

# Communism

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THE SOCIALIST SYSTEM WILL EVENTUALLY REPLACE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM; THIS IS AN OBJECTIVE LAW INDEPENDENT OF MAN'S WILL. HOWEVER MUCH THE REACTIONARIES TRY TO HOLD BACK THE WHEEL OF HISTORY, EVENTUALLY REVOLUTION WILL TAKE PLACE AND WILL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH.

MAO ZEDONG, 1957

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# Dialectical Materialism and the Universe

The universe consists of the infinite and eternal process of the reflection of matter by the matter and for the matter.

Matter is indeed sensitive and knows in itself an impression shaping it to different degrees.

This difference in the marking of the reflection has as its source in the fact that the universe is in motion and that it is through it that the reflections and impressions are carried.

This movement and the many aspects of reality make that reflections and impressions know different rhythms, different magnitudes.

We can say that the universe is the reflection of itself in an uninterrupted process of transformations.

Its nature is the equivalent of an infinite ocean where everything is reflected in an uninterrupted movement of waves at all levels, at all scales.

This process of reflections and impressions within a moving universe, with all its different aspects of matter, is thus characterized by unequal development.

The inequality of the markings of the reflection, of the impression, causes situations of imbalances.

There is movement because unequal development, and uneven development because movement.

The main aspect depends on the stage of the process.

On the one hand, the impression of reflection in matter results in making it more complex on the internal plane.

On the other hand, the uneven nature of this impression provokes breaks. The break is precisely what characterizes a process

leading to a transformation as a qualitative leap.

There is concretely neither cause nor consequence, but only an internal transformation resulting in a greater complexity of matter, an enlargement of its impressions, an increase in the power of its reflections, one or more moments of rupture, a qualitative leap.

It is this movement of internal transformation reflected from matter in matter which itself inscribes impressions and produces changes. And what takes place internally is the contradiction brought to its conclusion.

The law of contradiction, with two poles opposed in a relative manner or not, expressing uninterrupted antagonistic relations, belongs to the general and universal movement of matter.

There is neither beginning nor end, because no process is isolated.

The reflection and the impression are generalized and uninterrupted; every phenomenon is related, in different ways and to different degrees, to all the other phenomena.

In the universe, everything is constantly transformed, with transformations whose reflection causes impressions, which themselves produce reflections, which provoke impressions, and this to infinity.

There is consequently neither cause nor consequence.

The process of transformation is dialectical, it unites the particular and the universal, the relative and the absolute, all being bound together and at the same time unbound in an infinite and eternal process.

Any transformation is added to other transformations and is reflected in them, producing interaction, liaison, mediation.

Nothing is so isolated and independent.

Everything is mutually connected and interdependent, constantly transformed and transforming, by the reflection, by the impression.

Absolutely everything is reflection and reflection of reflection, and this to infinity.

Matter is inexhaustible and ever more complex, ever richer.

No turning back is possible, never, because the movement produces a series of qualitative leaps that has resulted in a more developed form, more intertwined with the rest of the material.

What is called time is the description of transformation and what is called space is the description of matter, because the universe is only matter, always richer, ever more complex, ever more intertwined to an infinity of aspects of itself.

Any process obeys this mirror system. The most developed phenomena of nature and life correspond to major qualitative leaps in the complexification of matter on a large scale.

The two poles of electricity, molecular asymmetry in the domain of life in relation to the domain of non-living matter, action and reaction in mechanics, mirror neurons in brains, union and dissociation of atoms in chemistry, childhood and parenthood, the masculine and feminine, the class struggle in the modes of production... are examples of complex expression of the movement of matter and of a very high degree of interplay with itself.

This process has no beginning or ending.

There is no starting point to the universe, nor any point of arrival.

There is no "God", no Big Bang, no source, no beginning.

There is only a ever deeper movement of reflections and impressions, in a spiral movement, proceeding by jumps, characterized by unequal development at all levels, affirming the dynamic nature of the internal relations taking a contradictory dimension until the break.

In fact, not only are the developments unequal between them, but each development is itself unequal in itself, because of the different density of impressions.

The law of contradiction applies to the expression of the contradiction itself.

Nothing is therefore indivisible, nor eternal. One becomes two and that forever and everywhere.

As it is formulated in the article "The universe is the unity of the finite and the infinite", published in the *Journal of the Dialectic of Nature* in People's China in the first half of the 1970s:

"The end of all concrete things, the sun, the Earth and humanity is not the end of the universe.

The end of the Earth will bring a new and more sophisticated cosmic body.

At that time, people will hold meetings and celebrate the victory of the dialectic and welcome the birth of new planets.

The end of humanity will also result in new species that will inherit all our achievements.

In this sense... the death of the old is the condition of the birth of the new."•

# Maoist Declaration

## May 1, 2019

On the occasion of this new first of May, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center of Belgium and the Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) express their confidence and enthusiasm for the growing affirmation of the second wave of the world revolution.

The first had given birth, a hundred years ago, in March 1919, to the Communist International; the second will realize its objective: the world unification and the realization of socialism on all the planet.

The formation of a World Socialist Republic is unavoidable in the 21st century. The realization of the complete unification of Humanity, on the basis of socialist relations in the economy and throughout society, is certain. There can be absolutely no doubt about it.

The resolution of the environmental problems, by establishing dialectical relations of humanity with the planet considered as a Biosphere, is inevitable. The understanding of the nature of living matter and its respect goes hand in hand with the dialectical materialistic understanding of the general evolution of the eternal and infinite universe.

We affirm that the mastery of dialectical materialism and its fundamental theses on the universe are the very basis for understanding reality and transforming it.

It is undeniable that this still requires formidable initiatives. Mao Zedong had spoken in the 1960s of the next fifty to one hundred years, when humanity would experience upheavals like never before. We are precisely in this period and it is about being on the front line. We are on it as the vanguard of the working class in Belgium and France.

We say: there will be no capitulation, no turning back, no modification of the ideological fundamentals, nor revision of the main principles.

We are fully aware of the complexity of the tasks incumbent upon us, but we will be able to assume them with vigor and the greatest sense of responsibility.

We are full of optimism about the future: the triumph of Communism corresponds to the movement of the universe itself. The proletariat is the most revolutionary class in history.

It is true that in the imperialist metropolis, the recomposition of the proletarian fabric is still an ongoing process, which does not follow a linear path and still requires an extremely important substantive work.

There is still a titanic job to do in this area. We believe, however, that we have grasped the necessary general guidelines. In this sense, our two organizations are fully engaged in this struggle to ensure that the proletariat recovers and goes back to the reconquest of its identity, which has undergone profound changes due to the increase of the productive forces, beyond deep deformations, significant errors.

This process of recomposition of the proletarian fabric corresponds to the emergence of the second wave of the World Revolution.

And the capitalist mode of production, both in Belgium and in France, experiences such internal problems, because of its historical limits, it is less and less able to freeze social relations by means of the apparatus of State and corruption of a large part of the proletariat.

This had led, since the 1950s, to the displacement of the main contradiction in the zone of storms: Africa, Latin America, Asia. We are now in a new period.

There is also the reaffirmation of the communist ideology that arises historically, through the maturation of class conflicts and especially the driving role of diffusion played by our organizations.

Here we affirm very clearly that the explanations of dialectical materialism we provide are the decisive weapons to have the necessary tools, in the theoretical and practical, intellectual and material fields, to make advance the Cause. It is not a side question or a philosophy accompanying simple demands, but the very core of the communist affirmation.

It goes without saying, however, that it would be wrong to consider unilaterally that the proletarian-bourgeois contradiction has already resumed its natural course. It is very far from being the case. The ideological, cultural, social and political remains of the 1950-1980s are still widely present.

The years 1990-2010 were also marked by a strengthening of many aspects of the capitalist mode of production, due to technological progress, the collapse of the bloc dominated by Soviet social-imperialism and the integration into the world capitalist economy of China which has become social-fascist.

In this sense, it is incorrect to consider a movement like the "yellow vests" in France other than as an expression of the capitalist crisis in general and the petty bourgeoisie in particular.

There is a scissors phenomenon where everything between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is crushed. This phenomenon is also parallel to many others which, similarly, express the fear of seeing capitalism no longer able to ensure social peace, to give free rein to small capitalists, to neutralize the working class.

Petty-bourgeois interpretations of the massive ecological crisis and the terrifying ecocide it causes, the catastrophic aggravation of global warming, the dramatic animal condition, are also the terrorized expression of the middle strata of capitalism taken between the hammer of proletarian demands and the anvil of capitalism.

There are actually phenomena corresponding to the historical limit of capitalism. The time of its world overtaking has arrived.

Discourses on a "finite world", on the need to move to "sustainable" economic development, to adopt a more "sober" way of life, are nothing more than an attempt to curb the wheel of History.

Fascism also reappears more strongly as a requirement for a retreat. Calls to be more "reasonable" are always more numerous within the parasitic intellectual strata.

All this catastrophism is fundamentally foreign to who has understood the magnitude of the changes underway, their scale.

In reality, matter is inexhaustible and we know a time of general transformation, both of social life and of humanity's relationship with the rest of matter. In order to live up to this process, we must liberate the productive forces by adopting the principles of socialism in all fields.

This is what will establish productive dynamics for the whole of life in the Biosphere that is the planet, announcing in the medium term the process of spatial colonization and the ever greater diffusion of life.

This requires a great capacity for self-criticism, compared to the old way of life. Only collectivism is able to break the individualism and selfishness that characterize the dominant initiatives and values in the capitalist mode of production.

Only a perspective based on the notion of totality, of universality, can allow society not to fall under the blows of ultra-individualism, of its capricious consumption, of its contempt for all morality and all social requirement.

The capitalist mode of production, in perdition, produces also only cultural horrors and ideological poisons.

Contemporary art, moral relativism, the most outrageous cynicism, the cult of excessive egos and futile appearance, subjectivist literature, dissonant music as a value in itself or repetitive and simplistic music with simple harmonies... Capitalism takes advantage of the overproduction of capital to infest ever more aspects of everyday life.

This is vain, however. The masses feel fundamentally alien to all this decadence, even if more or less important sectors may feel fascinated or momentarily disoriented.

The masses are on the side of transformation and culture, openness and development. Identity fixation, material fetishism, superficiality are essentially foreign to them. Here, the future is opposed to the celebration of an idealized past, Socialism to the decadence of "culture" in capitalism, to the anticapitalist romanticism that is fascism.

In Belgium and France, the battle is therefore the one to free the initiatives of the masses, to raise their consciousness and their organizational capacities.

The avant-garde opens spaces here and, starting from workers' centrality, forms the movement bringing the emergence of the People's Democracy as a strategic proposition. It is a question of making the dominant system falter, shake it, go to its assault for the establishment of a new State. We must be certain of victory here.

Long live the working class, the most revolutionary class in history!

Long live its ideology: dialectical materialism, today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

People's war until Communism!

Long live the second wave of the world revolution!

Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Center of Belgium

Communist Party of France (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist=

**May 2019**



## On the International Communist Movement (MLM)

The International Communist Movement now relies on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Due to the uneven development, this statement is complex.

Some organizations have understood one aspect of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in particular, others have developed a relatively fair understanding in several areas. There are many cases of figures.

It is well known, however, that it was the Communist Party of Peru that first grasped that Maoism was the third stage of Marxism, with its leader Gonzalo providing the ideological basis for establishing that.

It is also well known that the Communist Party of Peru belonged to an international structure, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). The Communist Party of Peru acted as a red faction to successfully promote Marxism-Leninism-Maoism within the RIM. In 1993, the MRI claimed to be MLM.

Subsequently, most organizations claiming to rely on Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought also claimed to rely on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

All of this had a formal dimension. Organizations such as the TKP / ML of Turkey, the Maoists of India, the Communist Party of Philippines published for example a joint review in the 1990s, in opposition to the MRI. They ended up accepting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism - but in terms of content, nothing has actually changed for them.

Even within the RIM, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was formally conceived. Its main motor, the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States, has thus shifted into post-Maoism, just as the Maoists of Iran who played an important role, while a group like the TKP / ML Maoist Party Merkezi also strongly involved disappeared.

This situation was aggravated by the surrender of the Nepalese Maoists under the leadership of their leader Prachanda. The abandonment of the People's War has been a stab in the back of the International Communist Movement.

The French Maoists denounced the opportunist line of Nepalese Maoists from the outset, but the centrist forces, led by the Maoist Communist Party of Italy, did everything to neutralize a criticism of Prachanda.

Today, the situation is as follows. There is a group around the Maoist Communist Party of Italy working to recreate a RIM, on the same basis, without self-criticism, with a completely minimalist line.

There is a grouping around most of the Maoists in South America who wants more to assume Gonzalo, but in the sense that it would be considered virtually as the fourth sword of Marxism.

They reject the principle of a guiding thought in each country, considering that Gonzalo is a guiding thought with de facto almost universal value.

Then there are many organizations upholding Maoism and living away from all of this, such as the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Communist Party of the Philippines or the TKP / ML.



In addition, there is a phenomenon ravaging the ranks of the avant-gardes around the world: the spread of modernist concepts of post-structuralism, post-modern philosophies, LGBT + ideology being an aspect of it alongside the valuing of marginal groups as subversives, submission to contemporary art and subjectivism, etc.

If we add to this the total lack of reflection on global warming or the animal question, the almost complete lack of knowledge of dialectical materialism, we have a panorama that is hardly encouraging.

But this is only one aspect of the question. In fact, due to the uneven development of the non-linear movement of history, this process dialectically raises a qualitative leap. This is however understandable only if one considers that the MRI has not

been the center of the International Communist Movement, only one aspect.

Maoism in India, Turkey, and the Philippines exists anyway since their beginning independently of the RIL. And the RIM has for example played a powerfully negative role in the capitalist countries. Its line was revisionist, its position that of a "contemplative criticism" as rightly pointed out in 1986 by Spanish revolutionaries.

It is true that in fact, it was a "committee" of the RIM that spoke on behalf of the latter, through the magazine "A world to win". However, the battle is political and what resulted from the RIM was either nil or counterproductive. It can even be said that the RIL did traffic with Maoism, which led to the current situation.

For this reason, it was the Communist Party of Peru that was the main aspect of the International Communist Movement, not the RIM.

The concern is that the Communist Party of Peru has placed itself as a fraction within the RIM and never wanted to break with him, despite criticism. It was a position that had its dignity at the time. However, today, it is not possible to find orientation in this way, with a position of "fraction".

What is needed is a platform to synthesize the experiences of the International Communist Movement in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

This will necessarily be considered as something intellectual or virtual by the opportunists. But Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is a science and that's the basis of it all. •



## Questions to the MLM Center of Belgium and the CPF (MLM) about the historical role of Internationalist Revolutionary Movement in their countries

*The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was born in March 1984 in France, as an international group making Mao Zedong classic of Marxism-Leninism. Was there a group from your country participating? ?*

**Belgium:** In 1984, at the time of the founding of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) in Paris, some Peruvian people claiming to be a part of the struggle of the Communist Party of Peru were present in Brussels. This group was led by Luis Arce Borja, director of the newspaper "El Diario International". A certain ambiguity quickly emerged, however, because in terms of representativeness, this person implied that he also represented the RIM in Belgium.

**France:** No, there was no French movement, despite the fact that the foundation was held in Paris. The reason for Paris as a place for this is that the leader of the Communist Revolutionary Party of Chile was in exile in Paris, his son participating by the way in the local punk scene. The leader of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States was also in exile in Paris, a decision taken for security measures.

*Did the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) have an impact on the revolutionary movement of your country??*

**Belgium:** Unlike the Communist Party of Peru (PCP), the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) did not had any impact here. The Belgian militants for whom the powerful politico-military actions of the Peruvian masses guided by the PCP were at the top of the news came for the most part from collectives supporting the Combatant Communist Cells (CCC) and the Maoist Group *Collective of Communist Agitation and Propaganda*.

However, it was well known that "El Diario International" was printed here under the cover of the Workers' Party of Belgium (PTB). An antagonistic contradiction quickly emerged as, at the same time, the PTB impelled a campaign of slander, insults, political banditry against all the fighting communist current, spreading dirty words such as: "CCC = CIA", "CCC = Brabant killers", etc.

As is often the case with the revisionists - here, then, the PTB - political banditry was pushed to the extreme. This was manifested by the proper beating, by 5 or 6 of PTB henchmen, of the person in charge of the APAPC (Association of the relatives and friends of the communist prisoners) who was also the father of one of the 4 militant prisoners of the CCC .

These villainous events took place in Brussels during a demonstration of miners from Limbourg. The APAPC activist was thrown to the ground, punched and kicked, defamed by the names of cop and provocateur, even though he was distributing leaflets calling for solidarity with imprisoned CCC activists on hunger strike...

The opportunism of trading with the PTB, which, pretending to support revolutionary violence in Peru, fought it fiercely in Belgium, naturally sealed a process of mistrust with the nucleus organized around the director of the "Diario International".

Especially since at the same time, *Solidaire*, the weekly PTB published, in the first page, the photo of the Cells activist wanted by all police in Belgium and Europe. The fact that these two publications came out of the same press had caused a lot of misunderstanding in our ranks.

**France:** Absolutely none. The Worker Communist Party of France, an important structure then, was pro-Albanian and was therefore not concerned. The only truly existing organization claiming to uphold Mao Zedong, *Proletarian Way*, participated in 1980 in debates leading to the birth of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). It thought, however, that the move went either too far or not far enough, that its approach was abstract more than anything else.

Above all, it refused to embark on anything to formalize ideology, and it therefore turned to the *International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations*, a non-centralized structure of movements upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong thought.

As for the Communists belonging to the armed movement, they had a reaction of complete rejection. The paper close to Action Directe, *The International*, had indeed largely dealt with the Communist Party of Peru and its People's War since the early 1980s. However, the RIM appeared as a "Marxist-Leninist" structure. The article *The False Path of the Western European 'Urban Guerrilla'*, published in 1985 in the review published by the RIM Committee, *A World to Win*, sealed this opposition. The Communist Party of Spain (reconstituted) made a murderous criticism of this article in 1986, which was widely disseminated in Europe in the scene of the armed struggle.

***The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement mainly existed through its committee based in London, and in Berlin through the "Revolutionary Communists" of Germany and a structure of immigrants from Turkey, the TKP / ML Maoist Party Merkezi. There was a great conflict with the autonomoms on the first of May, 1990, in Berlin, escalating in 1992 and 1993 to clashes with seriously wounded, the use of batons, knives, etc. Did you hear about it?***

**Belgium:** We did not have any knowledge of these Berlin incidents in Belgium. Only in the second half of the nineties, during meetings with activists from Turkey living in Germany, were these facts brought to our attention.

**France:** There was no echo on this subject in France, because the question of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was finally settled in the 1980s, *Proletarian Way* setting itself aside, the Communists near *Action Directe*, to speak in the widest possible sense, paying no attention to it. The RIM was considered, in the same way as in Germany for that matter, as a foreign body seeking to settle.

***So, did the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement develop itself in your country?***

**Belgium:** The misunderstanding having been quickly established with the core of the "International Diario", we turned for a moment to the Parisian committee with which there were some meetings.

One of them, memorable for the hostility shown against us by its organizers, took place in spring 1991 when the "Parisians" invited us to the festival organized by the [French] Trotskyists of Lutte Ouvrière in a small town of Val d'Oise [in France]. These encounters, whose content was practically and ideologically poor, had only resulted in the exchange of documents and their dissemination in our various publications of the time.

**France:** A nucleus of some people diffusing the magazine *A world to win* and some documents existed at the beginning of the 1990s. It did not give anything organized and the only hope of this group, also ephemeral, was that the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement was developing elsewhere to gain some legitimacy.

***Have you, in this or any other organizational form in the past, met people related to the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement?***

**Belgium:** In 2010, after the collapse of the Marxist-Leninist Bloc, when we organized ourselves in our present form, there were still contacts with militants of Iranian origin saying they were "Maoists" and wishing to "work with us".

These people were advancing masked. But it quickly became apparent that these were elements linked to the Communist Party of Iran (marxiste-leninist-maoist). Their insistence on bringing us into discussions around Bob Avakian's "New Synthesis" revealed that we did not share the same ideology and that it was therefore impossible to move forward together.

**France:** We had several meetings in the 1990s with officials of the Committee of the International Revolutionary Movement (Co-RIM).

Nothing came of it productive, nor with the meeting with the past form of what has become the Maoist Communist Party of Italy: talking about the Red Brigades was like presenting the devil to the pope, literally.

The comrades of the Peruvian Popular Movement, an emanation of the Communist Party of Peru for work abroad, presented themselves as the left-wing faction of the RIM, but many of its supporters were in fact already advocating a break-up.

On the side of Turkish immigrants, the split of the TKP / ML in TKP / ML and TKP (ML) froze their status in the RIM; only the TKP (ML) felt bound to it, but without being able to develop in our country something at this level.

At the beginning of 2000, there was also a meeting with Canadians and Nepalese, who had largely taken control of the RIM Committee. This was an opportunity to remind Canadians of the communist character of Stalin and to explain to the Nepalese that we did not believe in them because of the many ideological breaches in their approach.

***Has there been a contribution of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement to your evolution? Do your members feel connected to it?***

**Belgium:** In view of the presence of Peruvian elements which, from the point of view of practice, already appear to be supporters of a right opportunist line, which will later be confirmed also theoretically; the 1985 appearance of the document *The False Path of the Western European 'Urban Guerrilla'* published in the journal of the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement, *A world to win*, in which the actions of the fighting communist current in Western Europe was termed as 'continual revisionist and reformist deviations', a position that was not accepted here, it is easy to see that the RIM could not have any influence on our course.

**France:** Absolutely not. Nobody feels bound to the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement. We did not come to the People's War by Maoism, but to Maoism by the People's War; the RIM totally rejecting this concept in Western countries, it was at the very base something that didn't concern us.

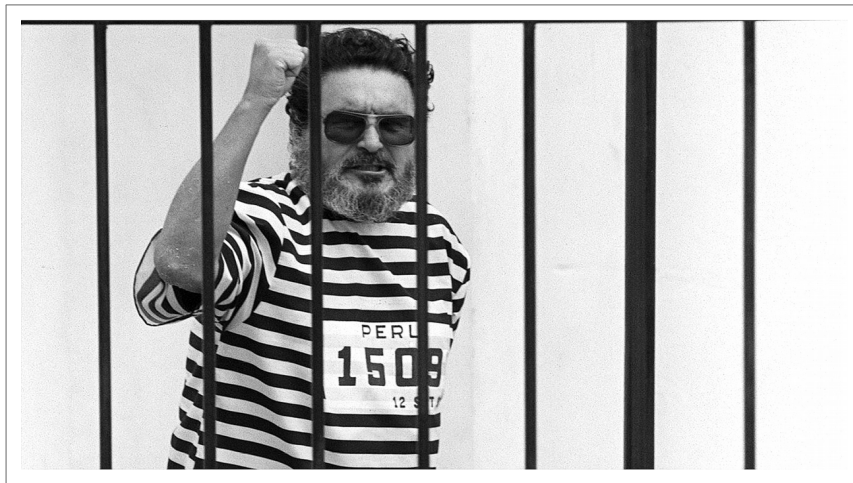
***The Communist Party of Peru, with Gonzalo at its head, considered itself as the left fraction of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement, which finally recognized Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in 1993. So has the RIM played a positive role historically according to you?***

**Belgium:** It was the Communist Party of Peru that represented something huge in Belgium. As for the Internationalist Revolutionary Movement, it appeared to us as a specific form of representation of the misunderstanding that this type of parachuted structure was able to have of the history, the traditions, the culture and the realities of Belgium.

The very peculiar origins of a Workers' Party of Belgium - deriving from nationalism and traditions totally separated from communism - escaped it, for example, completely ; the clarifications that we wished to offer them in this matter did not seem to interest them beyond measure.

**France:** The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement never had any historical role, it was the Communist Party of Peru that had one. Since the RIM disseminated the PCP's contributions, it was a good thing. But this was only formal and it finally made the issue of content completely lost of sight. This simply produced a "Maoism" consisting of a few recipes, sometimes even attributed to Gonzalo.

In our opinion, we must start from the principle of guiding thought and see how are concretely embodied the conscious elements resulting from the class struggles of a given country, synthesizing the historical reality, affirming the revolution. They are the ones who will bring Maoism - it is not an "outside" Maoism that will trigger anything.



We are here in circumstances which some think to be a great defeat.

They are dreaming. Today we say to them this is barely a bend in the road. Nothing else!

A bend along the road. And though the road is long we shall traverse it completely.

We shall arrive at our goal and we shall win! You shall see it ! (...)

What is unfolding in the world? What do we need?

We need Maoism to be incarnated, and it is being incarnated, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming.

**Gonzalo, 24th of september 1992**

# Compassion and empathy: living matter at the heart of dialectical materialism

*Published for the first time on line in march 2015*

Where does the sensation come from ? Such a question is a typical error, the produce of the feudal and the bourgeois approaches, which separate the brain and the body. The feudal conception separates them totally, whereas the bourgeois way links them in a tormented way.

Both consider that the question of the sensation is connected to the body, to the interpretation of the body by the brain. A feeling, a sensation, can not exist in itself; it has an existence only in the case of an interpretation by an individual.

The reason for this anthropocentrism resides in Metaphysics. For the feudal conception, the mind must leave the body and join the origin of the world, God, which is immaterial. For the bourgeois conception, we can not explain the origin of the world, so we should restrain us in elaborating theory about the relationships we make with reality.

Life is seen through individuals, through their relationships. There is no world, no nature, only a world, a nature existing insofar we have a relationship to them.

This conception was necessary to the bourgeois to justify the existence of the capitalist, which is an individual acting through his own understanding of its surrounding reality. Protestantism is here the main ideological construction of this approach.

Nowadays, existentialism and all the post-modernist variants that exist support a terrorist version of this self-centeredness, this vision of the world based merely on the individuals.

Therefore, in the history of science dominated by the bourgeoisie, it was always considered that animals know no pain. They are considered as mere mechanisms, by Descartes and Malebranche notably, without a "conscience".

Of course, this wrong conception proved more and more wrong, through the affirmation of democratic and socialist thought.

One major historical event here is when, on 10 December 1907, in a turmoil following an dissection of a living brown dog in London, 1,000 medical students marched through central London waving effigies of a brown dog on sticks, justifying and promoting vivisection, attacking for this reason suffragettes and trade unionists fighting against vivisection.

Two conceptions of the world struggled. Nowadays, the sensation of pets are recognized, but they are still mistreated; the sensation of vertebrates is also recognized but they are considered as of minor interest.

Moreover, the sensation of fishes and invertebrates are openly negated, in the name of the nervous system and the brain, in an anthropocentric conception.

On the contrary, dialectical materialism connects living matter to sensation.

In *Materialism and Empirio-criticism*, Lenin deals with this question among others, and remembers us this important question :

"There still remains to be investigated and reinvestigated how matter, apparently entirely devoid of sensation, is related to matter which, though composed of the same atoms (or electrons), is yet endowed with a well-defined faculty of sensation. Materialism clearly formulates the as yet unsolved problem and thereby stimulates the attempt to solve it, to undertake further experimental investigation."

Lenin says also that we have certainly to go in the direction of considering that, in the foundation of the structure of matter, we can surmise the existence of a faculty akin to sensation, like Denis Diderot did it.

And indeed, compassion and empathy are a proof of it. What is the dialectical materialist conception of reflect? That the brain reflects reality; what we think is an echo.

But, if René Descartes and Emmanuel Kant are right, if each individual is like surrounded by a Chinese wall, how is it possible to feel what somebody else feels? How are compassion and empathy possible ?

This is only possible because living matter knows sensations; sensations are linked to the principle of echo, of movement of matter.

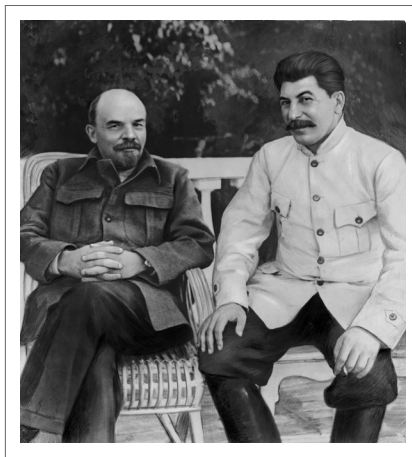
That is why a revolution can occur: the masses have synthesized, at different levels, the same vision of the world, corresponding to reality.

Revolution occurs at the general level, compassion and empathy at the individual levels, but their foundation is the fact that matter and sensation can not be separated.

Living matter is therefore at the heart of dialectical materialism, as it is a developed form of matter, a direction which corresponds to the

auto-movement of matter itself to more complexity.

*This is the reason why we have to recognize, cherish and defend the dignity of reality of nature, of the animals, of each living being, which correspond to the auto-development of matter, and participate in the global system of life on our planet as a Biosphere. •*



**21 Conditions of Admission to the Communist International  
July 1920**

The First Congress of the Communist International did not draw up precise conditions for admission to the Communist International. Until the time the first congress was convened there were in most countries only communist *trends* and *groups*. The Second Congress of the Communist International meets under different conditions. At the present time there are in most countries not only communist trends and tendencies, but communist *parties* and *organisations*.

Now parties and groups often turn to the Communist International which quite recently belonged to the Second International, which wish to join the Communist International but which have not, in fact, become communist. The

Second International has been finally smashed to pieces. The parties in between and the 'centre' groups, which realise the hopelessness of the Second International, now try to lean upon the Communist International, which is becoming more and more powerful. In the process, however, they hope to retain an 'autonomy' that will permit them to continue their previous opportunist or 'centrist' policies. To a certain extent the Communist International is becoming fashionable.

The desire of certain leading 'centrist' groups to join the Communist International is an indirect confirmation of the fact that the Communist International has gained the sympathy of the overwhelming majority of class-conscious workers



all over the world and that it is becoming a force that grows more powerful each day.

The Communist International is threatened by the danger of being watered down by elements characterised by vacillation and half-measures, which have not yet finally discarded the ideology of the Second International.

Moreover, to this very day there remains in some big parties (Italy, Sweden, Norway, Yugoslavia, among others), whose majorities have adopted the standpoint of communism, a significant reformist and social-pacifist wing which is only waiting for the opportunity to raise its head again, to start active sabotage of the proletarian revolution and thus to help the bourgeoisie and the Second International.

Not a single communist may forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The fusion of the Hungarian communists with the so-called 'left' social democrats cost the Hungarian proletariat dear.

Consequently the Second Congress of the Communist International considers it necessary to establish quite precisely the conditions for the admittance of new parties and to point out to those parties that have been admitted to the Communist International the duties incumbent on them.

The Second Congress of the Communist International lays down the following conditions of membership of the Communist International:

1. All propaganda and agitation must bear a really communist character and correspond to the programme and decisions of the Communist International. All the party's press organs must be run by reliable communists who have proved their devotion to the cause of the proletariat. The

dictatorship of the proletariat must not be treated simply as a current formula learnt off by heart. Propaganda for it must be carried out in such a way that its necessity is comprehensible to every simple worker, every woman worker, every soldier and peasant from the facts of their daily lives, which must be observed systematically by our press and used day by day.

The periodical and other press and all the party's publishing institutions must be subordinated to the party leadership, regardless of whether, at any given moment, the party as a whole is legal or illegal. The publishing houses must not be allowed to abuse their independence and pursue policies that do not entirely correspond to the policies of the party.

In the columns of the press, at public meetings, in the trades unions, in the co-operatives – wherever the members of the Communist International can gain admittance – it is necessary to brand not only the bourgeoisie but also its helpers, the reformists of every shade, systematically and pitilessly.

2. Every organisation that wishes to affiliate to the Communist International must regularly and methodically remove reformists and centrists from every responsible post in the labour movement (party organisations, editorial boards, trades unions, parliamentary factions, co-operatives, local government) and replace them with tested communists, without worrying unduly about the fact that, particularly at first, ordinary workers from the masses will be replacing 'experienced' opportunists.

3. In almost every country in Europe and America the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. Under such conditions the communists can place no trust in bourgeois

legality. They have the obligation of setting up a parallel organisational apparatus which, at the decisive moment, can assist the party to do its duty to the revolution. In every country where a state of siege or emergency laws deprive the communists of the opportunity of carrying on all their work legally, it is absolutely necessary to combine legal and illegal activity.

4. The duty of propagating communist ideas includes the special obligation of forceful and systematic propaganda in the army. Where this agitation is interrupted by emergency laws it must be continued illegally. Refusal to carry out such work would be tantamount to a betrayal of revolutionary duty and would be incompatible with membership of the Communist International.

5. Systematic and methodical agitation is necessary in the countryside. The working class will not be able to win if it does not have the backing of the rural proletariat and at least a part of the poorest peasants, and if it does not secure the neutrality of at least a part of the rest of the rural population through its policies. Communist work in the countryside is taking on enormous importance at the moment. It must be carried out principally with the help of revolutionary communist *workers* of the town and country who have connections with the countryside. To refuse to carry this work out, or to entrust it to unreliable, semi-reformist hands, is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian revolution.

6. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to unmask not only open social-patriotism but also the insincerity and hypocrisy of social-pacifism, to show the workers systematically that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international court of arbitration, no agreement on

the limitation of armaments, no 'democratic' reorganisation of the League of Nations will be able to prevent new imperialist wars.

7. The parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the obligation of recognising the necessity of a complete break with reformism and 'centrist' politics and of spreading this break among the widest possible circles of their party members. Consistent communist politics are impossible without this.

The Communist International unconditionally and categorically demands the carrying out of this break in the shortest possible time. The Communist International cannot tolerate a situation where notorious opportunists, as represented by Turati, Modigliani, Kautsky, Hilferding, Hillquit, Longuet, MacDonald, etc., have the right to pass as members of the Communist International. This could only lead to the Communist International becoming something very similar to the wreck of the Second International.

8. A particularly marked and clear attitude on the question of the colonies and oppressed nations is necessary on the part of the communist parties of those countries whose bourgeoisies are in possession of colonies and oppress other nations. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation of exposing the dodges of its 'own' imperialists in the colonies, of supporting every liberation movement in the colonies not only in words but in deeds, of demanding that their imperialist compatriots should be thrown out of the colonies, of cultivating in the hearts of the workers in their own country a truly fraternal relationship to the working population in the colonies and to the oppressed nations, and of carrying out systematic propaganda among their

own country's troops against any oppression of colonial peoples.

9. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International must systematically and persistently develop communist activities within the trades unions, workers' and works councils, the consumer co-operatives and other mass workers' organisations. Within these organisations it is necessary to organise communist cells which are to win the trades unions etc. for the cause of communism by incessant and persistent work. In their daily work the cells have the obligation to expose everywhere the treachery of the social patriots and the vacillations of the 'centrists'. The communist cells must be completely subordinated to the party as a whole.

10. Every party belonging to the Communist International has the obligation to wage a stubborn struggle against the Amsterdam 'International' of yellow trade union organisations. It must expound as forcefully as possible among trades unionists the idea of the necessity of the break with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must support the International Association of Red Trades Unions affiliated to the Communist International, at present in the process of formation, with every means at its disposal.

11. Parties that wish to belong to the Communist International have the obligation to subject the personal composition of their parliamentary factions to review, to remove all unreliable elements from them and to subordinate these factions to the party leadership, not only in words but also in deeds, by calling on every individual communist member of parliament to subordinate the whole of his activity to the interests of really revolutionary propaganda and agitation.

12. The parties belonging to the Communist International must be built on the basis of the principle of *democratic centralism*. In the present epoch of acute civil war the communist party will only be able to fulfil its duty if it is organised in as centralist a manner as possible, if iron discipline reigns within it and if the party centre, sustained by the confidence of the party membership, is endowed with the fullest rights and authority and the most far-reaching powers.

13. The communist parties of those countries in which the communists can carry out their work legally must from time to time undertake purges (re-registration) of the membership of their party organisations in order to cleanse the party systematically of the petty-bourgeois elements within it.

14. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International has the obligation to give unconditional support to every soviet republic in its struggle against the forces of counter-revolution. The communist parties must carry out clear propaganda to prevent the transport of war material to the enemies of the soviet republics. They must also carry out legal or illegal propaganda, etc., with every means at their disposal among troops sent to stifle workers' republics.

15. Parties that have still retained their old social democratic programmes have the obligation of changing those programmes as quickly as possible and working out a new communist programme corresponding to the particular conditions in the country and in accordance with the decisions of the Communist International.

As a rule the programme of every party belonging to the Communist International must be ratified by a regular Congress of the

Communist International or by the Executive Committee. Should the Executive Committee of the Communist International reject a party's programme, the party in question has the right of appeal to the Congress of the Communist International.

16. All decisions of the Congresses of the Communist International and decisions of its Executive Committee are binding on all parties belonging to the Communist International. The Communist International, acting under conditions of the most acute civil war, must be built in a far more centralist manner than was the case with the Second International. In the process the Communist International and its Executive Committee must, of course, in the whole of its activity, take into account the differing conditions under which the individual parties have to fight and work, and only take generally binding decisions in cases where such decisions are possible.

17. In this connection all those parties that wish to belong to the Communist International must change their names. Every party that wishes to belong to the Communist International must bear the name *Communist* Party of this or that country (Section of the Communist International). The question of the name is not formal, but a highly political question of great importance. The Communist International has declared war on the whole bourgeois world and on all yellow social-democratic parties. The difference between the communist parties and the old official 'social-democratic' or 'socialist' parties that have betrayed the banner of the working class must be clear to every simple toiler.

18. All the leading press organs of the parties in every country have the duty of printing all the important official documents of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

19. All parties that belong to the Communist International or have submitted an application for membership have the duty of calling a special congress as soon as possible, and in no case later than four months after the Second Congress of the Communist International, in order to check all these conditions. In this connection all party centres must see that the decisions of the Second Congress are known to all their local organisations.

20. Those parties that now wish to enter the Communist International but have not yet radically altered their previous tactics must, before they join the Communist International, see to it that no less than two thirds of the central committee and of all their most important central institutions consist of comrades who even before the Second Congress of the Communist International spoke out unambiguously in public in favour of the entry of the party into the Communist International. Exceptions may be permitted with the agreement of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. The Executive Committee of the Communist International also has the right to make exceptions in relation to the representatives of the centrist tendency mentioned in paragraph 7.

21. Those party members who fundamentally reject the conditions and Theses laid down by the Communist International are to be expelled from the party.