

Clandestine development is currently our main line of work

Comrade A

The cyber police and the local violent authorities, as well as various other relevant departments, have cracked down on the various politically involved organisations in the country, so as to not allow the masses to threaten their rule. In general, the reactionary state apparatus has cracked down on politically inclined organisations, especially those of Marxists representing the interests of the proletariat. Their methods are numerous, as we have now seen. The reactionary repression apparatus controls the public data of all Chinese citizens on the Internet and all information on legal channels in China, on various social media platforms and on traffic data. They use all these means to crackdown on dissidents. This is a vivid demonstration to the Chinese people of what "full democracy" and "freedom of expression" are and what bourgeois dictatorship is. All the open or semi-open political organisations in China, especially the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist proletarian revolutionary organisations, are faced with such an objective bottleneck.

Their tactics make some of the traditional methods of open development of the revolutionary forces completely impossible, and the revolutionary task of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be accomplished through legal methods. This does not mean that the work within the legal channels is useless, but that it becomes a secondary aspect of the RSF¹ and that the main forces directly promoting revolutionary development can only be done through illegal channels.

Work within legal channels can greatly assist the development of illegal work. Indirectly, they can also contribute to the development of the revolution, but they cannot replace direct revolutionary work itself. There is a greater shortage of clandestine organisations doing more direct revolutionary work in illegal channels than left-wing organisations using legal channels to do legal work.

This is because the dictatorial apparatus of the capitalist country does not allow us to propagate revolutionary theories and organise the masses to defend our interests, and the ruling class in our country does not allow our proletariat to have a proletarian world view or allow workers to liberate themselves. But does a revolutionary need to propagate and organise the masses to defend their own interests and ultimately to liberate themselves? The answer is yes. The overthrow of the bureaucratic monopoly bourgeois state requires both a political consciousness of the Chinese proletariat as a whole and of the working masses more generally, and a revolutionary party that can organise the proletariat as a whole and the working masses more generally. This is a contradiction. The two sides of the contradiction are fighting to the death; either the proletariat defeats the bourgeoisie or the bourgeoisie defeats the proletariat; either the revolutionaries defeat the reactionaries or the reactionaries defeat the revolutionaries.

The final victory must belong to the proletariat! But for the demands of the revolution as a whole, the traditional method of public propaganda development is totally inadequate, and the RSF can only accomplish a very limited and not decisive part of it. A proletarian party or organisation under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as long as it is not hanging a sheep's head to sell dog meat², as long as it is an organisation that still insists on the line of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is bound to suffer the most profound blows from the enemy, and its legal status can only work within the framework of a secondary part of the revolutionary demands, to meet a partial range of needs, and as soon as it wants to go further and more revolutionary, it is bound to be in an illegal position. This

¹ The Revolutionary Socialist Front

² Hanging a sheep's head and selling dog meat is a metaphor for deceiving people with false signboards and peddling inferior goods. It also refers to doing things that are not true in the name of good honest things.

would deprive it of the conditions for doing its legal work and meeting the needs of the revolution within the scope of the law, but also of the element of secrecy necessary for doing illegal work. However, the nature and scope of work of legal and illegal organisations on revolutionary lines are very different.

Therefore, at this stage we need to make a thorough separation between illegal and legal work, and to distinguish between legal and illegal organisations, and to define our own historical mission and scope of work so that the legal and illegal work of the revolution do not interfere with each other but can help and promote each other.

After all, for the capitalist state and the bourgeoisie, the aims of revolution are illegitimate. But revolution requires both legal and illegal work. Since the demands of the revolution are illegal, there is no doubt that illegal revolutionary work is relatively more important than legal revolutionary work, and that all revolutionary work within the limits of legality is designed to suit illegal revolutionary aims. And illegal work is the only work that makes it feasible for the conscious forces of the revolution to organise themselves safely.

Although it is said that a single spark can start a prairie fire, there are also such sparks all over China which cannot be extinguished or quenched by the reactionaries, and they are creating more and more of them themselves. But now that the enemy is strong and we are weak, it is indisputable that these sparks, if they are taken as a whole, will not be able to withstand an open struggle against the reactionaries. If we persist in the wrong approach, we will only end up sacrificing these sparks again and again, wasting years and years. It is up to the revolutionaries to unite these forces in the right way.

Legal work is one thing and illegal work is another. Since they must be distinguished from each other in order to achieve a more stable development, they must also help each other and promote each other in order to advance our revolution further. Therefore, there must be a link between legal and illegal work, and this link must be particularly secure, otherwise there will be a mutual delay and a mutual involvement.

Getting used to growing and organising in a different environment between the legal and the illegal is the main problem we have to face. On the one hand, we have to fight the reactionaries in order to preserve our main forces and develop ourselves, and on the other hand, we have to keep on propagandising and organising the masses.

The objective conditions of the revolution require that the revolutionary organisations master the art of struggle against the reactionaries. This art of struggle is at present mainly the art of clandestine development. The illegal forces of the revolution need to develop clandestinely in order to directly develop the immediate forces of the revolution, and they need to unite clandestinely all the revolutionary forces of our country in order to enable the various revolutionary forces of our country to act in unison. The legal revolutionary forces also need to unite secretly with the illegal revolutionary forces in order to be able to assist the development of the illegal revolutionary forces and to promote the development of the immediate revolutionary forces. This is the importance of the clandestine line of development, which should be the main line of development for the revolutionary forces at this stage in our country, but the legal forces also need to master the art of legal struggle and use legal channels to develop, which is the way in which legal organisations develop the immediate legal forces, that is, latent revolutionary forces. In short, we need the revolutionary organisations or parties to master this main art of struggle so that they can carry on

their various struggles against the reactionaries without making any mistakes, but this can only be done in a revolutionary style of iron discipline and steel order.

The revolution needs organisation, and it still needs organisation that can be organised into a class political party. Such an organisation is bound to come under the strictest attack. This requires revolutionaries to develop a party orientation, i.e. to demand strict order and to implement the organisation's policies with determination. The objective conditions of the revolution require revolutionaries, especially those of the illegal forces, to protect the organisation as much as possible in absolute secrecy while at the same time developing and expanding it in the course of their constant struggle against the reactionaries to the death. Is the organisation secret? It is a question of the survival of the main revolutionary forces, and the secrecy of illegal work is a question of the further development of all revolutionary forces. Therefore, any development or action by the organisation must first take into account the premise that the RSF is sufficiently secretive about what is important. Can the risks be controlled in all actions?

In places where the reactionaries do not see or attach importance to, we build up the sparks, organise our forces and carry out propaganda among the masses, and in places where the reactionaries do see or attach particular importance to, we hide the sparks and shelter our organisations. This tactic of struggle is part of the secret development line, that is, the tactic of guerrilla warfare, and it is an important tactic of struggle that enables us to continue to develop revolutionary forces and to grow them. This is why "secret development" is necessary for both legal and illegal organisations on the revolutionary line, and for illegal organisations it is the line that determines their life and death. For illegal organisations it is the line that determines whether they are truly revolutionary or not. A legal organisation on a revolutionary line needs to use its legal status to develop its immediate revolutionary forces in secret in order to prove that it is a revolutionary organisation. The mere adoption of legal struggle tactics only proves that it is a legal organisation, not that it is revolutionary. For a legal revolutionary organisation, apart from using clandestine routes to assist and promote the development of direct revolutionary forces and to use clandestine routes to develop and unite more legal forces, it must also retain its legal status and use the tactics of legal struggle to carry out its revolutionary work within the limits of legality. The legal struggle is the route that determines whether the legal revolutionary organisation can continue to exist and develop legally. For the illegal organisations on the revolutionary line, only by ensuring the secrecy and security of the organisation as a whole can they be safe and develop well, and only then can they do their revolutionary work within the illegal sphere and be able to take on the more important revolutionary tasks of the RSF. For both the legal and illegal forces on the revolutionary line, only by maintaining secure links, secrecy and cooperation with each other can they ensure the development of both sides and the revolutionary cause as a whole.

Of course, the secret development itself is a set of contradictions in the unity of opposites, secret and development. Actions for development are inherently hostile actions against the reactionaries, not all actions can be kept absolutely confidential, and sometimes we cannot even develop without facing some risks. This is a matter of controlling risks, that is, taking as little risk as possible and doing more organizational and publicity work.

Whether the organization of the revolutionary line can do a good job in secret development is not only a question of the current survival of our revolutionary forces, but also a question of whether the Chinese revolution can smoothly develop to the next stage.