

On Revolution

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The Necessary Preconditions

In order for any revolution to occur or be practical, one must consider the current material conditions of material reality. As these conditions are in constant motion and change, it is only necessary that a movement must adapt, rather than have a rigid goal or ideal that reality must adapt itself to. Just like any other revolution, a communist revolution must be a movement which "abolishes the present state of things" and adapts to constantly changing material conditions (Marx and Engels, 1845).

That being said, however, certain conditions allow for certain movements, and certain conditions restrict certain movements. A communist revolution can not occur in just any state of material reality. In feudalism, a communist revolution would require a conflict between two classes, namely the working-class and the bourgeoisie, whose antagonism was much weaker than the antagonism of those two classes with a third, namely the clergy and nobility. One of the conditions, therefore, is that the primary contradiction between classes exists between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

It is not enough that a contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie be present, active, occurring and primary. It is also necessary that the forces of production began to "grind up against", per se, the relations of production. The forces of production must be at a certain extent to where they have reached the maximum capacity within the bounds of the class relations, class relations being each class's relationship to the means of production. The capitalist mode of production must therefore have reached a stage in which its internal contradictions are on the brink of conflict; where capitalism is on "life support".

It is not enough that capitalism be on the brink of collapse and conflict. It is also necessary that there be a system in place to promote and establish class-consciousness. As noted in my early and premature *On Revolution*, "Class-consciousness is an essential aspect for a communist revolution. Through unions, the proletariat can gain class-consciousness..." The solution for class-consciousness that I wrote is unions, which I still stand by. Unions are the backbone, the foundation, the base of the working-class's movement from oppressed to liberated, from slavery to freedom. Unions imply a basic form of class-consciousness: awareness of the existence of better conditions. Unions fight for an increase in wages, an increase in working-conditions or a decrease of work-day. The capitalist class fights against these unions as they decrease the surplus-value obtained after the work-day. However, the next step in class-consciousness is the awareness of the exploitation of capitalism. At this stage, the unionist understands that not only can they fight for better conditions under capitalism but there are systems better than capitalism. The hurdle for this stage is the need to overcome the plethora of forms of false-consciousness. Examples of these forms include religion and bourgeois nationalism.

Vanguard-Genesis

The principle of vanguard-genesis states that a vanguard party does not fall from the sky; a vanguard party is not found under a rock. The vanguard party is the result of specific conditions. The condition that the vanguard party is defined upon is class-consciousness and political consciousness. In order to lead the masses, one must understand the masses and their toil, thus a proper vanguard party must come from the masses, that being the proletariat.

Why do we need a vanguard party? "The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, i.e., the conviction that it is necessary to combine in unions, fight the employers, and strive to compel the government to pass necessary labour legislation, etc" (Lenin, 1901). By themselves, workers can change the system within the system. They can enact reforms, but as noted by Lenin the bourgeoisie "grant reforms with one hand, and with the other always take them back". Reforms will always be used as means to suppress the working-class further, and reforms are simply policies, and similarly to other policies they can be overturned.

"Revolutionary consciousness can only develop by means of the dialectic between

revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice, formulated in the program and developed only by means of the revolutionary party" (The Socialist Voice, 1993).

We now have an answer as to how the second stage of class-consciousness arises: a revolutionary or vanguard party. The only way the conditions for a revolution can arise is through the vanguard party.

The next question, then, is how does a vanguard party emerge from the masses, if all the masses can achieve is first-stage class-consciousness? This is answered by the fact that some people get class-conscious faster than others. Some may already be second-stage class-conscious. It is these people who are fit for leadership of the masses, and it is these people who are for the vanguard party. This Communist Party will be the center of the movement towards communism and will manage the affairs democratically during socialism.

Rigidity and Revisionism in the Party

The topic of rigidity and revisionism in the party is one I cannot know, or write about with any knowledge, due to the fact that I have not participated in praxis relating to the party. Here is where we must draw off the practice of Lenin and Mao. Mao wrote,

"Every Communist engaged in government work should set an example of absolute integrity, of freedom from favoritism in making appointments and of hard work for little remuneration. Every Communist working among the masses should be their friend and not a boss over them, an indefatigable teacher and not a bureaucratic politician. At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses" (Mao, 1937).

The masses are the actors of revolution, not individuals. The leadership of the masses must keep this in mind. The revolution, being "actored" by the masses, must change and adapt with the masses in accordance to changing and adapting material conditions. Material conditions shape the masses, and material conditions are in motion. No singular person should claim to have the correct way to lead a revolution. "The most ridiculous person in the world is the "know-all" who picks up a smattering of hearsay knowledge and proclaims himself "the world's Number One authority"; this merely shows that he has not taken a proper measure of himself." Another thing Mao notes is:

Communists should work in harmony with all progressives outside the Party and endeavor to unite the entire people to do away with whatever is undesirable. It must be realized that Communists form only a small section of the nation, and that there are large numbers of progressives and activists outside the Party with whom we must work (Mao, 1937).

The socialist revolution cannot make economic reform without also making social reform. Every overlapping oppression: classism, racism, homophobia, transphobia, sexism must all be combated as one. The abolition of capitalism is not a magic wand which someone waves and becomes the savior of the oppressed. It is a struggle that must be connected with other struggles. Feminism is important, and should be informed by Marxist rather than bourgeois principles, and the same applies to all other progressive movements.

The second problem is one of revisionism and opportunism. In Lenin's revolution, there were plenty of factions of revisionism and opportunism, and the most well known one were the Economists.

The "Economists" showed no delay in launching an attack on Lenin's plan.

They asserted that the general political struggle against tsardom was a matter for all classes, but primarily for the bourgeoisie, and that therefore it was of no serious interest to the working class, for the chief interest of the workers lay in the economic struggle against the employers for higher wages, better working conditions, etc (1939).

Lenin exposed the character of these opportunists as well as outlining the need for a revolution against the government which abolished the current order. However, Lenin's story presents a cautionary tale. There will definitely be some revisionism in the Party, and communists must expose the nature and character of these opportunists as soon as possible or the revolution could be entirely dismantled.

Another point to be made is that there may also be dogmatic, “book-worshipping”, “religious” communists who claim that a certain Number One Authority should be valued without any criticism. These are the left-communists, and like the revisionists must be dealt with. The concept that theory is somehow separate and isolated from real practice is a serious mistake and must be corrected. “From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully expressed in Lenin's statement, “Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement.” But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action” (Mao, 1937). Whoever isolates theory from practice is not a true Marxist, but an armchair Marxist, for they will go on and on about Bordiga or their Number One Authority whom they worship and reject all alternate thought. They will sit down and become enlightened about the true nature of things, and make a big show of it, but will never do anything about what they learned, for all ideology in practice is revisionist since knowledge is a singular static process.

The Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Socialism

The first step towards communism is revolution. The liberal-capitalist status quo must be overturned through a revolution. A key notice is that a socialist out happens from outside the government. Other revolutions may have internal support by the government, but an oligarch would not support any socialist revolution. This presents us with a plentitude of questions.

1. How must this revolution establish itself if it succeeds?

“[T]he first step in the revolution by the working class, is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle for democracy” (Marx and Engels, 1848).

The immediate organization following the revolution will be a dictatorship of the proletariat. The bourgeois state must be smashed and true democracy must be implemented. At the very sight of the word “dictatorship”, the bourgeois historian shudders, declaring this as an authoritarian regime, and a great smile is plastered on their face. A dictatorship of the proletariat is not an authoritarian regime, though. It is the true rule of the majority.

Capitalist society can best be defined as a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a capitalist state. A dictatorship of the proletariat is a workers' state, one that fights for the workers, by the workers. It is not a transfer of power, it is a smashing of power into a new organization which is built to dismantle itself over time. Stalin wrote on this: “Power to the Soviets means the dictatorship of the proletariat and revolutionary peasantry...Dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry implies a dictatorship which does not coerce the masses, a dictatorship by the will of the masses, a dictatorship for the purpose of curbing the will of the enemies of the masses.”

2. What is socialism?

Socialism is a stage within the struggle and movement for communism. Socialism is a mode of production where the forms of ownership are state and cooperative ownership, as there is the abolition of private property. The slogan is “From each according to their ability; to each according to their work.”

The mass line and vanguardism as a concept is extremely important to socialism, as it allows criticism and reform of the Party's decisions to the interest of the masses. Socialism “above all...will establish a democratic constitution”, and this democracy must be for the proletariat (Engels, 1947). In other words, the constitution must execute attacks of private property. In Principles of Communism, Marx and Engels outline a 12-point plan of the socialist democratic constitution. The constitution in Cuba was reviewed and passed by a majority vote of the adult population of the time, so that should be for all national actions concerning the being of the proletariat (azureScapegoat, 2018).

A point should be made here that democratic centralism is not a totalitarian bureaucracy. Democratic centralism is a form of organization where a central task or plan is managed at the national level. “[D]emocratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. It is both democratic and centralized” (Shaqui, 1945).

"In any given place, there cannot be a number of central tasks at the same time. At any one time there can be only one central task, supplemented by other tasks of a second or third order of importance" (Mao, 1943). Instead of juggling between many different tasks, there should be one task which remains the primary focus of the Party while other tasks subordinate to it may also take place at less priority. This concept of a central task was laid out in the praxis of communists in China.

Hence, these practices, carried out by revolutions such as the Cuban revolution and the Chinese revolution, are a proper basis for future revolutions. Knowledge being as how Mao outlined in On Practice, it can be comfortably said that (1) a worker's state must be established, (2) national issues need to be put to referendum and (3) democratic centralism as an organizational structure are knowledge.

Policies during the Socialist Government

There are specific actions a socialist government or worker's state must address. The first and foremost is education. Capitalism suppresses the worker to such a degree that many have little or propaganda-riddled education. The true materialistic German Ideology must be taught in schools, alongside a commitment to science, humanities and the creative arts, which such must be a requirement. "Education of all children" will be a requirement and being educated should be viewed as virtuous (Engels, 1847).

The first step in the program of education must be the construction of education buildings, schools, which must be built under good working-conditions and of which must be stable, safe and sound. The second step is the collection and organization of teachers, whom are the actors of the next generation and deserve upmost respect. These teacher will be volunteers. The third step is the removal of bourgeois propaganda from history, which is littered of it like a dumpster full of fleas and insects, and the textbooks must be rewritten in accordance to the materialist conception of history (base-superstructure theory, dialectical materialism, relations and forces of production, etc).

A point that should be made clear is that the socialist education program will still try to instill some values into children, namely progressive values and acceptance of difference of race, gender, culture, etc. it should be taught that social constructs are not something to discriminate upon, and none are greater/superior or lesser/inferior than another. There should be specific processes to ensure equal representation of all races and all other forms of diversity in education and government. Another part of the socialist education program is what Marx and Engels called "education and production together", a point later exemplified by Mao's Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge. This could be as based as teaching science skills which are useful for working, or even internships to see what working is like and to practice applying knowledge and theory to the material world.

Another policy is the five-year plan. "The fundamental task of the five-year plan was to convert the U.S.S.R. from an agrarian and weak country, dependent upon the caprices of the capitalist countries, into an industrial and powerful country, fully self-reliant and independent of the caprices of world capitalism." The five-year plan allows rapid industrialization and advancement and progression of the economy and the general life. The first five-year plan in the USSR improved working conditions, collectivized farming, allowed it to be self-reliant and "created the economic basis for the abolition of classes" (Stalin, 1933). A full list of industries established from the first five year plan are:

1. Iron and steel industry, "the basis for the industrialisation of the country."
2. Tractor industry
3. Automobile industry
4. Machine-tool industry
5. Modern chemical industry
6. Aircraft industry

The five-year plan also improved the Soviet Union's position in current industries:

In output of electric power we were last on the list. Now we rank among the first.

In output of oil products and coal we were last on the list. Now we rank among the first. We had only one coal and metallurgical base — in the Ukraine — and it was with difficulty that we made do with that. We have not only succeeded in improving this base, but have created a new coal and metallurgical base — in the East — which is the pride of our country. We had only one centre of the textile industry — in the North of our country. As a result of our efforts we shall have in the very near future two new centres of the textile industry — in Central Asia and Western Siberia (Stalin, 1933).

It is therefore evident that planned economies are the best suited for making any sort of rapid progress during socialism and even as a method for industrialization in undeveloped capitalist nations.

The issue of secularization is also to be addressed. How will we tackle the problem of religion? The issue is merely its existence, not its "false essence." Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, something to thank for life's miserable and alienated existence on capitalism. With the absence of oppression to an extent, and with science education at the core of the curriculum, religion will gradually leave society with a farewell wave, rather than by force. It is not correct to forcefully grasp someone's culture from them, but rather to let them realize themselves of the conditions of the current state and adapt to it, which may mean letting go of that religion. Without alienation, existence becomes less painful and less mechanical.

Communism

The final revolution in the process of the Marxist transition from socialism to capitalism has never been achieved and will not for a long time. Note that we are talking about the means, not the end. Anarcho-communism has existed, and such communes have lasted but not nearly as long as socialist workers' states. This is due to what I believe is the constant threat of imperialism. However, anarchism would claim the contrary, and accuse Marxism of being a totalitarian authoritarian dictatorship of power-hungry evil people.

A basic criticism of anarcho-communism's critique of a dictatorship of the proletariat and a transitional period comes from Bakunin's claim that even a society where all are "equal, not only from the juridical and political point of view, but from the economic point of view", and dismisses this saying "though I doubt very much, considering the manner in which it is being tackled and the course it is desired to follow, whether that promise could ever be kept" (Bakunin, 1872).

The first part of Bakunin's argument is simply the giving of a socialist society to analyze:

"There will therefore be no longer any privileged class, but there will be a government and, note this well, an extremely complex government, which will not content itself with governing and administering the masses politically, as all governments do to-day, but which will also administer them economically, concentrating in its own hands the production and the just division of wealth, the cultivation of land, the establishment and development of factories, the organisation and direction of commerce, finally the application of capital to production by the only banker, the State" (Bakunin, 1872).

After this, he says:

"All that will demand an immense knowledge and many "heads overflowing with brains" [13] in this government. It will be the reign of scientific intelligence, the most aristocratic, despotic, arrogant and contemptuous of all regimes. There will be a new class, a new hierarchy of real and pretended scientists and scholars, and the world will be divided into a minority ruling in the name of knowledge and an immense ignorant majority.[14] And then, woe betide the mass of ignorant ones!" (Bakunin, 1872).

Since the running of the workers' state supposedly requires "immense knowledge," socialism will necessarily become a technocratic dictatorship. However, Bakunin forgets that "in the course of a communist revolution, a remarkable transformation takes place: the working class seizes control of the instruments of production and, for the first time, begins to direct them according to a conscious, rational plan" (Robertson, 2003). It is the circumstances of

production - the economic substructure - which directly influence the nature of man; i.e man's nature is constructed by the material base. In the capitalist mode of production, the system by which subsistence is arranged is (for the proletariat) through the form of abstract labor exchanged for the means of subsistence, and (for the bourgeoisie) through the concrete products of the formers' labor exchanged for capital which allows purchase of the means of subsistence as well as consumption and conspicuous consumption. It follows then that a greedy, selfish, power-hungry, brutish nature arises in man, for the very method of subsistence and comfort relies on the mastery of these aspects.

The worker control of the means of production is *everything* in relation to the constructed nature of man, which, during socialism and a dictatorship of the proletariat, allows direct self-subsistence based on needs. The means to control or oppress or exploit no longer exist, for those require a ruled class and a ruling class, which implies disproportionate relations to the means of production.

The very premise or assumption that Bakunin bases his critique on leads to his own critique, an ironic example of the materialist dialectics. However, we must still take Bakunin's critique at heart. What might he be warning of? Dictatorship. We must watch out for this during the next revolution and adapt according to make special care to prevent totalitarian rule at a volatile time such as a revolution.

The anarchist criticism of Marxism itself comes from Bookchin in his article "Listen, Marxist!" Ignoring the slightly profane outbursts which appear throughout the piece with no notice, it is only fair to present a fair analysis of the message of the work itself.

"Capitalism itself has changed since then, taking on increasingly statified forms that could be anticipated only dimly thirty years ago. And now we are being asked to go back to the "class line," the "strategies," the "cadres" and the organizational forms of that distant period in almost blatant disregard of the new issues and possibilities that have emerged." (Bookchin, 1969).

This passage begins by stating a fundamental premise of dialectics; through internal contradictions, constant change and motion arises. Capitalism is no different, in motion and changing in response to the in motion and changing material conditions. The crux of the critique is that the conceptions of class struggle, revolution, a workers' state, socialism are outdated. He wonders "[when] the hell are we finally going to create a movement that looks to the future instead of the past," and declares Marxism outdated, and not adapted to the times.

"At a time when all the political institutions of hierarchical society are entering a period of profound decay, we hear the hollow demands for a "political party" and a "worker's state." At a time when hierarchy as such is being brought into question, we hear the hollow demands for "cadres," "vanguards" and "leaders." At a time when centralization and the state have been brought to the most explosive point of historical negativity, we hear the hollow demands for a "centralized movement" and a "proletarian dictatorship" (Bookchin, 1969).

Bookchin, like Bakunin, is forgetting something important about Marxism, and that is the concept of praxis. The only people who claim to have found the final answer to capitalism are who Mao calls the so-called Number One Authorities, whom he says are "the most ridiculous [people] in the world..." No serious Marxist takes this view, it is a metaphysical one. The premise of Marxism is that it adapts to the material conditions of the time, which Lenin did and which Mao did.

"We believe that Marxism has ceased to be applicable to our time not because it is too visionary or revolutionary, but because it is not visionary or revolutionary enough. We believe it was born of an era of scarcity and presented as a brilliant critique of that era, specifically of industrial capitalism, and that a new era is in birth which Marxism does not adequately encompass and whose outlines it only partially and onesidedly anticipated" (Bookchin, 1969).

Here contains the same rhetoric used hitherto and will be used from this point. Marx's Marxism was certainly influenced by the material conditions of industrial capitalism, but as capitalism transformed so did Marxism, as noted above. It is only the left-communists, the book-

worshipping Enlightened, who make any sort of claims pertaining to these, and for this Bookchin has succeeded in removing the religion from the faithful. Unfortunately, Bookchin has done exactly that, just that. The dialectical, practical scientific socialists are unmoved, unchanged by this. Thus this visionary polemic falls apart; it turns away those who it tries to draw in, and it draws in those who it tried to turn away. That being said, we must take social care to make sure our Marxism is adaptable to material conditions, for the biggest fool is the one who claims to know something yet does the contrary when the time comes.

A third major anarchist in the same school as these two is Rocker. Rocker claims that Marx was directly influenced by utopian socialists and that his Communist Manifesto is plagiarized and that he is fraudulent. "*What is Property?* was a major influence over Marx's development as a socialist; thus, in the periodical mentioned, he calls the inspired Proudhon 'the most consistent and wisest of socialist writers'" (Rocker, 1925). Therefore Marx's sole influence and source must be utopian socialists and anarchists. The conception of Marx as being influenced entirely by a specific source has no basis in reality. It's pure ideological speculation, which has no bearing on the material world. By violating dialectical materialism Rocker turns away the Marxists he attempts to convince, just like Bookchin does. Look at this claim: "Marx wanted to conceal the source he had dipped into." This entire work is based on a one-sided, static view of Marx and a lack of knowledge about the environment surrounding him and his work; an unscientific critique.

A communist society as such would in its essence be a free society. The toiling people, at last liberated from the doctrine of wage-labor and having endured the turmoil of socialism, are finally at peace. What is to be said about communism? Let us look to Marx and attempt to piece together what we can about the material conditions of communist society.

"in communist society, where nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes, society regulates the general production and thus makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic" (Marx, 1945).

Let us unpack the information contained within this quote. We first note that "nobody has one exclusive sphere of activity but each can become accomplished in any branch he wishes," it follows then that the division of labor, which alienates the worker in a sense, and is forced upon them like a heavy weight on their shoulders, is not to be present in communist society (at least in the same sense as it did in all previous epochs and in capitalism). Freedom and the ability of a worker to self-determination will be overall aim of such a society, however its actual framework will depend on the material conditions present at such a time. It must also be noted that "society regulates the general production." What does this mean? It simply states the nature of a planned economy; an economy based on needs of real, active people. Is there a lack of consumable substance? Devote productive forces towards the agricultural industry. Are children going unclothed? Devote productive forces towards the weaving and threading industries and the like. The needs-based economy "makes it possible for me to do one thing today and another tomorrow, to hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming hunter, fisherman, herdsman or critic." Once subsistence is no longer a struggle, labor can be devoted to other things, things one enjoys. An artist will no longer be a starving artist. A musician can share their sound instead of screwing together a smartphone in a factory. A scientist can perform research and make discoveries to their heart's content.

In all previous periods, however, the abolition of individual economy, which is inseparable from the abolition of private property, was impossible for the simple reason that the material conditions governing it were not present. The setting-up of a communal domestic economy presupposes the development of machinery, of the use of natural forces and of many other productive forces – e.g. of water-supplies, of gas-lighting, steam-heating, etc., the removal [of the antagonism] of town and country. Without these conditions a communal economy would not in itself form a new productive force; lacking any material basis and resting on a purely

theoretical foundation, it would be a mere freak and would end in nothing more than a monastic economy – What was possible can be seen in the towns brought about by condensation and the erection of communal buildings for various definite purposes (prisons, barracks, etc.). That the abolition of individual economy is inseparable from the abolition of the family is self-evident (Marx, 1945).

The main takeaway from this rather long section is simply that communism would cease the economic quality of the family, not that the entire concept of the nuclear family is to be thrown in the trash.

Other projections of communist society are made by Marx in his critique of the Gotha Programme.

In a higher phase of communist society, after the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor, and therewith also the antithesis between mental and physical labor, has vanished; after labor has become not only a means of life but life's prime want; after the productive forces have also increased with the all-around development of the individual, and all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly – only then can the narrow horizon of bourgeois right be crossed in its entirety and society inscribe on its banners: From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs! (Marx, 1875).

As noted in the first quote, the division of labor disappears and ceases to control or have alien power over man. Once “the enslaving subordination of the individual to the division of labor... has vanished” the absence of this alienation proceeds as development of humanity. Labor becomes “not only a means of life but life's prime want.”

The communist mode of production also presupposes a significant degree of the advancement of the productive forces. Marx writes “all the springs of co-operative wealth flow more abundantly” to denote the fact that the productive forces have developed to such a degree that there is no longer scarcity (when rational utilization of resources). What holds back socialism is that “narrow horizon of bourgeois right” has yet to be breached, but by communism this is possible.

It must be kept in mind, however, (as explained in the conclusion of this document) that we must be faithful to the material world and material life. Utopianism must be avoided and scientific analysis executed, which sometimes means there is no “prediction” of what may happen in the movement.

Conclusion

Communism is not static. It is not fixed. It is not an ideal. It is not a set of affairs. Reality does not change to communism, rather communism is a movement on constant motion, change adapting to the material conditions in existence. Communism abolishes the present state of things, it is a “doctrine of conditions of liberation”¹. Therefore, this document, which outlines states of affairs to be established at stages during the revolution by premise is flawed.

However, there are general aspects in the stages process of the communist movement that I think can be outlined, especially if drawn from the praxis of leaders who engaged in actual revolutions.

In general, or in summary (of this document), there exists a basic outline of the revolution which the content of each stage must be adapted to the material conditions of the time and of capitalism. The crux of Marxism is self-criticism, and this may very well become extremely outdated within years, months, even days. This exercise was merely to provide a concise exposition of the conception of the revolution.

¹ Engels, Frederick, “Principles of Communism,” *Marxists Internet Archive*, <https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1847/11/prin-com.htm>.

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About the sources

[3]: This source is Trotskyist, but nonetheless explains the vanguard party well.

[13]: As far as I read it, I was unable to find any biases contained within it.

Notes on writing

1. The section “Communism...things” (3) is adapted from Marx’s *The German Ideology*. Marx wrote “Communism is for us not a *state of affairs* which is to be established, an *ideal* to which reality [will] have to adjust itself. We call communism the *real* movement which abolishes the present state of things. The conditions of this movement result from the premises now in existence.”
2. The quote “doctrine of conditions of liberation” (3) is not precisely what Marx and Engels wrote in *Principles of Communism*. The original quote, which is shortened and edited here, is “Communism is the doctrine of the conditions of the liberation of the proletariat.”
3. The section “These teacher will be volunteers” (5) refers to not that random willing participants will teach but that educated working-class volunteers will teach.