

## Issues relating to the development of the work of regional organisations

There are no workers' organisations in our Revolutionary Socialist Front at present, but the comrades of "Going to the Workers"<sup>1</sup> have already gone ahead of us in this respect. At present, our main offline forces are naturally the revolutionary organisations among the students, but of course we cannot force these students to go to the factories to mobilise the workers, for that would be impractical. The practical approach is that the student comrades should do their own revolutionary organising work and then make active preparations for organising with the workers in the future. Therefore, the actual content of this topic can only be the offline student organisations that the RSF is currently responsible for and in contact with.

### I. Limitations of a single sphere of activity

In the past few months, our offline school revolutionary organisations have often started to develop in the context of a single school, which is the main sphere of activity of the school in which they are located. Naturally, this form of development was the better organisational route to take in order to ensure that we could achieve our developmental aims (at least the formation of a secure, stable, inherited Marxist-Leninist-Maoist organisation in the first place) even when our strength was very low.

As it turned out, many comrades achieved this initial aim and succeeded in setting up a number of such organisations. But they soon encountered problems in the further development of their organisations. Naturally, there were various problems, but one of the most important was the limitations of the organisation itself in terms of the scope of activities of the individual schools.

When some comrades have established a revolutionary organisation and developed it to a certain extent, they encounter a situation where there are no or very few leftist comrades left in a school, or where they no longer have the ability and conditions to tap into them to a greater extent, making it difficult for the organisation to grow in terms of its core members. Other comrades encountered a situation where there were very few comrades to be tapped in a single school, for example, only one or two comrades, and the human resources required to establish even the most basic organisation in that school were insufficient. Both of these situations greatly limit the development of our revolutionary organisations, not only for individual organisations, but also for organisations that go to other schools to help them develop.

Both of these situations meant that we were going to starve to death if we continued to eat from this one tree.

So, there were other comrades who, in practice, found new ways of building student revolutionary organisations by going beyond the form of organisation by individual school members. We will discuss this point next.

### 2. The role of regional organisations

A new experience of organisational work has arisen among the comrades of one of our cities, hereinafter referred to as City A. The comrades of City A have successfully developed a revolutionary organisation of their own, with roughly six members, in their own school, which we will call School A. They have not been able to find any new revolutionaries in this school, and they have made many honourable attempts to help other local schools to develop new organisations of revolutionaries. Due to the conditions of the comrades in School A and the circumstances of each school, they only

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<sup>1</sup> The authors of "A combination of overt and covert methods of doing workers' work" in Vol 6 of the RSF Journal.

found one or two comrades who could be called leftists in other local schools, and these comrades generally needed to further study and participate in some preliminary work to train themselves, and they neither had the conditions to develop their own revolutionary organisations in their own schools, nor had the ability to do so. So naturally, the comrades of School A developed secret revolutionary organisations in various local schools, and explored and cultivated leftist comrades in other local schools, so that they could grow up theoretically and professionally as soon as possible, so that they would be able to take charge of the revolutionary organisations in their respective schools in the future.

Therefore, the comrades from school A played a very progressive role in stimulating the development of the revolutionary forces in other schools in the region. A regional centre for student revolutionaries was established in advance, which provided the conditions for a possible unification of the local student revolutionaries in the future. In the process, the comrades of School A were able to train themselves in theoretical guidance and organisational training for the comrades of other schools, as well as in their own work.

In addition to the experience of the comrades of School A in City A, another local comrade has also brought us new experience. The comrades in charge of City B have developed their revolutionary organisation entirely through the transition from the legitimate inter-school student organisations to the local inter-school organisations, where they found committed revolutionaries and formed another secret circle of revolutionaries, which developed into a local secret revolutionary organisation. The comrades of the B organisation come from different schools and maintain the necessary contacts and working arrangements through regular offline communication and some online communication (which of course we think is not secure enough, and should be thoroughly secured outside the walls). Therefore, Organisation B is an inter-university organisation from the very beginning. Of course, this kind of organisation also has its problems, which are that it is more difficult to ensure the continuity of the offline organisation, making it more difficult to leave behind the results of the offline organisation's work to be inherited, and that it lacks a stable offline nucleus to better train new offline revolutionaries among local students. But they do at least provide further conditions for the development of stable revolutionary organisations within individual schools, and they do at least concentrate the revolutionary elements in such a way that they can unify their ideology and line of thought and be able to organise in other areas in the future (e.g. from secondary school to university, and from university to the workplace). Therefore, this form of revolutionary organisation's inheritance exists mainly in the online sphere, where the revolutionary organisations of the revolutionaries clandestinely control the local inter-university organisation, and are able to ensure that the revolutionaries are constantly tapped into it, so that they can form part of the new local clandestine revolutionary organisation. This makes the inter-university student organisation a solid tool for the clandestine revolutionary organisation to train revolutionaries.

Of course, we can also find that the experience of the comrades of the A school organisation can be combined with the experience of the comrades of the B organisation in B city. As long as we find the right conditions for such a combination, we can develop both stable student revolutionary organisations in the schools of a region and organisations that can unite the revolutionary elements in the schools of the whole region and secretly take charge of, or influence, the legal channels of the region for the benefit of our work as a whole. Of course, there are also more complex situations that cannot be treated in a simple and general way. For example, if a number of revolutionary organisations have developed in the schools of a certain region, is it necessary to have all the members of all the organisations in a centralised and directly linked organisation? We think that in many cases it is not necessary, as long as the most responsible comrade of each organisation is the

representative of the organisation to carry out this contact work, because this can reduce many unnecessary risks.

And this regional organisation has other very useful effects, as we have talked about in general terms before:

New revolutionaries can only emerge from the old web of relations, and the separate threads that connect these new revolutionaries form a new relation. It is like a net that connects millions of communist threads to form a new relationship, a revolutionary relationship of sorts. But such relations do not exist directly in capitalist society, they only create the conditions for their emergence, and such new relations cannot exist independently of the influence of the old relations that preceded them, but they only create the subjective conditions for the transformation of the old relations that preceded them and the development of the newer ones.

That is why we are now in a special stage where our revolutionary organisation has begun to take on some characteristics similar to those of a vanguard, but it is not yet a vanguard by any means, it is still a long way from being a vanguard. It is a transitional stage.

Much has been learnt about the characteristics of this transitional phase and we can summarise them:

1. The process of developing the revolutionary cause by integrating with the masses and following the mass line is like weaving a web that links and develops the threads of communism in all kinds of old social relations.
2. Revolutionary relations do not exist directly in capitalist society, but only create the conditions for their emergence. Revolutionary relations can only be transformed and produced out of the old social relations, linking the various communist threads sufficiently to form a net independent of the old social relations, and thus forming a revolutionary organisation of some kind.
3. The vanguard can only be created in the process of weaving one web after another, growing in breadth and increasing in verticality. But the vanguard and all other degrees of revolutionary organisation cannot be separated from the net below supporting it.

-Revolutionary Socialist Front, First Monthly Issue, The Importance of the Mass Line and Our Present Transitional Stage

As well as expanding our existing organisations, local organising also produces a degree of qualitative change, providing the conditions for the emergence of higher revolutionary organisations. Local revolutionary organisations are a higher web, connecting the more important threads (i.e. the individual revolutionary organisations). Whereas the role of individual school organisations is still largely limited to the individual school, the local student revolutionary organisation actually has a much bigger mission and is actually responsible for all the work in the local area. It would also be better able to train a group of comrades for more complex work in the future. But the content of the work of the organisation that we can develop cannot be separated from the network below it, which is bottom-up in City A and top-down in City B. Therefore, it is easier for the comrades in City A to work together with the comrades in City B. The comrades in City A are more likely to be in charge of the work of the organisation. So it is easier for the comrades in City A to ensure their own continuity, whereas it is more difficult for the comrades in City B to ensure their own continuity if they do not have strong support from below.

### III. Some additional issues requiring attention

We can see that the comrades in City A and City B have two completely different approaches to development. However, for those of us who are involved in organisational work, we should try the City A method first, because it is easier to form a stable, inheritable organisation, and only with such a foundation will we have the strength to carry out more revolutionary activities, such as expanding the influence of a school, and exploring and developing new comrades in our school. The method in City B requires higher conditions. Of course, when the method of City A is not enough to form a revolutionary organisation, we can also adopt the method of City B. However, if the method of City B is used to establish a revolutionary organisation, it is necessary to form a stable, inherited organisation in a single school, otherwise there will be no foundation to build upon.

The two methods can be combined; the comrades in City A, having developed their own organisation, then try to build up a local school revolutionary organisation; the comrades in City B, when combined, also try to develop new comrades from the existing schools. So the two methods are complementary, and when one method is used to develop an organisation and there is a bottleneck, the other method should be used, and both methods are able to develop local organisational work. However, it is important to note that different methods should not be used equally or in a blindly greedy manner. It is important to take into account the realities of the situation, and the primary objective is always to seek to build a solid revolutionary organisation first.

Regional organisations need to pay greater attention to organisational discipline and security. It is necessary to exclude from regional activities any elements that could easily cause risks, to exclude unnecessary people, and to exclude comrades whose work does not require them to participate in regional activities at all, in order to reduce unnecessary risks (one more person is one more risk, and very often the mere fact that some comrades' equipment is unsafe, that discipline is not exercised properly, or that there are other unforeseen reasons can bring about a major catastrophe for the organisation). That is why the organisation of our regional activities is very much a working organisation and should exclude all activities that are not necessary for the work of the revolution, otherwise we will have to learn enough lessons. In the club-like organisations of the kind that some of the Antiochene elements<sup>2</sup> are so keen on, it is still common to retain the childishness of wantonly sharing in the collective activities and making it a matter of bragging rights to learn about the sensitive contents of the work of the comrades, with a certain degree of leakage, which has often led to the enemy's attack and elimination. So we cannot allow any of this club-like style to come into our revolutionary organisation, which the enemy would love to see. However, in addition to ensuring the purely revolutionary nature of our organisational activities, it is also necessary to establish certain disciplines to ensure the normal conduct of our work and the safety of our organisational activities, such as strict control over the participants, the confidentiality of our activities, the confidentiality of our exchanges, the control in advance of the possible disclosure of sensitive and personal information about our organisation, the preparation in advance of the work to be reported and handed over, the selection of persons responsible for important issues and the determination of their specific responsibilities, etc.

These are some of the important issues that need to be taken into account in the development of regional work in order to avoid making mistakes and incurring unnecessary losses. However, in addition to these, our practical work will surely encounter more and more complex problems, which will require us to master the general principles of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to understand the

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<sup>2</sup> I'm not sure who this refers to. There was an Antiochene School of theology in the Greek Orthodox tradition which was said to have insisted on literal interpretations of the Bible.

needs of organisational development, and to be able to apply them flexibly without losing their essence and to find the right methods. However, we believe that as long as our comrades have a strong revolutionary will and are able to study actively, consider carefully and face up to the problems bravely, we will be able to solve them no matter what they are.