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COMMUNIST REVOLUTION

OR

THE DESTRUCTION OF HUMANITY!

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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.

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Table of Contents

Introduction	5
The bourgeoisie against the working class, regardless of its political rhetoric	7
The decline of Europe’s position	13
United Kingdom and the Middle Eastern War	22
France and the Middle East War	28
Germany and the Middle East War	35
Spain and the Middle East War	45
Civilised Barbarians in the Guise of Pirates	51
Russia–China and the War in the Middle East	57
European Economic, Political, and Intelligence Support for the United States and Israel	70
The proletariat is a class, not a nation	76
Basic Positions:	80

Introduction

With the outbreak of war in the Middle East, the United States was unable to draw Europe, as it had in the past, fully behind it in the escalation of the war, particularly Britain, which has traditionally been one of the closest followers of American foreign policy. During the twelve-day US–Israeli war against Iran in 2025, the European bourgeoisie, although not directly participating in the military attacks, nevertheless emerged at the economic, political and diplomatic levels as a belligerent force, defending the logic of imperialist war.

In examining the current war, if we set aside abstract statements and diplomatic posturing and instead take the actual conduct of the European bourgeoisie as our basis, three distinct positions can be identified.

First, the warmongering position adopted before the outbreak of the war in the Middle East, when the principal sections of the European bourgeoisie, through military, economic, political and diplomatic pressure, as well as by supporting and strengthening the pro-Western opposition, fuelled tensions in alignment with the policies of the United States and Israel and reinforced the conditions for military confrontation.

Second, from the middle of the war onwards, a kind of intermediate position emerged which was neither explicitly belligerent nor representative of bourgeois pacifism; rather, it was an attempt to manage the position of the European bourgeoisie under the new conditions and to preserve the independent interests of European capital.

Third, during the period of the temporary ceasefire, the European bourgeoisie presented itself in the guise of bourgeois pacifism, not from a position of opposition to war, but in order to reconstruct the balance of forces within Europe amid the new global disorder and to consolidate its position within the imperialist order currently being reshaped.

Extensive propaganda is being circulated claiming that American warmongers are displeased with the European bourgeoisie's reluctance to enter the Middle Eastern war in an aggressive manner, and that they have openly expressed this dissatisfaction. Trump reportedly complained about France for not allowing a weapons-carrying aircraft to pass through its airspace en route to Israel, stating that "the United States will not forget this".

Spain has also announced that it will close its airspace to aircraft involved in the war against Iran. There are also reports that Italy has refused landing permission at the Sigonella base in Sicily to a US military aircraft bound for the Middle East; a base which, although belonging to the Italian Air Force, also hosts a US Navy presence.

Does this mean that the European bourgeoisie has become pacifist and opposed to war? From a Marxist perspective, and dialectically within the era of imperialism, is it possible for the bourgeoisie to become pacifist?

Despite the differences that have emerged between Europe and the United States in recent years, the European bourgeoisie has, on the whole, although it did not directly join the American war effort, continued to provide general support for the Middle Eastern war and for US–Israeli strikes, particularly at the political, diplomatic, and defence levels. In most cases—though not in all—it has continued to follow US policy.

In reality, the disagreement between the United States and Europe is not over the principle of war itself; Europe is already engaged, through the war in Ukraine, in a de facto imperialist confrontation with Russia. The issue concerns the methods, timing, and respective shares of each power in the redistribution of influence, spheres of dominance, and interests. The United States demands unconditional alignment from its allies in advancing the war and consolidating its hegemony, whereas the European bourgeoisie seeks to preserve its position within the emerging global order—or, more accurately, within the chaos of the present world situation and the shifting balance of imperialist forces.

The bourgeoisie against the working class, regardless of its political rhetoric

One of the fundamental characteristics of the communist left, regardless of its internal tendencies and theoretical differences, is that it regards all factions of the bourgeoisie as counter-revolutionary, irrespective of their political rhetoric, form of government, or ideological claims. From this perspective, distinctions between right-wing and left-wing bourgeois factions, between dictatorship and parliamentary democracy, between overt nationalism and liberal humanism, or between a left-leaning state and a totalitarian state do not alter their class nature. All of these factions are ultimately united in preserving capitalist relations, suppressing class struggle, and opposing the self-emancipation of the proletariat.

Left communism also emphasises that the bourgeoisie acts against the working class and humanity not only through everyday exploitation, but also through war, repression, genocide, and the organisation of social barbarism. All bourgeois factions—whether dictatorial, democratic, or ostensibly left-wing—are complicit in these crimes; the difference lies only in the methods used to justify and manage this capitalist barbarism, not in its fundamental nature.

After the Second World War, the communist left pointed to the fact that the crimes of Auschwitz could not be reduced solely to Nazism. Although the Nazi regime was the direct perpetrator of that barbarism, the entire global capitalist order—and even the democratic factions of the bourgeoisie—were also implicated in the historical, economic, and political conditions that made such a catastrophe possible. More precisely, the democratic factions of the bourgeoisie were likewise complicit in the crimes of Auschwitz.

We have extended this lesson to the genocide in Gaza¹ and seek to apply it to the wider Middle Eastern war as well. The aim is to show that

¹ [Gaza Genocide: A Product of Global Capitalism's Organized Barbarism.](#)

responsibility for these crimes does not rest solely with the governments of the United States, Israel, and Iran; rather, the global bourgeoisie—including the European bourgeoisie and the democratic governments of the West—is also complicit in these war crimes. The same argument can be extended to other imperialist wars: in a world dominated by capitalism, war is not an exception, but the naked continuation of the same capitalist barbarism.

The bourgeoisies of countries such as Iran, China, and Saudi Arabia, among others, maintain their class domination through overt forms of dictatorship, political repression, imprisonment, torture, and execution. In these countries, state violence is not concealed, but constitutes an explicit part of the machinery of governance. In such cases, no special exposé is required to understand the repressive nature of these states; their actions themselves are the clearest evidence.

By contrast, bourgeois democracies, despite differences in their forms of government and political language, do not differ in their class nature from authoritarian states. What changes is not the essence of domination, but the manner in which it is exercised and legitimised. In the case of the United States, although the official number of executions is no longer comparable to that of the 1990s and has fallen to only a few dozen per year, it still ranks among the highest in the world.

The American bourgeoisie does not even attempt to conceal its true face in its language; it speaks like bandits and acts like bandits. Its highest political authority, particularly during the Trump era, repeatedly expressed imperialist policy in an overt manner through lumpen rhetoric, military threats, and thuggish language. His remarks about reopening the Strait of Hormuz or “returning Iran to the Stone Age” are merely examples of this logic—a logic that was unsettling even for some of America’s Western allies. For example, Bridget Phillipson, the British Secretary of State for Education, responded to Donald Trump’s vulgar

remarks about Iran on social media by stating that it was for President Trump himself to explain his language, and said:

*“We see this kind of language often used by President Trump. It’s for President Trump to explain the language that he chooses to use. It is not language or an approach that this Government would be taking.”*²

By contrast, the European bourgeoisie presents itself not as an overt dictatorship, but as the representative of “civilisation”, “culture”, “human rights”, and “humanity”. This bourgeoisie does not usually speak in the language of bandits and thugs; rather, it conceals its class violence beneath the guise of democracy, civility, law, morality, parliamentarianism, and other institutions of legitimation.

The European bourgeoisie advances the same capitalist barbarism that can be seen in more overt forms within dictatorial regimes or American imperialism; the difference is that it cloaks its violence in hypocrisy, legal legitimacy, and the mask of humanitarianism. In this sense, it may be said that, in comparison with dictatorial bourgeoisies and the American bourgeoisie, it has historically been more hypocritical, more dishonourable, and more dangerous for the working class.

The history of class struggle in Europe has repeatedly revealed this truth. These same “civilized barbarians” cast aside the mask of humanitarianism during the defeat of the Paris Commune and, within the space of a single week, massacred around twenty thousand Communards in the heart of Europe. The French bourgeoisie demonstrated that, when its class power is threatened, it is capable of unleashing brutality and slaughter even greater than that of dictatorships.

The same logic was repeated during the defeat of the German Revolution following the World War I. Thousands of revolutionary workers and

² [Bridget Phillipson, the Education Secretary.](#)

communists were repressed and butchered by this same “cultured” and “civilised” bourgeoisie, again in the heart of Europe. Social-democratic governments, the army, and paramilitary forces all stood united in defence of the bourgeois order. They too, just like the most overt dictatorships, carried out the bloody repression of working-class districts, attacks on women and children, and the destruction of every possibility of proletarian emancipation:

“The SPD now openly summoned the officers, the students, the bourgeois militias to drown the workers resistance in blood. With the proletariat divided and demoralised, the way was now open for the most savage white terror. These atrocities included the shelling of buildings with artillery, the murdering of prisoners and even of negotiation delegates, the lynching of workers, but also of soldiers who shook hands with revolutionaries, the molesting of women and children in the workers districts, the desecration of dead bodies, but also the systematic hunting down and murdering of revolutionaries such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.”³

The European bourgeoisie, in comparison with the American bourgeoisie and openly dictatorial bourgeoisies, is more cunning, more duplicitous, and historically far more experienced. If dictatorial bourgeoisies rule through overt repression and the American bourgeoisie often speaks the language of threats and coercion, the European bourgeoisie exercises its domination through more complex mechanisms of bourgeois democracy, legal institutions, the media, and a vast apparatus for the production of consent.

By appealing to bourgeois democratic institutions and an extensive propaganda and media apparatus, the European bourgeoisie is able to shape public opinion and influence the thinking of the masses, particularly the working class. This form of domination, due to its

³ [German Revolution](#).

concealed nature and apparent legitimacy, is in many cases more dangerous than overt repression, as it advances exploitation, barbarism, and war under the guise of democracy, civility, peace, and humanitarianism.

The duplicity and hypocrisy of the European bourgeoisie in relation to the Islamic bourgeoisie⁴ is also clearly observable. Before the escalation of the Middle Eastern war, Western states and their allies—particularly European governments—sought to isolate the Islamic bourgeoisie, label its institutions as “terrorist”, and prevent its political representatives from

⁴ We use the term “Islamic bourgeoisie” to refer to the current rulers of Iran. Previously, the monarchical bourgeoisie held power, and alongside it there have also been factions of the bourgeoisie that have never attained political power. More precisely, the current ruling bourgeoisie is a section of the bourgeoisie whose ideological superstructure is Islamic—just as the ideological superstructure of the bourgeoisie in Israel is Judaism, and in many Western countries it is parliamentary democracy.

It is important to note that in all contemporary societies, the bourgeoisie is not limited solely to the ruling bourgeoisie; rather, the ruling bourgeoisie is only one segment of that society’s bourgeoisie. In every society, there exist different sections of the bourgeoisie with varying orientations, interests, and forms of political organisation, one of which is established in political power depending on the balance of class forces and the needs of capital accumulation.

For example, in Europe—as the cradle of bourgeois civilisation—the bourgeoisie in countries such as Germany, Spain, Portugal, Greece, and others has, at different historical moments in line with the needs of capital, adopted Nazi or fascist ideological superstructures, while at other times it has been organised in the form of bourgeois democracy. What has remained constant is not the political form of government, but the class domination of capital.

The Western bourgeoisie, and by extension its mainstream media, which plays a role in shaping public opinion, uses the term “mullahs” to refer to the ruling bourgeoisie in Iran. In turn, the right-wing faction of capital, ultra-reactionary networks, and political adventurers within Iran also use the expression “the mullah regime” in order to obscure the class and bourgeois nature of this ruling order.

In clearer terms, neither the Western bourgeoisie nor the right-wing faction of capital seeks the abolition of the bourgeois system; rather, they seek to replace the Islamic bourgeoisie with a pro-Western bourgeoisie. They have no objection to bourgeois domination as such, nor could they have one from a class standpoint. This approach is merely part of a broader process of political obfuscation and the engineering of public opinion, aimed at strengthening a pro-Western bourgeois alternative and diverting the proletariat from an independent horizon of class struggle.

participating in diplomatic forums, international conferences, and official arenas.

However, in the midst of the war, when it became clearer that the prospect of the collapse of this Islamic bourgeoisie—or, in the language of the European bourgeoisie, the “mullahs”—was not imminent, these same “civilised barbarians” changed their tone. Diplomatic contacts and discussions, particularly at the level of foreign ministers and even heads of state, increased to an unprecedented degree. Suddenly, the very powers that had yesterday spoken of isolation and exclusion were today engaging in direct contact.

As a result, we have witnessed telephone conversations between Iran’s foreign minister and his counterparts in Japan, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Greece, Austria, Finland, India, Oman, Cuba, Senegal, Thailand, Egypt, Malaysia, China, Brazil, Russia, Pakistan, South Africa, Armenia, the Philippines, Vietnam, Iraq, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan, as well as with the EU High Representative for Foreign Affairs, Kaja Kallas, and the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

The decline of Europe's position

We have previously also examined that the European bourgeoisie, under the current balance of imperialist forces, is experiencing a relative decline in its global position⁵. However, it is very important to distinguish between the decline in the position of the European bourgeoisie and the position of the European proletariat. Although, in the context of the increasing disorder of the world system, the position of European countries—or more precisely, of the European bourgeoisies within imperialist competition—is in decline, this in no way implies a decline in the role and position of the European working class.

The weakening of the economic and political power of the European bourgeoisie, in comparison with other imperialist powers at the global level, does not necessarily lead to a weakening of the position of the European working class, and may even create the conditions for the emergence of new forms of class struggle. This is because the proletariat, in terms of ownership of capital, is devoid of economic power; instead, its strength derives from its objective position in social production and from its capacity to develop class consciousness and independent organisation.

Within this framework, while many European politicians have emphasised that the Middle Eastern war is “not Europe’s war”, the reality shows that Europe is indirectly yet effectively playing a role in the Middle Eastern conflict. This is so evident that the *Wall Street Journal* has reported that Europe is quietly playing a vital role in the war with Iran, stating:

“Europe Is Quietly Playing a Crucial Role in the Iran War. Bases across the continent are proving vital to fueling, arming and

⁵ [Submission or War? Capitalism and the Tendency Towards Generalised Imperialist War, and the Internationalist Response.](#)

launching U.S. attacks. President Trump has criticized Europe for staying on the sidelines in the Iran war. But many European countries are quietly playing a crucial supporting role. While many European leaders have publicly decried the U.S. attacks on Iran, behind the scenes their military bases are facilitating one of the most logistically complex operations the U.S. military has been involved in for decades. In recent weeks, American bombers, drones and naval assets have been refueled, armed and launched through bases in the U.K., Germany, Portugal, Italy, France and Greece”⁶

Before continuing the discussion, it is necessary to clarify one point: the Middle Eastern war cannot be explained solely on the basis of reductionist economic arguments or understood simply as a war “over oil”. Before this war emerged, apart from Iran, oil-exporting countries in the Gulf region maintained close relations with Western countries, particularly the United States. The flow of oil was largely organised in line with the interests and needs of these same powers, and its trade was, except in rare cases, conducted in US dollars. In addition, these countries have played an important role in supporting the growth of the US arms industry.

For this reason, the idea that disputes between the West—and above all the United States—and Iran are limited merely to ambiguities surrounding the country’s nuclear programme is a superficial and simplistic interpretation. The main issue is not the “nuclear file”, but rather Iran’s position in the distribution of power, influence, and shares within the global imperialist capitalist order. Iran, like Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Israel, has regional hegemonic ambitions. However, Western powers and their allies have no willingness to recognise the imperial ambitions of the Islamic bourgeoisie as a regional power, and prefer to keep the country in a weakened, contained, and controlled position.

⁶ [Europe Is Quietly Playing a Crucial Role in the Iran War.](#)

This approach can be analysed within the framework of the long-term objectives of the Western bourgeoisie: to contain the expansion of China's influence and to limit Russia's role in the reconfiguring global order.⁷

To understand the argument that European bourgeois states are currently experiencing a relative decline in their position, it is sufficient to compare the political, economic, and military standing of the three main European powers—Britain, France, and Germany—with their situation around the year 2000. Such a comparison clearly shows that the position of each of these countries within the balance of imperialist forces has changed over this period. At that time, each of these powers was, in its own right, considered a decisive weight in imperialist competition; whereas today, this weight and degree of influence have, in comparison with the past, eroded and come up against greater limitations, such that they are no longer able to play the same role as before.

European politicians have emphasised that the Middle Eastern war is “not Europe's war”. In a similar vein, US Secretary of State Marco Rubio has adopted a counter-rhetoric, claiming that the war in Ukraine is also “not America's war”; nevertheless, the United States has provided more support for that war than any other country. The Russia–Ukraine (NATO) war has been driven more by European imperialist interests than by those of the United States. By contrast, in the Middle Eastern war, the United States expected Europe to participate in the conflict even in circumstances where its own imperial interests were not fully secured. It is in this context that Rubio states:

“I think it was a couple of the leaders in Europe who said that this was not Europe's war. Well, Ukraine is not America's war, and yet

⁷ This issue has been examined in detail in the article [“Submission or War? Capitalism and the Tendency Towards Generalised Imperialist War, and the Internationalist Response.”](#)

we've contributed more to that fight than any other country in the world.”⁸

We shall demonstrate, not in the abstract but on the basis of concrete evidence, that Europe has participated in this war not primarily in an aggressive manner, but rather in a defensive capacity in support of its own imperialist interests. Nevertheless, the essential question is how, from a Marxist and internationalist perspective, one may explain why Europe did not enter the Middle Eastern war directly and aggressively, but instead resorted chiefly to indirect and defensive means of advancing its interests.

This distinction does not imply a qualitative difference; rather, it reflects differences in the specific position and capacities of the bourgeoisies within the imperialist system. In other words, whether forms of intervention are ‘defensive’ or ‘aggressive’ does not alter the fundamentally warlike nature of imperialism. What is decisive is not merely the will of this or that imperialist power, but the overall logic of global capitalism: a system which, particularly in its period of decline, reproduces war as one of the means of reproducing and perpetuating its own existence. In response to the question of why Europe did not directly and aggressively enter the Middle Eastern war, a number of factors help to explain this situation, some of which we shall address below.

One of the most important reasons is that each imperialist power seeks to secure its own imperialist interests, while the objectives of the Middle Eastern war have not been fully aligned with the imperialist interests of the European powers and, in some respects, have even gone beyond them. Europe is simultaneously engaged in conflict with Russia through Ukraine and was unwilling, under the present circumstances, to open a new front, since such a move could weaken the Ukrainian front and

⁸ [Euro News](#).

reduce the political, economic, and military pressure on Russia. For this reason, Europe preferred, at the present juncture, to exert pressure on the ruling bourgeoisie in Iran primarily through economic, political, intelligence, and diplomatic means.

Another reason for the European bourgeoisie's reluctance to enter this war aggressively is that, according to the European powers themselves, the United States and Israel did not consult them prior to undertaking military action. More precisely, in the planning and execution of this war, the imperialist interests of the European bourgeoisie were not taken into account. Consequently, this war has revealed not so much a strengthening of Europe's position as signs of the decline of its standing. At the same time, however, the European bourgeoisie continues to strive to preserve its position within the changing global order – a matter that may be discussed further below.

Another factor relates to the military limitations of the European imperialist powers. Although these countries have, in recent years, moved towards a form of 'war economy' and increased their war (defence) budgets, these measures have not yet been able fully to compensate for the existing gaps in their military capabilities. For example, Andrius Kubilius, the European Union's Commissioner for Defence and Space, has stated that, within the framework of the EU's new seven-year budget (2028–2034), expenditure on defence, security, and space should reach approximately €131 billion, describing this figure as the 'absolute minimum' – an amount that represents a significant increase compared with the previous budgetary period.⁹

Such statements indicate that the European Union's military capacity has not yet reached the level of its principal imperialist rivals. For this reason, under present conditions, these powers are unwilling to enter **directly** into an aggressive war and prefer to keep their interventions at a more

⁹ [EC intends to increase the EU military budget for 2028-2034 by 10 times.](#)

limited and predominantly defensive level, even while simultaneously seeking to strengthen their capabilities through increased military expenditure.

Finally, the European powers are fully aware that the Middle Eastern war has had destructive effects on their economies. Direct and aggressive involvement in this war could have entailed far more severe consequences. Estimates suggest that, in only the first two months of the war and as a result of its repercussions, the European Union incurred more than €27 billion in additional expenditure solely on fuel supplies. Furthermore, Ursula von der Leyen, President of the European Commission, has stressed that the consequences of this war will continue not only in the short term, but for months and even years to come.

European politicians who previously tended largely to align themselves with Donald Trump, offering praise and flattery, now occasionally feel able to criticise him. This shift in tone should be understood in the context of the economic pressures that the Middle Eastern war has imposed on Europe. The cost of these pressures is ultimately passed on to the European working class through austerity policies. The European bourgeoisie is well aware that the intensification of austerity, the expansion of unemployment, and rising inflation can, in the longer term, fuel social and class-based reactions and thereby challenge the stability of European governments. In other words, the economic pressure arising from the Middle Eastern war is not merely an economic issue, but potentially also a political and class issue. This reality is so evident that even bourgeois media have acknowledged it.¹⁰

Before continuing the discussion, another important point must also be emphasised: the United States seeks to transfer an increasing share of the costs of its wars onto other countries. This logic also applies to the Middle Eastern war, such that European countries, despite not having entered the

¹⁰ [CNN](#).

war in an aggressive manner, nonetheless continue to bear a significant portion of its costs in various ways. In what follows, we briefly outline some of these mechanisms.

Following the Russia–Ukraine (NATO) war and the imposition of sanctions on Russia, European countries were compelled to move away from relatively inexpensive Russian energy sources and, instead, to procure oil and gas at higher prices from the United States. This shift, on the one hand, benefited US energy industries, which, due to the high costs of extraction and their reliance on advanced technology, depend on higher price levels, thereby increasing profitability and employment in this sector. On the other hand, in Europe, rising energy costs were passed on to consumers and industries, exacerbating inflation, contributing to the weakening and even bankruptcy of certain industries, and ultimately leading to labour reductions and higher overall production costs.

A similar trend can also be observed in relation to the Middle Eastern war. Any disruption to critical energy transit routes, including the Strait of Hormuz, leads to increased demand for US crude oil. Restricted access to Middle Eastern oil compels importers to turn to alternative suppliers, including the United States. Data from analytical firms indicates that in recent days, 71 very large crude carriers (VLCCs) have been en route to the United States for loading, whereas the average last year was approximately 27 tankers per day. This trend has resulted in an increase in US crude oil exports.

From the perspective of macroeconomic indicators, differences in impact can also be observed. While the inflation rate in the United States rose from 2.4% in February 2026 to 3.3% in March¹¹, economic growth in the same period was reported at around 2.7%.¹² In contrast, economic growth in the European Union over the same period was significantly weaker, at

¹¹ [US Consumer Prices](#).

¹² [GDP Annual Growth Rate America](#).

approximately 0.1%.¹³ France experienced near-zero growth, while countries such as Sweden and Ireland recorded negative growth.

In the same timeframe, namely March 2026, the unemployment rate in the United States stood at around 4.3%¹⁴, whereas the average in the European Union was approximately 6%.¹⁵ In some countries, the rate was considerably higher, including Finland at around 11%, Spain at 10.83%, Sweden at 9.7%, and France at 7.9%, among others.

It should, of course, be noted that in the case of unemployment in Europe, particularly in Western Europe, the official figures do not necessarily reflect the full reality. A portion of the unemployed are removed from the official statistics through temporary training schemes and employment programmes, without necessarily being reintegrated into the labour market on a stable basis. For this reason, it may be said that the actual level of unemployment is higher than that reflected in the official statistics.

Taken together, these trends demonstrate how the transfer of the costs of crisis and war, within the framework of imperialist rivalries, leads to an uneven redistribution of economic and social pressures among the powers and, ultimately, to an intensification of pressure on the working class, particularly in Europe.

If we set aside Europe's military industries – industries which, within the war-driven logic of capitalism and through the transformation of the blood of war victims into a kind of fuel accelerating profitability, are currently experiencing a period of expansion – we are confronted with a wave of redundancies across other sectors of the European economy, a wave which, according to existing trends, is likely to intensify further in the future. In other words, the economic indicators and data examined

¹³ [GDP Annual Growth Rate Europe.](#)

¹⁴ [Unemployment Rate America.](#)

¹⁵ [Unemployment Rate Europe.](#)

above point towards a dramatic trajectory moving in the direction of increasingly severe social and economic consequences for European capitalism. Rising inflation, increasing energy prices, expanding unemployment, and reductions in social benefits have together created an accumulation of pressures that may deepen social discontent. Taken as a whole, this situation has become a nightmare for the European bourgeoisie, to the extent that even the mainstream media have been compelled to reflect and acknowledge aspects of these realities, albeit within a limited and controlled framework.¹⁶

At the beginning of this section, we referred to a report in *The Wall Street Journal* claiming that Europe is quietly playing a vital role in the war with Iran. The question therefore arises as to whether such statements are merely expressions of wartime propaganda, or whether they in fact describe the objective realities of the war. To address this issue, it is necessary to examine it in relation to the role and position of the principal European powers.

¹⁶ Trump's Iran showdown is becoming Europe's political nightmare.

United Kingdom and the Middle Eastern War

Keir Starmer, the British Prime Minister, declared regarding the war in the Middle East: “This is not our war. We will not be drawn into the conflict. That is not in our national interest.” However, such statements should be understood as part of the ideological rhetoric of bourgeois, warmongering governments, intended to conceal their real role in wars and imperialist rivalries. Developments indicate that Britain, like other capitalist powers, has in practice sought to defend and advance its own imperialist interests. In this context, Britain’s Ministry of War (Defence) announced the participation of Typhoon and F-35 fighter jets in operations conducted thousands of miles away from British territory, referring to the interception and downing of Iranian drones while withholding precise details of the locations involved. Nevertheless, it has been confirmed that British fighter aircraft took part in ‘defensive missions’ using bases and airspace in regions such as Cyprus, Jordan, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates:

“Last night, the country’s air force shot down 10 Iranian drones in the region. The drones were targeted in a ‘high-threat area’, but the exact location was not disclosed. It also stated that British fighter jets, including Typhoons and F-35s, are continuing their defensive missions over Cyprus, Jordan, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.”¹⁷

The demagoguery and hypocrisy of the British bourgeoisie are precisely evident here, where military operations conducted thousands of miles from the country’s territory are described as “defensive”. This labelling is not a reflection of reality, but part of the rhetoric used by warmongers to legitimise imperialist wars. What is presented as “defence” is, in

¹⁷ BBC.

practice, nothing more than participation in the reproduction of the capitalist war order on a global scale.

This conceptual inversion has become so normalised that mainstream media use it as part of the language of war. For example, journalists at the BBC¹⁸ have, in an excited tone from inside the cockpit of tanker aircraft, produced reports on Britain's air missions in this war, representing them as “defensive operations” – as if they were dealing with something self-evident rather than a component of the imperialist war machine. They reported as follows:

“The BBC is among the first media outlets to have closely observed these defensive air missions. These operations have continued day and night since the United States and Israel began bombing Iran. Even after a month of heavy bombardment, Iran continues to launch missiles and drones. During this nine-hour mission, Typhoon and F-35 fighter jets refuel seven times, receiving a total of 30 tonnes of jet fuel. What presents a greater challenge is the interception of Iranian drones. Over the past month, British fighter jets based in Cyprus and Qatar have shot down several drones. They do not specify exactly how many times they have used the advanced ASRAAM short-range air-to-air missiles to destroy drones, but the number is in the single digits. The use of such a highly expensive weapon to shoot down a relatively cheap fibreglass drone is, in practice, akin to firing a ‘golden bullet.’”¹⁹

Britain, once again continuing what it describes as “defensive operations”, is deploying the destroyer HMS Dragon thousands of miles

¹⁸We have deliberately sought to select all quotations in this section from the BBC. This is because, if we set aside the illusion of the “independence” of bourgeois media, the BBC is not independent—in the Marxist sense of the term—from the British state framework and the structures of bourgeois power. Its narratives, particularly on major political and military issues, often overlap with the general lines of British government policy and, in practice, are reproduced within the same ideological horizon.

¹⁹ BBC.

away to the Mediterranean. In addition, Typhoon and F-35 fighter jets, anti-drone teams, and radar systems are also being transferred to distant operational areas. Of course, this bellicose policy is framed within “defensive” rhetoric and justified through legal and security concepts. In this context, the British Ministry of War (Defence), in order to manage public opinion and obscure the military nature of these actions, emphasises their “legal basis” and seeks to confer legitimacy upon them:

“John Healey, the UK Defence Secretary, has confirmed that the Royal Navy destroyer HMS Dragon will leave Portsmouth ‘in the coming days’ for the Mediterranean. He said the government has also deployed Typhoon and F-35 fighter jets, anti-drone teams, and radar systems to the region. Mr Healey stated that the UK government’s response, coordinated with the United States, NATO, and Gulf allies, is underpinned by confidence in ‘the legal basis for the UK government’s decisions.’”²⁰

Since the outbreak of the Middle East war until 26 March 2026, the British Air Force has conducted more than 1,000 operational flight hours—effectively combat sorties—thousands of miles from British territory, which, in bourgeois rhetoric, are described as “defensive operations”, in order to defend Britain’s imperialist interests and those of its regional allies. These military interventions, although in practice warlike in nature, are represented in official language within a “defensive” and “security” framing:

*“Britain is ‘defending the interests of Britons, military bases, and allies’ in the region. British aircraft have flown ‘more than 1,000 hours’ over the area. Britain has defended its allies in Israel, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Jordan against attacks.”*²¹

²⁰ BBC.

²¹ BBC.

The British Minister of War (Defence) declared that “the finest British forces” are defending the skies of Middle Eastern countries. During his visit to the region, the official also stressed that Britain stands alongside its “partners” and will continue this support—a statement which, in practice, signifies the continuation of defending Britain’s imperialist interests in the region. He further promised that additional air defence systems would be sent to countries such as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates. These measures, under a “defensive” guise, form part of the mechanism for maintaining the regional balance of power in line with Britain’s imperialist interests and ensuring their continuation:

“John Healey, the UK Defence Secretary, announced the deployment of additional air defence systems to support Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and Bahrain, stating that in recent days it has become ‘clear that Iran is expanding its attacks.’ He also said that British Typhoon fighter jets will continue their operations in Qatar, and that more troops are set to be deployed to the region. During his visit to Doha, the capital of Qatar, Mr Healey conveyed to Gulf states that Britain ‘stands with you and will remain alongside its partners.’ He added that some of Britain’s finest forces are currently defending the skies of countries in the Middle East.”²²

Despite Britain having stated that it would not take part in offensive operations in the Middle East war, US U-2 reconnaissance aircraft and American heavy bombers dropping bunker-busting bombs²³ on Tehran

²² [BBC](#).

²³ Apparently, bunker-busting bombs are used against underground military targets; however, during the Middle East war, in addition to other regions of Iran, even the city of Tehran has been subjected to this type of bombing. In this conflict, a significant proportion of airstrikes—around 40%—have been directed solely at Tehran Province, despite the fact that this province is relatively less militarised compared with some other regions of the country. From this perspective, it can be argued that the primary aim of this level of bombardment has not simply been to weaken the military apparatus of the Islamic bourgeois state, but rather to exert direct pressure on the capital, its population, and the central power structure in order to force it into submission.

and other areas of Iran have used British military bases. According to *The Guardian*, the aircraft shot down over Iran was in fact an F-15E Strike Eagle belonging to the 494th Fighter Squadron of the US Air Force, based at RAF Lakenheath in Britain.²⁴

The remarks of Christian Turner are not merely a diplomatic position, but part of the official imperialist narrative regarding Britain's role in the Middle East war. In response to criticism that Britain is a "reluctant partner" in the US war against Iran, he rejects this claim and stresses that Britain has, from the outset, despite some initial differences of opinion, actively supported this war.²⁵ The reality is that Britain is not a hesitant actor, but rather an active component in the collective machinery for advancing imperialist wars—and, in this specific case, the Middle East war—and, as a result, for maintaining the hegemony of global capitalism.

This scale of military operations in the Middle East—more than a thousand hours of combat flights in a single month, the deployment of the most advanced equipment to Gulf states, and the provision of British bases to the United States for conducting military operations in the Middle East war—can meaningfully be defined as anything other than "participation in war"?

War is not limited solely to the military operations of the United States, Israel, and Iran; rather, it should be understood as an expression of the logic of a declining capitalism, in which all bourgeois states, each in their own way, play a role in advancing the capitalist war machine. Despite these realities, Donald Trump, in a contemptuous stance towards Britain, America's long-standing ally, has disparaged the country for not entering the Middle East war directly under the US flag, and has even mocked Britain's military capabilities:

²⁴ [The Guardian](#).

²⁵ [British Ambassador to the United States](#).

“Which aren’t the best aircraft carriers, by the way. They’re toys compared to what we have.”²⁶

The warmongering of the British bourgeoisie has had significant negative consequences for the country’s economy. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research has warned that the UK faces economic losses of around £35 billion this year and the risk of entering a recession, and that the consequences of the Middle East war could affect Britain’s economic growth not only this year but also in the years ahead.²⁷

At the same time, due to delays in the transmission of inflationary effects to the consumer market, the wave of price increases resulting from the Middle East war has not yet been fully reflected in British supermarkets. However, these inflationary pressures are expected to feed into consumer goods prices in the near future. In this context, The Independent published a report titled “When the full impact of the Iran war will show up in shop prices.”²⁸

Without doubt, these inflationary trends and rising prices will be met with intensified austerity policies by the bourgeoisie, since, within the logic of capitalism, the costs of imperialist wars ultimately fall on the working class. The social consequences of this situation and the response of the working class will be addressed later.

²⁶ BBC.

²⁷ The National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

²⁸ Independent.

France and the Middle East War

After Britain, we come to Europe's next major military power: France. France, like Britain, did not directly and officially enter the Middle East war; however, like Britain, it participated in this conflict thousands of miles away and under the rhetoric of "defence", within the framework of advancing its own imperialist interests. The first reports of casualties and injuries among French military personnel concerned the country's military base in Erbil, Iraq. In this regard, Emmanuel Macron stated:

*"Chief Warrant Officer Arnaud Frion of the 7th Battalion of Chasseurs Alpains from Varces died for France during an attack in the Erbil region of Iraq. To his family, to his brothers in arms, I want to express all the affection and solidarity of the Nation. Several of our soldiers have been wounded. France stands by their side and with their loved ones."*²⁹

Following the outbreak of the Middle East war, Emmanuel Macron announced that the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle, its air units, and its escort frigate had been ordered to deploy to the Mediterranean Sea. Yet the aircraft carrier and its accompanying units are fundamentally military instruments, and the essential question is this: if these forces were not intended to play a military role—whether offensive or supposedly defensive—what purpose could they possibly serve?

The fact that such heavy military systems, operating thousands of miles from the French coast, are described within the framework of "defensive operations" itself reveals the gap between the material reality of war and the rhetoric of warmongers. From this perspective, what is called "defence" is nothing more than the official formulation of active participation in imperialist war structures. The Islamic bourgeoisie

²⁹ [French President Emmanuel Macron](#).

likewise resorts to the same rhetoric of “defence” and “military aggression” by imperialist powers in order to legitimise its own warmongering. It is within this same rhetoric that Macron, with complete duplicity, declared:

“France was sending an aircraft carrier to the Mediterranean in response to the widening conflict in the Middle East...I have ordered the aircraft carrier Charles de Gaulle, its air assets and its escort of frigates to set course for the Mediterranean.”³⁰

France, in pursuit of its imperialist interests and the expansion of its influence in the Middle East, maintains numerous military and “defence” agreements with the Gulf states and also possesses a military base in the United Arab Emirates. Under such conditions, when French military aircraft are deployed over the UAE or other countries in the region, the essential question is whether these flights are merely symbolic, recreational, or training exercises, or whether they form part of actual military operations. Ultimately, can such operations really be defined outside the concept of participation in war?

The distinction between “military presence” and “direct participation in war” in such cases is largely formal, since this presence operates precisely within the framework of the same imperialist military and security mechanisms. In this regard, Jean-Noël Barrot, the French Foreign Minister, explained the matter as follows:

*“France has deployed Rafale fighter jets over the United Arab Emirates to protect its naval and air bases against Iranian attacks. France has hundreds of navy, air force and army personnel based in the United Arab Emirates. Its Rafale aircraft are stationed at the Dhafra base near Abu Dhabi...France maintains defence agreements with countries, including the UAE, Qatar and Kuwait.”*³¹

³⁰ [Le Monde](#).

³¹ [Foreign Minister Jean-Noël Barrot](#).

TF1, formerly France's first state television channel and still one of the country's largest and most widely watched television networks, published a report entitled "Middle East: The Account of a Rafale Pilot Who Intercepted Drones". In practice, this report forms part of the representation and defence of France's imperialist interests and, at the ideological level, functions in a way that facilitates public acceptance of these policies, including among the working class—policies which ultimately pave the way for austerity measures through the imposition of economic and social costs.

It is evident that such a report has passed through security filters and presents a controlled narrative deemed acceptable for public opinion. Nevertheless, even within these limitations, signs of France's active participation in the Middle East war can still be observed, including the role of its military bases in distant regions and the use of military infrastructure to advance so-called "defensive" operations thousands of miles away from French territory. The report was introduced as follows:

*"In this Middle East war, which has been ongoing for three months, an exclusive testimony has emerged—that of a French Rafale pilot who has just returned from a mission. He spent recent weeks assisting France's allies, notably the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, in intercepting Iranian drones. For several weeks, he was stationed at a French base kept secret. Lieutenant Enzo describes his mission accompanied by rare footage."*³²

What is presented at an official level as "preventing Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons" is, in reality, an ideological cover for the pursuit of warmongering policies. Within this framework, the United States, with the direct and indirect support of European governments, has launched the Middle East war under these very pretexts.

³² [TF1 Info](#).

At the same time, France openly and in an almost boastful tone declares—clearly intended to be understood by other imperialist powers—that it intends to expand its nuclear arsenal and increase the number of its nuclear warheads. This apparent contradiction not only fails to provoke any serious reaction or opposition from the so-called “civilised barbarians”, but is also welcomed by other European governments.

Here, the hypocrisy of the European bourgeoisie is clearly exposed: on the one hand, it claims to support nuclear non-proliferation and “global stability”, while on the other, it expands its own military capabilities on an even larger scale. In this context, Emmanuel Macron expresses his warmongering position as follows:

*“I have decided to increase the numbers of warheads of our arsenal. My responsibility is to ensure that our deterrence maintains – and will maintain in the future – its assured destructive power. If we had to use our arsenal, no state, however powerful, could shield itself from it, and no state, however vast, would recover from it.”*³³

As noted, the expansion of France’s nuclear arsenal is not only not condemned by the other so-called “civilised barbarians”, but is in practice met with acceptance and even approval. In addition, discussions are underway between France and several European countries to enable the temporary deployment of part of this nuclear arsenal in other parts of Europe.

This process represents nothing other than a deepening of militaristic logic and an intensification of imperialist warmongering. The deployment of nuclear weapons in more countries is not a “deterrent” measure—as warmongers attempt to present it—but a step towards preparing for wider war scenarios. The fact that such measures are

³³ [PBS News](#).

justified in the language of “security” and “defence” does not alter their fundamentally bellicose nature.

On a broader level, these developments reflect France’s attempt to enhance its imperialist position within the European Union. While Germany remains regarded as Europe’s economic engine, France seeks to establish itself as the backbone of the EU’s military power, thereby playing a more decisive role in the balance of imperialist forces. Within this framework, Emmanuel Macron explains the matter as follows:

“Provide for the temporary deployment of elements of our strategic air forces to allied countries...Talks about such arrangements have started with Britain, Germany, Poland, the Netherlands, Belgium, Greece, Sweden and Denmark.”³⁴

The French economy, like that of other European countries, has been severely affected by the consequences of the Middle East war—consequences that have brought heavy economic, political, and social repercussions for French society, and especially for the working class, while also generating serious concerns for the ruling class.

In this context, Patrick Pouyanné, Chief Executive Officer of TotalEnergies, has warned that if the Strait of Hormuz remains closed for several more months, France will face an energy shortage—a situation similar to that already experienced by some Asian countries. In response to the control of the Strait of Hormuz by the Islamic bourgeoisie, several countries have stated that, if conditions permit, they are prepared to join an international mission led by France and Britain to protect shipping in the Strait of Hormuz. Such initiatives form part of France’s efforts to strengthen its imperialist position and consolidate its influence within global capitalism.

³⁴ PBS News.

Emmanuel Macron’s reference to “international law”—which in reality refers to the rules governing relations between capitalist states—can be understood within this same framework: an attempt to obscure the fundamentally warmongering nature of these actions and preserve their “defensive” appearance, while in practice the same logic of militarism and the generalisation of imperialist war is pursued. In this regard, Macron stated:

*“Our objective is the full reopening of the Strait of Hormuz in the coming days and weeks, in accordance with international law, and the guarantee of freedom of navigation without the imposition of tolls.”*³⁵

France seeks in various ways to strengthen its imperialist position amid the increasing chaos of the global order. One manifestation of this effort can be seen in its financial and monetary policies. For example, the Bank of France has moved around 129–130 tonnes of gold (equivalent to approximately 5% of its reserves) out of the United States between July 2025 and January 2026; more precisely, it sold this amount of gold in the US and repurchased an equivalent quantity in Europe, storing it in Paris.³⁶

Of course, France had already kept a large portion of its gold reserves within the country and, unlike some other governments, was less dependent on storing gold in the United States. However, such a move should be seen as more than a purely technical relocation. It reflects an attempt to redefine its position within imperialist competition: an effort to strengthen Europe’s role as a financial pole, reduce dependence on US-dominated financial mechanisms, and operate within the framework of the global capitalist order.

³⁵ [Tabnak](#).

³⁶ [Newsweek](#).

Recently, following a telephone conversation between Emmanuel Macron and the President of Iran, Masoud Pezeshkian, Macron published a message in Persian on the social media platform X (formerly Twitter), providing information about the call.³⁷ The fact that the French President addressed his audience directly in Persian rather than in French is not merely a simple communicative choice, but carries a clear political meaning.

The fact that Macron posts about his discussions with the Islamic bourgeoisie—or, in their own terminology, the “mullahs”—demonstrates that this so-called “civilised barbarian” not only envisions no prospect of removing or consigning the “mullahs” to the dustbin of history, but in practice seeks, through the maintenance and reproduction of channels of communication, to preserve diplomatic manoeuvring space for advancing France’s imperialist position.

³⁷ [Emmanuel Macron](#).

Germany and the Middle East War

Germany, while being regarded as the economic engine of Europe, had its post–Second World War power structure shaped by strict military limitations. Its armed forces were rebuilt within the framework of the post-war order and under the hegemony of NATO, resulting in deep dependency on the alliance for deterrence. Consequently, unlike powers such as United Kingdom and France, Germany was for a long time deprived of the capacity to establish an independent network of military bases and defence agreements across different regions of the world, including the Middle East, for the direct advancement of its imperialist interests.

However, from the 2010s onwards, a process of rearmament and military strengthening began in Germany, and with the Ukraine war in 2022, this process experienced a qualitative leap under the policy known as the “Zeitenwende”, leading to a significant increase in military spending. Nevertheless, even after this shift, Germany’s military capability remains more limited compared with Britain and France, and the country still lacks the same level of capacity for direct global military intervention.

This limitation does not mean Germany is absent from the logic of imperialist militarism, but rather that it expresses a different form of it. Due to constraints on its armed forces, Germany relies less on direct military intervention and more on economic, financial, diplomatic, and multilateral mechanisms to advance its imperialist interests. In other words, German warmongering is not expressed through open military expeditions, but through “softer” forms that are nonetheless equally effective in reproducing the capitalist order, militarism, and imperialist competition.

During the 2025 war between the United States–Israel alliance and Iran, Friedrich Merz, while openly praising Israel’s war crimes, explicitly

supported its military actions and stated that Israel was doing the “dirty work” on behalf of others. Within this same framework, Germany, in pursuit of its imperialist interests and in line with escalating inter-imperialist tensions, followed the United States in adopting some of the harshest and most aggressive anti-Iran policies, while also playing an active role in supporting the pro-Western opposition in order to increase pressure on the Iranian regime.

This same criminal Merz, this so-called “civilised barbarian”, only a few days after the outbreak of the Middle East war, called for the rapid removal of the Islamic bourgeoisie—or, in the language of Western bourgeois discourse, the “mullah regime”—a position which in practice amounted to an endorsement of the continuation of the same aggressive policies. He also stated explicitly that the Americans and Israelis were pursuing this course in their own way, saying:

*“The sooner the mullah regime is brought to an end, the sooner this war will be over. Iran is the centre of international terrorism, and this centre must be shut down, and the Americans and Israelis are doing this in their own way.”*³⁸

Johann Wadephul, the German Foreign Minister, also stressed the need to adopt a common position with the United States towards Iran at the G7 foreign ministers’ meeting held in March 2026, following the Middle East war and chaired by France near Paris. This emphasis on a shared stance, in practice, amounts to nothing other than Germany’s advancement of war policies. In other words, this position can be seen as a call for aligning NATO member states with US warmongering efforts—an attempt to further coordinate the capitalist war machine on a broader scale. Within this framework:

³⁸ BBC.

*“The German Foreign Minister stressed the importance of NATO countries adopting a common position with the United States towards Iran. He stated that Britain and France also agree on adopting such a position.”*³⁹

If other European bourgeoisies continue to attempt to maintain a “human rights” mask, the German bourgeoisie in many cases more openly reveals its warmongering logic and has continued to supply arms to Israel during the Middle East war. More importantly, while other European imperialist powers speak of “peace” and “stability” following the temporary ceasefire, the German government has continued to provide political support for the continuation of Israeli military operations, including in Lebanon.

Media reports, including coverage by Deutsche Welle on Gideon Sa'ar's visit to Berlin on 5 May 2026, indicate that during this meeting Johann Wadephul emphasised Germany's firm support for Israel and even expressed conditional backing for Israel's military offensive in Lebanon, describing Israel's military presence in these areas as “necessary”.⁴⁰

If the German bourgeoisie is currently unable to independently launch a war and repeat the crimes of the two World Wars, this is due to its real limitations within the framework of historical conditions, the balance of forces, and the level of military preparedness of German imperialism; otherwise, this bourgeoisie would be regarded as one of the most warmongering, reactionary, and anti-communist bourgeois forces in Europe.

As noted earlier, the European Union has been forced to incur significant additional costs to secure energy supplies. Since the beginning of the Middle East war, the Union has been spending approximately €500

³⁹ [Channel8](#).

⁴⁰ [Deutsche Welle](#).

million per day—half a billion euros—more than in the previous period due to rising oil and gas prices. In response, European governments have resorted to temporary measures to contain economic pressure, including fuel tax cuts. For example, Germany reduced energy taxes on petrol and diesel by around 17 cents per litre, a measure that in practice has had only a very limited impact in curbing the surge in prices.

Rising energy costs have even placed the largest industrial companies under pressure. For example, Lufthansa has reportedly been forced to cancel around 20,000 flights in order to reduce fuel consumption. This is only one example of a broader set of economic consequences affecting various sectors of the economy.

This situation demonstrates how the costs of imperialist wars are transferred to national economies—even in countries not directly engaged in offensive warfare—through the interconnected nature of the global capitalist economy and the inherently militaristic character of the system. Ultimately, it is the working class that pays the price of war: through rising energy prices, reduced public services, declining living standards, austerity policies, and more—a chain of factors that cumulatively intensifies pressure on workers’ livelihoods.

In this context, Lars Klingbeil, the German Finance Minister, has stated that, despite Germany’s lack of direct participation in the Middle East war, the country is nonetheless being directly affected by its economic consequences. The International Monetary Fund has also lowered its forecast for Germany’s economic growth not only for 2026, but has further warned that the consequences of the Middle East war will continue to affect and reduce Germany’s economic growth in 2027. On this matter, Klingbeil said:

“But what we can already see now is that this war is also harming us in Germany in terms of economic growth...I’m not convinced that having a conflict all over the region is the right way...[he]

hopes diplomatic channels will lead to a lasting and viable peace solution in the Middle East.”⁴¹

According to the German Federal Statistical Office (Destatis), the Middle East war has increased production costs in Germany by 2.5%. The main driver of this rise has been the sharp surge in energy prices, which have increased by up to 5.7%—the largest monthly increase in energy costs in Germany since 2022.⁴²

There is also speculation that the German government has halved its economic growth forecast for 2026. Since production costs are ultimately passed on to consumers, this trend could lead to a further rise in inflation in Germany.

In addition to the consequences of the Middle East war, tensions arising from imperialist competition with Russia have also affected Germany’s energy situation. In this context, Russia has, since the beginning of May, completely halted the transit of Kazakh oil to Germany via the strategic Druzhba pipeline.⁴³ This move has placed additional pressure on Germany’s energy supply, as a significant portion of the fuel required for Berlin and the north-eastern federal states had previously been delivered through this route.

On the one hand, the economic, political, and security consequences of the Middle East war, and on the other hand the continued existence of the disgraceful Islamic bourgeoisie—or, in the prevailing Western discourse, the “mullah regime”—have, in the current situation, led to Friedrich Merz, who previously supported Israel’s military actions and praised them as doing the “dirty work” on behalf of others, and who had also called for the accelerated collapse of Iranian authorities, now changing his position

⁴¹ Reuters.

⁴² AA.

⁴³ The Moscow Times.

under the pressure of the war's consequences and the balance of imperialist forces.

Within this framework, the warmongering Merz once again licks up his own spit and returns to advocating the resumption of direct dialogue with the leadership of the Islamic bourgeoisie, calling for a return to diplomacy with the “mullah regime”, which he had previously demanded be eliminated. He states:

“After a long period silence, which we had serious reasons for, we are now as a government restarting talks with Tehran.”⁴⁴

Recently, Friedrich Merz, the German Chancellor, in a speech to students in the city of Marsberg, adopted a position that suggested he had entirely forgotten his previous statements. The same politician who had earlier defended military actions and the notion of doing the “dirty work” now claims that the Islamic bourgeoisie—or, in Western bourgeois terminology, the “mullah regime”—is “humiliating” the United States. He also described the Middle East war as “completely unnecessary”, while at the same time expressing doubts about the absence of a coherent US strategy for exiting the conflict.

These rhetorical shifts reflect the opportunistic policies of the European bourgeoisie, which changes its positions in defence of its imperialist interests. The same warmongering German bourgeoisie that plays a role in fuelling wars, when confronted with the consequences of the Middle East war, acts to defend its own specific interests—interests that are not necessarily identical to those of the US bourgeoisie in this conflict. In part of his speech, he stated:

“The Americans clearly have no strategy, and the problem with conflicts like this is always that you don't just have to go in; you

⁴⁴ Euro News.

also have to get out again...At the moment, I cannot see what strategic exit the Americans are now opting for, especially as the Iranians are obviously negotiating very skilfully – or, rather, very skilfully not negotiating and letting the Americans travel to Islamabad only to leave again without any results. An entire nation is being humiliated by the Iranian state leadership, especially by these so-called Revolutionary Guards...We offered, as Europeans - and said that we were willing - after the end of negotiations to help getting the Strait of Hormuz open again... And at the moment I do not see how this can be realised in the near future because the Iranians are clearly stronger than one thought and the Americans clearly don't seem to have a convincing negotiating strategy.”⁴⁵

In response, Donald Trump also reacted in a contemptuous tone towards Merz, describing him as ineffective and unfit. He stated that Merz would be better off not interfering in the work of those “that are getting rid of the Iran Nuclear threat” and instead focusing on the Russia–Ukraine war, where, according to Trump, he has also performed ineffectively. He further claimed that Merz “has no idea what he is talking about”. The conflict between these warmongers, although marked by mutual contempt and criticism, operates within a shared logic: the reproduction of capital’s dominance through war, militarism, and various forms of barbarism. In this regard, Trump stated:

“The Chancellor of Germany should spend more time on ending the war with Russia/Ukraine (Where he has been totally ineffective!), and fixing his broken Country, especially Immigration and Energy, and less time on interfering with those that are getting rid of the Iran Nuclear threat, thereby making the World, including Germany, a safer place!”⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Reuters.

⁴⁶ CGTN.

Trump's response not only failed to ease the imperialist tensions between the United States and Germany, but in practice created the conditions for further escalation and retaliatory measures. In this context, Trump announced that he intended to raise tariffs on European car imports from 15% to 25%—a move that would place additional pressure on the German automotive industry in particular, which is already grappling with structural crises.

On the military side as well, Pete Hegseth, the US Secretary of War, has ordered the withdrawal of 5,000 American troops from Germany; a process expected to take place over the next six to twelve months. Given the presence of approximately 36,000 US troops in Germany, this reduction has no decisive operational impact on the military balance. However, politically it sends a clear message: pressure on an ally that, in pursuit of its own imperialist interests in certain areas, has drifted away from US imperialist policy and interests.

In line with these political shifts and efforts to recalibrate positions within the imperialist balance of power, the telephone call between the German Foreign Minister and his Iranian counterpart should also be understood. He once again emphasises Germany's status as a "close ally" of the United States and speaks of shared goals between Germany and the US.

The German Foreign Minister, representing a country that was once one of the world's leading economic powers and played a decisive role in international political developments, now finds himself in a position where he engages in what appears as nauseating flattery towards Marco Rubio, and in a servile manner endorses his demands and expectations—a behaviour that above all carries the unmistakable imprint of subordination and unconditional alignment with US policies. He writes:

"I emphasised that Germany supports a negotiated solution. As a close US ally, we share the same goal: Iran must completely and verifiably renounce nuclear weapons and immediately open the

*Strait of Hormuz, as also demanded by US Secretary of State Marco Rubio.*⁴⁷

There was a time when Germany, alongside the Scandinavian countries, was described as a “capitalist paradise”. As welfare states, they were portrayed as places without poverty, with high levels of social welfare, social security, and “happy” societies. It was implied that capitalism had succeeded in offering an alternative to an ideal society: a kind of utopia that was presented as an attainable dream for millions of people, particularly migrants.

This image was nothing more than a temporary moment within a specific post-war context; a period in which the balance of imperialist forces allowed for the emergence of the welfare state—a condition that could never have been a permanent feature of the capitalist system. Today, that same “paradise” has clearly turned into a hell of capitalism.

In those same “dream” countries, queues for free food have now become a normal phenomenon. In Germany, workers who have reached retirement after a lifetime of labour, or those who have lost their jobs, are turning to collecting discarded bottles in order to secure the minimum means of survival, due to insufficient pensions and income—a situation in which competition over such collection has itself intensified.

This reality has become so widespread that even mainstream media outlets, including *Der Spiegel*, have been forced to reflect it, publishing a report entitled “Berlin’s Poor Collect Bottles to Make Ends Meet”.⁴⁸

At the same time, the official definition of “poverty” used by the German government itself reflects the current conditions of this “dream society”. In this definition, “poverty” is not understood as an absolute inability to afford food, but rather as relative poverty—that is, being below the general

⁴⁷ [France24](#).

⁴⁸ [Spiegel](#).

standard of living in society. Accordingly, anyone earning less than 60% of the median income is considered to be at “risk of poverty”.

On this basis, in 2025 around 16.1% of the population of Germany—nearly 13.3 million people—were living below the poverty line, an increase from 15.5% in 2024.⁴⁹ In other words, in the heart of Europe, in the continent’s economic engine and in the so-called “fabled” Germany, one in every six people lives under the “poverty line”.

This situation reflects the governing logic of the capitalist economy, as well as the war economy of the current phase of this system; a context in which, even in the most advanced capitalist countries, the reproduction of working-class life is not only based on exploitation, but is also subjected to intensifying material pressures, and the myth of a “paradise of welfare” is increasingly eroded.

⁴⁹ [Destatis](#).

Spain and the Middle East War

Spain is one of the European countries that did not allow the United States to use its military bases for attacks on Iran during the Middle East war. At the same time, the Islamic bourgeoisie sought to portray this position as a sign of the Spanish government's "peace-loving" character, or even as an act of standing up to oppression. To express their gratitude to Pedro Sánchez, the criminals ruling Iran wrote the phrase "Thank you to the Prime Minister of Spain" on missiles fired towards Israel. Spanish flags were raised in the streets of Iran, Sánchez's "courage" was praised in Spanish, and messages of thanks were sent to him. The Spanish embassy also resumed its activities in Tehran immediately after the ceasefire between Iran and the United States came into effect. Subsequently, speculation emerged that the United States might punish Spain for not fully supporting the war against Iran, or even raise the possibility of expelling it from NATO.

But do these developments mean that Spain is a "peace-loving" country? Has the Spanish government truly stood against warmongering, defended the "rights of nations", and refused to participate in militaristic policies?

Such demagoguery is mainly propagated by the left of capital and various bourgeois leftist forces. For this reason, sections of the left at anti-war demonstrations across Europe, America, and Asia carry the flag of the Islamic Republic and defend Iran's Islamic bourgeoisie as a "victim of imperialist aggression". These currents seek to portray the Islamic Republic as the only country that has dared to stand up to the world's most bullying imperialist power — the United States — and to offer others a "lesson in endurance and resistance". In this way, they reduce the war between capitalist states to a conflict between "nations under attack" and "aggressive imperialism", while concealing the class-based and imperialist nature of both sides in the confrontation.

From the standpoint of, and within the tradition of, the Communist Left, such positions are nothing more than the reproduction of bourgeois ideology in the guise of bourgeois “anti-imperialism”. In the era of capitalist decadence, all states — regardless of their size, military power, or position within the global hierarchy — operate within the framework of capitalism. Capitalism is a global system; capital is incapable of accumulation in absolute isolation, and no state exists outside its economic, geopolitical, and military rivalries. From major gangsters such as the United States, China, and Russia to smaller gangsters such as Iran, Turkey, or Spain, all are imperialist; all form part of the global network of capital and imperialist competition. The difference lies only in their weight and capacity, not in their class nature.

For this reason, the confrontation between the Islamic Republic and the United States is not a struggle between the “oppressed” and the “oppressor”, but a conflict between two capitalist powers over imperialist interests. Like every other bourgeois state, the Islamic Republic seeks to expand its regional influence, consolidate its geopolitical position, and defend its national capital. The fact that a smaller power resists a larger one does not endow it with a progressive character. Just as rivalry between bandits, regardless of their ideological rhetoric and grandiloquence, turns none of them into defenders of the “oppressed”, so too conflicts between capitalist states transform none of them into a “liberating” force.

The Communist Left views the world not from the standpoint of “nations”, but from that of class antagonism. In the era of capitalist decadence, wars between states and nations can no longer have a progressive character. The only progressive war is the war of class against class: the international struggle of the working class against all factions of the bourgeoisie, regardless of flag, religion, ethnicity, or nationality. The Iranian worker has no common interest with the Islamic bourgeoisie, just as the American or Spanish worker has no interest in

defending their own state. The global bourgeoisie seeks to mobilise the working class behind the flags of “the homeland”, “national resistance”, or “defence of democracy” in order to turn it into cannon fodder for imperialist competition.

With these explanations in mind, let us return to Spain. Spain is one of the older imperialist powers — a country that, for centuries, has played a role in colonialism, plunder, and global capitalist competition. In the present era, Spain is also a full member of NATO and part of the global capitalist war machine. Its non-participation at a specific stage of the Middle East war is not the result of “peace-loving” principles, but rather stems from the particular calculations of its own imperialist interests. Every capitalist state enters war when its interests require it and distances itself when the costs or balance of power turn against it.

Temporary tensions among Western allies do not diminish their imperialist nature. Just as disagreements between the United States and Denmark over Greenland do not turn Denmark into a “victim”, any potential disputes between the United States and Spain do not transform Spain into an anti-war force. These are merely internal frictions within the Western capitalist powers over shares of influence, power, and interests.

Spain is so deeply integrated into NATO and the Western military order that even Pedro Sánchez was compelled to emphasise Spain’s “reliability” as a NATO partner and to dismiss concerns about its possible expulsion from the alliance. This itself demonstrates that no bourgeois state can operate outside the logic of imperialist warfare and the imperatives of global capitalist competition. Pedro Sánchez stressed:

*“Spain is a reliable member within NATO which is fulfilling all its obligations. As a result, I am absolutely not worried.”*⁵⁰

⁵⁰ [Pedro Sánchez](#).

The reality is that Europe, within today's imperialist balance of power, no longer holds the position and strength it possessed a few decades ago. The European powers themselves are aware of this historical decline and seek to prevent a further deterioration of their position in global capitalist competition. For this reason, the policies of governments such as Spain's do not stem from "pacifism", but from the necessity of defending the interests of European capitalism. Pedro Sánchez is not opposed to militarism, but rather a defender of the reconstitution of European imperial power; he seeks for Europe to re-emerge as an independent and powerful pole in global competition, to possess its own unified and autonomous army, and to reduce its military dependence on the United States as far as possible.⁵¹

The same Spain that is presented by sections of the bourgeois left as "peace-loving" maintains one of the largest military budgets in the European Union. Sánchez has for years emphasised the need to create a common European army, strengthen the arms industry, and expand the European Union's military capabilities. These policies are not pursued in order to "defend peace", but to secure Europe's share in global rivalries, protect trade routes, energy resources, and spheres of influence for European capital. No power is capable of maintaining its imperial position without a military machine.

Therefore, verbal disagreements between the United States and Spain should not mislead anyone. These disputes are not a division between bourgeois "warmongers" and "peace-lovers", but rather an expression of internal competition and tensions between imperialist powers over the division of power, military expenditure, and each power's share in managing the global capitalist order. Spain, like other European states, is not positioned against NATO's war machine but at its very heart, and it

⁵¹ [Spain's PM Sánchez calls for EU army, stronger global role.](#)

effectively provides the material conditions for the United States' and NATO's military presence.

The US military presence in Spain is considered one of NATO's most important strategic positions in southern Europe. Unlike Germany or the United Kingdom, which primarily play command and logistical roles in central and northern Europe, Spain plays a key role in controlling the western Mediterranean, the Atlantic Ocean, and North Africa. Spain's geographical position makes it a bridge between Europe, Africa, and the Middle East — a bridge of vital importance for military operations, troop movements, control of sea routes, and imperialist interventions.

Spain functions for the United States and NATO as a “triple gateway”: access to the Atlantic Ocean, control of the western Mediterranean, and the capacity for rapid response to developments in North Africa and the Middle East. For this reason, the country is regarded as a key NATO partner for the United States. The United States uses Spanish territory not to “maintain peace”, but to secure its military superiority in strategic regions.

The most important example of this is the naval base at Rota, located near the Strait of Gibraltar, which plays a central role in US naval strategy. This base hosts warships equipped with the Aegis missile system and enables the United States to control the route between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The importance of this base is not limited to Europe; it is part of the global network of American imperial military deployments.

The Morón Air Base is another example of Spain's complete integration into the Western war machine. Located in southern Spain, this base has effectively become a logistical support and rapid-response centre for US forces in Africa and the Middle East. Troop deployment, refuelling, air operations, and the preparation of military interventions are all carried

out from this base. This is the very “pacifism” that the bourgeois left seeks to impose on the working class.

For the Communist Left, the issue is not support for the United States, nor defence of Europe, Russia, China, or the Islamic Republic. All of these powers, despite their differences, are part of the global capitalist system and its imperialist logic. From an internationalist standpoint, the task of communists is not to defend any bourgeois state, “resistance front”, or imperialist alliance dressed in rhetoric such as “defence of the homeland” or “anti-fascist front”, and the like.

War, militarism, and geopolitical competition are the direct product of the inherent contradictions of capitalism. In this context, the working class in all countries becomes the victim of national capital interests and imperialist rivalries — whether under the banner of “Western democracy” or under the so-called banners of “anti-imperialist resistance” or “anti-fascist resistance”. Therefore, the task of revolutionaries is to expose all bourgeois camps and defend the political independence of the global working class. The only real alternative to war, barbarism, and capitalist destruction is the international struggle of the proletariat against the entire global capitalist order — a system that reproduces war not as an exception, but as a condition of its own existence.

Civilised Barbarians in the Guise of Pirates

Iran, owing to its particular geopolitical position, has always been one of the key actors in regional and, to some extent, global power relations. The Strait of Hormuz is also regarded as an important instrument for the projection of Iran's imperial ambitions. It is a lever that plays a significant role in influencing global energy flows and trade, and can have a direct and immediate impact on the world economy. From this perspective, some consider it one of the key tools in regional and international policy, even more effective than Iran's nuclear programme.

The Islamic bourgeoisie had not previously made extensive use of this instrument; however, following the escalation of tensions and the outbreak of war in the Middle East, Iranian warmongers began to employ it and asserted control over the Strait of Hormuz. In other words, the Strait of Hormuz has not been completely closed; rather, parts of it—considered to lie within international waters—have been mined by Iran and placed under strict control and surveillance. Iran has designated the northern section of the strait, near its own coastline and regarded as Iranian waters, as the main shipping route, with passage through it subject to Iranian authorisation.

With regard to the southern part of the Strait, which lies adjacent to the coast of Oman and within Omani territorial waters, Iran is not in a position to carry out mining operations or exercise direct control. However, Iran is said to exert a degree of operational control in the area through indirect surveillance, using assets such as drones, fast boats, and missile systems.

Ships that have been granted passage are reported to have travelled through the northern route under Iranian supervision, whereas vessels attempting to use the southern route have reportedly encountered risks.

There are also claims that some ships have attempted to traverse this route by switching off their tracking systems.

The United States has reportedly sought to initiate or establish a secure passage through the Strait of Hormuz from the southern section—namely the coastal waters of Oman—and to expand it subsequently, although these efforts have so far been unsuccessful.

Iran’s political rivals, and in particular certain Western powers, have described Iran’s actions in the Strait of Hormuz as a form of “piracy” and have deemed them to be in violation of international law, the law of the sea, and the rules governing waterways and straits. They have also stressed that such actions must be halted and have, in this context, enlisted legal experts to articulate and support the view that the closure of the Strait of Hormuz constitutes a breach of international law.

In contrast, some legal scholars in Europe and the United States have considered Iran’s actions in restricting or closing passage through the Strait of Hormuz to be justifiable, and in some cases lawful, under international law. In this connection, a European journal of international law published an article entitled “The Legality of Iran’s Closure of the Strait of Hormuz”⁵². The author of this article is a Norwegian researcher professor in the law of the sea and an associate professor of international law.

For communists, it is clear that within the capitalist system, political and military power not only determines the interpretation and enforcement of international law, but in many cases goes beyond it, effectively replacing bourgeois law with the logic of force. In this context, amid escalating pressure and the naval blockade against Iran by the United States, the US Navy seized an Iranian tanker—not in waters close to Iran, but in more distant waters within the Asian region.

⁵²[The Legality of Iran’s Closure of the Strait of Hormuz.](#)

Trump, with evident pride and in a manner reminiscent of pirates displaying their spoils after a successful raid to demonstrate their power, stated that the US Navy, in enforcing the naval blockade of Iranian ports, was acting “like pirates”. He declared:

*“We ... land on top of it and we took over the ship. We took over the cargo, took over the oil. It’s a very profitable business. We’re like pirates. We’re sort of like pirates. But we’re not playing games.”*⁵³

The central question is why the actions of the United States—which itself openly admits to having acted “like pirates”—did not provoke any reaction in Europe. Does not the European bourgeoisie present itself as civilised, law-abiding, and committed to resolving disputes through international law? Why was there no significant response, even at a cultural or media level?

The answer is simple and clear: the European bourgeoisie is itself part of the same imperialist order and a partner in the same global piracy. The fundamental difference lies not in essence, but in the manner of expression and justification. If the American bourgeoisie speaks more openly and brazenly in terms of naked force, the European bourgeoisie pursues the same policies in more diplomatic, legalistic, and “civilised” language.

We have repeatedly referred to the decline of Europe’s position. One of the consequences of this decline is that the European bourgeoisie resorts to any means in order to prevent a further weakening of its position. Although Europe does not possess the same capacity as the United States to launch large-scale wars to preserve its hegemony, it nevertheless seeks to use other instruments to defend its imperialist interests; one of these instruments is maritime piracy.

⁵³ [The Guardian](#).

When the American and Iranian bourgeoisies engage in various forms of maritime predation, why should the European bourgeoisie not act in the same way—especially given its long history and accumulated experience of piracy, colonialism, and control over global trade routes? These same “civilised barbarians”, in pursuit of their imperialist objectives, once again appear in the role of maritime predators, several examples of which will be discussed below.⁵⁴

It is important to note that Europe, in order to reduce the risk of direct confrontation with Russia, primarily inspects or seizes vessels that do not officially belong to the Russian state, focusing its attention instead on the so-called “shadow fleet”:

On 20 March 2026, the French Navy, in cooperation with the United Kingdom, seized a Russian tanker named *Deyna*, claiming that the vessel was part of Russia’s so-called “shadow fleet” and was operating to circumvent international sanctions.⁵⁵

In recent months, European countries have intensified their efforts against Russia’s shadow fleet. The United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and France have significantly restricted the freedom of navigation of such vessels in the Mediterranean, the Baltic Sea, and European ports through seizure, inspection, or forced diversion of their routes, without Russia having so far mounted any effective response.⁵⁶

Sweden has also recently seized several vessels linked to Russia. In March 2026 alone, two ships alleged to be part of Russia’s “shadow fleet”

⁵⁴The aim here is not to provide a comprehensive list of the various forms of maritime piracy carried out by European imperialists, but rather to demonstrate the underlying logic governing these actions: European imperialists resort to any available means, including the seizure and military control of maritime routes, in order to consolidate and display their power. This is a logic that, in conditions of intensifying global crises, reveals itself in a more overt and increasingly aggressive manner.

⁵⁵[Reuters](#).

⁵⁶[Germany, France, Italy, Spain start boarding and seizing Russian ships](#).

were detained by Sweden: the cargo vessel *Caffa* and the tanker *Sea Owl I*.⁵⁷

If we leave aside Russia, maritime predation by Europe against the Islamic bourgeoisie accelerated between 2019 and 2023. Likewise, if we disregard France and Italy's harassment of Iranian vessels, it is specifically the United Kingdom and Greece that on several occasions seized Iranian ships, effectively engaging in acts of maritime piracy.

However, the European bandits had underestimated one thing: the Iranian bandits, despite having more limited resources, are more adept at banditry than the Europeans. In response, the Islamic Republic seized a British vessel and several Greek vessels and brought them to Iranian shores. Ultimately, Britain and Greece were forced to release the Iranian ships in order to secure the release of their own vessels as well.

After these events, tensions between Iran and Europe in the maritime and shipping sphere eased to some extent. However, it is not clear whether this reduction in tension was due to European bandits causing fewer disruptions to Iranian shipping, or because Iranian gangsters found alternative routes and methods to circumvent pressure and controls.

These analyses suggest that all imperial powers, whenever their economic, geopolitical, and military interests require it, resort in various forms to maritime banditry, blockades, the seizure of vessels, and coercive control of trade routes. What differs is not the nature of these actions, but the capacity of propaganda and media apparatuses to present them as legitimate. Each power seeks to justify its own piracy under labels such as "law enforcement", "maintaining international security", or "defending the global order".

International law in the capitalist world is nothing more than a reflection of the balance of power among the major imperialist powers. The

⁵⁷[BBC](#).

European bourgeoisie also seeks to provide its actions with a legal and “civilised” veneer, in order to legitimise maritime banditry and imperial coercion under concepts such as sanctions, inspections, maritime security, and the enforcement of international regulations.

Within this framework, the differences between imperialist powers lie only in their language, methods of justification, and propaganda capacity. Raw force, when exercised by powerful gangsters, is dressed up in legal and diplomatic terminology so as to conceal the true nature of global capitalist relations.

Russia–China and the War in the Middle East

One view that has been put forward is that, despite differences in imperialist objectives and disagreements over certain economic, political, and geopolitical issues, Western countries constitute a bloc—or are at least tending towards consolidation into such a bloc—with the United States as its backbone. In contrast, China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea are also presented as a rival pole or bloc that is either already taking shape in practice or is showing a tendency in that direction.

However, to date there has been no coherent and rigorous theoretical study from a Marxist and internationalist perspective that addresses this issue on the basis of a materialist analysis of social processes and a dialectical examination of the contradictions of global capitalism. What has predominantly been offered instead is more a statement of political positions and interpretations than a Marxist theory developed through systematic research and coherent critique.

Based on an empirical examination of developments over the past two decades, and in particular during the United States and Israel's war against Iran in 2025 and recent developments in the Middle East, we have not observed clear signs of the formation of a cohesive Eastern bloc in the classical sense. One of the factors that facilitated the US and Israeli attacks, both in 2025 and in the recent Middle East war, was the Islamic Republic's position at its weakest point, both in terms of the regional and international balance of power and its domestic situation. The fall of the Assad regime in Syria dealt a decisive blow to the regional position of the Islamic bourgeoisie in Iran and paved the way for the weakening of its proxy forces.

Although the Islamic Republic has been present in Syria since the 1980s, this presence was primarily advisory prior to 2011. From 2011 onwards, Iran began extensively establishing military bases and infrastructure in

Syria, a process that expanded significantly over the following decade. Throughout this period, Israel—particularly from 2017 until the fall of the Assad regime—consistently targeted Iranian bases, military infrastructure, and affiliated forces in airstrikes.

Despite Russia’s military presence in Syria, its air defence systems did not once respond to the bombing of Iranian positions or the killing of Iranian military and advisory personnel. Moreover, there were numerous claims that Israel coordinated its strikes with Russia in order to avoid a potential reaction from Moscow. The Islamic Republic was also effectively unable to mount any meaningful response, and this issue became a source of discontent within the ruling establishment.⁵⁸

The fundamental problem for the Islamic Republic was that it lacked an effective air defence system of its own, and had it possessed such capabilities, it could have transferred part of it to Syria. Iran purchased the S-300 air defence system from Russia in 2007, but Russia delayed its delivery for years. Amir Ali Hajizadeh, commander of the IRGC Aerospace Force—who was assassinated by Israel in the 2025 war—explained the issue of Russia’s failure to deliver the S-300 system in a televised programme of the Islamic Republic as follows:

“At that time, when we did not have radar systems, we decided to purchase radar from one of the radar-producing countries, which, incidentally, is also a friend of Iran. I personally, as the commander of air defence, bought seven radar systems. Then they said you must bring in another user, meaning that Iran could not be the end user; payment had to be made through another country. We made the payment. Eventually, after much back and forth, that friendly country, despite receiving the advance payment, did not deliver the radar system to us. We were forced

⁵⁸ Years ago, at the height of Israel’s attacks on Iran’s military infrastructure in Syria, *Internationalist Voice* published a booklet entitled *The New Arrangement of Imperialist Powers in the New Global Conditions*, one of whose subheadings was “Russia’s weakening of Iran’s position in Syria”.

to use the advance payment to buy equipment that we did not even need, but they still did not give it to us. However, during that same trip, we visited the factory and saw the equipment. From those images, we were able, through reverse engineering, to essentially redesign that system.”⁵⁹

The key question is this: if we were truly dealing with a bloc formation, how is it that Russia refused to deliver an older version of the S-300 system to the Islamic Republic, which was ostensibly one of its allies, while at the same time supplying the more advanced S-400 system to Turkey, a NATO member and its own geopolitical rival?

The answer is, in fact, not particularly complex. What exists is not a bloc structure comparable to the classical Cold War divisions of the twentieth century, but rather a series of temporary alignments between capitalist powers, each pursuing its own imperialist interests. For Russia as well, the preservation and advancement of its imperialist interests and geopolitical position have remained the priority. Russia has sought to maintain a certain balance of power in the region while simultaneously preserving its relations with Arab states and, in particular, with Israel. For this reason, Moscow’s policy towards Iran has consistently been shaped by its imperialist interests, rather than reflecting the existence of a stable and homogeneous strategic alliance.

Another important fact is that, following the outbreak of the Russia–Ukraine (NATO) war, the Islamic Republic became less a recipient of military assistance from Russia and more a supplier of military equipment to it, and, as a result of this cooperation, also faced increased sanctions from Western governments. Iran initially supplied various generations of Shahed drones to Russia and subsequently participated in establishing a domestic production line for these drones at a large industrial complex in Russia. In addition, the Islamic Republic has delivered hundreds of short-range, precision-guided Fateh-360 ballistic

⁵⁹ [Hamshahri Online](#).

missiles, as well as various other types of military equipment and munitions, including artillery shells and RPG rounds, to Russia.

We have repeatedly emphasised that the Achilles' heel of the Islamic bourgeoisie is its structural weakness in the field of air defence, whereas the main strength of the United States and Israel lies in their highly advanced air forces and technological superiority in aerial warfare. Last year, Israel, together with the United States, also carried out heavy airstrikes against Iran.

It had been expected that the Islamic Republic would, at the very least, in return for its extensive military assistance, be able to obtain advanced air defence equipment from Russia and China. However, the realities of the recent Middle East war have shown that, in practice, no such transfer has taken place.

During the recent Middle East war, Russia—despite strongly condemning the US and Israeli attacks in verbal terms and describing the war as “illegal”—refrained from any direct military intervention. At the military level, there were claims that Russia provided the Islamic Republic with satellite data and intelligence relating to the positions of US forces. At the diplomatic level, Moscow supported Iran's position in the Security Council of the thieves' den (the United Nations) and vetoed anti-Iranian resolutions.

Moscow, unlike during the Cold War era, now maintains close relations with Riyadh, Abu Dhabi, and other Gulf Arab states, and seeks to play a kind of “balancing” role amid these imperialist tensions. Russia, while indirectly supporting the Islamic Republic, simultaneously attempts to preserve its relations with Western-aligned Arab governments and to exploit crises and conflict in the Middle East to advance its own geopolitical and military objectives in the Ukraine war. The stance of the Russian Foreign Ministry clearly reflects this balancing policy. In its official statements, the ministry, while condemning US and Israeli

attacks, also refers to “friendly Arab partners” and seeks to maintain diplomatic equilibrium among all regional actors. This approach demonstrates that Russian foreign policy is structured around the management of imperial interests and the preservation of its spheres of influence.

“We consistently advocate the need to create conditions for peaceful coexistence, security and good-neighbourly relations between our friendly Arab partners and Iran.”⁶⁰

China’s position is, to a large extent, similar to that of Russia, with the difference that the Islamic Republic has played no role in supplying China’s military needs. China, like other major capitalist powers, first and foremost pursues its own economic and imperialist interests, and the maintenance of a balance of power in the region is of strategic importance to it. This is particularly so given that, in June 2026, a China–Arab States summit will be held within the framework of the China–Arab States Cooperation Forum (CASCF). This summit is of particular significance due to the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and Arab states, as well as developments in the Middle East. The main topics of discussion are expected to include trade and logistics corridors, new energy and the green transition, regional security, and, in particular, developments in the Middle East.

The reality is that China purchases a significant share of Iran’s oil exports, and this constitutes a vital source of foreign currency revenue for the Islamic Republic. However, this oil is generally supplied to China at substantial discounts, a matter of considerable importance for China’s economy and energy security. Moreover, a significant portion of these transactions does not take the form of direct financial payment but is conducted through barter in goods and services. This relationship indicates that relations between China and the Islamic Republic are not

⁶⁰Foreign Ministry statement on developments in the Persian Gulf.

based on a strategic alliance, but rather on the imperial interests of the two states. A concrete example helps to clarify this point.

Although a significant number of Iranian passenger aircraft were lost during the 2025 US–Israeli war against Iran and, in particular, the recent Middle East war, the civilian aviation fleet of the Islamic Republic had already been in a critical condition prior to these conflicts as a result of decades of sanctions and structural degradation. This situation had forced the Islamic Republic to meet a substantial portion of its needs through the black market and informal networks.

In this context, ILNA News Agency, which is close to certain semi-governmental public institutions, reported shortly before the 2025 war that Chinese companies had transferred two Airbus A330 aircraft to Iran Air (Homa). According to the report, aircraft whose actual value was estimated at less than 30 million dollars each were traded in a barter arrangement involving Iranian oil valued at approximately 116 million dollars.⁶¹

This example clearly shows that even China exploits Iran’s economic isolation under the pressure of crippling sanctions in order to maximise its own economic and imperial interests, rather than acting as a “strategic ally” seeking to meet Iran’s needs. Relations between capitalist states, even when framed as “strategic partnerships,” ultimately remain governed by the logic of capitalist competition, the balance of power, and the pursuit of national–imperialist interests.

Above all, the volume of Iranian oil purchases and, more generally, annual trade between Iran and China is relatively small in comparison with the scale of China’s foreign trade. The official figure for this trade is reported to be around 15 billion dollars per year. Even if we assume that, due to sanctions, a significant portion of this trade is not officially

⁶¹ [Ilna](#).

recorded and that the real volume is three times higher—around 45 billion dollars—it remains negligible compared with China’s trade with Arab countries. In contrast, China’s annual trade with Arab states exceeds 430 billion dollars.

Meanwhile, Beijing is one of the largest economic—and in some areas military—partners of the Gulf Arab states, particularly Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, and has consistently sought to maintain a balance in its relations with all regional powers. This is of strategic importance to China, as a significant portion of its energy needs is supplied from the Gulf region.

Unlike Russia, the escalation of the Middle East war had direct economic consequences for China. Rising energy prices, instability in trade routes, and disruptions to global supply chains placed considerable pressure on the Chinese economy and introduced uncertainty and downward revisions to its growth outlook. For this reason, Beijing was more concerned with containing the crisis and maintaining relative stability in the region than with its expansion. In this context, the United States government also appeared to welcome what it perceived as China’s “restraint” in relation to the Middle East war, as Beijing neither moved to provide decisive direct support to the Islamic Republic nor sought to use the Middle East crisis as a lever to organise a direct confrontation with the United States. Trump also described China’s behaviour as “respectful” in his remarks, stating:

*“But he’s been very nice about this. You know, in all fairness, he gets like, 60% of his oil from Hormuz. And he’s been, I think he’s been very respectful. We haven’t been challenged by China. They don’t challenge us.”*⁶²

⁶² FoxNews.

Recently, CNN claimed that China is preparing to transfer man-portable air defence systems, known as “MANPADS,” to Iran. These systems are relatively basic in technological terms and are primarily used to target aircraft or drones operating at low altitudes; they are more effective against older-generation weaponry or low-technology drones. The report also alleged that the shipments would be routed through third countries in order to conceal their origin, namely China. However, the Chinese government has denied the sale of weapons to Iran and, in turn, described the US naval blockade of Iran as a “dangerous” and “irresponsible” act. In this regard, Guo Jiakun, spokesperson for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated:

“Completely fabricated...If the US insists on using this as an excuse to impose additional tariffs on China, China will definitely take resolute countermeasures.”⁶³

The United States has imposed sanctions on several Chinese companies, including “Meentropy” and “Chang Guang”, on the grounds that they provided satellite imagery and technical services to Iran. In response, the Chinese government expressed its opposition to these sanctions, describing them as “illegal” and “unilateral” measures taken by the United States. Guo Jiakun, spokesperson for the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, also stated at a press briefing:

“China firmly opposes illegal unilateral sanctions that have no basis in international law and are not authorized by the United Nations Security Council. China has always required Chinese enterprises to conduct business in accordance with laws and regulations. The country will firmly safeguard the legitimate rights and interests of its companies.”⁶⁴

⁶³ [Chinese foreign ministry spokesman Guo Jiakun.](#)

⁶⁴ [China opposes US sanctions.](#)

It is claimed that Iran is part of a bloc allegedly formed—or in the process of being formed—by China and Russia. However, these same “allies” are unwilling to provide decisive support for even the most fundamental military needs of the Islamic Republic, including the modernisation of its air force and air defence systems. In such a context, talk of the possible transfer of limited-technology man-portable air defence systems, and even then via third countries and through covert channels, reflects above all the constraints and fragility of these relationships, rather than the existence of a genuine strategic alliance.

By contrast, Pakistan—which is not presented as a “member” of this hypothetical bloc—has, for decades, maintained extensive and structured military-industrial cooperation with China. The Pakistan Aeronautical Complex (PAC) in Kamra has become the main centre for the production and assembly of Chinese aircraft in the country. At present, several types of aircraft and drones are produced or assembled in Pakistan with direct Chinese involvement or under Chinese licence. The most prominent example is the JF-17 Thunder fighter jet, a 4.5-generation aircraft that now forms the backbone of the Pakistan Air Force. The Islamic Republic also sought to acquire these aircraft from Pakistan between 2016 and 2018, but these efforts were unsuccessful.

If we set aside the military dimension and turn to the economic one, Iran’s economy has, as a result of the crippling sanctions imposed by Western imperialist powers and their allies, been confronted with a deep crisis and an accelerating process of disintegration. This economic crisis, in turn, has created the conditions for growing social discontent and the material basis for widespread protests. However, even in this sphere, China and Russia have not taken decisive action to prevent the economic collapse of Iran; an outcome that, had the Islamic Republic truly been regarded as part of a bloc, one would have expected to unfold differently.

It may be argued that Russia itself is under sanction pressure and that China is also facing serious economic difficulties, and therefore that even

the mere purchase of Iranian oil already constitutes a major form of support for the Islamic Republic's economy. However, such an argument reflects a superficial understanding of the concept of strategic alliances and imperialist bloc formations. In a genuine and stable alliance between capitalist powers, economic, financial, technological, and even military support can be far more extensive and organised—particularly when the survival of a regional ally is at stake.

Russia has recently been subjected to extensive sanctions, while China's economy is not in a state of "collapse" but rather confronting the challenges characteristic of a capitalist economy. Let us clarify the concept of strategic relations and bloc formations with a more concrete example. Iran has long claimed—and continues to claim—the status of a regional power. Within this framework, proxy forces have occupied an important place in advancing the imperialist objectives of the Islamic bourgeoisie, a network that it itself refers to as the "Axis of Resistance". This axis was defined within a continuous geographical space: beginning in Iraq, passing through Syria, and extending to Lebanon. Within this configuration, Syria played the role of the central link and was of decisive importance for the regional strategy of the Islamic bourgeoisie. For this reason, the Islamic bourgeoisie, despite being subjected to crippling sanctions and facing severe domestic economic crises, is estimated to have spent more than 30 billion dollars to preserve and strengthen the military and economic infrastructure of the Syrian state.

Iran had made significant industrial investments in Syria in sectors such as automobiles, cement, glass, and other industries, among which the automotive sector was of particular importance. The largest project in this field was the SIAMCO factory, established in the Adra industrial zone near Damascus as the largest Iranian automobile production facility outside the country. The factory's principal product was the *Sham* automobile, which was effectively the Syrian version of the Samand.

In the cement sector, the Hama Cement Factory was among the most important projects. This production facility was built with an annual capacity of around one million tonnes (approximately 3,300 tonnes per day) and played a significant role in meeting Syria's construction needs. In the glass industry as well, Iran established a relatively modern glass production complex in the Adra industrial zone near Damascus. This factory was designed to produce patterned glass, float glass, and other products used in the construction and automotive industries.

In addition, Iran implemented projects such as the construction of wastewater treatment plants in cities including Latakia, the development of power stations such as the Tishreen and Jandar plants, and the construction of several grain storage silos in various parts of Syria through Iranian companies.⁶⁵ In contrast, neither China nor Russia has ever provided Iran with a comparable level of infrastructural support, whether in the military or economic sphere. This comparison indicates that Syria's place in Iran's regional strategy was far more significant than Iran's place in the strategic calculations of China and Russia.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, a significant portion of Russia's nuclear industry faced declining orders and a shortage of active projects. In this context, the contract with Iran not only brought liquidity into the sector but also enabled Russian engineers and companies to continue their activities. In this process, the combination of certain

⁶⁵ Following the fall of the Assad regime, a significant portion of the investments made by the Islamic bourgeoisie in Syria was effectively lost. More importantly, according to some estimates, around 10,000 military personnel under Iranian command—including forces from Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Lebanon, Iraq, Yemen, Azerbaijan, and other countries—lost their lives in related conflicts. As a result, the most direct damage was not borne by Russia but by the Islamic bourgeoisie. After Assad's fall, sections within the Islamic bourgeoisie accused Russia of "betrayal" and of playing a role in the regime's collapse, claiming that if Russia had adhered to its commitments, the Axis of Resistance could have mobilised its forces, as in 2016, to halt or roll back the advance of al-Julani's forces. However, these forms of discontent were already spreading when the outbreak of the US-Israeli war in June 2025 effectively pushed them to the margins.

Western technologies—including equipment and designs associated with Siemens⁶⁶—with Russian VVER technology was presented as a distinctive and, to some extent, unusual technical experience.

Within this framework, the Bushehr nuclear power plant can be regarded as a form of training and continuity project for Rosatom. It helped sustain the cycle of design, construction, operation, and specialist training within Russia’s nuclear industry, while also strengthening its export capabilities and maintaining its technical capacity to implement similar projects in other countries. Years earlier, Safarov, a Russian nuclear expert, also stated this reality clearly in an Iranian television programme in Persian, as follows:

*“The Islamic Republic saved Russia’s nuclear industry. Had it not been for the Bushehr contract, our nuclear industry would have collapsed. The power plant kept 500 of our factories operating.”*⁶⁷

Ali Akbar Salehi, former head of the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran, stated in 2016 that the final cost of constructing the first unit of the Bushehr nuclear power plant was approximately 5 billion dollars. However, some research institutions, including the Carnegie Institution for Science, have presented higher estimates, placing the actual final cost

⁶⁶The Bushehr nuclear power plant was originally intended to be built by West Germany. In 1974, the Atomic Energy Organisation of Iran signed a contract with Kraftwerk Union (KWU), a subsidiary of the West German company Siemens, for the construction of two light-water nuclear reactor units in Bushehr. By the time of the events of 1979, the first unit was approximately 75 per cent complete and the second around 45 per cent complete. Following the events of 1979, Siemens unilaterally withdrew from the project due to political tensions and economic disputes. During the Iran–Iraq War, the Bushehr plant sustained damage.

After the end of the Iran–Iraq War, Iran requested that Germany complete the project in accordance with the original contract. However, Germany offered various pretexts and did not return to the project. The principal reason was that the United States exerted intense pressure on its Western allies, including Germany, to halt all strategic and nuclear cooperation with Iran. After losing hope in Germany, Iran turned first to Argentina and subsequently to Russia.

⁶⁷ [Balatarin](#).

between 11 and 15 billion dollars. According to these estimates, such an amount would have been sufficient to construct at least three similar nuclear power plants.

Recent analysis indicates that the preservation and continuation of the rule of the Islamic bourgeoisie is of importance to China and Russia. The existence of an Islamic bourgeoisie in power—but not one so strong as to become uncontrollable in its imperial ambitions, and instead one that remains dependent on their support—allows these countries to manage the balance of power within the framework of their imperialist rivalries. Nevertheless, within the strategic objectives of China and Russia, Iran does not play a decisive strategic role comparable to that of a **genuine strategic ally**. Rather, it is the imperial interests of each of these powers that constitute the principal priority, while the policy of maintaining balance serves those same interests.

If we set aside the logic of imperial interests and rivalries, the reality is that the Middle East war has become a practical testing ground for assessing the military, armaments, security, operational, and intelligence capabilities and weaknesses of the parties involved. This issue is considered sufficiently important that even *Foreign Affairs*, in an article entitled “The Iran War’s Real Lesson for China”, addressed the subject.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ *Foreign Affairs*.

European Economic, Political, and Intelligence Support for the United States and Israel

Imperialist war is not the product of the will of this or that government; rather, it is the inevitable expression of the internal contradictions of global capitalism and of its mode of existence in the era of capitalist decline. In order to survive and accumulate, capital is compelled continually to expand its spheres of economic, political, and military influence, and this, in turn, drives capitalist states into a permanent and destructive rivalry. Under such conditions, the machinery of war relies not only on military aircraft, missiles, tanks, and armed forces, but also on a global network of economic, political, and intelligence relations that guarantees the survival and continuation of war.

For this reason, even states that do not directly enter the battlefield are nevertheless part of the machinery of imperialist war. Economic sanctions, control over energy and trade routes, information warfare, cyber operations, diplomatic support, and financial or military assistance are all different forms of participation in war — whether in support of one war machine or in the weakening of a rival one. Within the global capitalist system, no “neutral” state can truly exist; every state, according to its position within global capitalism, is involved, in one form or another, in the reproduction of relations of war.

Since capitalism is a global system, every crisis or war in one part of the world transmits its effects throughout the entire network of capital. Disruptions to production chains, energy crises, inflation, forced migration, and the intensification of political repression clearly manifest themselves in other regions of the capitalist world. In the same way, any economic, political, or intelligence support for a country engaged in war serves to advance and strengthen that country’s war machine.

With these points in mind, it is now possible to examine the joint support and cooperation between the European Union, the United States, and Israel in the economic, political, and intelligence spheres. Europe's support for the United States and Israel constitutes a complex set of strategic, economic, political, and security collaborations which, despite occasional tensions and disagreements, continue to form the backbone of their relations. In what follows, each of these dimensions will be examined separately, albeit briefly.

The total volume of trade between the European Union and the United States in 2025 amounted to approximately €908.4 billion, while the total volume of trade between the European Union and Israel in the same year reached around €43.3 billion. In other words, the combined volume of trade between the European Union, the United States, and Israel stood at approximately €951.7 billion. By contrast, the total volume of trade between the European Union and Iran in the same year was around €3.7 billion, of which nearly €3 billion consisted of European Union exports to Iran. In other words, even at this highly limited level of trade, imports from Iran were practically negligible; consequently, the greater part of these exchanges resulted in an outflow of currency from Iran and an inflow into the European Union.

These simple figures demonstrate the extent to which the European Union has moved economically towards strengthening and advancing the war machinery of the United States and Israel, while also providing the conditions necessary for its operation. In contrast to Iran, which remains subject to European Union sanctions, American and Israeli companies play a significant role in the economies of European countries.

The Association Agreement, which came into force in 2000, laid the foundation for Israel's preferential access to the European single market. Despite political pressure in 2026 to suspend the agreement on human rights grounds, countries such as Germany and Italy prevented its full suspension. Spain, Slovenia, and Ireland also attempted to restrict Israel's

access to the European Union market, but they were unable to secure the necessary consensus to implement such measures. Ultimately, the member states of the European Union rejected efforts to suspend the cooperation agreement with Israel.⁶⁹

Israel also benefits from the European Union's technological and research cooperation programmes. The country participates in the major research initiative "Horizon Europe", and by 2026 approximately €1.11 billion of European Union funding had been allocated to Israeli companies, universities, and institutions.

In most major Middle Eastern policies — including opposition to Iran's regional influence and the securing of Western imperialist interests in the Red Sea — the European Union has acted largely in coordination with Washington. At the thieves' den (the United Nations), it has supported anti-Iranian resolutions while, at the same time, either preventing the adoption of stringent resolutions against Israel or abstaining from voting on them. Furthermore, under the banner of Israel's "right to self-defence", it has, in practice, supported the country's war policies.

The propaganda apparatus and mainstream European media have also exerted every effort, in relation to the war in the Middle East, to present a narrative that directs and engineers public opinion in line with the imperialist objectives of the European bourgeoisie; a narrative which, in essence, reproduces a moderated version of the American and Israeli narrative.

Intelligence cooperation between Europe, the United States, and Israel constitutes one of the most vital dimensions of their collaboration, although this level of cooperation generally remains hidden from public view. Intelligence sharing between Israel and European countries is highly developed in areas such as so-called "counter-terrorism", cyber

⁶⁹ *POLITICO*.

security, and intelligence surveillance. Israel's expertise in espionage technologies, surveillance systems, and drone technology has attracted particular attention from European intelligence services.

In 2025, the European Union and the United States expanded their cooperation in response to cyberattacks attributed to Russia and Iran against energy and banking infrastructure. This cooperation included the creation of a joint "cyber defence shield" and the tracking of illegal supply chains. Israel, as one of the centres for the development of surveillance and repression technologies, also produces technologies and equipment that are later used by European police and security institutions.

Although Israel is not a member of NATO, it maintains extensive intelligence, training, and military cooperation with this US-led military alliance as a "non-member partner", particularly in the Mediterranean region. The United States also provides its allies with real-time data through extensive satellite networks and electronic espionage systems.

The European Union's military cooperation with American and Israeli arms giants is likewise founded upon a form of technological integration. Europe's dependence on American military contractors has acquired a structural character. European countries spend a large proportion of their defence budgets on purchasing advanced systems and equipment from companies such as Lockheed Martin and Raytheon. The purchase of F-35 Lightning II fighter aircraft by countries such as Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands has brought Europe into ever closer logistical and operational alignment with American military strategy.

European armies are increasingly turning towards Israeli combat technologies. Major contracts for the purchase of the Arrow 3 air defence system by Germany, and Spike anti-tank missiles by several European Union member states, demonstrate Europe's confidence in the experience and operational capabilities of companies such as Israel Aerospace

Industries (IAI) and the defence contractor Rafael Advanced Defense Systems.

This cooperation is not limited to arms procurement; it also includes joint production, technology transfer, and technological integration. Many European drones and electronic warfare systems are manufactured within Europe itself, either through direct cooperation with, or under licence from, Israeli and American companies, in order to ensure that supply chains are maintained under wartime conditions.

In the security sphere as well, European governments make every effort to ensure that the interests of the United States and Israel are optimally served. In September 2025, Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, encountered an unexpected and somewhat humiliating incident during his visit to New York to attend the United Nations General Assembly. After delivering his speech and while returning to the French consulate, his motorcade was suddenly stopped by the New York police near the United Nations headquarters, and Macron was forced, along with his security team, to walk for around thirty minutes through the streets of New York to the French consulate.

Despite such incidents and humiliations, European politicians continue to follow and align themselves with the policies of the United States and Israel. At the same time, amid escalating tensions and developments in the Middle East and increasing security threats against the United States and Israel, countries such as France, Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Sweden have established designated security zones in their capitals around US and Israeli embassies. In these areas, security forces are authorised to search individuals and vehicles even in the absence of any specific suspicion of criminal activity.⁷⁰

This stance can be compared with how the same European governments deal with certain gatherings of Iranian monarchist forces; gatherings

⁷⁰ *The Guardian*.

which, in some cases, have involved attacks on the embassies of the disgraceful Islamic bourgeoisie, the lowering of its flag, and its replacement with the royalist flag, without facing the same level of restrictions and security measures.

The above analysis shows that, without the economic, political, military, and security support of European governments for the American and Israeli war machine, as well as for the Gulf states (which were not examined here), the advancement of this imperialist war would not have been easily possible and would have faced serious obstacles and crises. The overall conclusion is that European governments, through their economic, political, military, and security support, have been complicit in the continuation and expansion of this war machine. Their failure to enter the war directly and aggressively is not the result of pacifism, but rather a function of their imperialist calculations and interests. In other words, war is not the outcome of the will of a few particular governments or politicians, but the logical product of the global capitalist system — a system that reproduces and intensifies militarism and competition between capitalist powers in various forms, from direct war to financial, arms, and diplomatic support.

The proletariat is a class, not a nation

The proletariat is a class, not a nation is a concise expression of a fundamental reality in communist left analysis: workers, regardless of national borders, occupy a shared position within capitalist relations of production. What defines workers' class identity is not artificial divisions such as language, flag, religion, nationality, or citizenship, but rather their position within the relationship between capital and wage labour—a relationship in which labour power is turned into a commodity, and exploitation forms the basis for the reproduction of the entire barbaric capitalist system.

In the context of the Middle East war, this reality becomes even more apparent. Workers in Iran, Israel, Europe, and the United States, despite being placed on different sides of this war, are ultimately victims of a shared logic: the logic of capitalist warmongering. Workers are either directly exposed to bombing, killing, and destruction, or they pay the cost of these wars through inflation, rising prices, unemployment, and austerity policies. In this context, states and bourgeois media seek to mobilise workers under national flags by fuelling nationalism and setting them against their fellow workers in other countries. No national flag is worth a single drop of workers' blood.

From this perspective, the “nation” is, for the proletariat, nothing more than an imposed framework reproduced by bourgeois states and dominant ideologies in order to obscure real class contradictions. When workers are called upon under national flags, when they are summoned in the name of “defending the homeland”, “national security”, or “fighting the foreign enemy”, they are in practice turned into instruments for advancing wars that have nothing to do with their class interests. What is presented as “national interest” is, in reality, a condensed expression of the interests of national capital and its competition on the global stage.

The communist left emphasises that no faction of the bourgeoisie—whether dictatorial or democratic, whether cloaked in pacifism or openly war-mongering—can be considered a progressive force, as all ultimately stand in opposition to the interests of the proletariat. In the Middle East war, as in other imperialist wars, choosing between states in practice amounts to choosing between different forms of domination, exploitation, and capitalist competition. For this reason, any sympathy with, or alignment of workers with, the state or “national” capital amounts to a denial of their own real class position and a weakening of the class struggle; a struggle that can only advance on the basis of the political independence of the proletariat from all factions of the bourgeoisie.

By contrast, what can open up the horizon of emancipation is the understanding that the real enemy of workers is not “another nation”, but the entire capitalist system and its states. International solidarity among workers, against war, against exploitation, and against all forms of capitalist domination, is the only path that can challenge this cycle of barbarism.

For this reason, the idea that “the proletariat is a class, not a nation” is not merely a slogan, but a political dividing line within the war and savagery of the contemporary capitalist world: a distinction between the capitalist horizon, which turns the world into a battlefield of competition and wars between nations, and the emancipatory horizon of the proletariat, which is based on international solidarity and the common struggle against the totality of the capitalist system.

All states, whether they present themselves with a pacifist appearance or an openly war-mongering face, whether democratic or dictatorial, operate within the framework of the war-driven logic of capitalism. In this sense, they are all complicit in the war crimes of the capitalist system, and the differences between them lie not in their nature, but in their position, capacity, and material ability to secure their imperialist interests. For this

reason, the European bourgeoisie is also implicated in the war crimes of the global capitalist order.

Only the European proletariat is capable of halting the war-mongering of the European bourgeoisie. However, it is an undeniable reality that the current conditions of the working class, both in Europe and globally, are not comparable to those of 1914, and the proletariat today is in a more defensive position. Nevertheless, internationalists cannot wait passively for a movement of the working class. Revolutionary intervention does not take place in a vacuum, and the extremely difficult and harsh present conditions do not render such activity ineffective or insignificant; rather, they underscore the necessity of political engagement and the consistent defence of internationalist positions.

Above all, imperialist war raises the necessity of raising the banner of proletarian internationalism, even if this position at times leads to the isolation of communists from sections of the working-class masses. One of the fundamental teachings and traditions of the communist left has been that, under all circumstances, one must remain faithful to proletarian internationalism and avoid any alignment with imperialist camps.

In a number of articles, we have argued that no ceasefire between warring powers can lead to lasting peace, but will merely constitute an interlude in the continuation of imperialist wars. This is because, within the framework of the capitalist system, the material conditions necessary for lasting peace do not exist. The issue is not simply reducible to the war-mongering of one political leader or another; rather, it is the internal logic of capitalism that drives society towards the generalisation and expansion of imperialist wars on a global scale⁷¹, turning war into a permanent element in the process of its own reproduction. In this way, war becomes one of the normal forms of life of capitalism in its era of decline—an era

⁷¹Submission or War? Capitalism and the Tendency Towards Generalised Imperialist War, and the Internationalist Response.

in which crisis, destruction, militarism, and imperialist competition increasingly become the mode of existence of capital.

From this perspective, genuine peace is only possible when the global working class is able to transform wars between capitalist states into a struggle against the capitalist system itself, and to extend the class struggle beyond national borders. Peace, in its enduring and historical sense—not as a temporary pause between two wars, but as the material negation of the logic of competition and capital accumulation—is only conceivable if this logic is broken on a global scale.

Within this framework, ending wars and achieving lasting peace for humanity is possible only through the global overthrow of capitalism, a goal whose realisation depends on a worldwide proletarian revolution. Such a revolution would not only transform relations of property and power, but would also abolish the economic and social foundations of war production. For this reason, lasting peace is not the product of diplomatic agreements, but the result of the complete dismantling of the capitalist system on a global scale.

Workers have no country!

Down with the imperialist war!

Long live the war between the classes!

Internationalist Voice

May 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.

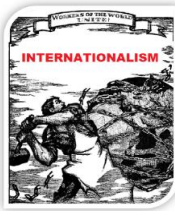
- The regimes that arose in the USSR, Eastern Europe, China, Cuba etc., while being called “socialist” or “communist”, only offered a particularly brutal and barbaric form of capitalism: state capitalism.
- The revolutionary organization constitutes the avant-garde of the proletariat and is an active 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.

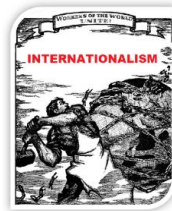
The Internationalist Voice Already Published!

Joint statement of groups of the international communist left about the war in Ukraine



- International Communist Current
- Istituto Onorato Damen
- Internationalist Voice
- Internationalist Communist Perspective

Joint statement of groups of the international communist left about the war in the Middle East



- International Communist Current
- Internationalist Voice

**All States
Are War Criminals!**



Internationalist Voice

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



Internationalist Voice