Strategy of State's Terror:

"Repress them all and send them all to hospital!"1

In the context of demonstrations against the education reform in Italy, Francesco Cossiga, former Home Secretary and former president of the Republic of this country expressed, in an interview on October 23rd 2008 to three Italian newspapers, the method to be followed by the government to break the movement.

Q: President Cossiga, do you think that Berlusconi has gone too far in threatening the use of State force against the students?

R: That depends, if he believes he is the Prime Minister of a strong State then no, he was right. But as Italy is a weak State, as the opposition is no longer the rock-like PCI [Italian "Communist" Party, which changed name and broke up in 1991] but the evanescent PD ["Democratic Party," led by Walter Veltroni, formed in 2007 from the remains of the old PCI together with other centre-left forces], I'm afraid that his words will not be followed by action and that Berlusconi will just end up with egg on his face.

Q: What should happen now?

R: At this point, Maroni [current Home Minister, (Lega Nord)] should do what I did when I was Home Secretary.

O: What's that?

R: Firstly, forget the high-school students... can you imagine what would happen if a 10-year-old kid got killed or seriously injured...

Q: Instead, the university students?

R: Let them get on with it. Withdraw the police from the streets and the universities, infiltrate the movement with agents provocateurs ready for anything, and allow the demonstrators to run loose for a week or so, devastating shops, setting cars on fire and causing havoc in the streets.

Q: Then what?

R: Then, with public opinion on your side, the sound of ambulance sirens should drown out the sirens of police and carabinieri cars.

Q: In the sense that...

R: In the sense that the forces of law and order should massacre the demonstrators without pity and send them all to hospital. Not arrest them – the magistrates would set them free straight away in any event... beat them bloody and beat the teachers storring them up bloody too.

Q: The teachers, too?

R: The teacher above all. Not the older ones, of course... the young girls. Have you any idea of the seriousness of what's happening? There are teachers indoctrinating children and encouraging them to demonstrate – that's criminal behaviour!

One cannot be much clearer; it's about of a general recipe to confront the proletariat in the street. To impose the state's terror (since it's obviously the main issue!), according to what the old chief of the European repression says, it's necessary to prepare the ground. In order to smash those who are at the vanguard of the movement, it's necessary to first isolate them from the society. And if not, it will produce the opposite repressive effect

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than that they want. As always, according to our enemy's advice, in order to lead the war it's necessary to talk about peace, it's necessary to look like a pacifist. Concretely, it implies to withdraw the police forces from the street in order to really prepare a more consequent stroke. In the same way, Cossiga recommends "to infiltrate the movement with agents provocateurs ready for anything", which means in fact that these have to push the movement to attack targets that bring discredit on it, while "devastating shops, setting cars on fire and causing havoc in the streets". He very clearly says that to repress without any limit and to apply a deserved punishment, it's necessary to prepare the ground while breaking "everything" and while doing so that ambulances take the room of police cars. It's absolutely necessary to speak more about innocents, injured by the "blind violence" of rioters than about beating up methodically perpetrated by cops. It's only after having gotten a social consensus around the legitimacy of the repression that it's necessary "send [the most determined proletarians] to hospital", to hit them without mercy, to "beat them bloody". Before achieving this consensus prepared by the police provocations, the risk endured that facing the brutality of the repression the population show solidarity with proletarians who took to the street and attacked the symbols of the state and capital. In the same way, before the agents provocateurs prepared to everything denatured the movement, the sound that prevailed was that of cop cars' sirens and the risk existed that the whole proletariat confront them.

The manoeuvre is not only treacherous and clear but also quite simply usual. Cossiga's advices are similar to the basic of the strategy of domination and power. If the open repression can always become unified to dominate and exploit, it's by far better to infiltrate movements with provocateurs to disorganize them and alter them while provoking confusion as for their means and objectives, as for their enemies and perspectives

While the proletariat challenged the private property, looted supermarkets and attacked buildings and offices that express the capitalist domination (repression centres, official parties' and unions' premises, international organizations and embassies, banks, insurance companies, etc.), the provocateur as for him attacks (and urges to attack) the little store of the district, the pub on the corner or even "the foreigners". Let's mention two revealing examples: the riots of Los Angeles in 1992 (marked by the State's attempt to turn the revolt into contradictions between blacks, Latinos or Koreans) and those of 2001 in Argentina (and the attempt of paramilitary apparatuses to target Bolivian, Peruvian, Paraguayan immigrants while accusing them of being responsible for the crisis). Since these both examples, during all the great revolts the power and tools of fabricating the public opinion accused ethnic minorities of all the evils in order to thus divert the proletarian energy against the State towards sectors of the proletariat from other colours or "cultures".

It's for these reasons that Cossiga's statements appeared to us very important, as revelations of the method of our enemies, which the revolutionary minorities have to worry about, while remembering that the withdrawal of cops from the streets can precede their reorganization to hit with more strength. Similar manoeuvre must prompt proletarians in struggle to not drop their guard but to prepare in a consequent way the self-defence forces, to act to reaffirm the objectives and perspectives, and to denounce the true provocateurs who invariably try to weaken the strength of the movement, while generating some internal contradictions or while looking for the movement to attack such or such part of the "foreign" proletariat.

Comrades, let's not be mistaken about those who throw stones or Molotov cocktails against the centres of power and repression, those who loot the big shopping malls, those who paralyze the production and supplying of commodities during their struggle against the power, THESE ARE NOT PROVOCATEURS, on the contrary, these are our class brothers and sisters, our comrades. The provocateurs (usually cops disguised as demonstrators) are on the contrary those who in our demonstrations try to put a brake on violence against the bourgeoisie, those who try to repress our direct action. They

infiltrate demonstrations to disorganize and disorientate them, they push them to attack some targets, which completely discredit our class strength, in particular the immigrant minorities or considered ethnically as different, or to destroy other proletarians' goods. The lifelong purpose of our enemies is to contain and get rid of the proletarian force while pushing proletarians to fight with each others. All the ideologies and State's forces act in this way.

We should also point out that these Cossiga's statements are used by other enemies of the proletariat to affirm that the minority violence and sabotage are what the State is look for, and more globally to uphold that all minority and violent outflanking of peaceful demonstrations is the product of agents provocateurs. The falsification is obvious: Cossiga doesn't indeed say that the minority and radical violence is a product of the State but he explains the tactics to confront it. As we emphasized here, the function of provocateurs is not to *radicalize* the violence of the proletariat against capitalism but to *destroy* it. The provocation doesn't try to *develop* the violence but to present it as something *horrible* to the eyes of the population and to thus justify the violent repression against it.

Basically, Cossiga and the bourgeois left (we think about Olivier Besancenot, spokesman of the LCR, as well as other counterrevolutionary organizations) claim this kind of statements in the same sense: to target the sectors of the proletariat that give decisive impetus to the struggle, to isolate the more active minority and to denounce it as a provocateur one. In any case, they participate to the repressive task of the bourgeoisie that always tries to disparage and bring discredit on the proletarian direct action and the consistent minorities.