

**Bloody Repression and Bourgeois Alternatives  
as Instruments of Defeat; The Necessity of  
Independent and Internationalist  
Working-Class Struggle**



**Top: Victims of the protests, Bottom: Workers' protest**

**Internationalist Voice**

### **For the Reader's Attention:**

This booklet was written prior to the outbreak of the imperialist war in the Middle East and examines developments from the perspective of the Communist Left, drawing on the historical experience of the workers' movement. However, although it was composed before the war began, its analysis of the conditions that led to the January 2026 protests, the reactions of various political tendencies to these events, and their interpretation from the standpoint of the Communist Left makes possible a dialectical understanding of the process that ultimately helps to explain the outbreak of the imperialist war.

Therefore, the examination of the protests and class alignments is not merely a retrospective reading of the past, but an effort to understand the period of capitalist turmoil and its tendency towards a generalised imperialist war.

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**COMMUNIST REVOLUTION**

**OR**

**THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMANITY!**

# **Support Internationalist Voice!**

A fundamental pillar of revolutionary work is to systematically intervene and provide a perspective for the development of the struggle of the working class. The existence of a revolutionary tendency, though very weak, is a manifestation of the antagonism between the social classes and is a barometer of the class struggle.

A revolutionary tendency is only supported against the enormous resources of the bourgeoisie propaganda machine by those who are against the capitalist society, exploitation, wage slavery etc. Internationalist Voice is truly internationalist without any illusions about nationalism, democracy, and the left of capital, and defends the Communist Left tradition. Internationalist Voice is fighting for the Communist Revolution and needs your support in its struggle, in its defence of proletarian values and principles. Support Internationalist Voice.

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## Introduction

The new wave of protests in Iran began on 28 December 2025, following a sharp depreciation of the national currency against foreign currencies. It rapidly spread to other cities and took on the character of anti-government demonstrations. The material roots of these protests lay in widespread dissatisfaction with the henchmen of the Islamic bourgeoisie, and at the same time they assumed the form of a broad-based “all-together” popular movement.

However, the “all-together” character of the protests creates space for reactionary forces to enter. For this reason, monarchists, ultra-reactionary elements and adventurists were able to participate in these protests and play their part. A clear example was the son of the Shah’s executioner, who, acting as a proxy for Israel, issued a call at 8 p.m. on 8 and 9 January and, referring to the possible retreat of the repressive forces, predicted their defection. The outcome, however, was brutal and widespread repression, and no such defections occurred.

From the perspective of the communist left, the key question is how similar massacres can be prevented and how the traps laid by the bourgeoisie and the security apparatus can be neutralised. The history of the workers’ movement has shown that success is possible only when the vanguard of the working class acts with political maturity and class consciousness, keeping in view not merely the immediate and emotional upsurges of the movement but the long-term objectives of the proletariat.

For example, in July 1917 in Russia, when segments of the workers and soldiers were ready for a premature confrontation with the ruling power, the Bolsheviks, by understanding the balance of forces and avoiding adventurism, prevented the movement from being drawn into an untimely clash. This experience demonstrates that recognising the right moment

and maintaining a strategic horizon are vital to avoid defeats and bloody repression.

The experience of January 2026 once again showed that the more protests rely on an independent working-class front and struggle from below—led by the workers themselves and guided by the conscious vanguard of the class as a compass—the more protected they are from the traps and interventions of capitalist forces and security institutions, and the greater their capacity for sustaining and expanding the struggle. Class independence and organisation from below are essential conditions for transforming scattered anger into a conscious and enduring force.

In a situation where the right and left tendencies of capital are each playing their respective roles, and even dark forces, imperialist proxy gangs, and adventurist elements are acting to distort the political landscape and divert struggles, the responsibility of the communist left is heavier than ever: to provide a clear analysis of events from an internationalist perspective, to emphasise the independent working-class movement, and to organise struggle from below through instruments such as workers' committees, strike committees, neighbourhood committees, general assemblies, and other collective mechanisms.

Only when the working class itself takes the leadership of the struggle and mobilises the lower strata of society behind it can the interference of reactionary forces—whether within the state or in the opposition—be minimised. Under such conditions, the workers' movement can, through a continuous and conscious process, be elevated to a higher level of organisation and political capacity, pursuing its historical horizon with greater clarity.

## **Bloody Repression**

In Iranian society, there is widespread and deep-rooted dissatisfaction with the ruling executioners of the Islamic bourgeoisie. This social discontent, which stems from poverty, repression, and the denial of rights, has simultaneously become a field of intervention for Western imperialists, Israel, and their regional allies. These forces seek, in pursuit of their imperialist objectives and sordid interests, to exploit the anger and discontent of the masses<sup>1</sup>, turning protesting people into the “cannon fodder” of imperialist tensions and rivalries.

This pattern is not new. The communist left has consistently emphasised that in crimes such as the massacres and genocide of Auschwitz, not only the Nazi bourgeoisie but also the democratic bourgeoisie were complicit. The same assessment can and should be applied to the massacres of January 2026 in Iran. In this atrocity, responsibility does not lie solely with the corrupt Islamic bourgeoisie; Western imperialists, through their proxy forces, monarchists, dark forces, adventurists, and the right and left tendencies of capital, are also complicit.

All those who, in any form and with any rhetoric, issued the “command of revolution” and drove rebellious masses into the streets without independent organisation or means of defence are complicit in this massacre. Among them, the criminal Trump, with the deceptive promise that “help is on the way,” and through another criminal—the son of the Pahlavi executioner—called for mobilisation on 8 and 9 January, precisely at 8 p.m. The result was that enraged and justifiably protesting people, lured by the mirage of “foreign support,” were sent to their deaths.

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<sup>1</sup> Here, we have used the term “the masses” because we were faced with an “all-together” movement. In the following pages, we will set out a detailed argument concerning the nature of this movement and its characteristics.

For this reason, the massacres of 8 and 9 January 2026 were organised acts—a crime carried out by the executioners of the Islamic bourgeoisie, in collusion with Western imperialists and their proxy forces. In this slaughter, thousands of people fell victim to unbridled bourgeois savagery: thousands of lives, thousands of dreams, and thousands of futures were destroyed. Yet these “thousands” are not merely numbers or statistics. They were human beings. Each had a family, friends, loved ones, and dreams for tomorrow. Each had built a world in their mind and heart, filled with hopes, aspirations, and a vision for the future.

The corrupt Islamic bourgeoisie, relying on its apparatus of repression and in collusion with Western imperialists, unleashed a massacre to contain and silence the protests. The demonstrators were crushed like paper between the blades of a scissors, caught between the shameful Islamic bourgeoisie on one side and the democratic criminals and their proxy forces on the other, becoming victims in the service of preserving the filthy order of capital. This bloody repression is not an exceptional event but part of the enduring logic of capitalism—a system that sacrifices human lives to ensure its own survival.

Today, with heavy hearts, our anger is directed at capital, capitalism, and all forms of bourgeois domination. This anger is not blind hatred; it is rooted in communist consciousness: the awareness that until the working class organises independently, consciously, and with an internationalist perspective, such atrocities will inevitably be repeated. For this reason, a heavy responsibility falls upon internationalists: the resolute defence of a proletarian stance in today’s confused, tense, and perilous political environment.

## Could the massacre have been prevented?

The first question that arises for any responsible person is this: was it possible to prevent this massacre? The reality is that this slaughter did not occur suddenly; rather, its material conditions had been developing over many years. The ruling Islamic bourgeoisie, by creating hellish conditions for millions of people, had accumulated a vast reservoir of social discontent and hatred. This accumulation of discontent became an explosive force within society.

Meanwhile, the right-wing tendencies of capital, in line with their rhetoric, presented this situation as the basis for a “national revolution” or a “democratic revolution”. On the other hand, the left tendencies of capital interpreted the same discontent as evidence of “revolutionary conditions” and regarded it as the material basis for the “social revolution” they proclaimed.

In other words, both the right- and left-wing factions of capital, by creating political mirages and fuelling false expectations, played a part in shaping the climate that led to this catastrophe. Nevertheless, the role of the criminal Islamic bourgeoisie as the direct force of repression, as well as that of the democratic bourgeoisie and its proxy forces at the international level, was decisive and distinctive.

Within this framework, the son of the former executioner, acting as a proxy for Israel and other imperialist powers, issued a call amid imperialist tensions and in pursuit of their interests, declaring as follows:

*“Over the past few days, I have closely followed your demonstrations and marches, especially today in the Tehran bazaar. Despite the repression of the authoritarian regime, your actions are admirable, and you will surely have noticed that the density of the crowd forces the security forces to retreat and*

*increases the likelihood of defections in your favour. Therefore, it is important to maintain this momentum and breadth.”*<sup>2</sup>

We have consistently emphasised that the duty of communists is neither to follow the working class nor, worse still, to obey spontaneous social movements, but to steadfastly defend the communist programme—even if this stance results in their temporary isolation. The responsibility of communists is to make the working class aware of the dangers ahead and, more importantly, of **the traps that the bourgeoisie designs to advance its own objectives**—even if, at any given moment, these warnings do not gain wide traction.

From this perspective, it can be said that if a militant communist organisation with even minimal influence among the working class had existed, the likelihood of such a level of repression would have been considerably reduced. Such an organisation could have clearly declared that the call of reactionary forces on those two specific days was an attempt to drive the rebellious masses to the slaughterhouse. It could have exposed this action as a trap and urged protesters to refrain from street mobilisation at that particular moment, preserving their strength for more favourable conditions.

At the same time, segments of the left of capital, in concert with right-wing bourgeois tendencies, dark forces, reactionaries, and adventurist elements, were calling on the people to “revolution” without seriously assessing the balance of forces, the level of organisational readiness, or the practical consequences of such a call. Ignoring these decisive factors meant that this approach effectively led protesters into a trap that created the conditions for bloody repression.

In July 1917, the Russian bourgeoisie sought, by provoking a premature uprising in Petrograd, to create conditions under the pretext of an “armed

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<sup>2</sup>[The criminal monarch’s son.](#)

revolt” to carry out bloody repression against the proletariat and the Bolsheviks. This action was part of a broader effort to crush the growing power of the proletariat.

In response to this tense climate, the armed proletariat of Petrograd took to the streets under the slogan “All power to the soviets,” with a demonstration involving around five hundred thousand workers. The Bolsheviks, confronted with an explosive situation, sought to prevent the workers’ movement from falling into the trap of a scenario orchestrated by the bourgeoisie. They had previously warned of the dangers of hasty actions that were disproportionate to the balance of forces.

That same night, through the active intervention and political guidance of the Bolsheviks, the movement was gradually brought under control, and large sections of the proletariat became aware of the dangers ahead. This political maturity and skill on the part of the Bolsheviks prevented the situation from escalating into a widespread bloodbath. The experience of July 1917 demonstrated in practice that being the “vanguard of the proletariat” does not mean following a momentary surge of excitement, but rather assessing the balance of forces, avoiding adventurism, and preserving class strength for the appropriate moment.

Unlike the experience in Russia, in Germany the bourgeoisie was able, through a series of provocations and instigations, to impose the conditions for a premature uprising on the proletariat in 1919. During the First World War, Karl Liebknecht acted not only as the political compass and moral conscience of the German proletariat but also of the international proletariat. However, this moral conscience could not substitute for a precise assessment of the balance of forces and the objective conditions. At a decisive moment, a degree of haste and emotional decision-making dominated the course of events, and at the pivotal point of the revolution, Liebknecht was unable to fulfil his guiding and measured role. As a result, the order for an armed uprising was issued—an action whose announcement caused Rosa Luxemburg

great alarm and deep concern, but unfortunately, by that time, it was already too late.

The consequence of this premature uprising was the bloody repression of the proletariat and the murder of communist leaders. The defeat of 1919 dealt a severe blow to the course of the revolution in Germany and even to the prospects of the global revolution. One of the bitter lessons of this experience was that **mental resolve and revolutionary determination alone are not sufficient for the victory of the working class.**

From a Marxist understanding of the “art of uprising,” an armed insurrection is the final stage of a revolutionary process—one that is meaningful only when the objective conditions, organisation, and political leadership have matured, and the uprising merely breaks the last lines of bourgeois resistance. Any premature action, without preparation and measured guidance, can result in catastrophic failure—as was the case in Germany.

## **The Imperialist Project to Contain the Islamic Bourgeoisie**

It is an undeniable reality that the crises of capitalism and the tendency towards a war economy have afflicted all capitalist states, and the cost of this situation is largely borne by the global working class through austerity policies. However, the destructive intensity of these crises in peripheral capitalist countries is far greater than in the metropolitan centres, posing deeper challenges for their governments. The fragility of economic structures, dependence on the global market, and limited financial resources exacerbate the effects of the crisis in these societies.

In the specific case of Iran, two factors have made the burden of this crisis more destructive and acute—consequences that the general population, and particularly the working class, must bear. These two factors are: first, the extensive sanctions imposed on Iran; and second, the enrichment of segments of the domestic bourgeoisie within the framework of the sanctioned economy, benefiting from rents and opaque mechanisms. Both of these factors will be discussed in the following sections.

The stated aim of the sanctions is to exert maximum pressure on Iran's economy—a pressure intended to disable industries, increase unemployment, sharply raise inflation, erode the purchasing power of the population, particularly the working class, and darken the prospects for the younger generation. Together, these consequences, along with numerous other social harms, create the material basis for widespread discontent.

At the same time, the following questions arise: Are the sanctions truly effective? Does the “maximum pressure” policy achieve its objectives? These were among the questions posed on the Fox News network to the United States Secretary of the Treasury, who plays a key role in implementing and enforcing the sanctions. His response was as follows:

*“Last March president trump instructed me to use the powers of treasury to put maximum pressure on Iran, and what we saw by December, the sanctions of oil sale, tracking down the money. What we saw, because of that in December one of the largest banks in Iran collapsed. The central bank had to bail them out, and they ended up with massive inflation which has led to economic chaos. Their currency’s collapsed.”*<sup>3</sup>

In response to the question of whether the United States’ “maximum pressure” policy, along with that of its allies, implemented through sanctions against Iran, has been effective, the Secretary claims that the policy has produced results. According to him, even without firing a single shot, developments are proceeding in line with their intended objectives, and the situation is “progressing very positively.”

To put it more clearly, his point is that, without resorting to military action, Iran’s economy has been placed under severe pressure and is moving along a trajectory aligned with the objectives declared by the United States—a pressure that has intensified social discontent and created the conditions for street protests. He states:

*“It’s worked because in December, their economy collapsed. We saw a major bank go under. The central bank has started to print money. There is a dollar shortage. They are not able to get imports, and this is why the people took to the streets. This is economic statecraft, no shots fired, and things are moving in a very positive way here.”*<sup>4</sup>

The international sanctions led by the United States have played a significant role in worsening Iran’s economic conditions; however, the sanctions explain only part of the picture. At the same time as external

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<sup>3</sup> Treasury Secretary Scott Bessent.

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pressures have intensified, segments of the ruling class have also benefited from the continuation of this situation.

In response to the intensification of sanctions and financial restrictions, the disgraceful ruling bourgeoisie resorted to creating opaque and parallel networks to bypass these sanctions and pressures—networks that operate outside the official economic framework and have effectively expanded the “shadow economy.” This situation provided fertile ground for the emergence and consolidation of an economic mafia. Within this context, the power structure in certain sectors has come to function like an economic mafia, with some officials and their associates directly benefiting from the sanction-driven conditions through special mechanisms. These benefits can include exclusive control over imports and exports, the management and transfer of oil revenues abroad, profits from opaque financial networks and money laundering, and the exploitation of various special privileges.

In such a system, the rise and fluctuation of foreign currency values became a golden opportunity for wealth accumulation in the hands of a very small minority. A tiny group, exploiting currency rents and special access, amassed vast—and at times almost legendary—fortunes; to such an extent that the level of luxury and concentration of wealth in certain bourgeois neighbourhoods is scarcely matched even in many Western European countries.

In contrast, the majority of society faced a continuous decline in purchasing power, rising inflation, expanding poverty, and job insecurity. Class divisions deepened, and large sections of the population—particularly the working class—were pushed below the poverty line and confronted with economic instability. Within this context, Hossein Samsami, a member of the Economic Commission of the Islamic bourgeoisie’s parliament, referred to currencies that, over a seven-year period, had not returned to the official economic cycle. According to him, approximately \$130 billion from exports or other national currency

sources did not enter the formal exchange system and were effectively diverted to the unofficial market and unregulated transactions. He stated:

*“From 2018 to 15 February 2026, the total non-return of currency to the country’s official cycle reached \$130 billion.”<sup>5</sup>*

Meanwhile, the limitation of foreign currency resources and reduced access to external revenues led to a sharp rise in the dollar exchange rate, which in turn triggered a wave of price increases and social discontent. Subsequently, the government sought to manage budgetary pressures by removing the preferential currency scheme, but this measure resulted in unprecedented inflation and increased economic pressure on low-income groups.

Taken together, these developments have placed Iran’s peripheral capitalist economy in a critical situation—one for which, given the continuation of external restrictions and internal structural problems, no clear prospects are apparent. The impact of these conditions can be seen in the New Year’s budget bill, which takes effect on 21 March 2026 and will soon be implemented. In this bill, revenues from oil sales, the issuance of securities, and oil barter for the procurement of petroleum products have been significantly reduced compared with previous estimates, reportedly adjusted down by around 70 percent—a decline attributed to limitations on oil sales in the coming year. In other words, the new annual budget has been prepared with a contractionary approach based on austerity policies.

The limitation on oil sales has become one of the serious challenges facing Iran’s economy. The volume of the country’s crude oil stored in tankers and remaining at sea has reached its highest level in around two and a half years—a situation that indicates significant pressure on the final stage of Iran’s oil export chain. Currently, approximately 52 million

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<sup>5</sup> Samsami.

barrels of oil are being held in “floating storage,” meaning that the cargoes have been loaded but have not yet been offloaded or delivered to their final destinations.

This unprecedented accumulation of crude oil in tankers is the result of a combination of pressures, the primary factor being sanctions-related restrictions. These restrictions prevent the direct transfer of oil from origin to destination; consequently, in many cases, oil is transferred from one ship to another in international waters near the destination, and the shipment documents are altered to conceal its Iranian origin.

Due to the intensification of oil sanctions, China has in recent years become the primary destination for Iran’s oil exports, purchasing more than 90 percent of the country’s output. However, because of sanctions-related restrictions, Chinese state-owned refineries are unable to buy Iranian oil directly, meaning that the bulk of purchases and absorption of Iran’s sanctioned oil falls to Chinese private refineries.

In addition to Iran, Russia, facing extensive Western sanctions, is offering part of its oil to the Asian market at a discount. In effect, both sanctioned countries are competing with each other in a limited market. The presence of tens of millions of barrels of oil at sea has increased the bargaining power of buyers of sanctioned oil in this high-risk market, resulting in substantial price discounts.

The 25-year agreement between Iran and China is a long-term comprehensive cooperation programme that was finalised in 2021. The main areas of this cooperation include energy and oil and gas, infrastructure and transport, industry and technology, finance and banking, and culture and tourism. The fundamental question is that while Iran seeks to attract investment and technology and reduce the pressure of sanctions, China aims to secure long-term access to energy and economic influence in West Asia. The key question is whether China can

provide even a minimum level of economic stimulus to sustain Iran's economy under the harsh conditions of sanctions.

The answer to this question is provided by Pezeshkian, the president of Iran. According to him, China was supposed to provide a significant amount of financial credit and investment to Iran, but so far this commitment has not been fulfilled, and it is clear that China will not follow through. He said:

*“China was supposed to provide a large amount of finance to Iran, but it is not doing so. It is not as simple as just saying that anyone who wants to provide finance can go ahead and do it.”*<sup>6</sup>

The reality is that, in its dealings with Iran, China primarily pursues its own strategic and imperialist interests. Accordingly, the extent to which the long-term comprehensive cooperation programme between the two countries is realised depends not only on the political will of both parties, but also on geopolitical conditions, the level of international tensions, and the status of sanctions.

In other words, as indicated by statements from American officials, the strategy of Western imperialist powers and their allies to weaken and bankrupt the economy of the Islamic Republic is pursued within the framework of their geopolitical objectives. These policies have deepened economic divisions, expanded poverty and instability, and increased public discontent, becoming one of the main sources of social distrust.

From the perspective of the communist left, the intensification of the economic crisis can create the material basis for the expansion of class struggle and even elevate it to more decisive levels. However, the current situation in Iran is not simply a direct consequence of the economic crisis;

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<sup>6</sup> Entekhab.

rather, it results from the intersection of a range of domestic and international factors.

In this context, all imperialist powers—both regional and global—have effectively contributed to the reproduction of conditions in which the masses generally, and the working class in particular, find themselves in a state of despair and powerlessness. These powers seek to stabilise relations in which the masses, and especially the working class, instead of acting as an independent, history-making force, become a dispersed, passive, and unorganised collective. In such a situation, the capacity for organisation and reliance on collective strength is weakened, and hope for liberation is sought not through conscious and independent class action, but through external interventions or the shifting of power between different bourgeois factions.

## Propaganda and Media War

Every imperialist power<sup>7</sup>, whether large or small, is compelled to establish some form of social acceptance and legitimacy in order to consolidate and expand its influence. For this reason, propaganda, media, and news apparatuses are employed to ensure that this influence is accepted by public opinion with minimal resistance. In the media war among imperialist powers, each strives to construct a favourable image of itself in the minds of its audience, presenting itself as the embodiment of truth while portraying its enemy as the personification of “absolute evil.”

In the specific case of Iran, Western imperialist powers, Israel, and some of their regional allies allocate substantial financial resources each year, in various forms, to advancing such projects. Dozens of television and radio networks—including Iran International, Manoto, Voice of Israel, Voice of America, the BBC, and other media outlets—together with extensive, targeted, and organised campaigns on social media, operate with the aim of influencing public opinion; it must be acknowledged that they have largely been successful in this regard. By contrast, the Iranian ruling authorities pursue similar objectives; however, in terms of media reach, financial resources, and international access, their capabilities in this sphere are more limited.

Nevertheless, the material basis that makes the acceptance of these reactionary positions possible within society is not merely naked political dictatorship; rather, it is above all the result of the historical defeat of the working class at the global level and, in the specific case of Iran, a consequence of its defeat following the magnificent struggles of the years 1978 to 1980.

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<sup>7</sup> For us, in the era of capitalist decline—the age of imperialism—all states, regardless of their size, are imperialist.

Under such conditions, the class that controls the means of material production also takes control of the means of intellectual production and, through this, reproduces its class domination as the dominant producer of ideas. Marx clearly explained and delineated this dialectical relationship between material power and the dominance of ruling-class ideas:

*“The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas.”<sup>8</sup>*

During the recent protests, when access to the internet was widely restricted, the authorities also sought to reduce access to foreign-based media by jamming satellite broadcasts. This measure was intended to diminish the impact of these outlets’ news coverage.

In response, Iran International, drawing on its financial and technical resources, was able to continue broadcasting its programmes via multiple frequencies and satellites, ensuring that its signal could be received through various channels. Technical reports also indicated that, at certain times, broadcast frequencies were updated or replaced to maintain audience access in the event of disruption or jamming. In addition to satellite transmission, the network made use of various digital platforms and social media channels to continue disseminating its content.

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<sup>8</sup> The German Ideology - Karl Marx.

In this way, by adopting a strategy based on diversifying transmission channels and strengthening its communications infrastructure, the outlet was able, under conditions of severe information restrictions, to become one of the principal sources of news for a segment of the audience and to play a prominent role in shaping, directing, and influencing public opinion.

This network operates within the framework of Israel's geopolitical interests and has become a platform aligned with its policies. In the current context, one of its key objectives is to highlight and amplify the profile of Reza Pahlavi; by organising and reinforcing the discourse of his supporters, it seeks to present him as the sole viable alternative.

The dissemination of fake and manipulated news, exaggerated claims regarding the collapse of the disgraceful Islamic bourgeoisie, promotion of foreign intervention, and the presentation of narratives aligned with Israel's interests have all been reported. For example, in the city of Dezful, which has a population of around half a million, claims were made that 900,000 people had taken to the streets; in the small city of Abadan, with a population of about 25,000, the number of participants was reported as 60,000.

The network published daily photos, images, and personal details of those reported killed. As part of the media war and attempts to discredit one another, supporters of the disgraceful Islamic bourgeoisie circulated clips on social media in which individuals identified by Iran International as having died denied their deaths, or images from incidents in other countries were presented as part of these events, as reported by Iran International or other reactionary media outlets.

Overall, this situation can be understood as part of a bourgeois and reactionary war of narratives, in which both sides of the conflict attempt, through propaganda and media tools, to consolidate their own narrative while discrediting that of their opponent. This war of narratives contains

not the slightest trace of a revolutionary account; its very purpose is precisely to prevent the emergence of a revolutionary narrative.

Following the January 2026 massacre carried out by the executioners of the Islamic bourgeoisie, the opposition to the Islamic bourgeoisie announced new casualty figures daily, numbers that even reached 60,000 and continued to rise. In this context, the disgraceful Islamic bourgeoisie presented its own claimed statistics, reporting 3,117 deaths and publishing a list of the personal details of 2,986 of those killed in the recent events, including names, surnames, and the last six digits of their national ID numbers. Among these, around two thousand—whether members of the security forces, Basij, or part of the protesters—were classified as “martyrs”<sup>9</sup> by the Islamic bourgeoisie, while the remainder were labelled “rioters.” In this context, the Foreign Minister of the Islamic bourgeoisie also stated:

*“If they want to add even a single person to the list, let them come and present it.”*<sup>10</sup>

In this war of narratives, the Islamic bourgeoisie claims that it was the “rioters,” not the protesters, who set fire to hundreds of mosques, destroyed buses and ambulances, attacked markets and public spaces, and, like terrorist groups, carried out beheadings and killings. In contrast, the opposition asserts that these actions were carried out by the Islamic bourgeoisie itself, and that the creation of casualties is part of the regime’s project: to lay the groundwork for a massacre and, by relying on its own dead, enable widespread repression.

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<sup>9</sup> Being classified as a “martyr” means that the survivors of the deceased individual benefit from a range of special privileges granted to the families of martyrs. Whether some of the families actually make use of these benefits does not, in principle, alter the matter and is not a significant point of debate. The main issue is the propagandistic function of this designation—a function that is applied even to the bodies of those killed.

<sup>10</sup> [Tabnak](#).

The use of fake news and images to inflame public sentiment, followed by calls to take up the struggle, has a long history. Even more insidious is the deliberate provocation of public anger through the commission of crimes and then attributing them to one's opponents. Two notable examples can be cited:

**First:** the burning of the Rex Cinema in Abadan by a few so-called anti-Shah criminals, with responsibility falsely attributed to the State Intelligence and Security Organisation (SAVAK).<sup>11</sup>

**Second:** the bombing of the shrine of the eighth Shia Imam in Mashhad in 1994, which was initially attributed to the Mujahedin but was later traced to the Ministry of Intelligence of the Islamic bourgeoisie.<sup>12</sup>

Communists derive their existence and historical necessity from the fundamental contradiction between labour and capital, and from the belief in the historical role of the proletariat—not from the violence or actions of reactionary bourgeois factions. The duty of communists, particularly in the current sensitive conditions, is not to become entangled in bourgeois narratives, but to maintain and elaborate the communist

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<sup>11</sup> Before the fall of the Pahlavi regime, at a time when there were no visible protest movements against the Shah's government in Abadan, a group of radical religious forces concluded that an action was necessary to provoke public opinion and intensify the wave of protests. On 19 August 1978, the Rex Cinema in Abadan, which was screening the film *The Deer*, caught fire, and hundreds of people perished in the flames. At the time, responsibility for this disaster was attributed to SAVAK. Given the government's sensitivity to *The Deer*, which was considered a critical and radical work, this narrative appeared credible to the public and provoked widespread outrage. Following the events of 1979 and subsequent investigations, it was established that the fire had been set by individuals with extremist religious tendencies, not by SAVAK.

<sup>12</sup> The explosion at the shrine of the eighth Shia Imam in Mashhad occurred on 20 June 1994. The attack took place on the day of Ashura, at a time when large numbers of pilgrims were present. As a result of the incident, 26 people were killed and around 300 were injured. At the time, the government attributed responsibility for the bombing to the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran (PMOI). However, years later, during the investigation into the "Chain Murders" case, it was suggested that the bombing had been carried out as part of operations conducted by the Ministry of Intelligence.

programme and to safeguard the independence of the working class under all circumstances. This independence is a prerequisite for the social power and historical capacity of the proletariat to organise, struggle, and bring about revolutionary change, and it cannot be achieved by relying on external forces or interventions from bourgeois factions.

## **The National Revolution: A Bourgeois Project Against the Working Class**

Within the framework of imperialist tensions between the Western bourgeoisie and its allies on one side, and the ruling bourgeoisie of Iran on the other, the project to contain the Islamic Republic—tailored to Iran’s specific conditions—is pursued not through a classic coup, but via a bourgeois scenario known as the “National Revolution.” In this context, Western imperialists, particularly the United States, use this project as a lever to compel the ruling criminals in Iran to retreat or capitulate in regional and international calculations. At the same time, Israel pursues this scenario in line with its strategic objectives in the region, including the so-called “New Middle East” plan and the shifting balance of power, of which regime change in Iran is a key component.

This deeply bourgeois and reactionary project, relying on nationalism, monarchist nostalgia, and promises of “national salvation,” seeks to turn the working class into cannon fodder for a bourgeois scenario. Within this framework, workers are represented not as an independent historical subject, but as a shapeless, obedient mass. The aim of this project is for workers to lose their class identity and consciousness and, instead of relying on their organised strength and historical capacity, to remain waiting for a saviour who is, in fact, the representative of one of the most reactionary and ruthless bourgeois alternatives.

Western imperialist powers, particularly the United States and Israel, are well aware that the restoration of the monarchy in Iran is neither simple nor inexpensive. The experience of countries such as Spain shows that the bourgeoisie can, under certain conditions, use the institution of monarchy as a tool for “national unity”; but in Iran, the monarchy no longer has the capacity to play such a unifying role for the bourgeoisie. The Pahlavi monarchy was established not on the basis of broad support from the classic bourgeoisie, but through police repression and direct

reliance on the Western bloc in the context of the Cold War. For this reason, restoring the son of the former executioner of the monarchy is not a mere repetition of past coups, but a highly risky endeavour that could exacerbate instability, expand chaos, and even deepen imperialist conflicts within Iran's borders.

Within this framework, the son of the former executioner of the monarchy seeks to pave the way to power by securing the support of the United States and Israel. He relies on the continuity of his family tradition: his grandfather came to power with British backing, his father was restored to the throne through a joint British–American coup, and now he hopes that, this time, with the support of Washington and Tel Aviv, he will ascend to the crown.

A question that arises for anyone seeking the truth is this: previous calls by Reza Pahlavi on various occasions within Iran did not gain widespread traction, and gatherings of his supporters abroad were usually limited to a few dozen people, failing to attract significant numbers. So how is it that his most recent call resonated, leading to demonstrations of tens of thousands in cities across Europe and North America in support of his potential return to the throne?

The answer is that the impact of these calls, both inside Iran and abroad, stems less from his social power and influence than from Israel's power. Even if other Western imperialist powers and their allies do not fully endorse this Israeli-backed alternative, they effectively facilitate its advance. As Saadi<sup>13</sup> says: “The clouds, the wind, the moon, the sun, and the heavens all work together” to enable this Israeli alternative to progress.

It is important to note that within Iran, not all protesters align themselves with the so-called “National Revolution” alternative. Nevertheless,

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<sup>13</sup> Saadi was a 13th-century Persian poet and prose writer whose works remain influential in Persian literature and are still frequently quoted for their wisdom and eloquence.

historical experience has shown that movements lacking political independence and a clear class front can easily become cannon fodder for other projects, even serving the most reactionary and ruthless bourgeois initiatives.

Within this framework, advancing the “National Revolution” scenario centred on the son of the former Pahlavi executioner requires several essential preconditions, the most important of which are:

**First**, widespread social discontent arising from declining living standards, the spread of life below the poverty line, and a generalised economic crisis—conditions that provide an objective basis for attracting dissatisfied masses, and whose intensification by imperialist powers we examined in previous sections.

**Second**, the launch of extensive, targeted propaganda to shape public opinion, including a nostalgic and exaggerated reconstruction of the Pahlavi era, and the narrative that prior to 1979, Iran was on the verge of becoming the “Japan of the Middle East,” with Iranian money and passports enjoying international recognition.

**Third**, the creation of a false political mirage regarding democracy, suggesting that Western powers are ready to “help” and that “assistance is on the way,” that the collapse of the clerical regime is imminent, and that only the “final blow” remains.

Taken together, these factors can, in the absence of an independent and conscious class alternative, channel a portion of social discontent along the path of an extremely reactionary bourgeois project.

The political programme of the deeply reactionary and bourgeois project known as the “National Revolution” has been outlined in a document entitled *The Emergency Period Handbook*. This document claims to define and guide the framework for governing the country during the transitional period—from the fall of the Islamic bourgeoisie to the

formation of a constituent assembly. During this transitional period, the son of the former Pahlavi executioner is envisaged as the central figure and leader.

As noted earlier, although the United States does not openly obstruct the so-called “National Revolution” project, which Israel is advancing, it is by no means fully committed to it. This approach is broadly similar among European powers, which, despite general alignment with Israel’s alternative, do not fully endorse it.

It was in this context that U.S. Secretary of State Marco Rubio commented on the potential replacement of the criminal Supreme Leader, expressing hope that individuals could be found within the existing structure to take responsibility for managing a transitional period. He stated:

*“Within the existing structures, individuals were identified who could make a transitional move possible.”<sup>14</sup>*

The project known as the “National Revolution” is deeply reactionary and opposed to the historical interests of the working class. It seeks to conceal the fundamental contradiction between labour and capital under the guise of “national unity” and nationalist salvation, stripping workers of their class identity and consciousness. Within this framework, workers are redefined not as an independent, history-making force, but as a passive and dispersed mass—one that, instead of organising around its own class interests, waits for a saviour and an alternative arising from within the bourgeois order, even from the most ruthless currents of the global bourgeoisie. In this way, the ultimate aim of the project is to weaken the organised capacity of the proletariat and prevent it from playing an independent role as a social class in the arena of historical struggle.

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<sup>14</sup> [BBC](#).

## **Bourgeois History-Making Versus the Tradition of Class Struggle**

In the tradition of working-class struggle, whenever workers take the initiative from their independent, class-based standpoint, the struggle transcends a limited and scattered level and acquires a social character. In this situation, the boundaries between the factory, the workplace, the neighbourhood, the street, and public spaces begin to blur; streets and neighbourhoods, in connection with the workplace, become spaces for discussion, dialogue, and even political debate, gradually taking on the functions of public assemblies and collective will.

This transformation is not merely an expansion of the arena of protest, but a concrete expression of class self-organisation. Under such conditions, a form of collective consciousness emerges from the experience of shared struggle—a consciousness grounded in class independence and the workers' reliance on their own strength. This process enables protesters to carry on their struggle not in a reactive, episodic, or explosive manner, but consciously, consistently, and with a clearer long-term perspective.

Continuing along this path, every step taken to consolidate self-organisation and deepen class consciousness leads to a more radicalised class struggle. This is because a struggle grounded in an independent, class-based position inevitably moves beyond limited demands and challenges the entire framework of capitalist relations and the state that upholds them.

In contrast, within the bourgeois tradition, struggle is not based on collective discussion, open political debate, or deliberation, but on individuality, competition, intrigue, deception, and false propaganda. Within this framework, political action, rather than being an expression

of the organised and direct will of the masses, becomes a stage for the rivalry of personalities and pre-designed projects.

The “figures” emerging from this tradition—particularly those from its right-wing faction—are products of the mechanisms of power: individuals elevated through media networks, intelligence and security institutions, and within the framework of imperialist interests. The vast bourgeois propaganda and media apparatus plays a central role in turning these individuals into “representatives of the people” or “leaders of the struggle,” with capital and financial resources playing a decisive role in highlighting and legitimising them.

In this way, struggle within the bourgeois tradition becomes detached from direct, conscious collective participation and is reduced to a reproduction of power relations in another form. The following examination of a recent specific example will clarify the mechanism of this kind of elevation and its political function.

The son of the former Pahlavi executioner previously claimed that 50,000 members of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) had pledged loyalty to him and would distance themselves from the ranks of the regime during protests and uprisings. He went even further, asserting that the very corps that had defended the nation in war would not fire on its own compatriots:

*“This corps, which protected its nation in war, will not fire on its fellow countrymen.”<sup>15</sup>*

In other words, he was attempting to reach an agreement with a section of the Islamic bourgeoisie, even though he had become widely unpopular among monarchists for various reasons; his calls were not taken seriously, and at monarchist demonstrations abroad, only a few dozen

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<sup>15</sup> [The criminal Shah’s son.](#)

people at most would attend. To say that the son of the criminal Shah (Reza Pahlavi) is a representative of Israeli power is not merely an allegation. To clarify the matter, let us take a closer look at this project.

We begin with Israel itself: on 3 October 2025, the newspaper *Haaretz* published an investigative report, in collaboration with the research centre Citizen Lab<sup>16</sup>, examining an online operation. The report demonstrates how, before and during Israeli airstrikes on Iran, the country used fake accounts and AI-generated content to bolster Reza Pahlavi's image and promote the restoration of the monarchy in Iran.<sup>17</sup>

The newspaper *Le Figaro* reports that, following the twelve-day war between Israel and Iran, an organised online campaign against Iran was launched, which remains active and is directed by Israel. Researchers state that this campaign relies on a network of fake accounts and manipulated or AI-generated content, aiming to highlight Reza Pahlavi's image and legitimise his royalist project.

The campaign's method is based on extensive coordination and the repeated reposting of messages using identical hashtags to create artificial peaks, ensuring that content appears at the top of social media feeds regardless of genuine user engagement. According to published statistics, a total of **1.7 billion** "likes" have been recorded in this campaign.<sup>18</sup>

Mike Pompeo, former Director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and former U.S. Secretary of State, who possesses extensive knowledge of intelligence and security matters through his responsibilities, commented on 2 January 2026 regarding the presence of Mossad agents in Iran:

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<sup>16</sup> Citizen Lab is a research centre affiliated with the University of Toronto, conducting research on cybersecurity, digital surveillance, and online influence operations.

<sup>17</sup> [Haaretz](#).

<sup>18</sup> [Le Figaro](#).

*“The Iranian regime is in trouble. Bringing in mercenaries is its last best hope. Riots in dozens of cities and the Basij under siege — Mashed, Tehran, Zahedan. Next stop: Baluchistan. Happy New Year to every Iranian in the streets. Also to every Mossad agent walking beside them...”*<sup>19</sup>

On 3 January 2026, *The Jerusalem Post*, while reflecting on Mike Pompeo’s remarks, also addressed statements attributed to Mossad concerning the protests in Iran. The newspaper reported that Mossad had stated that it not only supports the protesters from afar but is also present on the ground during the demonstrations. The report was published with the following wording:

*“On Monday, Mossad encouraged the anti-regime protestors in a Farsi-language social media post. ‘Go out together into the streets. The time has come,’ the Mossad stated, adding that Mossad operatives are with the protestors ‘not only from a distance and verbally. We are with [them] in the field.’”*<sup>20</sup>

In an interview with Israel’s Channel 13, the interviewer, referring to Donald Trump’s promises to support Iranian protesters, raised the question that although Iranians had taken to the streets, they had received no assistance; had the Trump administration missed an opportunity for regime change during this uprising? Mike Pompeo rejected this interpretation and responded:

*“I do not think so. Help did come ... a lot of help. We may not see it all ... We may not know about it all, But the United States is actively trying to help [them].”*<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> [Mike Pompeo](#).

<sup>20</sup> [The Jerusalem Post](#).

<sup>21</sup> [13TV](#).

Colonel Lawrence Wilkerson, a retired U.S. Army officer and former Chief of Staff to Colin Powell (U.S. Secretary of State under George W. Bush), has compared the recent events in Iran and the role of Western imperialist powers to the coup of 19 August 1953. Although his comparison is mistaken, his emphasis on the role of Mossad, with the assistance of the CIA and MI6, is noteworthy in light of the other statements we have previously examined.<sup>22</sup>

Just as, for the Islamic bourgeoisie, the Supreme Leader plays the role of the “shadow of God,” for the “suited” bourgeoisie the Shah plays a similar role. Even sections of Christianity and the Church have joined this alignment in order to present the son of the Pahlavi executioner as “God’s chosen one.” Kamil Navai, senior pastor at the Iranian Church in Sunnyvale, California, who conducts religious services and Bible study sessions, has stated: “Reza Pahlavi is God’s choice.”<sup>23</sup> This example demonstrates how religion and ideology, regardless of their form, are placed at the service of consolidating bourgeois power and, alongside media instruments, advanced as propaganda. The aim is to reinforce class domination and reproduce exploitative relations.

Various analyses have been conducted regarding the promotion of the son of the criminal Shah as an alternative, and there has been speculation that the BBC exaggerated his role by 100 per cent and Iran International by 400 per cent, giving disproportionate prominence to the son of the Pahlavi executioner.

One of the events that played a significant role in elevating Reza Pahlavi’s profile was his presence at the Munich Security Conference, followed by his speech to supporters in the city. The invitation extended to the son of the Pahlavi executioner to attend this conference, and particularly the organisation of a large gathering with special security

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<sup>22</sup> Colonel Lawrence Wilkerson.

<sup>23</sup> Kamil Navai, Senior Pastor.

arrangements—including the use of a bulletproof vehicle, delivering his speech behind protective (bulletproof) glass, and the mobilisation of a crowd of Iranians and non-Iranians to fill the venue—indicated that monarchists alone were not capable of organising such an event. Rather, it suggested the existence of organised backing and substantial resources, pointing to support from a major power.

Moreover, media coverage and urban advertising further contributed to this elevation. For example, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, one of Germany’s highest-circulation newspapers, displayed advertisements for the gathering on screens at bus stops and underground stations across the city. It is evident that such a level of advertising in public urban spaces requires substantial financial expenditure and extensive administrative coordination. Taken together, these factors—from the security arrangements to the media promotion—indicate that this event was organised within a framework that went beyond that of an ordinary opposition rally. The text of the advertisement read:

*“A large rally against the Iranian regime is scheduled to take place in Munich on 14 February. The son of the former Shah, who will be present in the city at the same time as the Munich Security Conference, has also called for participation in this protest.”*

Statements by American and Israeli officials regarding Mossad’s presence in Iran were expressed so explicitly that their impact was not confined to mainstream media and also provoked reactions among the left of political activists. In this context, Behrouz Farahani, an Iranian leftist activist, addressed the issue in a televised interview with the BBC and commented on the implications of such statements. In this interview, he said:

*“Former Mossad officers come on behalf of Mossad and declare that we have operatives in Iran, that we are working there, and*

*that we are providing assistance. When you mix this with Reza Pahlavi's message, which says 'you should fight, help is coming,' and the Israelis are also saying the same thing, where are these young people being sent?'"<sup>24</sup>*

Despite the explanations provided earlier, some leftist activists, as well as the Mojahedin, suggest that behind the Pahlavi project stands the Islamic bourgeoisie itself. Their argument is that this project does not pose a serious threat to the existing power structure. In their view, the project functions less as a genuine alternative to the ruling order and more as a tool to divert the course of struggle and contain the revolutionary potential of society. According to this interpretation, the authorities have either allowed or directly and indirectly reinforced the Pahlavi project in order to weaken revolutionary and progressive forces, marginalise the revolutionary process, and ultimately ensure the continuation of their own dominance.

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<sup>24</sup> BBC.

## The Left of Capital

We have repeatedly emphasised that the approach of the leftists in 1979 was not merely the result of ignorance or error, but rather the logical product of their position and class character. Guided by class instinct, the left of capital played a role in consolidating the Islamic bourgeoisie and praised their Imam's "anti-imperialist" understanding. The issue was that their horizon was not the negation of capitalism in its totality — something that was not possible for them — but the replacement of one form of bourgeois rule with another. They were not, and could not be, opposed to capitalism as a social relation; rather, their opposition was directed at the monarchical bourgeoisie.

The same logic can be observed today: opposition is directed not against the capitalist system as a whole and all factions of the bourgeoisie, but solely against the Islamic Republic — that is, one form of bourgeois rule in Iran, what we call the Islamic bourgeoisie. Yet the bourgeoisie in power is only one possible form of capital's class domination, and other forms of the bourgeoisie, even when in opposition, remain part of the same society's bourgeoisie and bearers of the same capitalist relations.

By contrast, in that same year, 1979, the communist left, drawing on their allegiance to the proletarian camp and an internationalist perspective, sought to analyse the situation on the basis of the contradiction between labour and capital and to stand against the mythologisation of the clergy. From the standpoint of the communist left, all factions of the bourgeoisie — regardless of whether their rhetoric is religious, national, liberal, or even ostensibly "left-wing" — are reactionary, because they operate within the framework of preserving and reproducing capitalist relations. Hence, a genuine anti-imperialist struggle is not merely a struggle against "Western imperialists", but a struggle against the bourgeoisie in all its forms, including the domestic bourgeoisie; for in the imperialist epoch all states are integrated into the network of the global capitalist system

and the process of global capital accumulation, and the fundamental contradiction remains that between labour and capital.

Iranian leftists maintain that, since 2017, revolutionary conditions have prevailed in Iran and, with the slogan “Forward to revolution”, they seek to call upon the working class to join these protests so that, through a nationwide political general strike and an uprising, it may overthrow the regime. Put more plainly, in this view the working class must set aside its independent struggle and become the foot soldiers of democratic and anti-dictatorial movements. They also contend that the massacre carried out by the ruling class was an attempt to block the revolutionary upsurge:

*“Its message was addressed to Iranian society: it viewed this mass upsurge as likely, in its development, to lead to a nationwide political strike by workers and other sections of society on a scale of tens of millions, under the leadership and direction of this class. Consequently, it feared that the obstacles standing in the way of the revolution — which these uprisings, despite their self-sacrifice, had thus far been unable to remove — might reach such a level of preparedness that they could be swept away in the shortest possible time. On this basis, in order to block further advance and prevent society from moving in such a direction in the weeks and months ahead, it moved swiftly into action to stop it from pursuing that course.”<sup>25</sup>*

Quite apart from any assessment of the class character of the 2026 protests, the reality is that the bulk of participants were young people, including teenagers, while the working class, as an organised social class with independent demands, did not enter the scene at all. The scattered presence of individual workers in isolated instances does not alter this fact or change the nature of the issue. Notably, the leftists themselves

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<sup>25</sup> [The massacre of thousands was an attempt to halt the revolutionary upsurge!](#)

reacted to this situation. With complaint and even astonishment, they spoke of the workers' "silence" during the January 2026 protests, describing this absence as a "historic rupture". On this basis, they framed their question as follows:

*“One significant absence has become particularly striking: why have substantial sections of the working class — especially industrial and oil workers, who had previously been at the forefront of economic and trade-union strikes — now appeared only in a limited, scattered, or passive manner?”<sup>26</sup>*

Setting aside the exaggeration and demagoguery of some leftists in describing these protests as a “million-strong movement” — a claim not even advanced by the bourgeois propaganda apparatus — it remains clear that they address, and even reproach, the working class for why no strike in support of this “million-strong movement” took place in factories, offices, schools, or other workplaces. For the left of capital, which believes that revolutionary conditions have prevailed in Iran since 2017, it is inconceivable that the workers did not take to the streets. From their perspective, the fundamental question is why the working class remained a mere spectator during these events. Accordingly, they ask, with astonishment, why worker activists were absent from these protests:

*“The absence of prominent worker activists such as Esmail Bakhshi, Reza Shahabi, Mahmoud Salehi, and thousands of like-minded individuals from other social movements is keenly felt in this street uprising of progressive people. These well-known figures of the working class — who have experience in organising and striking, endured imprisonment and torture, and have also suffered poverty and economic hardship — and who are widely respected among Iran’s working class, are precisely those whose*

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<sup>26</sup> [The workers’ silence in the January 2026 uprising: a historic rupture.](#)

*voices should now be heard at the forefront of the millions-strong protests, in strikes at factories, offices, universities, and schools. Were these activists to take their place at the head of the current street movement, they would generate unprecedented energy and enthusiasm within it.*<sup>27</sup>

Setting aside the capitalist Left activists, let us consider the stance of the most radical phrase<sup>28</sup> currents of the Left of capital regarding the recent protests. In the January 2026 protests, if we disregard the reactionary slogans and support for the son of the Pahlavi executioner, the slogans or demands, at best, were anti-dictatorship in nature rather than class-based.

Nevertheless, “The council of left and communist organisations’ corporations”<sup>29</sup> regards the massacre that took place as evidence of widespread resistance by workers and the toiling masses against the plundering of their livelihoods — an analysis based on their assumption that revolutionary conditions have prevailed since 2017. Within this framework, and with complete demagoguery, the ongoing protests are portrayed as an uprising against poverty and the economic system itself — that is, capitalism.

They claim that Trump and Reza Pahlavi fell into a trap set for them by the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps. This narrative recalls the same pattern of behaviour displayed by leftists in 1979: first supporting a bourgeois faction — namely, the Islamic bourgeoisie — and then, once

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<sup>27</sup> [The presence of prominent labour movement activists is sorely missed in the recent popular uprising.](#)

<sup>28</sup> In the literature of the Communist Left, the term “radical phrase part of the Left of Capital” refers to that segment of the Left of Capital which, in its rhetoric and propaganda, employs radical concepts such as social revolution, opposition to capitalism, the working class, communism, and so on, but in practice acts to uphold capitalist relations and reproduce the wage-labour system.

<sup>29</sup> The council of left and communist organisations’ corporations is composed of six currents, representing the most radical parts of the left of capital in Iran’s political milieu, and they have formed a form of alliance among themselves.

their support for the tyrant Khomeini ended, claiming that “the revolution was stolen.” Today, they similarly claim that Reza Pahlavi has entered the arena to hijack an uprising that has arisen against poverty and the economic system — that is, capitalism; as if every act of repression and every massacre were necessarily a sign of the deepening of an anti-capitalist struggle.

A notable point in this stance of the leftists is that, despite their own references to statements by Reza Pahlavi, Trump, Netanyahu, and Pompeo regarding the presence of Mossad agents in the street demonstrations, the responsibility for the January 2026 massacre is, in their view, placed **entirely** on the Islamic regime. In other words, according to the left of capital, only one bourgeois faction — namely, the Islamic bourgeoisie — is considered “entirely” responsible, rather than all bourgeois tendencies that contributed to creating the conditions for this massacre.

This contrasts with the communist left, who have always emphasised that in crimes such as massacres and the Auschwitz genocide, not only the Nazi bourgeoisie but also the democratic bourgeoisie were complicit. Unlike the left of capital, which attempts to grant immunity to other bourgeois tendencies, in this crime the responsibility does not lie solely with the corrupt Islamic bourgeoisie; Western imperialists, through their proxy forces, monarchists, reactionaries, adventurists, and both right- and left-wing capitalist tendencies, are also complicit.

We hope this long quotation is not too tedious for the reader. Radical pharese part of the left of capital employ such language as a form of demagoguery.

*“It was predictable for the Islamic regime that plundering the livelihoods of tens of millions of workers and toilers would be met with widespread resistance from those very workers and toiling masses. The repressive apparatus had been prepared in advance*

*for the massacre of the people. Security institutions, in order to justify the planned repression, preemptively attributed the fomenting of popular discontent and protests to Israel.*

*Reza Pahlavi entered the scene to hijack an uprising whose anti-poverty objectives targeted the economic system of all royalist and liberal republican alternatives, calling on people to take to the streets nationwide and occupy centres of power on the eleventh and twelfth days of the uprising — Thursday and Friday, 8 and 9 January 2026. Complementing this call, Trump also warned the regime's leaders against repressing demonstrators and promised the people that 'help is on the way.'*

*Trump and Reza Pahlavi fell into the same trap that the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps had laid for them. The regime's executioners were sent into the streets and, under the pretext of continuing the twelve-day war and confronting Israeli agents, killed thousands. Although Reza Pahlavi, Trump, Netanyahu, and Pompeo — who claimed that Mossad agents were active in the street demonstrations — played a destructive role in the anti-poverty uprising of the Iranian people, the responsibility for the massacre of people in January 2026 lies entirely with the Islamic regime.”<sup>30</sup>*

The statements of the leftists show that, just as in 1979 they acted as the foot soldiers of right-wing capitalist tendencies, serving as a springboard for the most reactionary bourgeois faction — namely, the Islamic bourgeoisie — today they repeat the same approach. Contrary to their radical rhetoric, in practice they play the role of the foot soldiers of the most reactionary bourgeois tendency, because their common enemy is one particular bourgeois faction — the corrupt Islamic bourgeoisie — rather than capitalism or all bourgeois tendencies.

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<sup>30</sup> [The council of left and communist organisations' corporations.](#)

Just as in 1979, in response to the delusions of the left of capital, which portrayed a reactionary figure like Khomeini as a “defender of the oppressed” and presented the clergy as “anti-imperialist,” the communist left made it clear in February 1979 that Khomeini was no more progressive than the Queen of England or Emperor Bokassa<sup>31</sup>. The communist left explicitly stated that the proletariat must maintain its class independence and must not dissolve into popular or cross-class movements.

This tradition of the communist left has continued to the present day, and the same tradition continues to insist on independent proletarian positions: the proletariat should not only avoid becoming the foot soldiers of other movements, but must, through independent and conscious alignment, move from being a “class in itself” to becoming a “class for itself,” developing its class capacities in the process.

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<sup>31</sup> February 1979: when internationalists announced that Khomeini was no more progressive than the Queen of England or Emperor Bokassa I.

# **The Intensification of Class Struggle Is the Only Horizon**

## **Neither God, nor Caesar, nor Tribune**

There is no saviour or liberator — neither God, nor Caesar, nor any hero. The emancipation of the workers is possible only through the workers themselves. In their struggles, the working class cannot rely on any force outside itself; its only real reliance is on its own organised class power. Whenever workers fall into despair, lose their class identity, and wait for a “saviour,” the transformative force of class struggle becomes hollow, and the field is opened for the advancement of bourgeois projects. Denying independent class reliance is, in practice, equivalent to handing over their destiny to the various factions of capital.

It was in this context that, following the January 2026 protests, a foreign journalist spoke with a resident of Tehran. In that interview, the person responded to the journalist’s question by saying that they had been waiting for a “great event” to save them, but nothing happened. They said:

*“We all waited for something big to save us, but nothing happened.”<sup>32</sup>*

### **The chained workers!**

The Iranian working class, as a battalion of the global working class, is one of the most concentrated and experienced working classes in the Middle East, and its historical memory records significant struggles, particularly between 1978 and 1980. A review of this historical

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<sup>32</sup> [Financial Times](#).

experience shows that real progress is possible only through class independence and the path emerging from the contradiction between labour and capital, not through reliance on the various factions of the bourgeoisie.

This independence means conscious organisation that relies on the workers themselves — an organisation based on collective, transparent, and bottom-up decision-making. Factory committees, strike committees, neighbourhood committees, general assemblies, and other elected organs of struggle can serve as effective tools for coordinating protests, expanding them, and preventing their appropriation by bourgeois forces. Only through such structures can scattered protests be transformed into a coordinated, self-aware, and powerful movement.

Maintaining this class independence is a condition for the proletariat to fulfil its historical role; that is, not to dissolve into cross-class movements or become a tool for competition between different factions of capital, but rather to conduct struggles that advance the real interests of workers, relying on their fellow workers across the world.

From the perspective of the communist left, any “victory” achieved at the cost of the proletariat’s class independence is, in its very nature, a defeat. The criterion for progress is not temporary gains, but the advancement of class consciousness, the expansion of bottom-up organisation by the workers themselves, and the preservation of a revolutionary horizon. Without the deepening of these elements, any achievement within the framework of the capitalist order becomes diluted and ultimately serves to reproduce that very order.

The task of communists and internationalists is not passive followership of social events, but the defence of the communist programme and the independent proletarian horizon within ongoing protests and struggles. They must, by drawing on the historical memory of proletarian struggles,

serve as the compass of the class struggle and maintain their boundaries with all bourgeois tendencies.

The real power of the working class does not lie merely in disrupting the process of capital accumulation or even in toppling dictators. These may constitute moments of social struggle, but the essence of proletarian power lies in manifesting as a social class conscious of its historical role. The fundamental question is what duty this class faces historically, by virtue of its position within capitalist relations of production. The issue is that the proletariat, according to its objective position, is compelled to carry out a particular mission — for it is only this social class that possesses the capacity to advance the communist revolution on a global scale.

**Long live the war between the classes!**

**The Future Belongs to the Class Struggle!**

**Long Live the Independent Workers' Struggle!**

**Internationalist Voice**

27 February 2026

## **Basic Positions:**

- The First World War was an indication that the capitalism had been a decadent social system. It also proved that there were only two alternatives to this system: communist revolution or the destruction of humanity.
- In our epoch, the working class is the only revolutionary class. Furthermore, only this social class can deliver the communist revolution and end the barbarity of capitalism.
- Once capitalism entered its decadent period, unions all over the world were transformed into organs of the capital system. In turn, the main tasks of unions were to control the working class and mislead them about its class struggle.
- In the epoch of decadent capitalism, participating in the parliamentary circus and elections only strengthens the illusion of democracy. Capitalist democracy and capitalist dictatorship are two sides of the same coin, namely, the barbarity of capitalism.
- All national movements are counterrevolutionary, against the working class and the class struggle. Wars of national liberation are pawns in imperialist conflict.
- The reason for the failure of the October Revolution was the failure of the revolutionary wave, particularly the failure of the German Revolution, which resulted in the isolation of October Revolution and afterwards its degeneration.
- All left parties are reactionary: Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists and official anarchists etc. represent the political apparatus of capital.

- The regimes that arose in the USSR, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba etc., while being called “socialist” or “communist”, only offered a particularly brutal and barbaric form of capitalism: state capitalism.
- The revolutionary organization constitutes the avant-garde of the proletariat and is an active factor in the development and generalization of class consciousness. Revolutionary organizations may only take the form of revolutionary minorities, whose task neither is to organize the working class nor take power in its stead, without being a **political leadership**, or a political compass, where revolutionary organizations’ political clarity and influence on the working classes are **the fundamental elements for the implementation of a communist revolution.**

### **Political belongings:**

The current status, positions, views and activities of the proletarian political tendencies are the product of past experiences of the working class and the effectiveness of the lessons that political organizations of the working class have learned during the history of the proletariat. Therefore, Internationalist Voice can trace its own roots and origins back to the Communist League, the First International, the left wing of both the Second International and the Third International, and the fractions that defended proletarian and communist positions against the degenerating Third International, which was represented by Dutch-German fractions, and **particularly Italian Fraction of the Communist Left** and the defence of Communist Left traditions.

# The Internationalist Voice Already Published!

**From the Bazaar to the Streets: The  
Crisis of Capitalism and the Necessity  
of Independent Working-Class Struggle**



**Internationalist Voice**

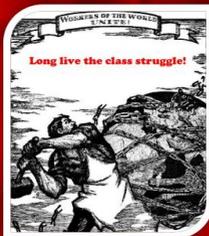
**A New Wave of Street Protests:  
The Proletarian Horizon and Perspective**



A scene from a recent demonstration

**Internationalist Voice**

**The Charter of Minimum Demands  
or the Charter of Curbing  
the Class Struggle**



**Internationalist Voice**

**Decisive Choice: It's  
Not Democracy or Fascism,  
But Socialism or Barbarism**



**Internationalist Voice**