

**STATEMENT ON THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION
AFTER THE BLOODY BOMBS ATTACK OF MARCH 11TH, 2004 IN MADRID
PACIFISM AND ANTITERRORISM LEAD TO PATRIOTISM.
PATRIOTISM IS WAR**

The bloody bombings of March 11th, 2004 in Madrid and their present outcomes constitute a powerful resumption, at the heart of Europe, of what had occurred in New-York and Washington in September 11th, 2001.

Behind the din about the impact of the Spanish elections, about the "Prime Minister Aznar's lies", behind the utilization made by some bourgeoisies (particularly in Europe) in their falsely pacifist propaganda in relation to the war maneuvers of the United-States (which would have an important part in the terrorism development), one thing has to be affirmed: these bombs attacks (and their political and ideological implications) are a new manifestation of the dynamic towards the generalised war in which is engaged the whole capitalist class since more than two years.

Since September 2001, and even before, the logic of the events which succeeded one another, had led us to affirm that a new period was opening up: *"With September 11th, the imperialist war - mode of life of decadent capitalism and permanent reality on the planet since the Second World War - has returned like a boomerang to the center of the developed countries, and this for the first time since 1945 (in any case with such a degree, such a violence). Since September 11th 2001, for the proletarians of the central countries, the war is not any more only something "faraway" in space, nor something "distant" in time haunting the memory of their grandfathers. It is from now on terribly present, here and now. Such is the new world situation (...). If the brutal world acceleration of the situation since three months has revealed and confirmed something, it's first and above all: the imperialist nature of all the States, the bankruptcy of the mode of capitalist production, its diving in a mortal crisis in front of which the bourgeoisie has only one answer, only one possible policy: **the drive to war**, and finally the fact that, to impose the war on the society, in particular in the central countries, **the dominant class must confront its mortal enemy: the working class**. All these elements are present in the situation of today as never the present generation of revolutionaries could live it. All these elements (...) are manifestations of something which is since always a granite basis in the analysis of the ICC, of the Communist Left, and the marxist current within the workers movement (...): the decadence of the mode of capitalist production"* (bulletin 4, *The new world situation and the present tasks for the revolutionaries*, Dec 15th, 2001, translated into English and available in our Internet pages).

This logic hasn't stopped to impose itself implacably with a dynamic of polarization of the different imperialist States around two axes, the American one and the German-French one, with the outbreak of new war fronts (Afghanistan, Iraq), with the ideological backdrop of the "open war of all against terrorism". But since then, in front of the war dynamic, a true class struggle front has opened up - with the revival of the working class struggles which has expressed itself in particular with the important and massive movement in France in Spring 2003, then in Great-Britain (October 2003) and in Italy (Dec. 2003, January 2004). It is the single ground on which is situated the response, from where can and must develop the only viable perspective for humanity against the mortal logic of the ruling class).

The bombs attacks of March 11th in Madrid fully lie in the continuity of the new period opened up in September 2001 since they come to recall brutally, violently, the bourgeoisie's resolution to force the situation towards the imposition of its "solution", the generalized imperialist war and, to do so, to attempt to enlist the working class, in particular by seeking to impose to it "its" national unity.

The international scene is well living a tremendous acceleration. As never before (for the post-2nd World War generation), the two classes, proletariat and bourgeoisie, are facing each other; the stake is concretely posed: generalized imperialist war or proletarian revolution.

I. THE PROLETARIAT IS THE REAL STAKE OF THE SITUATION

The sophisticated logistics necessary for such extended and murderous attacks as were those of Madrid, and despite an omnipresent, and rarely equalled, police and military surveillance, the deliberate and consciously perpetuated vagueness on the outlines of the so-called "terrorist milieu", their obvious and direct financing, arming, maintenance and utilization (for their own interests) by the bourgeois States, small and above all the greatest⁽¹⁾, all these characteristics, show that terrorism is first and foremost a product of the decadent bourgeoisie. But, as history taught us greatly, it's also for this barbarous class a "military" weapon that all its States use the ones against the others for doing battle at the imperialist level as well as a political and ideological weapon aimed against the working class. It enables it today, through "antiterrorism", to justify an

¹ Today, there is no doubt (the ruling class itself acknowledges it) that "Bin Laden" is a US creature as well as 30 years ago, for instance, the "Baader gang" (and others) were, at least, manipulated by the secret service of the Eastern bloc. In regards with the Madrid bombs, it seems the explosive would come from a Spanish company controlled by the national secret services.

unprecedented strengthening of its repressive arsenal and to develop a deafening and totalitarian campaign to impose its forced drive policy towards the generalized war. That was true in September 11th. It's as well true, if not more, with the Madrid bombings. To believe today that the bourgeoisie is subjected to terrorism, that the bombings are the work of a "nebulousness", of uncontrolled groups and elements, is whether to be blind and deaf or stupid, or, even worse, a support and relaying of the lying bourgeois propaganda and, thus, to be harmful to the interest of the working class²).

There is no doubt. It's well the bourgeoisie (in this case its main powers) which presently brings forth to this terrorism; it's the bourgeoisie which is behind this bombings with a precise aim. It's still the bourgeoisie which is going now to exploit the more it can, the consequences of this barbarous event for its drive to war. It has already begun (again) to do so through the huge street demonstrations it has aroused, organized and led through all Spain the next day of the bombs attacks. Fully benefiting from the general indignation arisen by the slaughter, it made it a call for "general mobilization" (è) and for "war against terrorism" (4). And, to hammer, it announced that all this can't be done but with "national unity behind the State".

But if, with September 11th 2001, the international population had mobilized for some time behind the national unity campaign against terrorism (wide pacifist demonstrations, relatively passive acceptance of the repressive measures), we have to acknowledge that in two years the social scenery has modified.

The working class, in particular in Europe, has progressively freed itself from the pressure it suffered since the World Trade Towers destruction and deaths. The option of forming one body behind the State has become blur under the massive attacks (pensions, life conditions, wages) giving place to an anger that the determined character of the different States (to which no left, union or leftist voice has lacked) to impose their measures has exasperated.

Breaking with the unanimous atmosphere of the massive marches behind the "no-to-war" along with a "all united against terrorism" which all the countries had lived with no exception during various months, the working class has changed a little the situation with the resumption of its struggles in various countries in the very heart of Europe. Actually, the willingness to make the pacifist campaign a world campaign had to withdrawn.

"But this direction entirely focused on the march towards war by the bourgeoisie is new, isn't typical : it's done in a context, in an historical period when the proletariat isn't defeated physically nor ideologically. (...) This essential and first condition for the enlistment in a war preparation, is today missing (...).

Because it's not only an "apathetic" working class that the bourgeoisie needs, it also, and above all, needs a working class entirely won over to the war perspective. A class which accepts the daily sacrifice for the production for war and which gives up consciously, intentionally, to its unity of class interest beyond the frontiers to defend, up to the sacrifice of its own life, the national capital which oppresses it" (Bulletin 16, A New Period is opening up, this text isn't translated into english).

This reality of an undefeated class, not subjected to the necessities of war, but all the contrary a class which tends to hold up its head, to take up the challenge which it is daily posed to it, is the reality that the bourgeoisie has no choice but to confront with. Thus it takes a risk : *"By forcing society to war without having got the assurance that the proletariat would totally walked behind its banners, the bourgeoisie thus takes a major historical risk. And it clearly adopted the option of carrying on regardless after September 11th 2001. Unable to eliminate the proletarian obstacle before going to a generalized cataclysm as it did before World War Two, today the capitalis class has no choice but to seek to settle the two fundamental questions at the same time : going to war and submitting the proletariat" (idem).*

The Madrid bombings weren't only pointed against the spanish proletariat. But against the world proletariat and more particularly against its European, the most powerful and the most concentrated, batalions. The Madrid slaughter fits in an atmosphere of terror sustained, relaunched with big announcements of terrorist threats (in Italy, in Great-Britain, in France, Germany...). These bombs attacks occurred exactly to offer an occasion for the bourgeoisie to strenghten the ideological theme of antiterrorism, of the "all-united-behind-the-State-guarantor-for-the-democratic-values" and more particularly at the heart of Europe. At that level, the European resonance of these attacks expresses that a supplementary step is being taken in the offensive opened up in September 2001.

The very bombings, and above all the chain of the facts to which they give rise, confirm that the warning shot given points right away to the working class as the main target which all the bourgeois forces focus to. It's the working class from the heart of Europe which is strongly attacked. The aim is to muzzle its willingness to struggle, to make it quit its class terrain, to involve it behind the defence of democracy, on the antiterrorism front beside all the united european bourgeois forces which would open decisively the path to war.

² It's this role that the present ICC increasingly looks to play with its caricatural vision of a capitalism in complete "decomposition", decomposition which would express amongst other things through the development of terrorism that the bourgeoisie wouldn't control any more, up to the idea that it would even suffer it. Defending such a position for an organization which wants to be the "most determined fraction" of the proletarian movement, the one "that leads all the others", is to participate to hide who are the true responsables for all this barbarism, is to prevent it to fully oppose its combativity against these responsables and is finally to give it to their propaganda and thus to their murderous intentions.

³ The working class had already to understand the true morbid significance of this slogan we sadly remember in particular from 1914 and 1939.

⁴ The international bourgeoisie doesn't hide its real intentions when, through Sharon's speak (his message has been largely agreed and relayed since the Madrid events) when it affirms: *"War against terrorism is the 3rd World war !"*.

The explosions targetting the workers of Madrid and its suburbs packed into the trains to go to their job, show also that one wants to impose terror upon the working class.

The military and police plans, the increased controls set up in all Europe the next day of the bombings, the suspicion arisen as a "citizen value", the denouncement posed as a "moral duty", all this create an atmosphere of pre-war where the enemy could be the neighbour, the work colleague, etc... *"The march of the bourgeoisie to war can't be acknowledged only on the declared battle fields nor in its political plans and orientations. It becomes increasingly clear in the daily life of all the population and particularly of the working class : to the generalized austerity settlements, to the violent and successive waves of redundancies which respond to the increasing economical crisis, came to add a militarization of the whole social life and a unprecedented repressive threat since the previous imperialist slaughter, in the name of «security»"* (bulletin 16, idem).

Such as the situation is developing, we can't dismiss the possibility of a the same kind of "provocation" but more directly aimed at the working class. *"Because this confrontation is inevitable, in the future the proletariat will confront provocations from the ruling class as it showed it in various occasions in history. These provocations will be orchestrated by the bourgeois State with its left parties and unions. They will only aim to lead the proletariat to engage in important struggles in the worst conditions whose outcome won't be but bitter defeats, or even bloody ones, and in order the proletariat won't come out from it but weakened and finally unable to oppose to the final «solution» of capitalism"* (idem).

II – THE CONSEQUENCES IN THE IMPERIALIST RELATION OF FORCES

The slaughters in Madrid and the serie of events which succeeded, have implications at the level of the imperialist antagonisms that go far beyond the simple reorientation of the spanish imperialist policy towards a "pro-European line". The question of the imperialist linings up is raised again, and much sharper, for the various European bourgeoisies, and specially for the ones which supported the United-States during the war in Iraq.

Thus important meetings of governments leaders (France, Germany, etc...) have multiplied these last days, that extraordinary meetings between various European ministers, of police, defence, etc..., have been called, in order to "coordinate" of course the war campaign against the proletariat as well as reinforce the "European pole" in front of the United-States.

Thus the relations between the USA and Europe are suddenly submitted to new uncertainties and new tensions already perceptible.

And finally thus, various European States more and more clearly stand aloof from the American policy (that they've supported up until now) and express the willingness to concretely "dissociate" themselves from it. *"The division between the «new» and the «old» Europe allowed the United-States to make a choice amongst their allies. With the evolution of Spain towards France and Germany, it's going to become more difficult"* (Robin Niblett, expert at the *Centre pour les études stratégiques et internationales (CSIS)*, quoted by the Agence France Presse).

The front of the States engaged behind the USA in Iraq looks like being falling down. Most of them are threatening to swing into the so-called anti-war camp as shows the decision of the new government in Madrid to withdraw the spanish troops sent there. It has been followed at once by its italian counterpart which is thinking of reconsidering the question of its own troops after June 30th. Poland has informed "it won't send more soldiers in Iraq to make up for a possible spanish withdrawal" after its president (who the day before was still a champion of the pro-Americans) has called the Washington leaders to be liars and accused them of "having deceived" him in regards to Iraq.

This event is so becoming a factor of acceleration and increase of the imperialist antagonisms and of what we've called the tendency, the dynamic, "towards bipolarization".

At the level of the open conflicts (Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine...); this situation implies supplementary difficulties. Thus, for instance in Iraq, while the "settlement of the situation" on the terrain is strongly signed away for the likely withdrawals of the "allied" troops, the disclosure of the lying "reasons" for the war strongly discredits the different governments which had defended them and represents some risks of destabilization at the internal level. The T. Blair's reverses in Great Britain and the change of government in Spain express these difficulties. But, above all, in the immediat following of the Madrid attacks, we can see a fresh outburst of massacres in the numerous centres of open tensions as Afghanistan and Kosovo which are firstly the reflection of the rising imperialist rivalries in particular amongst the great powers.

III - WHAT INTERVENTION FOR REVOLUTIONARIES?

For the immediat moment, it's impossible to make sure and precise predictions on the continuation of the events. Nevertheless, it appears more and more clearly that we presently live a new phase of history acceleration whose direct responsible is the ruling class. We can add to this the fact that the true targets of the Madrid attacks were the proletariat (at the immediate and historical level), and that the underlying stakes of these events are of first importance for humanity's fate. They raise the question of the historical alternative "world war or proletarian revolution". For all these reasons, this situation requires from the revolutionaries (firstly of their organizations) the greatest determination of their attention, of their mobilization, of their reflection and of their intervention within our class.

But already, besides the perspectives of economical attacks yet announced against its living and working conditions, the international working class is increasingly confronted with the alternative war or revolution whose concrete terms today are

- the danger of being led behind the "war against terrorism" behind the bourgeois States which means to accept what the ruling class seeks to impose it : unity behind the Nation and the giving up of the struggles which it leads for the defence of its own interests, the very ones it leads against the interests of this capitalist Nation itself
- or the refusal of this national unity and the affirmation of the working class on its own class terrain.

And on the other part:

- the danger of being bewitched by the pacifism trumpets which, today, are openly played by the capitalist States, these very same which are responsible for the present barbarism and which entail in themselves, if nothing stops them, the perspective of the generalized war;
- or the rejection of this ideology whose only goal is to disarm it in relation with the war danger, and its affirmation of its conscious willingness for ending all these wars through the destruction of capitalism.

That's why the intervention of the revolutionaries is today vital and that it must denounce the main responsables for the present barbarism as well as it must denounce all the "solutions" as "national unity against terrorism" and pacifism which are proposed to the proletariat by those same who set the fire. These "solutions" are first and foremost made for derailing the proletariat of its own class terrain and of its historical perspective. But behind these "solutions", there'll be again and always more deads for tomorrow and the generalized war for the day after tomorrow.

We can't conclude without calling the revolutionary organizations, in particular these which are the continuity of the Communist Left, to struggle also any idea that it could be "another path", a "third path" besides the alternative of "imperialist war or communist revolution". This very idea is now defended by the present ICC and it can't but lead to deceive the working class, to disarm it at the very moment when it begins to get into its struggle, and to instill an opportunist confusion in its own ranks.

The internal fraction of the ICC, March21, 2004