

understar etc

11 MARS 1974

Stockholm 5.3.74.

Dear Mr Freire

I thank you for answering (15.2.74) my earlier letter. And thanks also for the interview that you enclosed, the one you gave to the Team of the Institute of Cultural Action of Geneva.

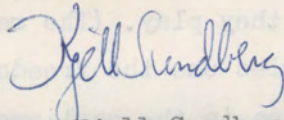
It gave answers to some of the questions in my letter of 10.1.74. Above all I wondered if you accepted the ideas of an avant-garde party or cadre party being equal to an educational team (team of codifier). That is when the party acts as a true party and really living up to its own intentions in practice.

Combining your broad definition of oppression and the justified in contra-violence (liberating violence) with the theory of avant-garde party leads me to believe that you accept the bolshevik revolution as justified. I think you draw this conclusion out of your ideas. At least I do. This is nothing that I necessarily want to have confirmed. The issue now is to analyse these avant-garde parties in the actual role they play, not the one they prefer to imagine that they play. (The relationship of totality - partiality). The communist parties in most countries use the freedom in the capitalist societies to spread anti-capitalist propaganda even in the parliaments. But they realize how much they can say without crossing the line of being thrown out of parliament, and therefore they avoid to cross the line. So the party accepts the limits that the totality (capitalist society) draw. After many years this becomes not only the accepted way, but the only way. They feel the limit and integrate the idea of not crossing it. The system knows they will not cross the line and therefore accepts them. In doing so they integrate into peoples' minds the idea of absolute democratic freedoms and the belief that this ~~x~~ society is the best. (Repressive tolerance). In this way communist parties make themselves part of the whole, so the threat to this structure must be a complete break, something that is only possible through a voluntary illegality - the guerille group that chooses when to fight, how to fight. This is an absolute threat. And the question of violence must be seen in this perspective. It is not a question of the armed branch of the party, since the party will restrain any action that is connected with crossing the limits of the existing legality. So the idea is not of the most effective violence, coordinated by the party together with strikes and demonstrations etc. It's a question of an absolute threat outside of the existing suffocating structure, or no threat at all. I have lately noticed that the most indirect and effective way of suffocating action is to talk about the whole in a, to me, negative sense. Some leftist groups say: the revolution in Brazil will only succede if it is integrated in the revolutionary process of the entire Latin America. Very true. But the words are used to hold back the daring people that take up action at one front. It is true that lots of fronts are needed. But we cannot wait for them to arise, somebody has to take the first step. So this bold idea of a continent in turmoil is in fact used to verbally

put oneself in a radical position and at the same time urge for the wild ones to wait for the accurate time when the objective conditions are more favourable.

I believe that you, mr. Freire, really would apply the same kind of thinking of part - whole if I were to ask you. Let me therefore for a moment imagine that you agree. The big issue that now arises is: How do you bring over the guerilla's concept to the oppressed masses? Words, pamphlets, orators etc. are methods that can be integrated. What is left are actions that to the masses are so loaded with symbols and identifications so that these actions almost by themselves can contribute to the raising of consciousness. At the right time, the correct goals must be attacked with the proper means in order to show to the masses that the oppressors can be hurt. They are weak and vulnerable if you just don't accept them as omnipotent and everlasting. We are strong. Choosing the right object you bring out the codified message. That is the way it ought to be. But at present it doesn't seem to work. Tupamaros are not dead, but all the people are not Tupas. Where is it going wrong? Where am I thinking wrong? Or is it just that the enemy has won another battle but is losing the war in the long run?

Venceremos



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