

Refuse Military Conflict With ! the State

During periods of crisis and social conflict, the State and its allies push pro-revolutionaries towards the dead ends of armed struggle and clandestine militancy. Rage and refusal are channeled towards the politics of the ski mask.

"The more we'd been striving to cause consistent damage to the prison programme, the more the uneasy feeling was growing among us that we were fighting a 'one to one' match against the state - a challenge which, as such, we were obviously bound to lose. We were The Last of the Mohicans in a desperate assault against the palefaces. Finally, it was of minor importance whether the media reported this fight or not, and whether it would raise sympathy or scorn among the public and in any case, the 'public' could do nothing but remain a public of spectators, watching it from afar. We never considered ourselves a sacrificial avant-garde, still we were finding ourselves pushed into a corner where our 'good intentions' were of little use..."

And coming back to the alienating side of long-term clandestine activity: the police strategy towards us remarkably fitted this description. As I said, they once had counted on a big clampdown, probably amounting to a spectacular show trial complete with fabricated evidence and, it seems, that they also tried to infiltrate us, in order to have us plant bombs. But their main concern throughout the years has been to isolate us by means of a constant harassment of our potential allies. Again in February 1991, the '13000 belles' scandal was followed by a media profiled swoop in several cities, with 25 people being questioned, their flats searched, and Mordicus magazine that reproduced parts of our dossier threatened with legal action. Since they'd got rid of Action Directe in 1987, the French state was looking for a new official enemy within, and we definitely were on top of the list for such a role. It is elementary police psychology that the more an individual or a group is cut off from the rest of society, the more he/it is likely to react with an increased level of violence, which in turn will isolate him/them further. The media blackout of our actions against the new prisons undoubtedly worked toward this end. And admittedly we laid ourselves open to this. We thought we'd done away with the critique of terrorism, because we'd never missed an occasion of expressing our contempt for AD, RAF, BR and the likes, and because we refused to resort to guns and bombs: 'our means or action are the ones used by any proletarian: sabotage and vandalism'. **Yet this missed the essential point: In a context of social regression, a group of people standing out and asserting their violent revolt can easily be high-lighted, then isolated and dragged on to the enemy terrain - to the police within your head - and unconsciously you end up moulding your own behaviour and thoughts to theirs, and this is their first victory...**

The real question is rather to reach and maintain a sufficient level of fluidity between the group and its social environment; failing which the group tends to follow a separate logic, and to become its own finality - a sort of autism, which in turn exacerbates 'inter-personal' conflicts."

- former member of *Os Cangaceiros*



The destruction of capitalism is not the accumulation of direct actions but a social question of the proletariat imposing itself against the economy and the state.

Against the irreducible perversity of revolt, the trajectory of armed struggle is at odds with any project of liberation.