The New Brotherhood of Violence

By Brian Crozier

a special study of political unrest, subversion and violence. the Third World," Crozier has made surrections" and "The Struggle for "The Rebels: A Study of Postwar In-A British journalist and author of

Dietrich Wolff? bert Marcuse, Rudi Dutschke, Karl Tariq Ali, Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Her-Houari Boumedienne, Fidel Castro Guevara, Regis Debray, Frantz Fanon WHAT HAVE these names in common: Stokely Carmichael, Che

Vo Nguyen Giap. to the list: Mao Tse-tung, Lin Piao and Marx and Lenin obsolete. One might or deed or both, that they consider violence and all have shown, by word go so far as to add three more names Answer: All advocate revolutionary

whole, is "the new brotherhood of viomost, for members of the group as a collective label that appeals to me to term it "post-Leninist violence." The and practice, one might do worse than nominator, an all-embracing label for If one is searching for a common de philosophy these people preach

sonal links between the apparently disparate names I have mentioned to the conspiratorial view of history to from fanciful. Nor need one subscribe Lurid though this label is, it is far the spiritual and sometimes per-

The Guevarists

called a professional agitator. safer there than he would be at home, would not, I imagine, object to being land and apparently aware that he is TAKE, FOR INSTANCE, Tariq Ali This young Pakistani, living in Eng.

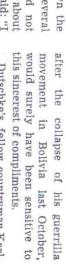
demonstrations - to be accurate, stusual calling, he has been seen heading In the current fashion of this unu-

> only at universities up and down the dents' protest demonstrations - not suppose you could say I'm a Guevarhis politics, he hesitated, then said: "I long ago on television and asked about European countries. Interviewed not United Kingdom but also in several

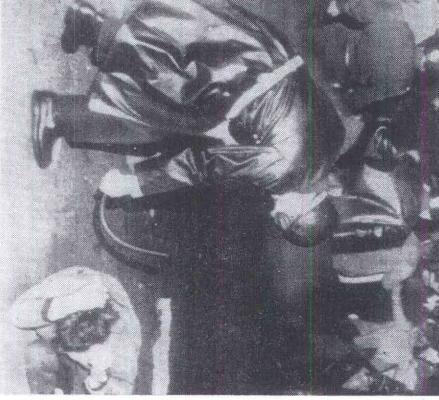
his baby son Hosea Che. The late Che man student leader critically wounded in an affray in Berlin in April, named Similarily, Rudi Dutschke, the Ger-

> after the collapse of his guerrilla Guevara, deprived so early of his life would surely have been sensitive to movement in Bolivia last October,

peaceful anti-Vietnam war demonstrapitch of violence in front of the Amerition in Grosvenor Square to a suitable ping up what was to have been a March, together with Tariq Ali, whip-Dietrich Wolff was in London in Dutschke's fellow countryman Karl-







man Communist of the 1920s-he is other words, must be freer than othcareful to specify that "freedom of Rosa Luxembourg-the legendary Gerin favor of freedom of thought, like can Embassy. While declaring himself thought can be misused." Some, in

claim freedom of expression within the Americans." sian student riots, goes further. "We news lately as a major leader of Pari-"but we deny it to supporters of the faculty," he said in a recent interview Daniel Cohn-Bendit, much in the

Third Worlders

ters of exploitation in France and other Western countries. Third Worlders by destroying the censtudents to help the struggle of the tion with the colored peoples' "strug-THIS, OF COURSE, is totalitarian he sees it, it is the duty of the militant Cohn-Bendit's equipment: identificait. But there is another strand in gle," especially in the Third World. As L talk, and it is well to be aware of

inspiration are North Vietnam den, Carl Oglesby and Mark Rudd. The countries such young people visit for American student leaders as Tom Hay-Similar views are expressed by such

orthodoxy. Their target is the deperlabel is "liberal" or "Communist." sonalized industrial state, whether its merely to hand over to another power point in pulling down Western society world now find Russia dull, conserva-Bendits and Rudi Dutschkes of this have been their magnet, but the Cohntive and repressive. A generation ago, Moscow would They see little

tors to their sources of emotional and If one turns from the youthful agita-

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intellectual stimulus, one finds such names as Marcuse, Guevara, Fanon, Giap and Mao, especially the first three. In student riots in Berlin and Italy, Marcuse cohabited with Marx and Mao on the slogan banners, the important thing to note being that Marx without Marcuse would stir little excitement while Mao is revered less as a philosopher than as the wielder of a revolutionary sword.

It is important to ask why the radical students reject Marx and accept Marcuse and Mao. It is not simply that Marx is out of date, his field of vision limited to Dickensian England. More important is the fact that Marx was basically optimistic and constructive. Destroy, yes, but rebuild afterward.

In comparison, Marcuse is pessimistic and minilistic. His one-dimensional man, allenated from the industrial, affluent consumers' society, must of course reject it. But what comes after that? Some unspecific utopia?

Racism Is Awkward

MORE UTOPIAN still, and more nihilistic, is the philosophy of the late Frantz Fanon, the French-speaking Negro psychiatrist from Martinique who became the ideologist of the Algerian National Liberation Front during its long war against France. In his major work, "The Wretched of the Earth," he expounds a simplistic philosophy.

Addressing the colonized peoples of the world, he says in effect: "You are the oppressed, the wretched of the earth. Your exploiter is the white man: kill him. Only in violence can you achieve your dignity as a man." And after that, nothing. Fanon's message begins and ends with violence.

It is, of course, a racialist message, and this has proved an awkward thing from the point of view of the radicals of the New Left. Some years ago, it was possible for white and Negro leftists to cohabit and collaborate. But disillusionment set in—on both sides.

The Negroes turned to Black Power and to the inspiration of Frantz Fanon. It was not surprising to find Stokely Carmichael turning up in Algiers last summer and declaring that the works of Fanon had introduced him to Algeria's revolutionary struggle.

Nor was it surprising that his travels had taken him to Cuba and North Vietnam as well as Algeria. In Havana, where Carmichael had attended the Latin American Solidarity Organization's conference, he described the American Negroes as "internal Vietnamese" and called for Negro guerrilla warfare in the streets of American cities.

Fanon, revered in Houari Boumedienne's Algeria and Fidel Castro's Cuba as a major revolutionary prophet, thus serves as a spiritual link

between Black Power and the Fidelista guerrillas in Latin America. And when Cohn-Bendit proclaims solidarity with the Third Worlders, he is echoing Fanon's message of anarchic hate.

A Growing Legend

THERE ARE, however, other inspirational links in this new brother-hood of violence. If Fanon is the link between Carmichael, Castro and Boumedienne, Regis Debray is the link between the rebellious students of the West and the Latin American guerrillas.

The Debray story had all the elements to attract rebellious youth: his own youth, his rejection of an impeccably bourgeois background, his intellectual prowess, his decision to join Che Guevara's guerrillas in the Bolivian mountains, his utopian advocacy of rural warfare and dismissal of the Communist Party's leadership in favor of the charismatic figure of a Fidel Castro. As he languishes in his Bolivian jail, his legend grows, and so do the sales of his explosive little book, "Revolution in the Revolution?"

In no way, however, can Debray's legend compete with Che Guevara's. As Sorel, that French advocate of violence of the generation before last, shrewdly pointed out, the fact that a myth is objectively incredible is of little consequence.

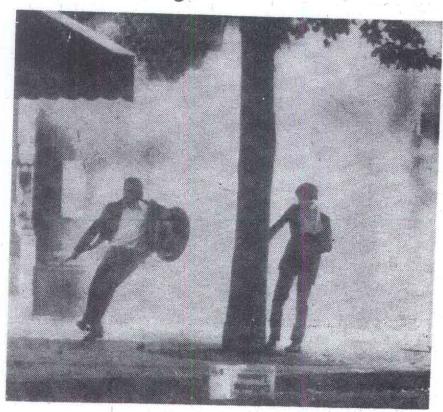
The Che myth, carefully fostered by Castro's intelligence service, is of the great guerrilla leader and theorist, liberator of a half-continent, the Simon Bolivar of the 20th century. Objectively, the truth is that he was a moderately successful tactician whose only major success was a pushover victory against a bankrupt regime in Cuba, and he was uniformly unsuccessful elsewhere.

The Greatest Pinup

No MATTER: the students want their myth and they will have it. Che Guevara is therefore the greatest revolutionary pinup of today, greater than aging Ho Chi Minh and even than that truly masterly strategist of revolutionary war in all its horrors, Gen. Vo Nguyen Giap. And he is greater, cer-

tainly, than Mao Tse-tung, for all the welcome excesses of his Red Guards, or Marshal Lin Piao, for all his utopian calls to the countryside of the world to rise up and encircle the "cities" of capitalism.

It would be beyond the scope of this necessarily limited analysis to deal with the long-term consequences of this inspirational ferment. For different reasons, post-Leninist violence is as worrying to Moscow as to Washington, although the Russians may be better placed than the rest to exploit and canalize the violent movements that are springing up all over the world, including the Communist world. But the organized societies of the West will ignore them at their peril.



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