Towards an Invariant Program for the 21st Century

the /cycom/ league

1. Introduction.

The program outlined in this program will undoubtedly by percieved as a heterodox vision of communism. However--for the attentive reader--the theoretical and historical precidence of this program should be clear. As we raise our head to the stars and turn to meet the future, our feet must be planted firmly in the historical reality of the communist movement. The theory found herin may seem idiosyncratic, but it's theoretical and practical underpinnings are definitively alligned with the the scientific socialism of the Communist League in Europe, the Bolsheviks in Russia, the Comintern untill it's turn towards class collaboration in 1921, the Communist Party of Italy from and the International Communist Party from it's formation in the 1940's and untill it degenenerated into a philatelist society in the 1970s.

2. Contents and Citations

"To read too many books is harmful." - Mao Zedong

We have tried our best to make this program accessible to all. We do not discourage any communist from continueing to read this program, regardless of what works they may or may not already be familiar with. However, there are a number of texts which we will be citing throughout, and you ought to read them if you want to understand our argument in it's totality. All of them can be found on the website marxists.org. We use relevant quotations from each of these texts where they are invoked, but taken out of context these quotes are insufficient for a rigorous understanding of the arguments made. Works Cited are as follows:

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Letters from the Deutsch-Franzosische Jahhrbucher: Marx to Ruge (1843), Theses on Feuerbach (1845), Manifesto of the Communist Party (1847), Critique of the Gotha Program (1875), Socialism: Scientific and Utopian (1880), Abstract of the Letter from Engels to J Bloch in Konigsberg (1890).

Vladmir Lenin: What is to be Done? (1902), One Step Forward, Two Steps Back (1904) Freedom to Criticize, Unity of Action (1906), "Left-Wing" Communism: An Infantile Disorder (1920).

Amadeo Bordiga: Draft theses for the 3rd Congress of the Communist Party of Italy presented by the Left (1926).

The first section of this text: Hammer of the Vanguard Fighter, is an outline of our party program. The following four sections are polemics aimed at contemporary theorists whose writings deal with similar questions as are addressed herin. The interested reader should familiarize themselves with the work of each of these theorsts before reading each chapter. The sections and corresponding writers are as follows:

Polemic 1: The Dialectic of Decentralization - Mencius Moldbug

Polemic 2: New Utopianism - William Paul Cockshott

Polemic 3: Phalately: An Existential Threat - The ICP and Jaques Camatte

Polemic 4: Infantilization Theory - Gilles Dauve and the writers of Endnotes

3. Hammer of the Vanguard Fighter

"Communism is not love. Communism is a hammer we use to crush the enemy." - Mao Zedong

What is the function of the vanguard or communist party? To answer this question, we first look to the Manifesto of the Communist Party, written by Karl Marx, and Friedrich Engels in 1847. For Marx, the role of the communist party is to wage practical and theoretical struggle to advance and represent the

interest of international proletariat as a whole. To carry out this task, the vanguard organization must contain the most advanced and resolute section of the working class parties of every country. It must hold a clear theoretical understanding of the proletarian movement, and be able to articulate the concrete relations in the present society that spring from an existing class struggle. The immediate aim of the communists is as threefold: the ensure the formation of the proletariat into a class, to overthrow the bourgeois supremacy, and to promote the conquest of political power by the proletariat.

If our party is to attract the most advanced and reolutes sections of the proletariat, what must we do? What mantras and banners are we to adopt? We must not shy away from bold statements, and bold symbols. Our color? Red. Our name? The communists. Our symbol? The hammer and sickle. Many parties the United States who entertain delusions that they are the vanguard, have taken for their name "socialists". What is the function of this word? It gestures in the direction of communism, but it is a softer word, a nicer word. It does not raise suspicion when uttered in the presense of liberals. Adopting this name is an attempt to attract liberals into your organization. This is precisely the opposite of attracting the "most advanced and resolute" section of the proletariat. This choice of name is also an attempt to avoid persection by powers that be. Again, this is a backwards approach. Police and intelligence persecutuon of the communist party is the training ground for the revolution. How can a party that has been handeled with velvet gloves by the police and bourgeois intelligence agencies during periods of capitalist expansion, expect to have learned the necesary tradecraft to operate as a revolutionary organization once crisis emerges? The vanguard party must be a clandestine organization if it's members are to learn the skills required to lead a revolution.

What considerations does the function of vanguard party necesitate, and with whom may it form political allainces? In his 1902 pamphlet "What is to be done?" Vladmir Lenin begins to answer this question. At the heart of Lenin's theory of party organization is his recognition of the interdependence of the three forms of struggle: economic, political, and theoretical. He warns against allowing any one of these forms to be seperated from the proletarian movement, and urges the party to involve itself in each of these arenas. Let us examine Lenin's advice for engaging in political struggle, and from his revelations attempt to derive conclusions which can be applied to the theoretical and political struggle of today.

In regards to the political struggle, the party must seek to involve the proletariat in all forms of practical activity, while always remain concious of it's long term goals. As Lenin denounced political alliances between socialists and the liberal bourgeoisie and thus the Berenstienian movement towards reform rather than revolution in his day, so to must we denounce the Sanderite and American Democratic Socialist movements in our own time which alligns the socialist movement with the interests of the slaveholder party.

"An essential condition for [such] an alliance must be the full opportunity for the socialists to reveal to the working class that its interests are diametrically opposed to the interests of are diametrically opposed to theinterests of the bourgeoisie. However, the Berensteinian and "critical" trend... deprive the socialists ofthis oppurtunity and demoralize the socialist conciousness by vulgarising Marxism, by advocating the theory of the blunting of social contradictions, by declaring the idea of the social revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat to be absurd, by reducing the working class movement and the class struggle to narrow trade-unionism and to a "realistic" stuggle for petty, gradual reforms. This was synonymous with the bourgeois democracy's denial of socialism's right to independence and, consequentially, of it's right to existence; in practice it meant a striving to convert the nascent working-classmovement into an appendage of the liberals."

Reformist views can only be tolerated within the party under the condition that the proponents of these views submit to the decision of the party as whole. Lenin cites the German party as an example of how reformists are to be dealt with.

"If the most pronounced Bernseinians arestill tolerated within the ranks of the German party, it is only to the extent that they submit to the Hanover resolution, which emphatically rejected Bernstein's "ammendments", and to the Lubeck resolution, which... contains a direct warning to Bernstein."

This is an example of Lenin's method of democratic centralism, a key feature of Lenin's theory of party organization. In a party operating under democratic centralism, decisions are made democraticall, but these decisions are binding to all party members. Party members are allowed to freely criticize and discuss what action they believe ought to be taken, as long as this criticism does not impede united party action. This method is most clearly articulated inthe 1906 correspondence withing the Russian Social Democratic

Labor Party:

"Criticism within the limits of the principles of the Party Programme must be quite free, not only at party meetings, but also at public meetings. Such criticism, or such "agitation" (for criticism is inseperable from agitation) cannot be prohibited. The Party's political action must be united. No "calls" that violate the unity of definite action can be tolerated eitherat public meetings or at Party meetings, or in the Party press.

Let us take an example. The Congress decided that the Party should take part in the Duma elections. Taking part in elections is a very definite action. During the elections (as in Baku today, for example), no member of the party anywhere has any right whatever to call upon the people to abstain from voting; nor can "criticism" of the decision to take part in the elections be tolerated during this period, for it would in fact jeapardise sucess in the election campaign. Before elections have been announced, however, Party members everywhere have a perfect right to criticize the decision to take partin elections. Of course, the application of this principle in practice will sometimes give rise to disputes and misunderstandings; but only on the basis of this principle can all disputes and all misunderstandings be settled honourably for the Party.

The principle of democratic centralism an autonomy for local Party organizations implies universal and fulll freedom to criticise, so long as this does not disturb the unity of a definite action; it rules out all criticisms which disrupts or makes difficult the unity of an action decided on by the Party."

Under the conditions of Lenin's time, democratic centralism was the best method of party decision making available. However, technological developments in the 21st century have made it possible for this method to be outmoded. If we have faith in logic, and in the logical structure of Marxist theory, it should be possible to develop an invariant party program which determines party action based on theoretical considerations. Bordiga's organic centralism provides the basis for this proposition, but the ICPs failure to put organic centralism into practice in a way that culminated in a revolution is a product of their failure to keep up with the tools of modern science. If Marxism is a science--and it is--why are we still using pens, paper, human minds, and now word processors to draw theoretical conclusions? The logically rigorous structure of Marx's theory should make it possible to build machines that can do theoretical work for us, rendering democracy within the party obsolete. The vanguard party of the 21st century will not make decisions byvote, but by calculation.

Building such a program will undoubtedly be a grueling task. To quote Marx: there is no royal road to science, and only those who do not dread the fatiguing climb of its steep paths have a chance of gaining it's liminous summits. Attempting such a task will inevitably lead to many failures and miscalculations, but it's completion would on principle negate the possiblity of future failures and miscalculations. Acheiving an invariate program ought to be possible if Marx's conception of capital is in fact correct--and we believe it is. The potential utility of such a program to our movement would be innumberable. What kind of revolutionary agitation could be acomplished if no communist was consigned to doing theoretical work by hand? To paraphrase Marx: once we are no longer slave to our machines, but when machines have become our slaves is when history can begin. Already the skilled mental labor of our countries labor aristocrats--doctors, actuaries, lawyers, etc.--are being automated or supplemented by machines, so why shouldn't we do the same for the work of revolutionaries?

To elaborate on how we might go about building an invariate program for the vanguard party of the 21st century is the primary function of this text. It's secondary function is to act as a manual for any contemporary revolutionary who wants to engage in any kind of struggle--be it theoretical, politcal, or economic--using modern software. In addition to speculating about how the invariate program of the 21st century might work, we also provide an overview of actually existing tools that communists ought to familiarize themselves with. The hammer of the vanguard fighter is the tools we use to develop the conciousness of our class and to crush our class enemy. In the 19th and 20th century these where the pen, the typewriter, the printing press, and ultimately the rifle. In the 21st century these will be the terminal, the server, the distribution networks of web media, and undoubtedly still: the rifle.

For the sake of syntactical clarity and expedience, we tentatively and cheekily call the invariant program of the 21st century /cybordiga/ in referenceto the founder of the Italian Communist Party: Amadeo Bordiga, who we hold as the theorist who most clearly articulated the invariant program of the 20th century. We call ourselves, or those who will attempt to outline the program for the construction of /cybordiga/ as the /cycom/ league, in reference to the Communist League of the late 19th century in Europe, which we

hold as the original vanguard organization: or social brain of the communist movement. The only requirement for membership in our league is a basic familiarity with the work of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. If you have read and feel that you have understood at least one work by each of these writers, then you qualify for membership. To apply to join, please draft a party program of your own on any topic (suggested length: three pages) and send it to us (cybercom_league@protonmail.ch). Applications sent from proprietary or otherwise non-secure email addresses will not be considered. You will either recieve notes on your program and asked to revise it, or you will recieve a letter of admission into the league. Once admitted you will not be charged dues, but you will be expected to give notes on programs submitted by new applicants. Any member may submit additional programs at any time they feel they have something important to contribute. New programs will be sent to every member of the league, and every member will have the opportunity to either provide notes or to motion for approval. The program will be approved once two thirds of all league members motion for approval, unless any one member can prove definitively that the program in question is theoretically inconsistent with a previous party program. If this happens, we will hold a discussion and then a vote on whether the new program needs to be revised further, or whether the old program needs to be retracted proceeding revisions. Original propoganda posters, memes, or other web media may also be accepted in place of programs, but acceptance of such content will result in the issuing of a limited for of membership which comes with the title: /cycom/ propogandist. Such members will have the same degree of access to view party programs as the rest of the league, and they are allowed to provide notes on new programs, but they will not be able to motion for approval of programs untill they have had at least one of their own programs approved. For the sake of operational security, we ask that all new members attempt to remain anonymous to all other members of the league. Failure to do so will result in expulsion from the league, but reapplication under a new email address is allowed and encouraged.

If we as members of the working class are to construct /cybordiga/, we must gain access to the wealth of knowledge which is locked behind the paywalls of journals maintained by the bourgeios institution of academia on the subjects of artificial intelligence, dynamical systems, contemporary classical economics, Marxian economcs, economic game theory, cybernetics, machine learning, natural language processing, construction of high-level programming languages and metalinguistic abstraction, and the mathematical underpinnings of each of these fields. We suggest that any comrade wishing to join or aid the /cycom/ league become familiar with two tools. The first is a project by the name of Sci-Hub (www.sci-hub.tw), which facilitates open access to academic journal articles which are otherwise paywalled. The project was created by Comrade Alexandra Elbakyan (engineuring.wordpress.com). Our commitment to ultra-left sectarianism means that we cannot endorse every position that Elbakyan has taken publicly, but she undoubtedly an advanced and resolute communist. We consider her work (both her scientific work, and the creation of Sci-Hub) to be vital to our attempt at reestablishing an international vanguard party, and it is for this reason that refer to her as Comrade Elbakyan. The second tool to familarize yourself with is Library Genesis or the libgen project (gen.lib.rus.ec). This project operates in a similar fashion to Sci-Hub, but offers free and open access to pdfs of books: including scientific literature among books on most any other subject you may be interested in.

The first step towards constructing /cybordiga/ after writing this program will be to learn the mathematics that must underly it's construction. Linear Algebra will likely be at it's core. We reccomend Sheldon Axler's "Linear Algebra Done Right" as the first text to be read by any /cycom/ member. Dynamical Systems is also likely to be relevant, and so it will be necesary to study both Linear and Nonlinear Differential Equations. Unlike Linear Algebra, this area of mathematics requires knowledge of calculus, so /cycom/ members should begin studying the algebra, pre-calc, calculus, ODEs, NODEs, PDEs progression wherever they left off. The next step is to begin studying computer science. We reccomend starting with the wizard book or SICP: "Structure and Interpretation of Computer Programs" from the MIT press. In addition to lisp which you will be learning from the SICP, you should learn a high level language built for mathematics. We reccomend GNU-Octave, which is a free version of MATlab. It is especially intuitive in it's treatment of matrices, which makes it perfect for our purposes.

Once our members have gotten up to speed on these topics in mathematics, we will begin an in depth study of two texts: Marx's "Capital", and Anwar Shaik's "Capitalism: Competition, Conflict, and Crises", along with any other literature we encounter along the way. The goal of this study will be to try and develop a mathematical model of capitalism which is consistent with Marx's original formulation, but also incorperates contemporary economic methods such as those found in the work on Shaikh. As made apparent by the

meme status of the books mentioned thus far, it should be apparent that we have a long way to go towards developing an advanced understanding of Marxian economics. Even if you are not interested in joining the league, please feel free to send us reccomendations for additional texts in this field that we ought to study (cybercom_league@protonmail.ch).

We encourage all league members to strive for complete security and anonomity in any correspondences with other league members, or any revolutionary agitation on behalf of the league. This means not using proprietary software or spyware such as products from Microsoft, Google, or Apple. We reccomend using one of the following linux distributions: QubesOS, TAILS, or Whonix. QubesOS is the most secure option, but it is designed for advanced Linux users. TAILS is very easy to use, requiring no configuration, and is designed to run on a flashdrive, which gives it the advantage that you can use it on any computer, including public computers at libraries. This is the best option for those who are not already Linux users. If you would rather work from home but want to run your secure operating system through a virtual machine, then Whonix is a good option. Penetration testing oriented distros like Kali Linux and BlackArch are also worth exploring, as are FSF approved distros like Parabola and Trisquel. Regardless of what distribution you decide to use, it is important that you use Tor (the onion router) for all /cycom/ related activities. Tor is by no means a perfect security precaution, but it goes a long way in ensuring that your online correspondences are not traced back to you. Particularly sensetive information should also be PGP encrypted.

In adition to trying to lay the groundwork for the development of /cybordiga/ (the completion of which will likely be a task for future generations) we will be carrying out all other forms of revolutionary struggle that are within our ability. Those of us that work in union shops will be expected to be active in agitating for radical unionism. We should attend strike action comittee meetings whenever given the opportunity, and unconditionally vote to strike. Where strike votes are lost, we must agitate for the undermining of the union leadership, and for wildcat strikes to by carried out. It would be against our ethos of anonimity to require proof of such agitation, so we are on the honor system with this one. Political power is ultimately the capacity for violence. Whenever possible, we expect our members to engage in strength and weapons training. No proof will be required, and admission of failure in this area will not be considered grounds for expulsion, but we hope that our comrades can encourage one and other to continue training when failure occurs. In addition to our internal party programs, we will look into publishing a monthly newsletter or blog--or even videos on YouTube--which will be written for a broader audience, and will aim to agitate the working class towards insurrection. Setting up legal front organizations or businesses which can be used to move funds, distribute propoganda, etc. is another tactic to consider, but it requires a degree of plausable deniability to work effectively, so we will not be going into more detail here.

Once our organization has developed to the point where it requires funds to expand operations, we may consider looking into ways to secure these funds through cybercrime targeting banks and insurance companies. The purpose of this is twofold: to access resources that may be used in service of the revolution, and to provoke the bourgeoios law enforecement and intelligence agencies to attempt to aprehend our members. If you are not willing to go to prison for the revolution, you may not be a good candidate for membership in the league. Those of us who do end up in prison will be expected to use their time locked up to agitate their fellow prisoners, improve their physical strength, and to continue their studies. Our rational for this provocation is that it will weed out the operationally lazy among us, and incentivize the rest of us to develop our cybersecurity skills. Precident for this tactic--but perhaps not this rational--can be found in the conditions from which every sucessful Marxist revolution has occured. No succesful vanguard party in history has operated within the confines of the law, and there is no theoretical basis to assume that another way is possible. Offensive tools to be used in this endeavor will be outlined in a different program, when and if the time arises to take such bold actions. Familiarizing yourself with the social engineering toolkit from Offensive Security, or playing wargames (overthewire.org/wargames) would be a good place to start for anyone who is particularly eager to learn these skills. Picking up a book on TCP/IP protocols would also be useful.

This concludes the outline of our party program. As stated in the introduction, the following four sections are polemics aimed at contemporary theorists who's work deals with similiar questions to those adressed above. These polemics are meant to clarify our leagues mission, and our theoretical understanding of our current conditions. They will also set a standard for the kinds of works that will be published in our journal once it is up and running.

4. The Dialectic of Decentralization

"Let a hundred flowers bloom; let a hundred schools of thought contend" - Chinese proverb as reiterated by Mao Zedong

"Say the word democracy. Notice how good it sounds. Everything democratic is good. A democratic meeting, a democratic policy, a democratic giraffe... if the adjective fits the noun at all, anything you paint with it comes out shiny and bright.

Now say the word politics. Notice how bad it sounds. This person is a political. She's being so political would politicize US foreign policy. Every use of the word is negative. Everything youpaint with it comes out sordid and mean.

But... what is democracy without politics? Is there any such thing? If there is, doesn't is sound like something North Korea would come up with? Our higher form of democracy has transcended mere politics. Uh huh. Sure. I know where you're going with that.

As objectiverealities--structures of governance--aren't democracy and politics in fact... synonyms?"

This quotation is from the final post on the blog of Mencius Moldbug: Unqualified Reservations. Aside from his intellectual benefactor Hanz-Herman Hoppe, Moldbug is perhaps the most influential living critic of democracy. He is the primary theorist of what has become known as the NRx movement, or dark enlightenment. NRx ran parallel to the Alt-Right movement in the United States, and the Nouve Droite in France. All three could be considered part of the broader new right movement, and there is undoubtedly some overlap in their ideology and personel. But while the latter two had political dimensions, the NRx tendency has remained an online, theoretical endeavor. Moldbugs ideology is extreme, but it is hardly a break from the status quo. Rather, it is an uncomprimising reification of capitalist ideals. "Patchwork: A Political Vision for the 21st century" paints a vision of the future in which the bourgeois governments of today are smashed, and in their place is constructed network of small scale, independent micronations "each governed by it's own join stock corporation". In essense: petite-bourgeois reaction taken to it's logical conclusion. To put it in reactionary terminology, theirs is a movement of the "middle", explicitly against the "high". But what is it's relationship to the "low"? History has shown that such movements are incapable of siezing power on their own. The only way for petite-bourgeois reactionaries such as those that make up the NRx to secure control of the state aperatus, is when the bourgeoisie becomes so threatened by a growing proletarian movement, that power is handed off to the forces of middle class reaction, so that their militanancy--for the big bourgeoisie with their feeble nature and decedant customs is incapable of such militancy--might prevent the seizure of power by the armed proletariat.

Those familiar with corporatism will see Moldbugs vision a mere rehash of a view that has been consistently championed by a lineage of theorists since ancient times, and this is correct. Moldbug is aware that his ideas have historical precident. His pseudonym is likely an allusion to the ancient Mencius--disciple of Confucius--who's articulation of social harmony as the fundamental normative ideal for which a cohesive society can be based, bleeds through every page of Moldbug's work. If all there was to Moldbug was his rejection of democracy, and his advocacy for a localized corporatist system--and it's necesary implication: conquest of political power by the petite-bourgeoisie--then the only task before us would be to emphatically echo his condemnation of democracy, and to point out how the class interest of his own petite-bourgeois movement are in conflict with the interests of the proletarian movement. This is not all there is to be found

5. Beyond New Socialism

Critique of Cockshott

6. Philately: An Existential Threat

Critique of Cammatte

7. Infantilism Today

Critique of Dauve and Endnotes