

# IRAN

**Against the reactionary war of the USA and Israel  
On the side of the Iranian rebels, against the Shah**

## A reactionary war

**The attack launched by the US and Israel on 28 February 2026 is a reactionary war.** The *motives* lie in the political and economic interest to redefine the inter-capitalist equilibrium of the entire Middle East, to impose a *US-Israeli peace settlement* by curtailing the conflictual role of the Islamic Republic's capitalism, *which is equally anti-working class*. An imperialist 'pax' which, at the same time, also represents *the barbarity of Israeli state terrorism* against Palestinians, Lebanese, ... a (sic!) "legitimate defence", turning a blind eye from the genocide in Gaza, from the ethnic cleansing in the West Bank, from the project to dispossess the Palestinians and redefine the Middle East that looms behind the abomination of the Board of Peace.

The *de facto* support of Western capitalism, despite its contortions and unease, and *for us primarily that of Italian capitalism, is a participation in the war*, with the same logic of complicity in the Gaza genocide.

The use of military bases, logistical assistance, arms supplies, ... not only to the USA and Israel, but also to countries as undemocratic as Iran, such as Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (*which exploit and oppress the Eastern proletarians who have immigrated there in a thousand ways and participate in wars in*

*Africa, see Sudan*) constitute participation in the conflict, even if, through a sort of "shell game," they seek to pretend that it is not so, "a war that is not ... a war," "rearmament ... that is ... defence aide," ... Ever since the wars against Iraq, the capitalist and democratic West has specialised in oxymorons to mask the barbarity of its own wars, presenting them as "humanitarian operations."

En passant, the Western arms industry – first the US industry – is grateful for the resulting rush to buy military equipment. Isn't 'our' Minister Crosetto calling for a rapid rearmament? (*Of course, always in the name of peace and defence!*)

The war waged by the US and Israel against Iran **is a violation of international law**, but had it been launched following consultation amongst the dominant capitalist powers, had it been backed by an international coalition (as were the two Gulf Wars against Iraq), and had it been endorsed by the UN, **it would have been no less reactionary; its class-based nature would have remained the same.** In recent years, *international law has been torn to shreds, shattered, in the rush towards a global war*, fuelled by the crisis and the new global disorder. From a tool that was used to serve the interests of dominant US imperialism, it has now become an obstacle. But the fact that equally exploitative, reactionary capitalisms that trample on interna-

tional law, like Russia and China, are setting themselves up as its champions would be laughable, if it weren't so tragic. Any capitalism makes use of the law, whether national or international, as long as it serves to further its own interests. Otherwise, it can be cast away. Capitalism is now going to war, and the 'law' is no longer of any use.

**However, there is no point in lamenting the loss of international law** or hoping to return to the supposed 'good, democratic capitalism' of yesteryear. 'Practical' capitalism, whilst adhering to international law and using the UN as a safeguard, has continued to exploit and oppress the proletariat and the world's impoverished masses, and to wage and instigate wars in peripheral regions from the late 1940s to the present day.

**We must oppose and, if possible, halt the rearmament and the slide towards a new world war;** we must oppose the rise in repression and the closing down of spaces for political and social action (*in Italy, the Meloni government is leading the way in this regard, but the British Labour leader Starmer, who has infuriated Trump, is no different*), **because war is also a form of preventive counter-revolution.** Sending young people and the masses onto the battlefields (the famous 'let's arm ourselves... and you guys go') requires first suppressing any political and organisational independence and autonomy.

**The reactionary war waged by the US and Israel must therefore be denounced and opposed, starting with Italian capitalism's involvement in it.** This is a *first* step towards opposing global war.

## On the side of the Iranian rebels

That being said – and this is a cornerstone of class internationalism – **we stand resolutely with the Iranian rebels against the Islamic Republic**, which is a form of minor capitalism, clearly in conflict with the US order for survival and to maintain a relatively independent role in the region, clashing with US interests, yet openly and ruthlessly exploiting and oppressing the masses, the proletariat, the women and the youth of Iran. A capitalism that has also been complicit in the repression of social protests in Iraq and Lebanon in recent years, in the fragmentation of Syria, and in the national oppression of the Kurds, both directly through the Pasdaran and through local militias linked to it.

The Iranian people have suffered under a harsh neoliberal policy that has targeted wages and pensions, as well as the welfare state (hospitals, healthcare, housing, etc.); women

are victims of gender apartheid; the oppression of national minorities is extremely severe; they have had to pay for the nuclear programme, the armament of Iran and Iraq and of pro-Iranian militias in the Middle East, the wars in the Middle East, and international sanctions. They have experienced a continuous and drastic deterioration in living and working conditions, to which rampant inflation has recently been added.

Meanwhile, a small capitalist oligarchy, inextricably linked to the Ayatollahs, the Pasdaran and the Basij, grew ever richer by circumventing international sanctions, through oil trading, capital flight, the misappropriation of public resources, corruption, price rises, ...

**Capitalism's oppression in the Islamic Republic, and its repression of the working class, women, young people and mass protests**

that have been taking place for more than two decades, *has become ever increasingly violent and brutal*. The uprising that began in late December 2025, following those of 2017 ('*Peace, Bread, Freedom*') and 2022 ('*Woman, Life, Freedom*'), was bloodily suppressed, with the death toll appearing to exceed twenty thousand.

What is little known here in the West is that social struggles were not limited to demanding merely an end to gender apartheid; individual, trade union and political freedoms, were not restricted to demands for capitalist parliamentary democracy, but have always been deeply linked to trade union and political struggles by the working class and the proletariat, with women at the forefront, but also to demands for social transformation, for the overcoming of capitalist social relations, and even to the demand for the establishment of a system of proletarian council government.

This has been the case since 1979, since the revolution against the Shah, when Khomeinism, the political Islamism, established itself by fighting and suppressing the workers' and proletarian struggle, the occupation of factories and workplaces, the attempts at

council-based self-government, ... causing tens of thousands of casualties and resulting in a multitude of prisoners in the notorious Evin prisons.

In the Iranian struggles, despite the countless difficulties caused by repression that forces activists into illegality and underground activity, this drive towards social revolution remains strong to this day; independent trade unions, activist groups and the Cooperation Council of Iranian Leftist and Communist Forces are all working towards this aim. In 2025, Iran saw thousands of hours of strike action across different occupational groups, social sectors and localities. The protests went beyond purely trade union issues and the fight against the cost of living and the dismantling of the 'welfare state', taking up political causes, foremost among them the abolition of gender apartheid. Demands for workers' councils were circulated and attempts were made to implement them as recently as this January.

**Internationalism radically places us alongside and in support of the Iranian rebels.** This, too, is a step towards giving real substance to class autonomy and to the struggle against the possibility of a global war.

## **But against the Shah, the monarchists, and the Islamic regime's supporters**

Allow us a bit of "malice."

In Iran, this wave of rebellion erupted at the end of December 2025. Just a few days later, the US and Israel began spreading rumours of military intervention in Iran; or rather, they had been talking about it ever since the end of the *12-day war in 2025*. Almost immediately, Trump

*began saying that they were ready to step in and lend a hand to the rioters.* But this intervention only began on 28 February 2026. **Why was it launched two months after the uprising began?**

**We would like to raise a question.** Attacking Iran, beheading the regime and para-

lysing its governing and repressive capabilities in the midst of widespread social unrest **would have posed a threat to the US and Israel as well.** It would have been so, because without a political solution that could, above all, mitigate and contain the outburst of social anger, there was a risk that this might 'take advantage' of a potential power vacuum caused by the outcome of the military attack and go beyond (and against) a simple change of regime from a theocratic one to a more or less democratic one (less! less!) subordinate to the West.

There are certainly supporters of Pahlavi (we have no doubt that Iran's reactionary politics have produced such people too), but in previous struggles, in 'Woman, Life, Freedom', none had been seen. In this round of protests too, they weren't there at the start; Pahlavi certainly played his hand, but he had strong backing from the West, and his banners, his statements and the actions of his followers were featured in the Western regime's media.

One thing seems possible to us, however: this delay in the attack reeks of difficulty in finding a reliable solution that would ensure a handover that serves the interests of the US and Israel.

However, this US and Western *modus operandi* in the Middle East is nothing new. The First Gulf War began on 2 August 1990 with the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's Iraq and formally ended on 28 February 1991. Western troops didn't push all the way to Baghdad in Iraq, but stopped in the south of the country, before reaching Basra. In early March, an uprising broke out in various cities in southern Iraq and, shortly afterwards, in the Kurdish region as well; it was neither religious nor democratic, but *was directed against the regime and against Iraqi capitalism, and saw the embryonic establishment of workers' councils.* (1) Western troops did not lift a finger to support the insurgents; on the contrary. They allowed

Saddam's Republican Guard to brutally crush the rebels. Clearly, the class-struggle "scoundrel" was far more dangerous than the enemy-competitor the Iraq, the Ba'ath Party.

Returning to the current conflict, we can certainly doubt that Trump 'waited' until Khamenei had suppressed the protests and uprisings, until there had been a very high death toll. He waited until the popular uprising – involving workers, employees, pensioners, women, students, and so on – had been crushed. (Then, once the dirty work was done, he got rid of him).

Not only that, but today, more than two months on, the war makes it even more difficult for the struggle and the uprising to flare up again. Instead of rising up in rebellion once again, people must focus on escaping the bombs, missiles and drones of the American and Israeli 'liberators'. Clearly, even today it would have been better if the Islamic Republic had rid it of the 'scoundrel' of class struggle beforehand.

Now, it will be possible to play either the card of an agreement with a faction of the Iranian regime (the Venezuelan model) or that of Reza Pahlavi's monarchists; and *both options offer some initial certainties: no independent trade unions, no improvement in the living and working conditions of Iranians, and no political or trade union freedoms.* Much to the delight of the Western media, the lifting of the hijab requirement for women will be thrust into the spotlight, without a single effort being made to create the practical conditions necessary for the social oppression of women – gender apartheid – to be effectively overcome for **all** Iranian women.

The fear that social struggles in Iran might "spill over" concerns not only the US, Israel and the Western world, but also Russia, China, India, ... all the capitalist powers of the nascent multipolar world, which do business with Iranian capitalism, trade in its raw materials, and support or oppose the regime

for their own geostrategic reasons, *are all united by the aim of keeping the Iranian proletariat – as well as their own – exploited and obedient.*

With all due respect to those on the 'left' (oh please!) who claim that the Iranian protesters are being 'manipulated', are 'pawns of foreign powers', ... and are more or less directly in the service of the US and Israel. Of all the forms of 'campism' that seek to subject the proletariat to the subordination of one capitalist bloc or another. The working class of the Middle East, first and foremost, has nothing to gain from Iran, from the Axis of Resistance, or from those who exploit and oppress them, and send them to their deaths in inter-capitalist wars fought to redefine the balance of power in the region.

For this reason, class-based communist internationalism operates on two fronts: **against this reactionary war, and in support of the Iranian rebels and their struggle.**

It is time for the issues and mobilisations concerning the self-determination of the Palestinians, the Kurds, the Rojava, and the class struggle in these countries – in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Iran – to

become intertwined, to be grounded in the proletariat, and to no longer be subordinated to this or that form of national capitalism or international imperialism.

Here too, in the Western metropolises, we must not only work to expand and broaden the mobilisation against war and repression so that it draws in the working-class masses; but also to ensure that all expressions of solidarity with Palestine, with Rojava, and with the class struggles in the Middle East are no longer separated and opposed to each other, as they have been in recent years.

So that these protests are not disconnected from those against the proxy war between the West and Russia in Ukraine, the reactionary war in Sudan, the war that is beginning between Pakistan and Afghanistan, ... and from defeatism in the face of a world of exploitation, oppression and war.

Class autonomy starts here; it must seek a class-based solution against capitalism as a whole.

Milan, 15-3-2026

Note:

(1) Some sources on these pages of class struggle

*The Unknown Insurrection Iraq 1991*, Communism, nr 7, Aprile 1992, published by Internationalist Communist Group. Available to download from the website: Against Sleep and Nightmare:

<http://www.againstsleepandnightmare.net/ANTICAPL/PBA/IRAK.html>

*Ten Days That Shook Iraq inside information from an uprising*, One Thousand Emotions, St. Louis, MO 63163 USA:

<https://ia800303.us.archive.org/31/items/SemoDistroZineCollection/10DaysThatShookIraq.pdf>

## Be our voice!

*This was the call made from Iran during the brutal days of repression.*

*In our own small way, we are trying to do just that, by publishing a series of Iranian materials in Italian and English on the "Iran in rivolta 2026 – Iran in uprising 2026" page of our blog.*

*This is not merely a matter of counter-information regarding repression, but also of reflections on the struggle to overthrow the regime of the Islamic Republic, against the war waged by the US and Israel, and on the perspectives for emancipation from capitalism, ...*

*A material that, even if not immediately agreeable, forms part of a broader internationalist debate and reminds us that political and theoretical analysis and debate are not the exclusive preserve of Western activists.*

*We will update this list of available materials periodically. We would be grateful to anyone who can point out any omissions, errors or other materials from Iran.*



<https://centrodidocumentazionecontrolaguerra.noblogs.org/materiali/iran-con-la-rivolta-del-2026/>

### Centro di documentazione contro la guerra - Center for documentation against war

*informazioni, materiali e analisi per opporsi alla barbarie del capitalismo decadente, contro il terrorismo di stato occidentale e russo, contro il terrorismo del cosiddetto "islamismo radicale"*

*information, materials and analysis to oppose the barbarism of decadent capitalism,*

*vs. Western and Russian state terrorism, against the terrorism of so-called "radical Islamism"*

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