

# VIRUS NO.4

Contact address : 84b, Whitechapel High Street. London E.1.7QX.

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## CONTENTS

THE MONARCHY TODAY.

THE STATE STRIPPED BARE

REVIEW : The Bolshevik myth by A. Berkman.  
Trotsky Protests too much by E. Goldman.

MARXISM AND THE STATE.

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## COMMENT

Anarchism seems to be undergoing some sort of revival, judging from the numbers of people who are turning up to Anarchist bookfairs, CLASS WAR demonstrations, STOP THE CITY type events etc. The press is even starting to take an interest, though predictably it has concentrated on the more violent aspects. Even VIRUS got a mention in one issue of the NEW STATESMAN.

Despite the growth in interest and numbers (the movement is still tiny) the anarchists are much less effective than they need be. Most anarchists are totally isolated and apart from buying papers and taking part in the odd isolated event, are inactive. DAM and CLASS WAR offer some sort of focus and in their respective areas of work are showing the advantages of anarchist organisation. Nevertheless these two groups have slagged each other off in the past, and if we add FREEDOM'S jibes, the whole thing looks a bit sick.

What is needed (and in a hurry, if we are to take full advantage of the new interest) is some general orientation of all class struggle, militant anarchists. There isn't much point in trying to pull in pacifists, greens, individualists etc., for though their views may have some validity, a rag-bag of approaches would not serve to bring about a generalised anarchist advance.

This issue is devoted to the state. Though the articles concentrate on the state as oppression, it should not be construed that the state cannot be destroyed. States are constructed out of human material and ultimately are just as capable of being subverted as any other organisation.

Propaganda of the deed, strikes, sit ins , confrontations on demonstrations, as well as a constant ideological struggle all have a part to play in weakening the state's grip on our lives. The fight against statism of both left and right is an enormous one but if we can get our act together, some sort of start can be made .The time has come to get out of the margins of revolutionary politics and into the mainstream. Do it now! EDUCATE, AGITATE, ORGANISE.

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## THATS THE WAY TO DO IT !!

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A MEMBER OF THE  NARCHIST MILITIA EVENS UP THE ODDS WHEN ATTACKED BY A MOB OF STATIST THUGS.

## ABOVE CRITICISM : THE MONARCHY TODAY

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The British Royal family intrudes into our lives constantly. The television and press interminably churn out stories of their lives and doings....the birth of yet another Royal brat, Princess Diana's new hat, the removal of a blackhead from Princess Margaret's hair.... Overwhelmingly, what is reported is flattering trivia (less adequate coverage, such as the Queen Mother's alcoholism, Diana's incompetence, Margaret's nymphomania go unreported). The concept of a monarch's right to rule may have been constitutionally abandoned years ago but reading the British press, you wouldn't have guessed it.

Why this constant adulation? Why this steady stream of drivel? The existence of the monarchy is not, as some would suppose, of slight political consequence. It is a central feature of our governmental system and the maintenance of conservative politics. So much so, the Labour Party dare not criticise the monarchy - to do so would mark a break with Labour's long history of class collaboration. (Note the names of ex Labour MPs awaiting their turn to be asked to join the House of Lords).

The monarchy is virtually deified by the whole of the British establishment. Even lesser royal figures such as Princess Michael of Kent cannot be tainted. The fact that her father was a member of the counter-revolutionary Freikorps, an early Nazi and an S.S officer had to be whitewashed. Prince Charles' wife had to be a virgin which gives her a certain purity (a la Virgin Mary). Also, of course, her virginity would remove any possible "I fucked the future Queen" talk among the ultra rich. The purpose of this deification is to put the monarchy above the problems of day to day reality. The House of Commons may be a bear garden in reality but given the dignity it receives through its association with the monarchy, it is still acceptable. Thatcher's reactionary laws are given added legitimacy through the addition of the Queen's signature and the whole authoritarian structure is strengthened.

The monarchy upholds the system in another way. It symbolises an unchangingness, constancy and stability. The Royal family can trace its ancestry back over the centuries. Just as the monarchy has remained intact, so must the establishment with which it is the head. The monarchy is



Monday, April 22, 1985

FORWARD WITH BRITAIN

### Italian designers say FRUMPY



# DI!

SUNDAY BEST: The Royal couple yesterday.

### Our advice to them

# SHUTTA



# YA

NIGHT OUT: Charles and Diana at the opera.

PRINCESS Diana was accused by the Italians yesterday of dressing like a shopgirl. They thought she should have worn a more daring gown to a night at the opera in Milan. But British designers said it was sour grapes - because she was not wearing anything Italian.

SEE PAGE 3

# FACE

● BARRY 9 ● KEITH WATERHOUSE 10 ● JOHN BLAKE 15 ● TV 18, 19

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BACK TO VICTORIAN VALUES!

## THE STATE STRIPPED BARE

The post war period of British politics has, until recently been dominated by the social-democratic view of the state. The anarchist and Marxist conceptions of the coercive state were deemed to be at best irrelevant in the era of social welfarism. After all did not the state concentrate most of its' energies and financial resources on non coercive areas? The state 'educated' through a school system, it healed through the National Health Service and it provided jobs and services through the nationalised sector of industry.

There were to be sure, still important areas of state activity which could be subsumed under the umbrella of the military-bureaucratic machine but in post war Britain a plurality of state functions and political processes was the academic order of the day. Both Tory and Labour governments denied vehemently that the state was any longer preoccupi d with coercion via the armed forces, police forces, the judiciary, civil service etc. The radical approach was limited, far better accept a liberal-democratic consensual approach.

Like a whirlwind, Thatcherism has cast off many of the welfarist meanings of the state and reduced it much more starkly to a weapon of domination. The coercive state gains in strength through every demonstration, riot or strike, whilst health and education budgets are both reduced and privatised.

1.6 In addition to taking into account the riots of 1981 the Government has been concerned to learn the lessons from other recent instances of major public disorder. These include not only the events of Southall, but earlier disturbances such as those at Grunwick's in 1976-77. During the review the most serious disorders have been associated with the 1981 riots and the 1984-85 miners' dispute; but many other public order problems have arisen, as a result of demonstrations by animal rights protesters, the Stop the City campaign, the anti-nuclear movement, the National Front, and the continuing disorder associated with football hooliganism.

From the  
white-paper  
on Public  
Order.

Public surveillance has been greatly extended through the use of helicopters, television monitors, bugs, phonetapping etc. In London the police have created yet another intelligence arm to watch over the public. Known as the Central Intelligence Unit, it is run by Scotland Yard's new public order branch, A8, and works closely with the Special Branch. The C.I.U. picks up low level intelligence on the street to observe the degree of community tension, local political activity and the threat of disturbance.

The police have not been slow to meet the public order challenges that have been presented to them. To a large extent, especially regarding demonstrations, pickets, etc., policing by consent has been replaced by policing by coercion. The police are far more willing to initiate violence, use snatch squads, resort to the cavalry and use temporary imprisonment to clear the streets. A nationwide training scheme is in operation to give training in riot control techniques and the forces are tooled up for future conflicts. C.S gas is held by 32 police forces and plastic bullets by 12.

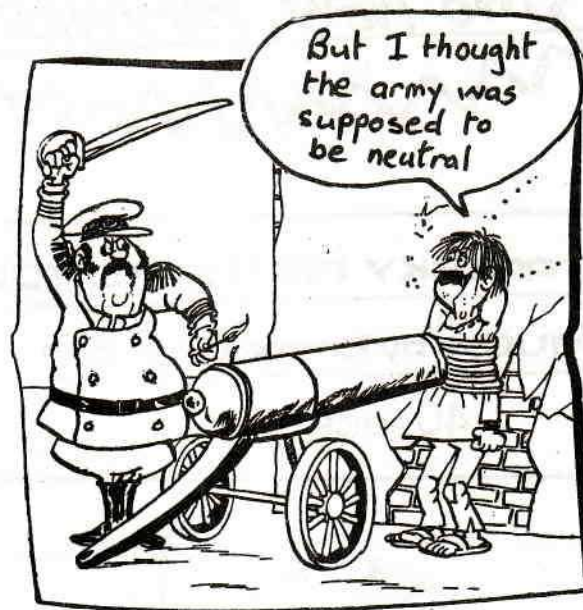
As regards the law, the 1984 Police Act and the proposed legislation as outlined in the 1985 white paper on Public Order, represent the main elements. Though the Police Act was not as tough as the government might have liked having been badly mauled in Parliament, it has shifted the balance of power more firmly into police hands. The police have increased powers of arrest, search, detention, fingerprinting etc. The white paper extends the grounds by which the police will be able to control assembly and demonstration. Under the proposed legislation, 'public order' grounds for the police being able to ban a march will include fear of a serious public disorder and the serious disruption of traffic and shoppers. Police officers would be able to issue instructions on the spot - non compliance of which would risk 5 months imprisonment and a £1000 fine for the organisers. Rank and file marchers could be fined up to £400. Riot would be re-defined - where 12 or more people were violent, or threatened violence to people or property, they would risk a ten year prison sentence plus a fine.

The Tory government has reinforced the coercive nature of the state on two main fronts, by extending the scope of law, and through a strengthening of police powers and efficiency.

1.10 It must be recognised that once disorder has broken out the problem of confronting the police is not a shortage of legal powers but is essentially one of enforcement. The police themselves have made this quite clear, and recognise that their operational tactics need to be reviewed from time to time just as the law has been scrutinised in this review. The 1981 riots led to major changes in the way the police are equipped and trained to deal with public disorder, following the recommendations of Lord Scarman. Similarly in the aftermath of the miners' dispute the police have been keen to ensure that the right lessons are learnt about how to cope with widespread public disorder in the future. Reviews are in hand to see what improvements can be made to police tactics, deployment, equipment and training; and the police service will ensure that the conclusions of those reviews are properly communicated and implemented by all forces.

white-paper continued.

The Special Branch, having overreached itself in the surveillance of non law breaking anti-nuclear activists, has been subject to an inquiry. Whilst the report is a whitewash, no serious investigation of its work was carried out, the aims of the Branch have been made public. The aim of the Branch is to combat subversion which is defined in amazingly broad terms. Subversive activities include those acts "which threaten the safety or wellbeing of the state, and which are intended to undermine or overthrow parliamentary democracy by political, industrial or violent means". By this definition, virtually anyone who is active in radical politics must expect to be the subject of Special Branch attention. Indeed, according to the TIMES (30.5.85) there were in 1974, one million, one hundred thousand names on the index, of which a third were accompanied by files. Now computerised, the list has passed the one and a half million mark.



Thanks to Cathy Massiter, we now know for certain that MI5 routinely infiltrates and observes the activities of the trade unions and organisations like C.N.D. All in all then, we now have a comprehensive system of secret policing at all levels of society. These developments are bad enough but given the concurrent tightening of trade union law, we are now witnessing the birth of a truly authoritarian society.

MICKY  
BAKUNIN

SAYS....."THE STATE HAS ALWAYS BEEN THE PATRIMONY\* (EH?) OF SOME PRIVILEGED CLASS; THE PRIESTLY CLASS, THE NOBILITY, THE BOURGEOISIE — AND FINALLY, WHEN ALL OTHER CLASSES HAVE EXHAUSTED THEMSELVES, THE CLASS OF BUREAUCRACY ENTERS UPON THE STAGE AND THEN THE STATE FALLS, OR RISES, IF YOU PLEASE, TO THE POSITION OF A MACHINE. BUT FOR THE SALVATION OF THE STATE IT IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT THERE BE SOME PRIVILEGED CLASS INTERESTED IN MAINTAINING ITS EXISTENCE."

\* PATRIMONY = "SUGAR DADDY"

The Kronstadt Commune.

The Goldman pamphlet was written in response to Trotsky's pronouncements on the subject of Kronstadt in 1938. Trotsky, who had been one of the most authoritarian of the Bolshevik leaders, was by then reduced to a pathetic impotence. During the Kronstadt events he had personally used his extensive powers over life and death in a quite arbitrary manner, convinced as he was, of his own greatness and superior understanding. Now, in 1938, he was without position and power. He had given his reasons for the degeneration of the Russian revolution, for which he absolved himself of all responsibility. That he had argued for the militarisation of labour, the subordination of the trade unions to the state and the banning of parties and factions was not important, he suggested. Whenever a crisis arose, Trotsky always chose the authoritarian option. The revolution which he did so much to bend to his will finally devoured him in 1940.

Trotskyism has developed a mythology around its founder which elevates him to the level of sainthood. Goldman's pamphlet goes some way to explaining the truth.

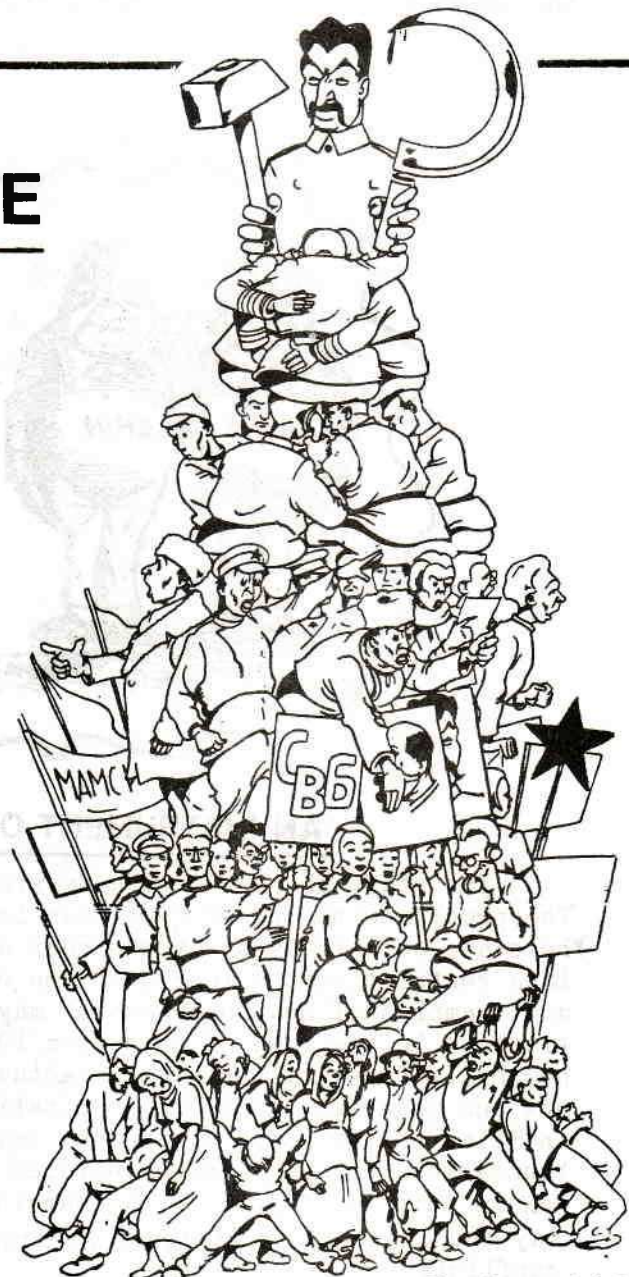
**THE TWO PAMPHLETS ARE AVAILABLE FROM  
'VIRUS', c/o 84B, WHITECHAPEL HIGH ST. (ANGEL ALLEY)  
LONDON E.1.**

## MARXISM AND THE STATE

Marxists and Anarchists seem to share rather similar approaches to the question of the state. In reality, however, serious differences exist which allow us to clearly differentiate between the two approaches - the Anarchists will have no truck whatsoever with the state, whilst the Marxists believe, that in specific circumstances, the state can be utilised.

### ORIGINS

For the Marxists, the state is primarily an instrument for the maintenance of class rule. The first states, from the Marxist standpoint, were created as social classes appeared, to maintain and ensure the power of the exploiting class. In other words, states as 'legitimately' organised violence, government, bureaucracy, etc., were in their original forms created by the ruling classes as they emerged from a condition of 'primitive communism'. There is some evidence that, on occasion, this may have been the case. The problem is that the earliest states, in a given region often developed in the distant past and there is no way of knowing if states were actually created to preserve the domination of a new class.



It is just as likely that states actually preceded the development of classes. Classless societies may still be 'ranked' in the sense that individuals, families etc. may be awarded leadership roles through their superior abilities or knowledge ( e.g. magic). The authority of the highest ranked group could have been reinforced allowing it to effectively form a state. As the Marxist anthropologist, Maurice Bloch has admitted, there are examples of centralised systems with a single head controlling defined territory called states where no obvious dominant classes exist. The African Bemba people, in the nineteenth century, is an example of such a 'classless' state! There is also evidence from central America that in the sixteenth century, states were in the process of being created before the emergence of class divisions. These proto states were, in fact destroyed by the Spanish conquistadors who imposed their own class based system of state control.

This brings us to the second objection to the Marxist theory of the origins of states. Most states in historical times were created as the result of conquest. Countless examples of this type of state creation exist, for example, both the Western allies and the communists created their own preferred form of state as a corollary to the conquest of the Nazi empire. In England, the feudal state was also created by the Norman conquerors, with its own French speaking ruling class. For 200 years or so that language was the preferred tongue in state institutions, including the court, church and the legal system.



Despite Trotsky's tantrums through not being allowed to play, they're all the same really.

### AN INSTRUMENT OF CLASS RULE ?

The state is seen from a Marxist perspective as an instrument of class rule. The problem with this formulation is that there are plenty of occasions where the state acts in ways which hinder capitalism and the pursuit of profits. Taxation, laws restricting the length of the working day, trade boycotts of the U.S.S.R etc. are examples of how governments may act in ways which reduce profitability. Sometimes, as in the case of Peru from 1968 to 1975 when the army seized power, a nominally capitalist state can actually expropriate capital, collectivise agriculture and generally upset the capitalist oligarchy. States are essentially national entities whilst a lot of present day monopoly capitalism operates across national boundaries. Thus U.K. based petroleum companies go to great lengths to avoid paying tax in this country which has marginally high tax thresholds. Multinational firms may then, have quite distinct strategies from from states with which they may conflict.



# AIMS AND PRINCIPLES of the Anarchist-Communist Federation (PROVISIONALLY THE ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST DISCUSSION GROUP)

The ANARCHIST-COMMUNIST FEDERATION is an association of militants who seek the destruction of political hierarchies, both capitalist and 'state socialist' and their replacement by stateless societies based upon freedom, equality and social solidarity.

## WE BELIEVE:

1. That capitalism and other social systems in which wealth and power are the property of a ruling class/elite must be destroyed.
2. Reformist and statist solutions will necessarily fail, and therefore, revolution is the only possible means of achieving anarchist communism. How far such a revolution will be peaceful depends on the degree to which the ruling class clings to power through violence and state repression.
3. Genuine liberation can only come about through the self activity of the great mass of the population. We regard parliament, representative democracy and political vanguardism as being obstacles to a self-managed society. Institutions and organisations which attempt to mediate in the fight against domination cannot succeed. Trade unionism, as it is presently constituted, plays an important part in maintaining class exploitation, insofar as it regulates and justifies it through collective bargaining and bureaucratic structures. Nevertheless, it is important to work within the trade



- union movement, in order to build up a rank and file workers movement which encourages workers' control of struggle and cuts across sectional boundaries.
4. Workers and other oppressed sections of society will in time of revolutionary upheaval, create their own democratic institutions, whether they be based on the workplace or the community. To this end we encourage the creation of organs of struggle based on the rank and file, independent of political parties.
  5. Pure spontaneity is unlikely to be sufficient to overthrow entrenched class domination. Anarchists must indicate the libertarian alternative to class societies, participate as anarchists in struggle and organise on a federative basis to assist in the revolutionary process.
  6. Capitalism is international and needs to be fought internationally. We therefore try to maintain contact with as many anarchist communists as possible in overseas countries as the preliminary stage to the creation of an anarchist international.
  7. We do not simply seek the abolition of class differences, for inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of age, race, sexuality and gender. Personal relationships are now often based on domination and submission. We seek not only an economic revolution but a social and cultural revolution as well, involving a thoroughgoing change in attitudes and organisation of everyday lives to free us in our social and personal interactions.
  8. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.