

*Humanismus und Philosophie im  
Kalten Krieg (4.12.2012)*

„Revolutionäre Marxismen“,

Mao Dze Dong, Ho Chi Minh, Ernesto  
Che Guevara, Frantz Fanon, Amilcar  
Cabral

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# Einheit von Theorie und Praxis

- ‚Dialektische Einheit‘: Gleichheit und Ungleichheit, Identität und Alterität
- Theorie als Praxis
- Praxis als Erfahrungsgrundlage
- Erfahrung und Theoriebildung
- Praxis als Umsetzung von Theorie
- Strategie und Taktik: konkrete Lagen, Wirklichkeit und Möglichkeit

# Revolutionäre Praxis und Verbrechen

- Illegalität
- Gewalt
- Verbrechen gegen die Menschheit
- Recht wider Recht
- ‚notwendige‘ Gewalt?

# Selektionskriterien

Warum nicht:

- Pol Pot
- Kim Il Sung
- Enver Hodscha
- Abimael Guzmán

Warum auch nicht:

Palmiro Togliatti

# Mao Dze Dong (1893-1976)

- Weichenstellungen in den 1930er Jahren: Revolution vom Land aus – arme Bauernmassen, asymmetrischer Krieg, befreite Gebiete, „Volksbefreiungsarmee“ als Bildungsanstalt (vgl. Fanon 1961)
- Fortsetzung der russischen Oktoberrevolution

# Mao Dze Dong, 2

- „neue Demokratie“ (Deppe II, 505)
- „Über die Praxis“ / „Über den Widerspruch (1937) (Deppe II, 506f.)
- „Zur Frage der richtigen Lösung der Widersprüche im Volke (1957) (Deppe II, 507f.)

# Mao Dze Dong, 3

„Man möge doch überlegen: Wenn die Sowjetunion nicht existierte, wenn der Sieg im antifaschistischen Zweiten Weltkrieg ausgeblieben wäre, wenn der japanische Imperialismus nicht niedergeschlagen worden wäre, wenn die Länder der Volksdemokratien nicht entstanden wären, wenn sich die unterdrückten Nationen des Ostens nicht zum Kampf erheben, wenn die Volksmassen in den Vereinigten Staaten, in Großbritannien, in Frankreich, Deutschland, Italien, Japan und den anderen kapitalistischen Ländern nicht einen Kampf gegen die über sie herrschenden nationalen Cliques führten – wenn es all das zusammengenommen nicht gäbe, dann wäre der Druck der auf uns lastenden internationalen reaktionären Kräfte gewiss um ein Vielfaches stärker gewesen. Hätten wir unter diesen Umständen siegen können? Offenbar nicht.“ (1949) (Deppe II, 491)

# Mao Dze Dong, 4

„großer Sprung“: Produktivkräfte/  
Produktionsverhältnisse

Industrialisierung/Agrarentwicklung

„Kulturrevolution“

Verselbständigung der Partei / Entmachtung der  
Kader

Außenpolitik: Dritte Welt gegen „Supermächte“:  
„Imperialismus“ und „Sozialimperialismus“

Voluntarismus / Utopismus



# Lin Biao (1907-1971)

„Die Ideen Mao Tse-tungs sind der Marxismus-Leninismus jener Epoche, in welcher der Imperialismus seinem totalen Zusammenbruch und der Sozialismus seinem weltweiten Siege entgegengeht.“ (Deppe II, 503)

# Lin Biao, 2

„Wenn, im Weltmaßstab gesehen, Nordamerika und Westeuropa als ‚Städte der Welt‘ bezeichnet werden können, kann man Asien, Afrika und Lateinamerika die ‚ländlichen Gebiete der Welt‘ nennen ... In einem gewissen Sinne befindet sich die gegenwärtige Weltrevolution auch in einer Lage, bei der die Städte durch ländliche Gebiete eingekreist sind.“ (1965, Deppe III, 300f.)

# Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969)

- Traditioneller und revolutionärer Intellektueller
- Hué, Paris, Moskau, Beijing
- “If the tiger ever stands still, the elephant will crush him with his mighty tusks. But the tiger will not stand still. He will leap upon the back of the elephant, tearing huge chunks from his side, and then he will leap back into the dark jungle. And slowly the elephant will bleed to death. Such will be the war in Indochina.”
- “The Vietnamese people deeply love independence, freedom and peace. But in the face of United States aggression they have risen up, united as one man.”
- “You can kill ten of my men for every one I kill of yours, but even at those odds, you will lose and I will win.”
- **“To reap a return in ten years, plant trees. To reap a return in 100, cultivate the people.”**

# Ho Chi Minh, 2

- „Die Nöte es Menschen sind ohne Zahl. Und doch kann ihm nicht Schlimmeres zustoßen als der Verlust der Freiheit.“

- **Vietnam in Aufruhr**

Lieber den Tod als Sklaverei ertragen!  
Gerechtigkeit, dein Banner weht aufs neu.  
Ich aber bin gefangen. Abgeschlagen  
vom Kampfplatz bleib dem Kampf ich treu.

# Ho Chi Minh, 3

## Vor dem Politischen Gerichtshof der Vierten Kriegszone

Durch dreizehn Kreise Guangxis schleppt ihr  
mich gefangen,  
in achtzehn Strafanstalten hab ich eingesessen.  
Ich frage: Welche Untat hab ich denn begangen?  
Ja, mein Verbrechen ist, mein Volk nicht zu  
vergessen.

# Ho Chi Minh, 4

- „Zunächst war es nicht der Kommunismus, der mich zu Lenin und zur Dritten Internationale führte, sondern mein Patriotismus. Als ich mich dann eingehender mit dem Marxismus-Leninismus beschäftigte ..., gelangte ich Schritt für Schritt zu der Überzeugung, dass nur der Sozialismus und Kommunismus die unterdrückten Nationen ... befreien konnten.“
- (Deppe III, 300 Anm. 21)

# Ernesto Che Guevara (1928-1967)

- Erfolgreicher Revolutionär und Internationalist
- Argentinien, México, Cuba, Congo, Bolivien
- Märtyrer der 68er Bewegung und der lateinamerikanischen radikalen Linken: Jean-Paul Sartre: „vollständigster Mensch unserer Zeit“ (posthum)
- These des ‚Neuen Menschen‘: Hintergrund seiner Brutalität?  
(Gerd Koenen: *Traumpfade der Weltrevolution: Das Guevara-Projekt*. Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2008)
- Nach 1963 in Havanna: kontroverse Diskussionen zwischen Fidel Castro, Guevara und den als Wirtschaftsberatern engagierten intellektuellen Marxisten Charles Bettelheim und Ernest Mandel: (Wertgesetz, Planung und Bewusstsein. Die Planungsdebatte in Cuba, Charles Bettelheim (Autor), Ernesto Che Guevara, Ernest Mandel, Fidel Castro, Verlag: Verlag Neue Kritik (1969))



# Ernesto Che Guevara, 2

- „In an interview with Che a few weeks after the crisis, Sam Russell, a British correspondent for the socialist Daily Worker found Guevara still fuming over the Soviet betrayal. Alternately puffing on a cigar and taking blasts from an inhaler, Guevara told Russell that if the missiles had been under Cuban control, they would have fired them off. Russell came away with mixed feelings about Che, calling him ‘a warm character whom I took to immediately ... clearly a man of great intelligence though I thought he was crackers from the way he went on about the missiles.’“ „In an interview with Che a few weeks after the crisis, Sam Russell, a British correspondent for the socialist Daily Worker, found Guevara still fuming over the Soviet betrayal. Alternately puffing on a cigar and taking blasts from an inhaler, Guevara told Russell that if the missiles had been under Cuban control, they would have fired them off. Russell came away with mixed feelings about Che, calling him ‘a warm character whom I took to immediately ... clearly a man of great intelligence though I thought he was crackers from the way he went on about the missiles.’“



# Ernesto Che Guevara, 3

- “At the risk of seeming ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is guided by a great feeling of love. It is impossible to think of a genuine revolutionary lacking this quality... We must strive every day so that this love of living humanity will be transformed into actual deeds, into acts that serve as examples, as a moving force.”

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 3a

“If we add to this the scholasticism that has held back the development of Marxist philosophy and impeded a systematic treatment of the transition period, whose political economy has not yet been developed, we must agree that we are still in diapers and that it is necessary to devote ourselves to investigating all the principal characteristics of this period before elaborating an economic and political theory of greater scope.

The resulting theory will, no doubt, put great stress on the two pillars of the construction of socialism: the education of the new man and woman and the development of technology. Much remains to be done in regard to both, but delay is least excusable in regard to the concept of technology as a basic foundation, since this is not a question of going forward blindly but of following a long stretch of road already opened up by the world's more advanced countries. This is why Fidel pounds away with such insistence on the need for the technological and scientific training of our people and especially of its vanguard.”

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 4

- The laws of capitalism, blind and invisible to the majority, act upon the individual without his thinking about it. He sees only the vastness of a seemingly infinite horizon before him. That is how it is painted by capitalist propagandists, who purport to draw a lesson from the example of Rockefeller — whether or not it is true — about the possibilities of success. The amount of poverty and suffering required for the emergence of a Rockefeller, and the amount of depravity that the accumulation of a fortune of such magnitude entails, are left out of the picture, and it is not always possible to make the people in general see this.

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 5

“Capitalism uses force but it also educates the people to its system. Direct propaganda is carried out by those entrusted with explaining the inevitability of class society, either through some theory of divine origin or through a mechanical theory of natural selection. This lulls the masses since they see themselves as being oppressed by an evil against which it is impossible to struggle. Immediately following comes the hope of improvement — and in this, capitalism differed from the preceding caste systems, which offered no possibilities for advancement.”

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 6

“Socialism is young and has made errors. Many times revolutionaries lack the knowledge and intellectual courage needed to meet the task of developing the new man with methods different from the conventional ones — and the conventional methods suffer from the influences of the society, which created them.”

“What we must create is the man of the twenty-first century, although this is still a subjective and not a realised aspiration. It is precisely this man of the next century who is one of the fundamental objectives of our work...”

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 7

“The difficult thing for someone not living the experience of the revolution to understand is this close dialectical unity between the individual and the mass, in which the mass, as an aggregate of individuals, is interconnected with its leaders. Some phenomena of this kind can be seen under capitalism, when politicians capable of mobilising popular opinion appear, but these phenomena are not really genuine social movements. (If they were, it would not be entirely correct to call them capitalist.) These movements only live as long as the persons who inspire them do, or until the harshness of capitalist society puts an end to the popular illusions which made them possible.”

Man and Socialism in Cuba (1965)



# Ernesto Che Guevara, 8

„Schaffen wir zwei, drei, viele Vietnam“

„Wie licht und nah würde sich unsere Zukunft darbieten, wenn zwei, drei, viele Vietnams auf der Erdoberfläche zu Tage träten, mit ihrem Blutzoll und ihren ungeheuerlichen Tragödien, mit ihrem täglichen Heldentum, mit ihren unablässigen Schlägen gegen den Imperialismus, mit dem damit verbundenen Zwang für diesen, seine Kräfte unter dem Ansturm des wachsenden Hasses der Völker der Welt zu zersplittern.“ Deppe III, 298)

# Ernesto Che Guevara, 9

“The great lesson of the guerrillas' invincibility is taking hold among the masses of the dispossessed. The galvanization of the national spirit; the preparation for more difficult tasks, for resistance to more violent repression. Hate as a factor in the struggle, intransigent hatred for the enemy that takes one beyond the natural limitations of a human being and converts one into an effective, violent, selective, cold killing machine. Our soldiers must be like that; a people without hate cannot triumph over a brutal enemy.”

Message to the Tricontinental (1967)



# Frantz Fanon (1925-1961)

- Akademischer Intellektueller und Bewegungsdenker
- Fanons Werke sind Ergebnis und Theoretisierung seiner politischen sowie psychiatrischen Praxis.
- Martinique, Algerien
- “The basic confrontation which seemed to be colonialism versus anti-colonialism, indeed capitalism versus socialism, is already losing its importance. What matters today, the issue which blocks the horizon, is the need for a redistribution of wealth. Humanity will have to address this question, no matter how devastating the consequences may be.”  
*The Wretched of the Earth*

# Frantz Fanon, 2

David Cauter hat in seinem Fanon-Porträt den Versuch unternommen, in Anlehnung an die Entwicklung des Denkens bei Karl Marx und den Kategorien von Hegel, drei Phasen des Fanonschen Schaffens zu unterscheiden: „[D]em Menschen, der sich seiner Selbstentfremdung bewusst wird“ (verdeutlicht durch die Schrift *Schwarze Haut, weiße Masken*, die 1952 erschien), „dem freien Bürger Algeriens“ (Fanons Teilnahme an der algerischen Revolution und deren theoretische Betrachtung in *Im fünften Jahr der algerischen Revolution*, erschienen 1959) und „dem sozialistischen Revolutionär“ (dessen Ideen sich in *Die Verdammten dieser Erde*, seinem letzten Werk, finden).  
(Wikipedia)

# Frantz Fanon, 3

- “Sometimes people hold a core belief that is very strong. When they are presented with evidence that works against that belief, the new evidence cannot be accepted. It would create a feeling that is extremely uncomfortable, called cognitive dissonance. And because it is so important to protect the core belief, they will rationalize, ignore and even deny anything that doesn't fit in with the core belief.”  
— *Black Skin, White Masks*

# Frantz Fanon, 4

- “Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically detect and remove from our land but from our minds as well.”
- “For a colonized people the most essential value, because the most concrete, is first and foremost the land: the land which will bring them bread and, above all, dignity.”
- “Violence is man re-creating himself. ”
- “The oppressed will always believe the worst about themselves.”

# Frantz Fanon, 5

We cannot go resolutely forward unless we first realize our alienation. We have taken everything from the other side. Yet the other side has given us nothing except to sway us in its direction through a thousand twists, except to lure us, seduce us, and imprison us by ten thousand devices, by a hundred thousand tricks. To take also means on several levels being taken. It is not enough to try and disengage ourselves by accumulating proclamations and denials. It is not enough to reunite with the people in a past where they no longer exist. We must rather reunite with them in their recent counter move which will suddenly call everything into question; we must focus on that zone of hidden fluctuation where the people can be found, for let there be no mistake, it is here that their souls are crystalized and their perception and respiration transfigured.”

*The Wretched of the Earth*

# Frantz Fanon, 6

“And it is clear that in the colonial countries the peasants alone are revolutionary, for they have nothing to lose and everything to gain. The starving peasant, outside the class system is the first among the exploited to discover that only violence pays. For him there is no compromise, no possible coming to terms; colonization and decolonization a simply a question of relative strength.”

# Frantz Fanon, 7

„ When a bachelor of philosophy from the Antilles refuses to apply for certification as a teacher on the grounds of his color I say that philosophy has never saved anyone. When someone else strives and strains to prove to me that black men are as intelligent as white men I say that intelligence has never saved anyone: and that is true, for, if philosophy and intelligence are invoked to proclaim the equality of men, they have also been employed to justify the extermination of men.“



# Amilcar Cabral, 1

- Intellektueller im Befreiungskampf
- Agraringenieur, PAIGC (Guiné-Bissau, Kapverden)
- 1973 von Angehörigen der eigenen Leibwache ermordet
- 1974 Unabhängigkeit nach der portugiesischen ‚Nelkenrevolution‘
- 1980 Trennung der Kapverden von Guiné-Bissau



# Amilcar Cabral, 2

- Christian Sigrist
- Im Rahmen dieser kurzen Würdigung Amilcar Cabrals ist es nicht möglich, ausführlich auf die Gemeinsamkeiten und Differenzen mit Frantz Fanon einzugehen. Im Unterschied zu Fanon, mit dem er in der Frage der Legitimität antikolonialer Gewalt und in der Skepsis gegenüber postkolonialen Führungsschichten und ihrer Instrumentalisierung der négritude- Ideologie übereinstimmte, sah Cabral die politische Ambivalenz traditioneller ländlicher Sozialstrukturen schärfer und grenzte sich von Fanons positiver Einschätzung des Lumpenproletariats als »spontaner revolutionärer Masse« ab. Cabral hat auch Fanons These, dass die Kolonisierten mit der Kultur der Metropolen brechen sollten, implizit widersprochen, für ihn gehörten Camões' Lusiaden zum eigenen kulturellen Erbe. Außerdem sah er in Gremiender UNO einen wichtigen Aktionsraum, während Fanons Wahrnehmung durch die Komplizenschaft der UNO bei der Ermordung Lumumbas

# Amilcar Cabral, 3

geprägt war. Zu berücksichtigen ist dabei beim Vergleich der beiden Protagonisten des antikolonialen afrikanischen Widerstandes die zeitliche Differenz zwischen den Texten und die großen Unterschiede in den Aktions/ Analyse-Bereichen. Im Übrigen wirkt sich auch die unterschiedliche wissenschaftliche Ausrichtung aus. Beide übten zwar nützliche Berufe aus, Fanon als Mediziner und Psychiater, Cabral als Agronom, aber der eine war eher Psychologe, der andere Soziologe. Gemeinsam war beiden der Berufsbeginn im Kolonialsystem. Es bleibt aber festzuhalten, dass Cabral seine wichtigen Sozialstrukturanalysen 1964 im Centro Frantz Fanon in Treviglio vorge-tragen hat (vgl. Frantz Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre*, Paris 1966, und *Pour la révolution africaine*, Paris 1969).

# Amilcar Cabral, 4

*Tell No Lies, Claim No Easy Victories (1965)*

- *“Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone’s head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future of their children. . . .”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 5

- *“We should recognize as a matter of conscience that there have been many faults and errors in our action whether political or military: an important number of things we should have done we have not done at the right times, or not done at all.”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 6

- *“In various regions – and indeed everywhere in a general sense – political work among the people and among our armed forces has not been done appropriately: responsible workers have not carried or have not been able to carry through the work of mobilization, formation and political organization defined by the party leadership. Here and there, even among responsible workers, there has been a marked tendency to let things slide ... and even a certain demobilization, which has not been fought and eliminated ...”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 7

*“And with all this as a proof of insufficient political work among our armed forces, there has appeared a certain attitude of ‘militarism’, which has caused some fighters and even some leaders to forget the fact that we are armed militants and not militarists. This tendency must be urgently fought and eliminated within the army. . . .”*



# Amilcar Cabral, 8

*“If ten men go to a rice-field and do the day’s work of eight, there’s no reason to be satisfied. It’s the same in battle. Ten men fight like eight; that’s not enough ... One can always do more. Some people get used to the war, and once you get used to a thing it’s the end: you get a bullet up the spout of your gun and you walk around. You hear the motor’ on the river and you don’t use the bazooka that you have, so the Portuguese boats pass unharmed. Let me repeat: one can do more. We have to throw the Portuguese out ...”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 9

- *... Create schools and spread education in all liberated areas. Select young people between 14 and 20, those who have at least completed their fourth year, for further training. Oppose without violence all prejudicial customs, the negative aspects of the beliefs and traditions of our people. Oblige every responsible and educated member of our Party to work daily for the improvement of their cultural formation ...*



# Amilcar Cabral, 10

- *Oppose among the young, especially those over 20, the mania for leaving the country so as to study elsewhere, the blind ambition to acquire a degree, the complex of inferiority and the mistaken idea which leads to the belief that those who study or take courses will thereby become privileged in our country tomorrow ... But also oppose any ill will towards those who study or wish to study – the complex that students will be parasites or future saboteurs of the Party ... – militants for action and support of our fighters ...*

# Amilcar Cabral, 12

- *Develop political work in our armed forces, whether regular or guerilla, wherever they may be. Hold frequent meetings. Demand serious political work from political commissars. Start political committees, formed by the political commissar and commander of each unit in the regular army.*

# Amilcar Cabral, 13

- *Oppose tendencies to militarism and make each fighter an exemplary militant of our Party.*
- *“Demand from responsible Party members that they dedicate themselves seriously to study, that they interest themselves in the things and problems of our daily life and struggle in their fundamental and essential aspect, and not simply in their appearance ... Learn from life, learn from our people; Learn from books, learn from the experience of others. Never stop learning.”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 14

*“Responsible members must take life seriously, conscious of their responsibilities, thoughtful about carrying them out, and with a comradeship, based on work and duty done ... Nothing of this is incompatible with the joy of living, or with love for life and its amusements, or with confidence in the future and in our work...”*

# Amilcar Cabral, 15

- *“We must practice revolutionary democracy in every aspect of our Party life. Every responsible member must have the courage of his responsibilities, exacting from others a proper respect for his work and properly respecting the work of others. Hide nothing from the masses of our people. Tell no lies. Expose lies whenever they are told. Mask no difficulties, mistakes, failures.”*
- *“Claim no easy victories...”*

# Rückblick auf die revolutionären Marxismen