

第一期

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About Us

A single spark can start a prairie fire

We Marxist-Leninists-Maoists are revolutionary socialists committed to promoting a new socialist revolution in China to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have created Revolutionary Socialist Front to help the Marxist-Leninists-Maoists in their own development and progress by sorting out and analysing some of the universally recognised basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and thus contributing to the advancement of revolutionary forces in China. We hope that our work will lay some ideological foundations for our organisational propaganda work among the working class in the near future; in addition we are happy to help any comrades who are sincere in their desire to promote the development of the socialist movement in China to further develop the intellectual, cultural and necessary technical skills which we believe are important for the development of the movement on the one hand, and to help them to reduce the number of errors on the other. We believe that these qualities and abilities are important for the development of the movement on the one hand, and on the other hand, they can help comrades to take the easy way out. (For example: Since the defeat of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and the complete restoration of the bourgeoisie, the working people of China, led by the working class, have been reduced from masters of society to wage slaves. Since then, until today, the Chinese working class has been under the complete dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the political, economic and ideological spheres, without any real rights to speak of. But "where there is oppression, there is resistance". There is no one in this world who is willing to remain in a position of servitude and at the mercy of others. The struggle between the Chinese working class and the ruling class has never been interrupted for even a second. Moreover, as the economic downturn inevitably caused by the capitalist mode of production has become more and more obvious in recent years, the ruling class is bound to launch more and more attacks on the working class, so that the struggle of the working class is bound to increase significantly in both number and scale, something that is not the first time that any modern, industrially developed capitalist country has seen. However, we will soon discover a contradiction between the growing need of the Chinese working class to fight (in many cases at this stage, to "fight back") and the lack of the necessary "weapons" for the Chinese working class to do

so. We all know that the modern bourgeois state apparatus is generally very powerful and very efficient in maintaining stability (the sole purpose of any bourgeois state apparatus is to guarantee the rule of the bourgeoisie for all generations and the perpetuation of wage slavery). The ruling class in China (the independent bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie) is not open to any challenge, and even the most mundane economic struggles are met with the most merciless blows, making it difficult to achieve even the basic, bourgeois-democratic demands for improvement in a Fascist state like the RSF. In the face of such fascist monsters, our workers have little choice but to fight to defend their rights (not, of course, that we are talking only about illegal struggles). And the workers have hardly any other weapons of struggle than organisation. Who can imagine that workers can win even a small, initial economic struggle in the absence of organisation? Even the most preliminary economic struggle requires a certain amount of organisational, propaganda and liaison work, let alone a future political struggle or even a final class showdown. In a word: without organisation it is impossible to unite the working class, and without the united strength of the working class it is naturally incapable of responding to the frenzied attacks of the bourgeois state machine.

Unfortunately, however, anyone with a modicum of understanding of the social reality in China knows that while workers are in great need of organisation, it is precisely this weapon that we lack most. It takes a process to "arm" the working class by organising them. This is partly because of the extremely difficult objective circumstances. On the other hand, we Marxist-Leninists-Maoists have only just begun to act and are not yet deeply integrated with the working class.

The ruling class in China has no room for any kind of mass organisation of any size, and even those public interest NGOs which in previous years had been completely harmless to the bourgeoisie and even a useful addition to the existing order (they were doing something similar to the activities of the current Wei Mingzi¹ and the like) have been attacked most severely. In the face of this situation, there are those who naturally jump in and tell us that the first thing we should do with the RSF is to wait for the right moment, because it is simply not possible to move the movement forward in such a hostile environment. For such people, we call them "wait-ists". It is true that real revolutionaries analyse difficulties too, but real revolutionaries analyse difficulties in order to ultimately serve them in order to achieve their ultimate goal, not to avoid them. If we really believe in the "lofty theories" of the "wait-ists", then we will not be able to seize the opportunity, let alone the dictatorship of the proletariat, even when it comes. Imagine if we were unprepared, even if the ruling class really faced a great crisis of power, even if the masses really could no longer go on with their lives, what could we do then? Will the masses follow the rhetoric of self-proclaimed "revolutionaries" who have never had any real contact with them? The best that can be said for the whole movement is that it will be crushed by a recovering ruling class, just like the November Revolution in Germany². We believe that the success of the second socialist revolution in China depends on whether the subjective conditions for the revolution are ripe. The political and economic crisis of the ruling class is only one of the

¹ Wei Mingzi is a teacher of philosophy. He holds a master's degree in philosophy from a prestigious university in Shanghai and posts videos of his teachings to a Station B platform. He has a number of followers, although there are different views about his teachings. Some say he uses a lot of Marxist-Leninist Maoist phrases which bring him close to the proletariat; others say his system is closer to the Lacan-Žižek lineage, and he himself said that the combination of psychoanalysis and Marxism is very meaningful. He also created controversy by saying that Chinese capitalism's 996 system (working from 9am to 9pm six days a week) is not exploitation but a means of control and domination. [N.G.]

² The November Revolution in Germany refers to the armed uprising of November 1918 that forced the ruling monarch Emperor Wilhelm II to abdicate. However, the German Social Democratic Party did not carry the revolution through to the point of handing power to German Soviets of workers' deputies, but led it along the path of bourgeois parliamentarism and the creation of the Weimar Republic. A Spartacist uprising of 5-12 January 1919 was crushed by right-wing militias of the *Freikorps*, forerunners of Hitler's fascist thugs. [N.G.]

objective conditions for the revolution, but what can really transform the revolutionary crisis into a successful proletarian socialist revolution is the adequate preparation of the subjective forces of the revolution. We believe that the adequacy of the preparation of the subjective forces of the revolution depends on two main aspects. The first is whether the revolutionaries and the working masses are on a relatively correct political line, which is the programmatic issue and the fundamental issue that determines everything; the second is whether we have the concrete practical methods of struggle, the necessary material and technical conditions, etc.

Although the first aspect is fundamental, this does not mean that we should leave the second aspect behind. So how do we resolve the contradiction between the real needs of the revolutionary struggle and the serious shortage of the material conditions necessary for it? Chairman Mao said it well: "When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it may lose. The line is a net rope. When it is pulled, the whole net opens out."³ In a word, we do not struggle only when we have become the majority, but gradually become the majority in the struggle; we do not campaign only when we have all the material conditions, but gradually have all the material conditions in the campaign. (This does not mean, of course, that we should blindly give away heads, but that we should quickly learn to correct mistakes in the course of concrete struggle. That is to say, the necessary material conditions must be met by the right path and not by waiting for it. Of course, there is no a priori absolute truth in this world, and the so-called correct path is in fact the theory and experience drawn from the practice of countless class struggles in history and reality, which in turn guides us in our future struggles. This is the very life of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

The facts of the recent class struggle in China also prove that although the Chinese ruling class is indeed very powerful, it is by no means invincible. Didn't the mass movement represented by the White Paper Movement⁴ some time ago finally force the authorities to abandon their ultra-reactionary policy of "zero-RSF"?⁵ (Of course, some people will say that the full liberalisation was due to a lack of money, but if that was the case, what forced the government to insist in October that the epidemic should be prevented, and then to make a 180° turn in November?) Yet at this time there were probably some "revolutionaries" ready to "put it into practice", from the opportunist clique "CCP (Mao)"⁶, which was preoccupied with chanting slogans and dreaming big dreams, to the so-called "Chinese Maoist Group" of the Gonzaloist cuties (whose rigid simplicity shocked the world by their intention to boycott the so-called "bourgeois parliamentary elections" in a country like China!)⁷

This is also the case with the recently formed "Revolutionary Communist League". These little cuties must think of the Communist Party as something that has fallen from the sky, something that can be conjured up by a few self-appointed revolutionaries sitting together in a meeting and issuing a manifesto. But unfortunately we Marxist-Leninists-Maoists are not jugglers and can never conjure up a party out of a vacuum, nor do we believe they have such magical powers. In fact, the Communist

³ [Talks With Responsible Comrades At Various Places During Provincial Tour \(marxists.org\)](#) [RSF]

⁴ In November 2022, 10 workers were burned to death in their apartment building in Urumqi. It was alleged they had been prevented from leaving by pandemic control measures. Huge demonstrations took place across China conflating these two issues represented by sheets of white paper held by protesters: white is the colour of death in China; the blank sheets also symbolised the silencing of dissent related to the zero-Covid policy which was relaxed shortly afterwards. [NG]

⁵ The authors compare the repression directed at the RSF to the zero-Covid measures taken to eliminate Covid. [NG]

⁶ <https://bu2021.xyz.t/topic/17214> [RSF]

⁷ <https://mlmmlm-icu.github.io/t/topic/index.html> [RSF]

Party, as the vanguard of the working class, is the highest level of workers' organisation. In other words, the vanguard is a powerful organisation that has evolved on the basis of the mass work of a large number of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist groups throughout the country with deep links to the working class; the so-called founding congresses are merely a way of putting on the table the established fact of the vanguard's existence. From this logic, any so-called "RSF-free vanguard" formed in mainland China at present and for some time to come will be nothing more than a club for the self-indulgence of a group of left-wing intellectuals.

Turning back to the present stage, we have spoken of the growing need of the Chinese working class to struggle but the lack of weapons to do so. We Marxist-Leninists-Maoists believe that the reason for this phenomenon is that at this stage the Chinese proletariat has not yet developed its own independent class consciousness and the workers are not yet aware of the need to unite as a class to deal with the tyranny of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeoisie. (The masses had not yet climbed ashore from the sea of bourgeois ideology; Marxism-Leninism-Maoism had not yet been accepted by the masses and become the ideology of the working people themselves. In a word: the ideology of the revolution has not yet been combined with the revolutionary class. It is precisely to enable the revolutionary class to gradually acquire a revolutionary ideology so that the Chinese workers can consciously defend their own class interests and eventually move towards the glorious path of their complete liberation. To change the status quo in order to achieve this, we believe that we need a group of revolutionary intellectuals with all the necessary qualifications, and these are the real Marxist-Leninists-Maoists, who will first of all unite to organise, propagate and study among all sections of society. Of course, in the beginning, when we did not have enough strength, we should go mainly to the workers, especially to the industrial workers, who will always be our base.

But how can we, the self-appointed Marxist-Leninists-Maoists, carry out our work among the masses if we do not even have a relatively clear and scientific understanding of the current social reality? How can we raise the political level of the masses if we do not even have a basic understanding of revolutionary doctrine? How can we represent the masses and bring them to revolution if we do not have the necessary knowledge to develop revolutionary organisations and the necessary means to defend their interests? Therefore, we feel that it is necessary to summarise and try to analyse some of the basic understandings that we Marxist-Leninists-Maoists have developed over the years in order to promote our own basic theoretical progress and to lay a certain ideological foundation for the mass work that we will be doing in the near future. This is the main purpose of the existence of our magazine.

I know that some people will certainly accuse us of sectarianism and not knowing how to unite the various pan-leftists. But the question is, what is "unity"? If we define "unity" as "the unified action of a certain range of individuals or different groups chosen under certain principles to achieve a common goal", then the aim of our association with anyone must be to serve the dictatorship of the proletariat, the highest requirement of the revolutionary stage of socialism. However, we Marxists, Leninists and Maoists are theoretically analytical and practically proven, and our theories and paths are by no means absolutely correct laws conceived out of a vacuum by philosophers or great teachers, but have been summed up step by step by countless revolutionary Marxists in the concrete, blood-and-fire practice of class struggle over the last 150 years or so, and have been repeatedly adopted by countless concrete revolutionary practices, as represented by the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and by countless other revolutionary practices in India today. The RSF's is a theory that has been repeatedly tested by numerous concrete revolutionary practices, such as the Russian and Chinese revolutions, and by the people's wars that are still being waged in India and the Philippines today; it is a theory that is capable of self-reflection and continuous development in

practice. (How else did it develop from Marxism to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism?) History and reality have also proved countless times that the various other "social-democratic", "Trotskyist", "anarchist" and so-called "Western Marxist" theories have never really been integrated on a large scale with the workers' movement and have hardly made a breakthrough for the movement, but have in many cases acted as an obstacle to it, not to mention the overthrow of the bourgeois dictatorship. This is not to mention the modern social democrats who have been reduced to the status of liberals and the anarchists who were expelled from the Second International, or the Trotskyists who have always claimed to be the orthodox Bolsheviks. The "worker-peasant confrontation" advocated by the Trotskyists has never been the main contradiction in any socialist or people's democratic country; and the so-called "bureaucratic problem" they are so keen to discuss is in fact the same as the so-called "Qin system"⁸ which the liberals bemoan every day. As for the bizarre and hilarious "theory of world revolution", it is an extremely arrogant demand for countries that are the first to win a revolution to push through the so-called "world revolution", to take the lead in the development of movements around the world without regard to their own logic and without trusting in the ability of peoples to liberate themselves, a strategy that will not only make it difficult to promote a world revolution but may even bury the socialist regimes that have already been established.

It is worth distinguishing between those who claim that "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is primarily Maoism" and those who claim to be Gonzaloists. We believe that the vast majority of the Gonzaloists are more or less theoretically grounded, and that a significant number of them have actually been misled by a very small number of hardened Gonzaloists who are close to or even already revisionists. For the former, we believe that if they continue to study the basic theories and reflect on them, they can certainly progress and eventually join our ranks; but in order to help them to do so, we have to keep pointing out their current problems. For the very few hard-core Gonzaloists, we can almost ignore them as long as they have no real influence, and if they do, we will have to treat them as we would treat the enemies of revisionism. In fact, the struggle between the Gonzaloists and the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist mainstream has been going on for a long time, and will continue, and some of our comrades have confronted them many times on some of the legitimate public platforms in the country, and have written some excellent articles. So our magazine should not be too much about this, relatively speaking. (Of course, there will still be some).

In fact, the problems of the pan-left are by no means the only ones we have just talked about, but it is impossible to go into them in full here, so I will only make one point: if we want to really promote the progress of those on the pan-left, if we want to really achieve a broad coalition, it is not necessary for us Marxist-Leninists-Maoists to compromise or reluctantly accept the so-called "compromises" of the other side. Only in this way can we achieve a genuine unity under the banner of revolution, otherwise what is the use of the so-called "unity" with the pan-left when we have achieved it under the wrong line? Such a "union" would even force us to lose what was relatively correct about ourselves, which would be more than worth the loss. If we can sum up the basic consensus of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, forge it into a sharp edge, and use it in concrete cases and in the development of the movement to deeply dissect the realities, then anyone who is genuinely willing to advance the revolution and has the basic capacity for reflection will be more likely to reject what was wrong and join our ranks in order to achieve a genuine unity.

⁸ The Qin Dynasty (221-206BC) established supreme imperial power. The political, economic, military, legislative, judicial, supervisory and other rights of the whole country were in the hands of the emperor alone, and the absolute dictatorship of the monarch was implemented. It was regarded as the beginning of centralized bureaucratic power which lasted until the socialist era of Mao Zedong and the CCP. (N.G.)

Other comrades may feel that we should focus mainly on the various online platforms and watch a lot of these videos online. For the more ambitious Marxist-Leninists-Maoists, there is the use of videos and the like for so-called propaganda work. The fact is that our workers do not spend a lot of time being active on these platforms, they do not have the time or the energy to take time out of their busy schedules to do so, and they do not see watching videos as the main way to improve themselves. Moreover, even from a purely informative point of view, Chinese characters are much more efficient than any video or audio, especially when it comes to serious content. Not to mention the fact that we can only do the most preliminary political propaganda on those public online platforms, for the RSF, and it is difficult to cover any of the key elements.

It is also worth noting that we are not here to play the role of a national political newspaper that can unite activist groups from all over the country, as was the case with the "Iskra" newspaper. This is because at this stage there is no such thing as a combination of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and workers' activist groups in China. We do not have the Petrograd Association for the Struggle for the Liberation of the Working Class as existed before 1895; since there are no groups to unite, there would not be an "Iskra" newspaper, but we would only be promoting the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in China in this direction. From this point of view, the "All-China Political Newspaper" that the opportunists, represented by the traitor "Minin"⁹, had created a few years before was a very strange and funny existence.

It is true that the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists in the Bolshevik website¹⁰ have also done a lot of work and achieved certain results. In many ways, they will be our teachers for a long time to come. But the problem is that many of their judgments (such as the "five basic judgments") were made at least ten years ago. Most of these judgments were very profound at the time, and some of them are of great value today. However, some places are obviously outdated, such as judging the current China as a so-called "second-rate imperialism" (the "five basic judgements"). (In fact, we consider China to be the second most powerful imperialist country in the world today after the US imperialists, and the only power that has the ambition and capacity to compete with them for world hegemony). On some issues, there was too little talk on the website, such as the Taiwan issue, women's liberation, RSF issues, ethnic issues, religious issues, and so on. It is true that our experience is very limited at the moment and that it is not possible to make very complete and rigorous analyses and judgements on many issues, but this does not mean that we are unable to make even the most preliminary analyses and judgements, and we hope to surpass our teachers in this respect. Although our main aim is to summarise the basic consensus and attempt to analyse it, this does not mean that our journal is limited to any 'purely theoretical analysis'. In fact, even the best of things, even Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theories, become empty pavilions once they are divorced from social reality. So much of our content is in fact an analysis of the concrete situation of reality, using the theoretical knowledge we have acquired.

God only knows what the future holds for us. We have only two words to say about this:

"The road is torturous but the future is bright."

Dare to struggle, dare to win."

⁹ "Minin" was one of the founders of the Rhein Study Club (莱茵学社). A Trotskyist, he positioned himself as a "new Lenin". After the failure of the Guangzhou Jiashide strike(佳士得罢工), he became inactive in the Rhein Study Club but still posts on "Zhihu"(a Chinese website liked "Quora"). [NG]

¹⁰ The Bolshevik web is a MLM website with an over 10 years' history. The comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Front reprint some their articles. [RSF]

