

OUR COMMUNIST PERSPECTIVES ON POLITICAL WORK

Groupe communiste *Longues marches*
(October 2023)

What militant tasks are needed to put communist politics of a new kind on the agenda in today's world?

And, correlatively, which communist organizations for such political tasks?

Let's present our perspectives in eighteen points.

1) A LEGACY

"Our inheritance was left to us by no testament. René Char

We have decided to inherit almost a century and a half of political history of communism (i.e. 140 years between the early 1840s and the late 1970s¹) in its two vast sequences: before 1914 (the communism of the first two Internationals) and after 1917 (the communism of communist parties and socialist states).

The first sequence unfolded through two successive internal divisions: that of the First International (1864-1876)² between communists and anarchists; and that of the Second International (1889-1914)³ between Marxists and social democrats.

The second sequence, founded by Lenin⁴, was then divided, from 1928 onwards⁵, between a Stalinist path (embarked upon in the USSR under the first Five-Year Plan 1928-1932 aimed at building socialism in a single country⁶) and a Maoist path (embarked upon in China, after the failure in 1927 of workers' insurrections in the major cities⁷, under a Democratic Revolution strategically encircling the cities with the countryside from liberated zones).

2) A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

In so doing, we inherit the concern for a revolutionary politics that 1°) does not leave the exclusivity of the revolutionary problematic to the French (bourgeois) Revolution of the 18th century, and 2°) does not reduce communist-led revolutions to an insurrectionary seizure of state power.

The revolutionary orientation of communism aims to revolutionize all social relations (production, distribution, housing...) by emancipating the resources of thought and action of the working and grassroots masses, resources which the bourgeois orientation of capitalism continues to dominate (see the four dimensions of communist orientation in our fourth point).

All in all, then, let's make this point: not only is communism heir to the notion of political revolution,

¹ More precisely, from 1844 (Marx's *Manuscripts of 1844* and Engels' *The Situation of the Working Class in England in 1844*) to 1976 (the defeat of the Chinese Cultural Revolution)

² or *International Workers' Association*

³ or *Workers' International*

⁴ See mainly *Que faire?* (1903) for the question of the Communist Party and *L'État et la révolution* (1917) for the question of the socialist State.

⁵ So in Russia, after the Bolshevik Revolution (1917), then the civil war (1918-1921) and finally the *New Economic Policy* or *NEP* (1922-1927) introduced by Lenin to revive an economy devastated by the civil war.

⁶ Priority to the country's heavy industrialization, fueled by accelerated collectivization of the countryside...

⁷ Shanghai, Canton...: see André Neuberger's book *L'insurrection armée* (1931), which sets out the Bolshevik assessment drawn up by the Third International (1919-1943) or *Communist International* (*Komintern*).

it also revolutionizes it.¹

To introduce this, let's first detail what *revolution* means according to three formal modalities, before detailing three modalities of political revolutions with a communist orientation

Three forms of revolution

A revolution (of any kind) is not ipso facto a liquidation or a clean slate. In fact, there are three forms of it²:

- revolution by *abandonment-displacement* (in politics, see the anti-slavery revolutions: from Spartacus to the Brazilian *Quilambos*). Here, the principle of *liquidation* prevails: the revolution leaves a saturated terrain considered untransformable;
- revolution by *destruction-reconstruction* (in politics, see the anti-feudal French Revolution or the anti-bourgeois Bolshevik Revolution). Here, the *clean slate* ideology of the state and its power prevails;
- revolution by *adjunction-extension* (in politics, see the Chinese Communist Revolution, which added the Peasant People's Communes to existing socialism and then extended them to the Workers' Communes of the Cultural Revolution). Here, the old is neither abandoned nor destroyed, but confined to a very small-scale "reserve".

Three types of communist-oriented political revolution

Effective communist politics has practiced three forms of revolution:

- the *democratic*, anti-feudal and anti-colonial revolution (see, in China, the Democratic Revolution from 1928 to 1949);³
- the *socialist*, anti-capitalist revolution (see, in China, the Socialist Revolution launched by the first five-year plan 1953-1957);⁴
- the *communist* revolution (the only example of which so far is the one launched in China in 1958, which ended with the defeat of the Cultural Revolution in 1976).

Hence the crucial importance of the following point: we are politically inheriting this first communist revolution in the history of mankind.

3) HISTORY'S FIRST COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

For the political future of communism in today's world, it is of the utmost importance to study, understand and reflect on the strengths and weaknesses of this grandiose political uprising of the Chinese masses (just as it was of the utmost importance, during the first phase of communism, to take

¹ In a way, communism, by revolutionizing the idea of revolution, reduces it.

² also found in the various "revolutions" of mathematical thought: by *abandonment-displacement* (for example, in analysis: abandonment of the *infinitesimals* of classical analysis and displacement of modern analysis to refocus on the new notion of *limit*), by *destruction-reconstruction* (see the modern axiomatic reconstruction of all mathematics on the new theory of sets), by *addition-extension* (an omnipresent form of modern mathematical "revolutions", invented by Galois and found again, in another form, when Dedekind adds his "cuts" to rational numbers to extend the category of number to the *reals*).

³ "Remember how we fought for twenty-two years, twenty-one of them without achieving a single victory; but the twenty-second year, that is, in 1949, was the year of national victory." Mao (September 5, 1958)

⁴ Between the two, a transitional period from 1949 to 1952, marked by the end of the war of liberation on the home front (cf. the conquest of the remaining islands in 1950) and the Korean War on the borders...

assessment, as early as 1871, of the first truly working-class revolution in human history: the *Paris Commune*).

It's striking that this work remains massively ahead of us (whereas the communist balance sheet of the Paris Commune was drawn by Marx as early as the summer of 1871 in his book *La guerre civile en France*).

This work provides a detailed assessment of the Chinese Cultural Revolution¹, as well as of the People's Communes which, eight years earlier, were the real kick-off event of this vast and truly Communist Revolution.

Let's say a few words.

After a Democratic Revolution (1928-1949) and the start of a Socialist Revolution (1953-1957)², China, under Mao's leadership, embarked on the first truly Communist Revolution in the history of mankind. It began with an unforeseen event³ - the spontaneous creation, on Sunday April 27, 1958, of the first People's Commune, named *Sputnik*⁴ - and expanded, in completely new forms and scales, from the summer of 1966, in the Cultural Revolution, this time directly driven by Mao himself. It ended, after Mao's death in 1976, with an *external* defeat which, for the Communists, can only be explained by the *internal failure* of this Communist Revolution to revolutionize the Chinese Communist Party.

This vast Revolution (1958-1976) constitutes, for all Communists faithful to the fundamental orientation, a treasure trove of experiences and successes as much as a real heap of obstructions and a sheaf of unresolved questions which we inherit and which it is up to us to work on.

4) AN ORIENTATION

Overall, we have inherited a communist orientation, antagonistic to the capitalist orientation, which affirms the political entanglement of four dimensions:

- a) an emancipation of productive working-class *labour*, revolutionizing the relationship between manual and intellectual labour, against private ownership of the major means of production (the basis of the domination of working-class labour by the bourgeoisie⁵); or a political revolution of the social relations of production;
- b) an emancipation of popular *inhabiting* in cities and the countryside, against state domination in housing matters; or a political revolution in the social relations of housing;⁶
- c) a *proliferation* of different peoples in different countries making up the one world of humanity, against competition between capitalisms, rivalry between nations and war between imperialisms;

¹ This work is the subject of Cécile Winter's extensive book *La grande éclaircie de la Révolution culturelle* (Delga, 2021).

² An important point that sets the Communist Revolution apart: although it began in 1958, it did not put an end to the construction of socialism!

³ "The People's Communes, whose appearance in April had not been foreseen, were not the subject of an official decision until August." Mao (December 19, 1958)

⁴ This invention was announced a month later, on June 8, 1958, by *Le quotidien du peuple*, as the first "sputnik" of the *Great Leap Forward*: ten days later, the Communist Party equated this purely Communist event with the launch of a socialist-type state program.

On the one hand, the People's Commune revolutionized socialist production relations (moving from cooperatives to generalized pooling) and social relations with the State (the Commune took over educational, collective - housing, food... - and military tasks which, in socialism, remained the prerogative of the State).

In contrast, the Great Leap Forward was seen as a step forward in socialist construction, now tackling, in a highly state-centric way, urban-rural and industrial-agricultural contradictions (by developing a small-scale steel industry in the countryside, for example).

⁵ Let's recall the results of our militant survey of workers in the large factories of globalization: capitalist *domination* in factories entails *exploitation* of labor power, *subordination* of labor and *oppression* of the worker.

⁶ This formulation is the result of our militant survey of grassroots women living in the slums of globalization.

in other words, a political revolution in world relations between different peoples and their different countries;

- d) a political measure taken from the militant interweaving of the three previous dimensions, through *mass-scale political organization*, against state (possibly *socialist*) management of the established disorder; in other words, a political revolution in the organizational relations of the whole of humanity.

5) THE CHALLENGE OF AN OBSTRUCTION

Today, the political prospects of communism are obstructed by the failure of "classism", the principle of "Marxism-Leninism", i.e., the idea that the *social* class struggle is expressed in antagonism between two *political* classes (the social class struggle between workers and bosses is expressed in political antagonism between proletariat and bourgeoisie).

This history bequeaths us this negative observation: the political subject of the Communist Revolution, its organized operator, is no longer an expression of social class positions (as the political subject of socialist revolutions could be the expression of the working class); rather, it emerges from the social class struggle. And emergence is not expression.¹

We thus inherit the question of the proletariat: if *proletariat* still adequately names the political subject of communist orientation, and therefore its organized operator, how can such a subject, emerging from political events that are by definition unforeseeable (in this case, the peasant invention of the People's Communes, one fine day at the end of April 1958, in the far south of Henan province), ensure its lasting organization on a vast scale?

If the failure of the Chinese Communist Revolution has shown that communism, unlike socialism, strictly speaking, cannot be built, on what materialist basis will communist politics emerge?

Our point: this obstruction to communist thought calls for no renunciation, no liquidation of the political perspectives of communism. On the contrary, it's up to us to make it a fulcrum for a broader communist intellectuality.

At present, we don't know how this will be made politically possible, and even less how the possibility of such an extension will be politically achieved. But, upstream of this *effectivity* and *possibility*, we do know the *potential*² of extension, whose obstruction provides the chance for rational, materialist thought to courageously confront an excess of the real, which blows a hole in existing symbolization and leads the old imaginary astray.

So let's circumscribe this obstruction according to a series of anchor points, points of support: the very ones we list and interweave in this political declaration.

6) A SITUATION: AN IN-BETWEEN TIME

Today, we find ourselves relegated to a vast political in-between, separating the strategic failure of the second type of communism (the "Marxist-Leninist" communism of the Communist Parties and Socialist States) from a new type of communism (or third-type communism) whose own strategic perspectives have yet to be reinvented.

Inheriting, as a communist, the strategic failure of "Marxist-Leninist" political orientations implies clarifying the internal reasons for this *failure* (which alone really account for its *defeat* by capitalism), in other words, the unnoticed and unaddressed obstructions to the principle of this failure, thus

¹ The lights of contemporary mathematics shed light on the conceptual distinction between *emergence* and *expression*, just as between *emancipation* and *emancipation*, or *autonomy* and *independence*.

² By *potentiality* we mean the *possibility of a possibility*.

avoiding the two symmetrical perspectives of dogmatism and liquidation, the two alternative paths of right-wing wait-and-see and left-wing forcing.

Our time is an in-between precisely in that it is not the time of a proper political project, but that of a determination to establish step after step, point after point, in a narrow interval: "*give me a fulcrum and I'll lift the world!*" (Archimedes)¹.

7) IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

So it's up to us to reconstruct the political questions that a new kind of communism will have to answer.

While we inherit victories and defeats, successes and failures, affirmations and criticisms, we do not necessarily inherit all the political questions formulated by our predecessors: concerning communist questioning, our task is to extend while considerably bending. We need to reconstitute a questioning that is properly communist, to reconfigure a problematization capable of identifying the political problems that are now before us, and that a third communism to come will have to deal with.

"*By provision*"², let's list some of the questions we'd have to work on.

The question of communist organizations

If the Cultural Revolution failed to revolutionize the Communist Party, what will be the Communist organizations, militant and mass, capable of leading future revolutions that are properly Communist?

The question of a constantly renewed antagonism

"The implacable enemy never sleeps. Alexandre Blok (*Twelve*)

If the Cultural Revolution failed to politically subdue the new class enemies that the invention of the People's Communes and the new Communist Revolution gave rise to from 1958 onwards (directly *in* the Communist Party), how can we deal, in a political rather than state³ manner, with the old and new antagonistic contradictions that any Communist advance never ceases to arouse?⁴

The question of the old "socialist" stage

If the Communist Idea no longer establishes the imaginary horizon of an ideal, utopian society (classless, stateless and free of political antagonism), but affirms the possibility of a Humanity not enslaved to its animal nature, and collectively emancipating itself from it through the affirmation of a Justice according to its own egalitarian capacities, if the Communist Idea is therefore the idea of a process and a dynamic stage by stage, but with no assignable final term (other than in a purely imaginary way)⁵, then what are the first stages? In particular, what are we to think of the "socialist" stage (defined by state ownership of the major means of production)?

The question of a new communist imaginary

If the horizon of a classless society can no longer constitute the communist imaginary, what new imaginary can we mobilize (if it's true that political thought, like all human thought, cannot do without tying an imaginary to a symbolization if it claims to touch some kind of reality)?

At this point, we can mobilize two types of intellectual resources:

¹ The exact quote (Pappus of Alexandria) is: "*Give me where I can stand firm, and I will shake the Earth*".

² *Provisionally*, or *in lack of better* (see Descartes' "*morality by provision*" in the *Discourse on Method*)

³ See the Marxist-Leninist problematic of a *state of dictatorship of the proletariat*

⁴ "*Whatever the given thing is, there is given another more powerful thing by which this given thing can be destroyed.*" Spinoza (*Ethics*)

⁵ "For us, communism is not a *state* to be established, an *ideal* to which actual reality must conform. We call communism the *effective* movement that abolishes the present state." Marx & Engels (*The German Ideology*)

- a) those of mathematics, by means of diagonals interpreting their theoretical symbolization in completely other domains of thought: such diagonals, mobilizing the emancipatory light of which mathematical thought is capable, in fact turn out to open the imagination towards unexpected perspectives;
- b) the arts: artistic resources of thought have already played a decisive role (during the various socialist revolutions as well as the Chinese Communist Revolution) through their ability to ignite the collective imagination and arouse enthusiasm; it's up to us to mobilize their imaginary power for collective emancipation in the specific conditions of our intervallic space-time.

The question of a "contemporary" communism

In the light of mathematical history¹, wouldn't it be more appropriate to characterize the three great political stages of communism according to the following distinction: *classical*, with the constitution of Marxism; *modern*, with Marxism-Leninism and its socialist revolutions; and *contemporary*, with the advent of properly communist revolutions?

The challenge here is to interweave this political history - our own - with a more general ideological history.

- There would be continuity and rupture between these three stages (and by no means liquidation or a clean slate), following the model of revolutions by adjunction-extension, which do not destroy the old but subsume it as mere particular cases according to new generalizations.
- Today, the *modern* sequence is polemically reduced, by the neo-liberal proponents of post-modernity, to its *modernist* modality (privileging a purely *constructivist* form of modernity - see here the "classist" principle of building communist politics on the working class²). But the defeats of these different *modernisms* are in no way equivalent to the failures of *modernities*, as their very contemporary revivals attest!
- The *contemporary* moment since the 1960s is characterized by its internal division between revolutionary modernity and nihilistic "post-modernity".

Finally, the question of a new political materialism

We don't inherit Marxist-Leninist materialism: the materialism of class expression and representation, the materialism of generalized transitivity from social classes to political classes.

So we need to reconstitute a new kind of communist materialism.

Let's sketch out five perspectives.

- 1) Communist politics is a materialism of **emergence**, no longer of representation or expression.³
- 2) Its very emergence is that of **genericities**, not identities established according to specific interests, genericities that concern the whole of humanity, not certain social categories, even if they are exploited.
- 3) Communist politics gives rise to these generics from social bases from which it **emancipates itself**, not frees itself - it **autonomizes itself** without becoming independent.
- 4) The mode of emergence consists in a **diagonalization** of the social bases concerned: only such a diagonalization can bring out the communist generics likely to concern all humanity.

¹ The period can be broadly divided into five eras: *Greek, pre-Classical* (9th-16th centuries), *Classical* (17th-18th centuries), *Modern* (19th century - first half of 20th century), *Contemporary* (from the second half of the 20th century onwards) (the contemporary period should be understood here as "second modernity", not "post-modernity").

² Marxism-Leninism would have been the properly *modernist* (constructivist) version of communist *modernity*.

³ Let's say it again: at this point in the emergence of hierarchically interconnected structures at different scales, the insights of contemporary mathematics are indispensable.

5) **The opaque point** that all this leaves us with, then, is this: how do we organize the political operator capable of initiating such an emergence by diagonalization, the operator whose inherited name would remain *proletariat*?

Hence the importance of putting the political category of *proletariat* back on the communist agenda.

¹

8) HOLD POLITICAL POINTS MILITANTS

If today we are 1°) endowed with an *orientation*, 2°) *situated* in an in-between time, but 3°) without a strategic *direction*, we are nonetheless in a position to intervene politically (and not simply to wait for better times) by asserting a series of properly militant points: the eighteen points presented here, which we need to hold inventively in order to actively transmit the political desire for communism. So, the very idea of working politically today through a network of points, for want of being able to do so through a political line, is in itself a point: *Le Point* des points.

Would this mean implementing, "by provision", a communist problematic of singularities rather than regularities?

9) ONE WAY OF WORKING: DRAWING DIAGONALS

Socialism is built (possibly in a single country) because it is defined by a state of social relations of production and a superstructure state.

On the other hand, communism, not being a state (and even less a State), is not strictly speaking constructible. Nor can its dynamic be characterized as a simple deconstruction (of capitalism or socialism).

Communism is the name of an undefined political process. It is not the name of an ideal society, a promised land, a paradise on earth. It's the name of a series of human revolutions that form the diagonal of a Long Political March capable of bringing egalitarian justice to this world, and extending it step by step.

It's up to us to support the Idea of such a type of communism by implementing, both modestly and proudly, our own diagonals and long marches. ²

10) A REGIONAL FOCUS

In so doing, this in-between time prescribes a *regional* dimension to political perspectives: neither purely imaginary *global* pretensions, nor purely pragmatic *local* restrictions, but patient work to create a political *region* by linking, according to the same political idea, two political points in two socially disjointed locations: a factory and a slum, a university and a working-class district, an urban area and a rural area... ³

In other words, our entire political space-time unfolds under the sign of intervals: the inherited interval between two times; but also the interval between liquidating wait-and-see attitude and exalted

¹ In Marxism, *proletariat* refers to quite different political realities:

- in Marx's pre-Engels period (1844), we're talking about proletarians rather than a proletariat;
- in *the German Ideology* (1846), proletarians do not form a class defined by their own interests, but "*a class which no longer has to assert a particular class interest against the dominant class, but represents society as a whole, a class whose interest is intimately bound up with the common interest of all other, non-dominant classes*".
- from the *Manifesto* (1848) onwards, proletarians and proletariat appear as equivalent to workers and the working class: "*by proletariat, we mean the class of salaried workers*" (Engels, preface to the English edition of 1888).

² As a reminder, ours began in May 2018, on the fiftieth anniversary of May 1968.

³ This regional perspective is, after all, merely the political extension of this elementary principle of communism: its fundamental source is the egalitarian militant encounter of workers and intellectuals.

haste, between dogmatic tension and liberal renunciation; and finally, the interval to be constituted between two localizations to bring a political desire for communism into being.

11) A WORKING METHOD : *STUDIES AND SURVEYS*

What does it mean to hold, as a militant, on such political points?

To keep these political points - "our" points - we've inherited a communist method of working: that of long marches on the two legs of intellectual study and investigation capable of linking militants to the working and grassroots masses.

12) THREE INTELLECTUAL SOURCES

Our study must take special advantage of three intellectual sources, renewing the three that Lenin recognized as the sources of 19th-century Marxism (French utopian socialism, German dialectical philosophy, English political economy¹).

a) The Chinese Communist Revolution (1958-1976)

See the third point above.

b) French philosophy of truths (in the second half of the 20th century)

Contemporary communist intellectuality must also take advantage of this French philosophy, centered on the figure of a subject adjusted to new thoughts on what *truth* means, a philosophy that, roughly speaking, unfolds from Bachelard to Badiou via Sartre and Lacan.²

c) Modern and contemporary mathematical thought

*"O stern mathematicians, thank you for the countless services you have rendered me.
Without you, I might have been defeated."* Lautréamont

It has to be said that the communist thinking of the 19th and 20th centuries massively missed out on the intellectual revolutions that mathematical thought constantly initiated and pursued throughout this same period.³

Yet modern mathematics (from the 1820s⁴) and contemporary mathematics (from the 1945s⁵) provide the various forms of human thought with treasures of emancipation and encouragement that

¹ Lenin: *The three sources and three constituent parts of Marxism* (1913)

² Just one example: in Sartre (*L'être et le néant*), the subject of freedom *decides*, while the liberal subject *chooses* (what he prefers among the possibilities offered to him: "I choose my life, my consumption, my sexuality, my vacation, my vote, my opinions, my gender, my partners..."). Hence two opposing conceptions of *deliberation*: *a priori* for the liberal subject (his "democratic" deliberation evaluates the preferences that will guide his individual choices: see *neo-classical* economics, homogeneous to the depoliticizing parliamentary vote); *a posteriori* and after the fact for the subject of freedom (to take measure of the consequences of the decision he has always already made). In other words, freedom understood on the one hand as a capricious *selection* (vote!) from among what's on the market, and on the other as the *addition* of a new term (the point decided) with consequences.

³ Among the great Communist leaders of this period, only Marx showed any interest in mathematics in his spare time (see his *Mathematical Manuscripts*), to test the dialectic at work and compare it philosophically with that of Hegel. But in doing so, he confined himself to *classical* analysis, ignoring the modern revolution that Cauchy (and later Weierstrass) had begun fifty years earlier, founding a specifically *modern* analysis based on complex quantities rather than just real numbers.

⁴ Let's say the mathematics of Abel-Galois in *algebra*, Cauchy-Weierstrass in *analysis*, Gauss-Riemann in *geometry*, and later Cantor-Dedekind in *arithmetic*...

⁵ Contemporary mathematics is an extension of modern mathematics (a kind of *third modernity* after a second - between the wars - based on axiomatization): as much as there is a break between classical mathematics (XVII°-XVIII°) and modern mathematics, there is continuity between modern and contemporary mathematics.

a new type of communist thought must learn to mobilize for its own purposes.

13) ACTIVIST INVESTIGATIONS IN THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Our group assumes the communist imperative of mass liaison based on the principle of militant surveys, and chooses to focus on three social groups: workers in the large factories of globalization, peasants in the contemporary countryside, and women in working-class neighborhoods and slums.

a) The workers who produce the world's goods in today's factories

We have already undertaken such a survey with workers at Foxconn (Czech Republic).

A long report summarizes this work.

For our group, it's a question of extending it.

b) Farmers working the countryside today

In rural areas, farmers are at the forefront of political struggles over the rural-urban divide.

We need to start surveying them, starting with farmers in the French countryside.

c) The women of who make today's cities habitable

It is the women of the people (working-class neighborhoods and slums) who, in the urban space, operate on the front line in political battles dealing with the city-country contradiction.

We have already carried out such a survey in a Moroccan slum.

Various reports take stock of this work.

We intend to continue this type of investigation, in other shantytowns in the contemporary world, as well as in working-class neighborhoods in France.

14) AN ADDRESS TO YOUNG PEOPLE

We need to develop a distinctly communist ability to reach out to young people and mobilize their unique anti-nihilist potential.

As such, we have to organize schools and training courses for contemporary youth.

Communism schools

These would be "*schools of communism*" in the double sense of studying what communism means, but also applying this communist thinking to other forms of thought.

These schools could cover the following four subjects:

- the *political history* of humanity and the peoples and social classes that make it up;
- the *languages* of the peoples of the world;
- the *mathematics* of humanity;
- the *philosophies* of humanity.

"Serving the people" courses

These would be internships (lasting one or two weeks) designed to forge links, through shared work, with peasants in the countryside or women in shantytowns and working-class neighborhoods.

15) A COMMUNIST POINT OF VIEW ON THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS

The point here is to assert that the guiding factor in policies to deal with the global environmental crisis lies in the social relations between people, for it is these relations that decide the relationship of people, classes and countries to an environment that is by no means common to all: in the first

instance, it is because the subjective relationships to humanity differ radically between the dominant and the dominated, oppressors and oppressed, exploiters and exploited, that their respective relationships to the environment¹ cannot be the same.

As such, it's important to re-examine how the Chinese Communist Revolution (1958-1976), unlike previous socialist revolutions, incorporated concern for the environment into its mass politics² and conducted incessant mass political campaigns against social waste.³

16) A COMMUNIST POINT OF VIEW ON THE THIRD WORLD WAR THAT IS BREWING

The essential point here is to declare and maintain that the great inter-imperialist war being waged between the old Western empires (USA, Europe...) and the young Eastern empires (China, Russia...) cannot be ours, no more than the First World War (in which Germany competed with France and Great Britain for the plunder of Africa) was the workers' war.

Unfortunately, we are no longer in a position to assert, as Mao did in 1969: "When it comes to *world war*, there are basically only two possibilities: either war provokes revolution, or revolution conjures up war", because the second possibility unfortunately no longer exists. This, however, should not leave us speechless in the face of the disastrous prospects of a world war between old and new imperialisms. If we don't have the political affirmations to "ward it off", let's hold fast to a double negation: "This unjust war will in no way be ours!" and intervene accordingly.

17) PROPAGANDA ON THE COMMUNIST IDEA OF HUMANITY

"The business of Communism is the whole world. [...] We speak in the name of all humanity." Brecht

More generally, our aim is to propagate the communist idea of Humanity, an Idea⁴ that highlights its capacity to organize itself in order to emancipate (not free) itself from its native animality, by collectively dealing with its own internal division according to two antagonistic conceptions of itself. Specifically on this point, the arts and their own works (poems, novels, films, operas, choreography...)

¹ Unlike Engels' *Dialectic of Nature*, contemporary communism must steer clear of the pre-Cantorian idea of a "Nature" that imaginary totalizes "all" physico-natural things. The neopaganism of the goddess *Geo* is a welcome reminder that "God" is never far away when it comes to "Nature" (Descartes: "By nature, considered in general, I now mean nothing other than God himself"; Spinoza: "*Deus sive Natura*" - God or Nature).

² See here the extensive documentation gathered in the series of twelve documentaries *Comment Yukong déplaça les montagnes* (1972-1974; 13h 20) by Joris Ivens and Marceline Loridan. In it, we discover that the People's Communes and the Cultural Revolution, in the name of the people's fight against waste and communist concern for future generations, invented the "ecological" issue twenty years before anyone else, and implemented it by giving priority to its direct practice by workers and peasants on their production sites (and not, as in the West, a posteriori by consumers faced with the distribution of goods produced in factory-caserns).

In particular, see the documentary *Une femme, une famille - Pékin* (1h 48'), which looks at the different ways in which Beijing's *February 7* locomotive factory

- recover scrap metal and melt it into ingots;
- recover wood from old wagons and transform it into chipboard;
- recovering cotton from used wagon buffers;
- recover the oil using centrifuges;
- coal dust is collected by dust collectors and transformed into fuel, which is then distributed free of charge to the workers;
- mobilize the retirees who return to the factory to organize these recovery workshops...

³ See, as early as 1952, the "three anti's" campaign: anti-graft, anti-corruption and anti-bureaucratism. See also the anti-graft and anti-conservatism campaign launched on March 3, 1958 by the CCP...

⁴ See "*the Cartesian principle by virtue of which we can assert of a thing only what is contained in the idea of the thing*" (Bergson, *Leçons d'histoire de la philosophie moderne*).

constitute, for communist propaganda in favor of a high Idea of humanity, affirmative resources of the utmost importance (against all the nihilistic belittling of which *Anthropocene* has become the generic name), resources that it's up to us to learn to mobilize on a par with the work done by our communist predecessors.

18) OUR ORGANIZATION AS A COMMUNIST GROUP

The political history of communism has involved three types of organization: membership associations, phalanstery communities and militant groups.¹

- The association is constituted by its members: see, for example, the first two Internationals (the first International was called the "International Workers' Association"; the second International was conceived as a union of pre-existing Parties).
In this way, the members' general meeting decides on the association's contractual work program.
- The community is welded together by the regulation of internal relations between its followers (phalanstery charters, monastic rules...).
- The group, on the other hand, constitutes itself around a programmatic line of work which then comes to characterize the partisans who unite around it: see Lenin's Bolshevik Party in Russia or in France the *Groupe pour la fondation de l'UCF-ml* (1970-1984)².

As far as we are concerned, we are committed to the third perspective, grouping ourselves around the eighteen points that the present text entangles.

We're giving ourselves a year to clarify the effectuation of these points in France by inventing our own way of politically embodying them.

¹ Mathematical intellectuality sheds light on this distinction through the modern algebra of Abel and Galois: the former explores the polynomial association of explicit roots; the latter starts from a given algebraic property, shareable by different magnitudes, in order to identify the underlying algebraic group that presides over the entanglement of roots. In a way (interpretative diagonal), Abel's way examines what a communist is in order to deduce the properties of their possible union or association, while Galois' way examines what a communist group is in order to deduce how its members - the communists - will find themselves grouped together as equivalent militants.

Hence three types of algebraic equations:

- reducible (and therefore solvable) equations: see our *associations* ;
- irreducible but solvable equations (*abelian* equations): see our *communities* ;
- irreducible and irresolvable equations: see our *groups*.

² See the two books here:

- Joel Fallet: *Les Maos de l'UCF. Une histoire politique 1970-1984* (L'Harmattan, 2021)
- Alain Badiou: *Mémoires d'outre-politique - 1937-1985* (Flammarion, 2023)