increasing exploitation of enormous sectors of humanity).

SEEKING TO CREATE Socialist Man in Cuba, Che integrated ideological concerns with an understanding of possibilities, economic growth with ethical principle, expertise with going to the people. In his introduction to this volume, Gerassi quotes a U.S. Export-Import Bank official who had dealings with the Cuban leader: "Guevara knows and understands foreign exchange, balance of payments, etc., and in fact he understands finance and economics, and he knows exactly where the hell he is going. . . . It was just like talking to another banker, except that the son of a bitch is an orthodox Marxist."

But even the bitchiness, the Marxist orthodoxy, hung very close to experience. A "socialist" economy based primarily on wage differences—"from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work"—would become an end in itself, Che warned. At the same time he saw that in Cuba, with its capitalist traditions and material scarcities, "interest in material gain is the great lever that moves the workers individually and collectively."

Faced with this conflict, other revolutionaries have opted either to increase production, whatever the damage done to socialist consciousness, or to bureaucratically impose a morality of sacrifice. Guevara's solution, carefully developed in *Venceremos!*, was to maintain some material incentives, while building the

new ethic into the very structure of the new Communist Party. How well this assault on "human nature" succeeded still remains a question. But by the end of his writings (and of his life), Che himself was convinced that, in Cuba, work was becoming "meaningful play."

Unfortunately, the communist Guevara of *Venceremos!* will have at least one additional difficulty in overcoming the Guevara of song and fable. As editor Gerassi admits, many of the essays make hard reading. Lectures on farm mechanization somehow don't convey the excitement and fear of peasants coming face to face with new machinery and new opportunities. Treatises such as "On Production Costs" or "On the Budgetary System of Financing" are poor vehicles for discussing revolution. And Guevara's often heavy language doesn't help. But the intellectual struggle to grasp these parts of *Venceremos!* is worth the effort, especially in a tired culture which has to depend on imports to turn on its young. And even the most turgid passages have an inescapable eloquence, for embodied in Che's writings is his belief that "the best way of telling is doing." —STEVE WEISSMAN

CORRESPONDENCE

[WHITEWASHING TWAIN]

SIRS: Maxwell Geismar's article on Twain's more radical writings ["Mark Twain on Racism, Imperialism et al.," *RAMPARTS*, May 1968] was an intelligent and reasonable survey of a side of his work that is often an embarrassment to the "nostalgia" critics, but it was, alas, also something of a whitewash. For all Twain's talk about the horrors of imperialism and his criticism of American adventurism in the Philippine campaign, when it came down to real commitments, Twain was often conspicuously absent. The most notorious example is the Gorky incident. When word got around that Maxim Gorky had come to New York with a woman who was not his wife, Twain did an uncreditable imitation of Chicken Little, asking such faultless arbiters of taste as William Dean Howells and Stanford White (!) what he should do, and ended by cutting Gorky cold.

While I agree with Mr. Geismar that Twain's radical works are surprisingly good, I must say that the most striking

thing about them is the extraordinary consistency with which Twain manages never to transcend middle-class values; or, when he does attempt something his neighbors might not appreciate, the air he takes is of a small boy self-consciously blaspheming and hesitantly waiting for the thunder and lightning. To give just one example from the works discussed by Mr. Geismar, in "To the Person Sitting in Darkness," Twain, with incredible naivete, accepts the hypothesis that the motives for the American expedition to Cuba were absolutely pure, and that only the later stages of the Philippine adventure were imperialistic. It amazes me that he had so little notion of economic hegemony, and that his complaint was about the *form* of American brutality, not the immorality of it.

In short, while I would like to consider Twain a true radical, the exigencies of teaching him to undergraduates who really are radical make it impossible. At best we can only commend him in relation to his time and his own very real limitations.

HERBERT F. SMITH
Department of English
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

[SUPER FORMAT]

SIRS: The expanded format is superb. Your area of coverage now makes RAMPARTS required reading for all who must be informed.

REY BARRY
The Daily Progress
Charlottesville, Virginia

[WM. BUCKLEY & RED DANNY]

SIRS: I am depressed and saddened by the authoritarian ideas of Daniel Cohn-Bendit ["An Interview with 'Danny the Red,'" RAMPARTS, July 13, 1968]. He warns the professor: "If you don't teach the way we the students tell you to teach, then we shall close down your class." And of course Herr Cohn-Bendit believes that those who expound erroneous, "pro-American" ideas must not be permitted to infect the students with subversive thoughts.

I have long been repelled by William Buckley's YAF "students" who comprise the majority of his enthusiastic television audience, and who lovingly whoop it up for Bill every time he makes a snide remark to his victim of the evening. But damn it! Doesn't *anyone* see the resem-

blance between the shaggy haired "Danny the Red" and the excessively clean-cut YAFers who yearn to disinfect the University of California campus from "socialistic" professors and/or speakers?

IRV L. JACOBS
National City, California

["WE NEVER KNEW"]

SIRS: Your article "The Americanization of Herr Springer" [RAMPARTS, June 15, 1968] cannot remain unanswered. True enough, the Berlin Institute for the Advancement of Mass Communications in Developing Countries has received financial support from the Hobby Foundation, but this is no discovery of yours. Far from keeping the fact a secret, the Institute has clearly stated it on its prospectuses.

When you first published your allegation that the Hobby Foundation was a conduit of the CIA, the Berlin Institute was financed exclusively from German official and private sources. None of the officials of the Berlin Institute including those two named by you, the chairman of the board, publisher Axel Springer, and its executive secretary, Hans Wallenberg, had any knowledge of the Hobby Foundation's background prior to your campaign last year. All your deductions concerning CIA connections are pure invention without any basis in fact.

The Berlin Institute is a bona fide organization doing exactly what it professes to do and nothing beyond it. Its students are bona fide journalists taking courses open to control at any time. Its officials have no undercover purposes and interests. They try to do a useful job of professional assistance to journalists from the developing countries. They vigorously reject your wanton calumnies.

HANS WALLENBERG
Executive Secretary
Berlin Institute for the Advancement
of Mass Communications
in Developing Countries
Berlin, Germany

[CHE'S SAGA]

SIRS: May I warmly congratulate you for having secured the rights to Che Guevara's diary—which surely must be one of the most inspiring sagas ever written by modern man.

ANNA C. RUSLING
Palm Beach, Florida

Ramparts

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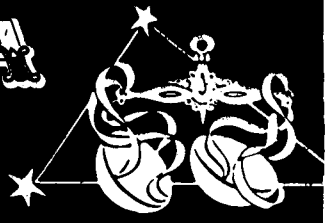
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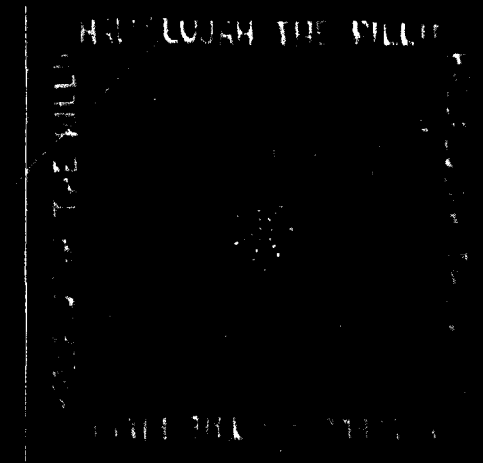
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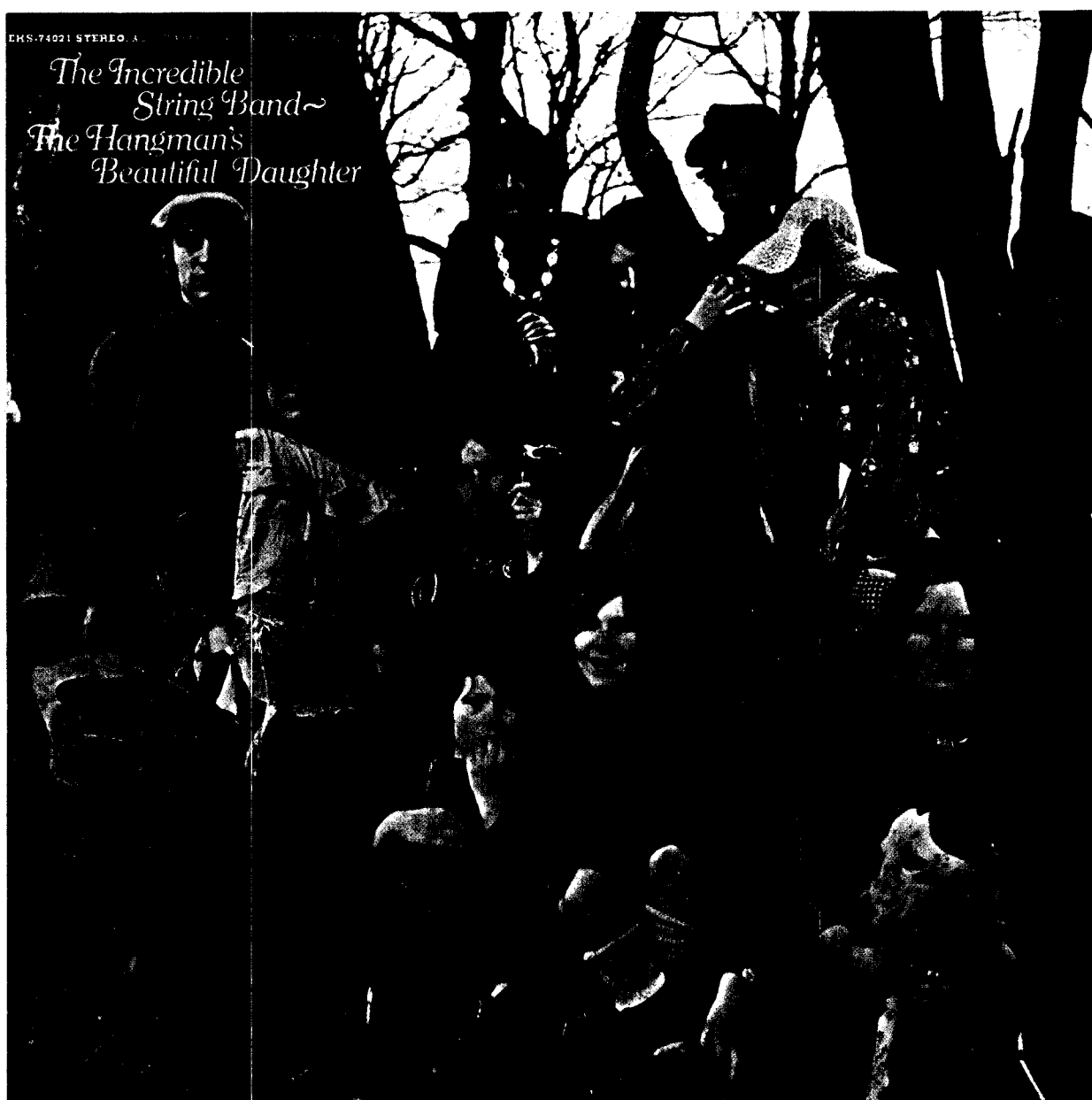


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