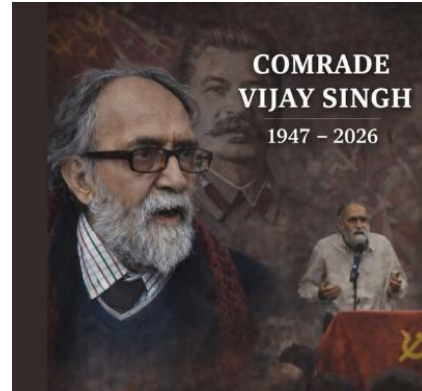


## **An analysis of the current situation and the outlook for the Zionist-imperialist confrontation with Iran**

Following the coordinated attacks by U.S. and Israel on February 28 2026, which led to the destruction of part of Iran’s military and nuclear infrastructure and the killing of a significant number of our compatriots, a new phase of confrontation in West Asia has begun. This phase should be understood as a condensed moment of structural contradictions within the global capitalist system and a reconfiguration of the regional and international balance of power. We analyse this war within the context of the crisis of U.S. imperialist hegemony and the transition from a unipolar order to more complex arrangements of emerging powers in a multipolar world.

U.S. imperialism, as the centre of gravity of global capitalism, has in recent decades faced a gradual erosion of its capacity to intervene, along with rising military costs, the failure of colour revolutions and regime-change projects, and the emergence of new regional and global powers. In this context, military intervention against Iran should be seen as an attempt to reconstruct hegemonic authority and redefine the country’s strategic position within the global chain of

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**Glory to Comrade Vijay Singh**

The Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan) pays tribute to Comrade Vijay Singh, a steadfast defender of the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin. Comrade Vijay was a principled communist who consistently upheld the truth within the communist movement and remained unwavering in his ideological convictions.

Throughout his life, he was committed to advancing a clear and uncompromising understanding of Marxist thought. He defended the foundational contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and sought to preserve their relevance in contemporary political discourse. His engagement with the communist movement was marked by integrity, clarity of purpose,

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## **The Phoenix of Iran in the Fires of War; A Narrative of Resilience**

What is unfolding today in the streets and main squares of Tehran and other Iranian cities is an awe-inspiring and remarkable display of the presence and steely determination of a nation. Despite the wishes, agendas, and media amplification of disruptive forces and Persian-language outlets abroad such as “Iran International” and “BBC Persian,” this movement has continued for more than fifty days. A comparable enduring epic in the past century might only be found in the decisive days of the 1979 Revolution: a unified public presence in which, despite all differences, people have stood shoulder to shoulder around a sacred agenda: defending the homeland, safeguarding the fight for freedom, and rejecting subjugation to imperialist powers.

It should not be forgotten that this historic presence took shape in the earliest hours of the war, under conditions filled with fear and uncertainty—at a time when the country’s leader and many senior military commanders were brutally slaughtered, and strategic military and security bases were under the heaviest aerial attacks. Yet this epic did not fade during fifty days of relentless bombardment and savage assaults by invading enemies; rather, it continued with even greater resolve and persists with intensified momentum. This point is especially significant

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**Imperialism, Zionism, and all their allies — hands off Iran!**

## An Analysis

imperialist capital accumulation. Within this framework, Israel, as the forward arm of this structure, seeks—through the doctrine of “multi-front warfare”—to expand the scope of conflict to Iran, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, and Yemen, and to reorganize the regional balance in favour of the axis of U.S. imperialism and Zionism.

However, field evidence indicates that this plan has encountered serious limitations. Following the imposed twelve-day war and in the current conflict on Iran, which has now lasted more than fifty days, neither has Iran’s political structure collapsed, nor has society moved toward the scenarios anticipated by the war’s planners, nor have the declared military objectives been fully achieved. This situation indicates that the war has entered a war-of-attribution phase, in which the costs of continuing the conflict—especially for the United States and Israel—are gradually outweighing its potential gains. The failure to achieve war objectives reflects, in fact, a more complex knot in the balance of power and the limitations on the exercise of power under current international conditions, which we examine at three levels:

### First, at the structural level

The failure of Iran’s political system to collapse shows that, contrary to certain unscientific, superficial, and simplistic assumptions embedded in interventionist strategies, external pressure and aggression do not automatically lead to the collapse of a power structure. One of the main sources of this miscalculation lies in how some U.S. and Israeli think tank circles have conceptualized the nature of political power in Iran. In this view, it was assumed that Iran’s political system is highly leader-centric, and therefore, by physically eliminating the apex of the power hierarchy or a set of key figures, the entire system would rapidly undergo internal collapse.

On this basis, a strategy took shape that combined the assassination of senior military and IRGC officials with the bombing and destruction of key centres—under the expectation that, once a vacuum at the top of power was created, internal fractures would be activated and the system would quickly be pushed toward unconditional surrender under external pressure.

However, developments on the ground showed that this assessment did not align with the realities of Iran’s power structure. The structure of the Islamic Republic, regardless of the criticisms directed at it, is not merely dependent on a single individual or a narrow circle. Rather, it is grounded in a network of political, security, and administrative institutions with overlapping and, to some extent, parallel functions. This institutional multilayering prevents the full concentration of power in a single point; consequently,

the removal or weakening of part of the leadership does not necessarily result in the collapse of the entire system. In other words, what occurred here was a failure to understand the resilience of governing institutions: a structure which, due to the relative distribution of power, the existence of multiple decision-making centres, and mechanisms of replacement, is capable of withstanding severe shocks—including the removal of key elements and figures. This is precisely where a miscalculation turned into a strategic error. Planning based on the assumption of rapid collapse, when confronted with the reality of structural durability, disrupted the entire operational logic.

As a result, neither did the anticipated collapse occur, nor did the scenario of rapid capitulation materialize, nor were internal divisions activated in the way war planners had expected. This demonstrated that analyses based on oversimplifying Iran’s complex power structure—particularly one characterized by multilayered institutions and decades of historical experience in managing crises—can lead to costly errors at the strategic level.

### Second, at the social level:

The fact that Iranian society did not move toward the scenarios anticipated by the war’s planners indicates a failure to understand the complexity of the relationship between internal discontent and external intervention. In non-scientific, superficial, and simplistic analyses, it was assumed that military aggression could automatically lead to social mobilization against the political system. However, in practice—as we are witnessing, and as historical experience has also shown—military intervention and external aggression often produce the opposite effect: segments of society, including critics and opponents, tend to move toward a form of resistance and convergence in the face of an external threat, or at the very least refrain from joining efforts aimed at disrupting the existing order.

It must be recognized that in any society, multiple contradictions exist simultaneously, but they are not of equal weight. At any given historical moment, one of these becomes the major contradiction, while others are redefined as minor in relation to it. This reflects the dialectical logic of the “primacy and sequencing of contradictions.” Under normal conditions, in a capitalist society—whether advanced or underdeveloped—the contradiction between classes, particularly between labour and capital, can play a determining role. However, in the event of external aggression, a qualitative shift occurs in the objective conditions: the “national contradiction,” or the contradiction **Continued on page 3**

### An Analysis

between society as a whole and an external force, rises to a dominant position.

This shift is not the result of subjective will, but rather a product of changes in material conditions and the type of threat that targets the very existence of the social structure. What occurs here is not the elimination of internal contradictions, but their “relative suspension” and a “reordering of their hierarchy.” More precisely, internal contradictions continue to exist, but at the level of social and political practice they are temporarily pushed to the margins, because the reproduction of society itself, both materially and politically, has come under threat.

In such a situation, even critical or oppositional forces face an objective choice: either to engage simultaneously on two fronts—which may lead to overall collapse—or to prioritize repelling the external threat. Society is an interconnected whole, and when that whole is threatened from outside, its preservation becomes the precondition for any form of internal transformation. In other words, class struggle itself requires a material and institutional foundation; if that foundation is destroyed through war and collapse, the very possibility of struggle is severely restrained.

Therefore, the temporary primacy of the external contradiction over internal contradictions is a response to the objective necessity of preserving the conditions of possibility. Within this framework, it becomes clear why the war imposed by the U.S.–Israel axis did not necessarily act as a catalyst for regime overthrow. On the contrary, in many cases—and in the specific example of Iran today—the war has led to a temporary strengthening of internal cohesion, as it shifted the principal contradiction and redefined priorities.

However, this situation is not static in nature: if the war becomes prolonged, its costs accumulate on the lives of the masses, and social fractures deepen. In such conditions, those deferred contradictions can return with even greater intensity.

### Third, at the strategic level

The failure to achieve the declared military objectives of the United States clearly revealed a gap between the “capacity for destruction” and the “capacity to impose political will.” These objectives can be outlined as follows: 1-) Striking Iran’s nuclear program, missile capabilities, and military infrastructure: Despite extensive attacks, evidence indicates that these capacities have not been eliminated, and Iran has maintained its deterrent capability and ability to respond. The continued field control over sensitive locations itself is a sign of the persistence of these capacities.

2-) Regaining control over the Strait of Hormuz or neutralizing Iran’s geopolitical leverage: One of the key objectives was to guarantee freedom of navigation by effectively removing this strategic lever from Iran’s hands. However, not only was this goal not achieved, but the course of field developments and official positions suggest that Iran has, for now, managed to preserve and consolidate its operational control over the Strait of Hormuz—referred to by Trump as the “Iran Strait.” Within this framework, according to reports published in international and domestic media, as well as statements by official authorities, Iran has declared that the passage of non-hostile commercial vessels through the Strait of Hormuz is conditionally permitted. This means that transit is subject to prior coordination with relevant authorities and obtaining authorization from the country’s armed forces, and in some cases involves the payment of tolls. This approach indicates that the Strait of Hormuz has shifted from being merely a “passageway” to becoming an “active sovereign lever” in Iran’s hands. In other words, what has occurred in the field is not simply the preservation of geographic control, but the elevation of that control to the level of “political and economic regulation” over one of the world’s most vital energy arteries. This transformation has turned the Strait of Hormuz from a vulnerable spot into an effective instrument of diplomatic bargaining, significantly influencing the balance of power in the domain of energy security.

3-) Imposing military will on the battlefield and then dictating terms at the negotiating table: The logic of negotiation dictates that what is achieved on the battlefield should be consolidated at the negotiating table. However, in this case, demands such as dismantling key components of Iran’s power (including enriched materials or fundamental changes to its missile capabilities) have been raised in negotiations without having been imposed in the field, and have faced resistance from the Iranian delegation. This reflects a clear gap between battlefield achievements and political demands.

4-) Creating internal collapse or structural instability within Iran: This was one of the implicit objectives of this war scenario—particularly through stimulating domestic discontent and transforming it into a political crisis or a breakdown of the governing structure. However, as field experience showed, neither did the political structure collapse, nor did society enter the anticipated pattern of simultaneous uprising alongside external war.

Within this framework, one of the subsidiary components of this strategy was reliance on certain armed groups and separatist currents along Iran’s borders—especially in western border regions and via **Continued on page 4**

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the Kurdistan Region of Iraq. The aim was to activate ethnic–border fissures and turn them into instruments of security pressure and destabilization against the political system and territorial integrity. Yet this aspect of the plan also encountered serious limitations and failed to play a decisive role in altering the internal balance. As a result, the instrumental use of peripheral armed groups not only failed to become a determining lever in the war, but once again demonstrated that ethnic and border conflicts, absent broad social linkages and favourable objective conditions, cannot easily be transformed into engines of structural collapse.

5-) Drawing regional countries into a broad military coalition against Iran: Regionalizing the war and forming a unified military bloc was another objective. In practice, however, many Arab countries of the Persian Gulf adopted a cautious, distancing approach and avoided direct and formal entry into the conflict. This behaviour indicates that their security and economic calculations are not necessarily aligned with the aggressive strategy of the U.S.–Israel axis. This reluctance was not limited to the regional level; it also appeared among Western allies in the form of hesitation and division. For instance, German Defence Minister Boris Pistorius explicitly stated that “this is not our war,” emphasizing his country’s lack of participation in such a war. Similarly, the official positions of governments such as France and the United Kingdom have largely focused on “the need for de-escalation,” “avoiding the expansion of conflict,” and “prioritizing diplomatic solutions,” without signalling readiness for direct military involvement. At the level of the European Union as a whole, the emphasis has likewise been on “crisis management,” “maintaining regional stability,” and “preventing disruption to energy routes,” rather than participating in a large-scale military confrontation. Taken together, these positions show that even within the Western bloc, the necessary consensus for advancing a project of regionalizing the war has not formed, and the gap between U.S. strategic objectives and the actual calculations of its allies is becoming increasingly apparent.

6-) Reasserting U.S. and Israeli military hegemony and deterrence in the region: This war was intended, in part, as a demonstration of force to restore strategic initiative. However, the prolongation of the conflict, the need for temporary ceasefires, and the inability to quickly achieve objectives have, instead of consolidating hegemony, highlighted signs of its erosion. The experiences of the past two decades—from Iraq to Afghanistan—suggest that military superiority can ultimately lead to the gradual erosion of U.S. power. This erosion is not merely military,

but multidimensional: **financial erosion**, through the direct costs of war and occupation amounting to trillions of dollars; **human erosion**, through casualties and domestic social consequences; **political erosion**, through declining internal consensus and growing divisions in foreign policy, and ultimately **hegemonic erosion**, reflected in the declining credibility of military intervention as an effective tool for order-building. In this context, the prolongation of war is the logical outcome of the failure to convert inflicted military damage into a lasting political achievement. The longer this gap persists, the greater the material, political, and even reputational costs for U.S. imperialism.

The combination of these three levels shows that the war has entered an attritional phase. This does not mean that the aggressor side - the U.S.–Israel axis- lacks the capacity to continue the war; rather, it means that continuing the war no longer easily yields decisive outcomes. In such a situation, increasing intensity or duration further generates costs that are disproportionate to any potential gains. This is the point at which the logic of war shifts from rapid and decisive victory to the management of costs and benefits. For the U.S.–Israel axis, this creates a dilemma: on the one hand, withdrawal without clear gains risks further weakening deterrence and diminishing U.S. international credibility; on the other hand, continuing the war imposes political and economic costs that gradually exceed sustainable limits. This relative impasse constitutes what can be described as an “attrition trap,” in which both the United States and Israel appear to be caught.

For Iran, the situation is likewise dual in nature. On one hand, the failure of the aforementioned objectives implies the preservation of part of its strategic position and the prevention of externally imposed will—something that should be considered a partial success. On the other hand, the attritional nature of the war directly places pressure on the national economy, people’s livelihoods, and domestic capacities. Thus, attrition is not a one-sided phenomenon. Ultimately, what determines the outcome is not merely the continuation or cessation of war, but how this attrition is managed. The Iranian state will seek to manage domestic costs through societal resilience, while increasing the costs imposed on the opposing axis, and simultaneously use the factor of attrition—despite its time-consuming nature—as leverage in diplomacy and in reshaping the balance of power, in order to move toward a position of relative advantage. For this reason, the attritional phase is not the end of the war, but the beginning of a more complex phase of confrontation, in which victory is defined not by a **Continued on page 5**

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final decisive blow, but by the long-term management of the hostilities.

At the same time, the notion that a “lasting peace” can be achieved with imperialism does not align with the objective realities of the imperialist capitalist system. The issue relates to the structural nature of the order within which these powers operate. Imperialism represents a stage in the development of capitalism in which global capital accumulation requires the expansion of spheres of influence, control over resources, and the containment or integration of independent forces into its order. From this perspective, confrontation with countries seeking to preserve a degree of political independence arises from the internal logic of this system itself. Accordingly, what is sometimes presented as “peace” or “agreement” often amounts, in practice, to the temporary regulation of an unequal balance—one in which the weaker side is pressured to retreat in certain areas of sovereignty. Historical experience shows that such agreements endure only as long as they do not seriously conflict with the strategic interests of dominant imperialist powers. Therefore, a distinction must be made between “managing tensions” and achieving “lasting peace.” Negotiation and agreement can serve as tools for temporarily reducing pressure, buying time, or consolidating battlefield gains, but they do not, in themselves, signify the resolution of the underlying contradiction. The principal contradiction—between a dominance-oriented order and societies seeking to preserve or expand their independence—persists at a deeper level and is reproduced in various forms. As a result, any strategic reliance on the possibility of “durable reconciliation” with such a structure, when not accompanied by a realistic understanding of this contradiction, may lead to miscalculation. A realistic policy in this framework does not reject negotiation but recognizes its limits and avoids turning it into an illusory horizon. On this basis, maintaining deterrent capacities, strengthening internal foundations, and relying on the balance of power are more decisive elements than placing hope in the stability of agreements formed within a context of unresolved contradictions.

The neoliberal, accommodationist, and pro-Western faction of the Iranian government continue to suffer from a kind of illusion regarding the possibility of low-cost integration into the dominant global order and the achievement of a “durable agreement” with U.S. imperialism. This current within the governing structure, even after the experience of the twelve-day and fifty-day

wars, still reproduces itself—explicitly or implicitly—through calls for “reducing resistance” and “moving toward compromise”. The issue is that raising the idea of compromise prematurely or unilaterally—especially under conditions where the balance of power has not yet stabilized and external pressure continues—is effectively interpreted as a signal of readiness to retreat. Such signals do not reduce pressure; rather, they intensify it, as they lead the opposing side to conclude that continued pressure can extract further concessions. In other words, wherever the will to resist weakens or becomes uncertain, that very point becomes the focal point of increased pressure. For this reason, the emergence of proposals for compromise under wartime conditions—without the backing of a real balance of power and concrete guarantees—not only fails to produce peace but can expand the scope of demands and increase the costs imposed on the country. Therefore, distinguishing between diplomacy as a tool for managing confrontation and compromise as a gradual acceptance of the will of opposing side is of fundamental importance. Any move toward negotiation can only serve national interests if it is grounded in the preservation of leverage, internal cohesion, and a precise understanding of the nature of the contradictions involved; otherwise, it risks intensifying rather than alleviating pressure.

Iran’s move to control the Strait of Hormuz—one of the most vital arteries of global capital and energy circulation—has elevated the conflict to a qualitatively higher level. This action represents the transformation of a geopolitical position into a leverage of power at the level of global political economy. Disruptions affecting roughly one-fifth of the world’s energy transit, price surges, and concerns among major economic powers have demonstrated that the scope of this war extends far beyond Iran’s geography and even beyond West Asia. It is precisely at this point that internal contradictions within the imperialist bloc become visible. After failing to reopen the Strait through military means, U.S. imperialism turned to the option of a naval blockade—an option that itself encountered hesitation among European allies and practical opposition from some powers. The reluctance of certain NATO members to join such a project, along with critical positions taken by Russia and China, indicate fractures in imperialist coordination and the limited capacity to mobilize a unified coalition against Iran.

From our perspective—as the Party of the Iranian working class—these developments must be understood through a dialectical relationship between the “national question” and the “class question.” Under current conditions, the ongoing war is an attempt to

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damage and weaken Iran's infrastructure and constrain its strategic capacities; at the same time, it forms part of a broader process in which the configuration of power in the international system is being redefined.

Nevertheless, the decisive criterion for us is not merely this macro level, but the immediate and concrete consequences of this situation for the working class and the toiling masses. Based on the concrete analysis of a concrete situation, the immediate and long-term interests of Iran's working class at this historical juncture lie in overcoming aggression and, consequently, securing the country's safety and territorial integrity.

In such conditions, the Iranian working class, as part of the broader social whole, stands alongside other labouring strata in a front of resistance and national defence against the aggression of the U.S. imperialism and Israeli Zionism, two nuclear powers—not out of alignment with existing structures, but from the standpoint of defending the material basis of social life of the country, without which no prospect for fundamental transformation can exist.

Historical experience shows that during destructive wars or the collapse of state structures, the lower classes bear the earliest and heaviest burdens: the destruction of productive forces, rising unemployment, declining living standards, and a sharp reduction in the capacity for independent organization. From this perspective, defending national security and territorial integrity is not an abstract nationalist position, but an objective, material necessity for preserving the conditions that make broad class struggle possible. Within this framework, it must be emphasized that the struggle of the working class and other toiling groups for freedom, social justice, and the abolition of exploitative relations is, in objective terms, conditioned upon the existence of stability, security, and the continuity of socio-economic life. Without such a foundation, neither organization nor advancement of class demands can be sustained. Thus, defending national independence and resisting imperialist intervention, at this juncture, constitutes an inseparable component of the long-term horizon of social emancipation. At the same time, this wartime situation contains a contradictory and significant dimension: the active and continuous presence of the masses in the process of national resistance is not merely a defensive factor against external aggression but can also function as a form of social pressure from below. Such a presence—if organized and conscious—has the potential to pressure the ruling structure toward greater transparency, accountability, and the reduction of opacity in major decision-making processes. In other words, war and its exceptional conditions can make more visible the

gap between the governing apparatus and the social body. It must be stated plainly and without ambiguity: we fundamentally do not trust the ruling establishment in Iran—even in wartime. This distrust stems from a material and historical understanding of the ruling bloc's class character; the concentration of political and economic power in the hands of the dominant class has consistently generated opacity and widened the divide between the state and the working and labouring classes. Within such a framework, whenever the governing structure is compelled to enter negotiations, undertake tactical retreats, or accept certain international constraints, its dominant tendency is to control the official narrative, manage public opinion, and monopolize news and information in order to limit social awareness. This tendency has intensified under wartime conditions, as "security" is often invoked as a justification for restricting critical space and suspending the public's right to know. As a result, relying solely on the official narrative in practice amounts to accepting social passivity and unilaterally ceding the interpretation of reality to the state apparatus. In the absence of social resistance and the active, mass participation of the people, this situation can easily reproduce a cycle of opaque decision-making, the shifting of costs onto lower classes, and the insulation of power structures from public oversight and critique. What is lost in such conditions is not only transparency, but also the very possibility of conscious popular intervention in shaping collective destiny. However, social reactions in recent days have clearly shown that the masses are not willing to accept this monopoly. On the contrary, demands for transparency, the right to know, and the exposure of the real costs of policies are increasingly understood as vital national necessities. This indicates that the gap between social awareness and the official narrative is widening—a gap that could become the foundation for a broader movement of collective demands.

From our perspective, this push for accountability and rights must go beyond scattered reactions and be elevated into a conscious, organized, nationwide movement. Only in this form can it become one of the few effective levers capable of restraining power, enforcing transparency, and compelling governing institutions to be accountable. In other words, elevating this national resistance into a social movement centred on "transparency, the right to know, and public oversight" is a strategic necessity. Opening the way for the direct and conscious participation of the masses in shaping the country's fate—even under wartime conditions—also means strengthening the real foundations of national security. **Continued on page 9**

## Glory to Comrade Vijay Singh

and a dedication to principled struggle.

Comrade Vijay's tireless work has produced a vast and invaluable trove of historical documents. Even a cursory glance at the archival material available on the website or in the political-theoretical journal *Revolutionary Democracy* reveals the scope, depth, and enduring significance of his six decades of contributions to the international communist movement.

From defending the historical record of the first thirty years of socialist construction in the USSR under the leadership of the Bolsheviks and Comrade Stalin—against the systematic lies, slanders, and propaganda of the imperialist bourgeoisie—to exposing the counter-revolutionary nature of Khrushchev's revisionism and offering sustained critiques of reformism, Comrade Vijay demonstrated unwavering dedication to the communist cause. His work reflects not only intellectual rigor but also a steadfast commitment to bringing historical truth to light.

Comrade Vijay will be remembered for his steadfast commitment to his beliefs and for his contribution to strengthening ideological consistency within the communist movement.

### The Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan)

April 18, 2026

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#### "Left", Imperialist Aggression

"communist" or "revolutionary." Rosa Luxemburg initially advanced a position along these lines, rejecting bourgeois national liberation movements in the imperialist era on the grounds of their economic dependence. However, Vladimir Lenin, in his incisive engagement with the Junius Pamphlet and his broader critique of imperialist economism, exposed the limits of this view. He demonstrated that national liberation struggles under imperialism are historically inevitable and fundamentally political, not reducible to economic dependency alone. Luxemburg herself later acknowledged this error and revised her position.

Adherents of the theory of the "struggle against two poles of reaction" have, in practice, repeated this mistake. In the wars of aggression of recent decades, they have treated the repressive character of bourgeois governments as justification for denying the right to national sovereignty. The result has been political positions that objectively align with imperialist intervention. The experiences of Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, and Syria stand as stark illustrations.

Moreover, proponents of this line blur the distinction between strategy and tactics while offering no viable

revolutionary alternative. In effect, calls for the immediate overthrow of existing governments—detached from concrete conditions and often echoing the aims of external powers—collapse into a de facto alignment with imperialism. In the case of Iran, the promotion of "regime change" under conditions of direct U.S. intervention reveals the national betrayal inherent in such ultra-left positions.

One of the fundamental distinctions between Marxist-Leninists and pacifists, capitulationists, anarchists, and semi-Trotskyists lies in the fact that Marxist-Leninists insist on analysing war historically and through the lens of dialectical materialism, examining each concrete situation on its own terms. Only through such an analysis can it be determined whether a given conflict—such as a war against external aggression—constitutes a progressive struggle that serves the cause of democracy, national independence, and regional sovereignty, and is therefore just and legitimate.

This raises a decisive question: can the defeat and weakening of a powerful imperialist force—one that seeks to dismantle our country's independence and subordinate it politically to secure its global and regional dominance—be anything other than a necessary objective for revolutionaries, especially communists? Or are we to believe that it makes no difference whether Iran emerges weakened or strengthened in such a confrontation?

To deny the significance of this question is to abandon any serious political perspective. Positions that obscure or evade this reality, often under the guise of abstract "neutrality" or distorted theoretical formulas, ultimately dissolve into empty rhetoric and political incoherence.

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#### The Failure

and the recent 50-day conflict with the U.S. and Israel is presented as evidence that countries can no longer be easily subdued through military aggression or coups and brought under neo-colonial control, as in the 1953 Iranian coup, after which prolonged exploitation allegedly followed.

It is also claimed that NATO's role as a military deterrent has come to an end, and that sooner or later the United States will leave the alliance, allowing Europe to free itself from this transatlantic legacy. This would mark another blow to the unipolar Western world and render the concept of "NATO deterrence" meaningless.

Finally, the lack of support from other NATO members for the United States in the alleged attack on Iran is cited as evidence that the transatlantic alliance has become hollow and unreliable. This, it is argued, demonstrates that trust in the United States can lead to

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### The Phoenix of Iran

because such a resistance was not the result of bureaucratic planning or conventional logistical arrangements. Instead, it was a spontaneous resurgence emerging from the heart of society—one whose vast dimensions lie beyond the comprehension of sceptics and analysts unfamiliar with the culture of this land. The street today is not merely a physical space; it is a logical extension of military force, even what might be called its “spiritual driving force” or the “software of power.” The street is both a question and an answer: a question of who and what force will shape the future of Iran amid these storms, and an answer found in the firm will of those who ask—and in their continued, unwavering presence. Today, the people seek justice and vengeance for more than three hundred innocent children whose blood, it is claimed, has been shed during this war by the hands of the United States, Israel, and their regional allies. The Iranian nation cannot endure the humiliation of the unjust assassinations of military leaders, politicians, and even the highest political authority under the constitution—the Leader— by foreign powers and rightfully demands severe and regret-inducing punishment for those responsible for these horrific crimes.

It should be noted that belief in and commitment to the country’s constitution, and any effort to change the political system, are entirely internal matters belonging to the Iranian people. From an international perspective, the assassination of state officials is not only a crime but an affront to the dignity of a nation. The political system and the armed forces have a duty to never bow to the excessive demands of the nation’s enemies, and backed by the great national movement, to remain firmly in the trenches of resistance.

Today, as Iran’s military deterrence and geopolitical advantages—especially over the vital energy artery of the Strait of Hormuz—have become evident to all, and as the collective demand to expel aggressors echoes across every street of our homeland, any retreat or opportunistic compromise would be seen as an unforgivable betrayal of national ideals and would stand condemned in the judgment of history. It is self-evident that, in the lexicon of international politics, the negotiating table and diplomacy are

tools for securing tangible achievements and translating military victories into lasting political gains. Ultimately, it is political prudence that determines the mechanisms for realizing Iran’s legitimate demands from aggressors. However, this does not mean that the negotiating table should become a platform for bargaining away hard-won sacrifices or settling for short-term, illusory benefits. Only those negotiations and agreements will earn the support and respect of the nation that seek the fullest restoration of Iran’s violated rights.

Likewise, defending the legitimate rights of non-Iranian allies and comrades alongside the Iranian people in the “axis of resistance” must remain an unshakable pillar of any potential agreement. This unequal war has taught that silence, neutrality, and inaction in the face of the slaughter of children in Gaza and Lebanon amount to a green light for criminals—one that could lead to the repetition of such tragedies on Iranian soil.

In short, the “street factor” has today become a decisive and unparalleled variable in shaping the country’s broader future. Any form of political action—whether on the domestic stage or in the international arena—if designed without regard for this immense national force and the surge of popular mobilisation, will inevitably face a historic and certain failure.



**Regime change in Iran—only through the organized and unified power of the people!**

**Anger and Disgust**

that more than 70% of Americans are deeply concerned about and strongly opposed to the war with Iran.

This aggressive, unilateral war, which violates international law, is increasingly unpopular.

Of course, most members of Congress — both Republicans and Democrats — seem less concerned about the aggression against Iran and the killing of defenceless people than about the fact that Donald Trump launched the attack without consulting Congress.

Three weeks after the first bombs fell on Tehran, war news has, for many people in the United States, largely become “background noise.” Yet political exploitation of the conflict is no longer easy.

It is becoming clear that Trump underestimated the strength of the Iranian armed forces, as well as Iran’s predictable use of pressure through the closure of the Strait of Hormuz.

The reality is that nearly 30 percent of the world’s fossil fuels, fertilizers, food, and industrial goods pass through the Strait of Hormuz.

At times, Trump draws media attention with contradictory statements about military progress. Some of these remarks appear intended to calm the stock market. Hegseth attacks “fake news” on CNN and has reportedly barred photographers from covering certain events because “unpleasant images” were published.

Trump and his warmongering team are ashamed to publicly admit that the United States has become addicted to military intervention. It has become routine for ordinary soldiers to be constantly deployed somewhere in the world. Naval groups are dispatched and cruise missiles are launched regardless of which party occupies the White House.

In his second presidential term, Donald Trump bombed Venezuela in early January, ordered attacks on alleged “drug” boats in the Caribbean, and targeted “suspected” terrorists in Nigeria. Airstrikes were also carried out in Somalia, Syria, and Yemen against Houthi positions and weapons depots. Now it is Iran — and then perhaps Cuba, and so on.

Trump’s image of himself as a “president of peace” was believed only by those who wanted to believe it. For more than a year, the White House has bombarded opponents daily with actions and statements demonstrating that Trump exercises complete control over the Republican Party.

**“No Kings” Rallies**

Regarding Iran, Trump’s attention is clearly focused on the major donors — the “billionaires” whom Bernie Sanders

has criticized for years.

There is enormous profit to be made from war, including the war against Iran.

According to *Military Times*, Trump’s sons, Eric and Don Jr., have invested in a company that manufactures drones.

In this political climate, joining the peace movement is not without risk. Millions of people protested George W. Bush’s invasion of Iraq in early 2003. More recently, protests against the “horror in Gaza” mobilized countless young Americans, especially on university campuses, though they did not achieve enough.

The largest protest day in recent U.S. history reportedly took place on March 28 under the slogan “No Kings.” In March 2026 No Kings protests, protesters declared that the United States wants no kings — no president who “starts illegal wars,” carries out kidnappings and mass arrests of undocumented migrants, questions the integrity of the November midterm elections, or behaves as though he is above the law. Opponents of the government gathered in nearly 3,000 locations, and more than 8 million protesters participated nationwide.

The momentum behind the protests against Trump’s policies emerged strongly from Minneapolis and the American Midwest, where tens of thousands took to the streets for weeks to protest violence carried out by Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE). Residents made life difficult for masked agents and organized solidarity campaigns for people living in fear of ICE raids. This resistance came at a cost, and it involved far more than waving flags or holding placards.

In the end, ICE was forced to withdraw a significant portion of its personnel from some operations. Trump’s harsh immigration agenda encountered organized resistance and, in some areas, was effectively pushed back. There is hope among activists that recent anti-war mobilizations will also achieve meaningful results.

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**An Analysis**

A form of security built on social passivity and lack of awareness is ultimately fragile; by contrast, security grounded in informed participation and social oversight is internally reinforced and enhances the capacity for sustained resistance in the face of external pressures.

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**The Failure**

serious consequences. In conclusion, this view argues that the world no longer revolves around a single power and must recognize a more multipolar order.

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### “Left”, Imperialist Aggression

deeply saturated with Trotskyist and opportunist theories—rejects the slogan “Hands off Iran” and, in practice, downplays U.S. and Israeli military aggression against the country. They draw no meaningful distinction between the aggressors and the nation under attack—Iran itself.

In fact, some of these currents have gone so far as to signal their willingness to align with the American and Israeli war machine in pursuit of overthrowing the “Islamic regime,” imagining that such intervention could pave the way for their preferred “socialist” order. This position is not only politically reckless; it collapses any principled opposition to external domination. At its core, this reflects a profound theoretical failure. These movements demonstrate a shallow understanding of the capitalist system and an even weaker grasp of its highest stage—imperialism.

Comrade Lenin provided one of the most precise and scientific definitions of imperialism in his work “Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism”. He outlined its essential features as follows:

- 1) The concentration of production and capital reaches such an advanced stage that it gives rise to monopolies, which come to dominate economic life.
- 2) Banking capital merges with industrial capital, forming a financial oligarchy rooted in this “finance capital.”
- 3) The export of capital becomes more significant than the export of commodities.
- 4) International monopolist associations of capitalists emerge, dividing the world among themselves.
- 5) The territorial division of the world among the major capitalist powers is completed.

As Lenin succinctly defined in *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*:

“Imperialism is that stage of capitalist development in which monopolies and finance capital have come to dominate; in which the export of capital has acquired exceptional importance; in which the division of the world among international trusts has begun; and in which the territorial division of the entire globe among the largest capitalist powers has been completed. Imperialism is the highest stage of capitalism.”

The essence of imperialism has not changed, and the definition provided by Vladimir Lenin remains both valid and universal.

Global imperialist military expenditure is nearly three thousand milliard (3,000,000,000,000) U.S. dollars. The U.S. imperialism as the principal enemy of humanity—accounts for roughly 40 percent of global military expenditure. Beyond its military dominance, it employs a wide spectrum of mechanisms to sustain global control:

from enforcing neoliberal economic policies through institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to extensive systems of surveillance and data collection that monitor populations worldwide, including even its closest allies, and to direct military interventions aimed at reinforcing its domination over developing, independent, or sovereign states.

The dominance of imperialism in these countries produces no genuine development or positive transformation. On the contrary, it obstructs autonomous economic and social development and subordinates them to dependency, effectively turning them into neo-colonial formations. The consequences are severe and far-reaching: widespread poverty and deprivation affecting large segments of the population, deepening economic, political, and cultural underdevelopment, and a range of associated structural crises, including mass displacement and migration.

Therefore, the struggle against imperialism is fundamental for all revolutionary forces, particularly Marxist-Leninists worldwide, and especially in underdeveloped countries rich in strategic resources. In countries such as our homeland, Iran—now subjected to economic sanctions and direct military aggression by U.S. and Israeli imperialism—the anti-imperialist struggle, as a defence against external domination and the violation of national sovereignty, becomes an urgent and decisive task.

Under such conditions, the fight for democracy and human rights cannot be separated from the struggle to resist foreign aggression. Any movement that isolates the demand for democratic rights from the reality of imperialist pressure—or worse, aligns itself with foreign aggressors—condemns itself to illusion and political bankruptcy.

History has already exposed this path: those who, in one form or another, justified or supported the invasions of Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, and Syria have, in practice, aligned themselves with imperialism and neo-colonialism—regardless of the “leftist” label they claim.

**Second:** the section of the “left” that responds to the threat of war against Iran by invoking the theory of the “struggle against two poles of reaction” reveals its roots in Trotskyist thought. This framework fails to grasp the concrete nature of war. Rather than analysing war as the continuation of politics—shaped by specific economic, geopolitical, and strategic interests—it reduces the question to a superficial assessment of the internal character of political regimes. In doing so, it obscures the decisive role of imperialist aggression and weakens any serious opposition to it.

According to this erroneous line of thinking, a war is deemed defensive and just only if the government in question is considered

**Continued on page 7**

### The failure

80 highly trained air force personnel toward the old Mahyar Airport in Isfahan, north of Shahreza, Iran.

At the same time, six fighter jets—consisting of two F-35s, two F-16s, and two F-15s—along with six combat and surveillance drones, were tasked with providing ground and air support for the operation. It is worth noting that the Mahyar plain lies at the intersection of three major missile bases, one of which is considered the largest missile base in Iran.

The landing of the invading warplanes, intended to seize the 60% enriched uranium, was not far from Mount Kalang Gazla, located about 110 kilometres away. It should also be mentioned that this mountain is considered one of the most secure uranium enrichment sites in Iran. At this location, Iran's most advanced uranium enrichment equipment has been installed, protected from the threat of aerial bombardment by hostile aggressors.

The four American Hercules aircraft, in addition to army commando personnel, were carrying eight helicopters (two in each Hercules): one light model (Little Bird) and one of either the MH-6M or AH-6 type. These were equipped with digital night-vision navigation, powerful engines, relatively low-noise fuel systems, high manoeuvrability, and the ability to land in confined spaces. Each helicopter required about 20 minutes to be ready for take off. Immediately after the Hercules aircraft landed, preparations began to prepare them for flight.

As soon as two of the invading Hercules planes touched down, and with the support of the deployed U.S. Army team, what was described as one of the most secret operations of U.S. imperialism in the present century began, with the aim of destroying a missile base and a uranium enrichment facility located 500 meters deep within the mentioned mountain.

However, before the helicopters were ready for take off, Iranian commandos opened fire on the invading forces. At the same time, air defence units stationed south of city of Mobarakeh began firing at the fighter jets and drones, forcing them to retreat.

The Hercules aircraft were also targeted during landing by heavy machine gun fire from Iranian military commandos to the extent that two of them were no longer capable of taking off.

The American forces were reportedly convinced that Israeli or American spying for Iran had leaked the "Mahyar Plain" operation. But they failed to consider that Iran's ground, naval, and air forces had already maintained such vigilance and preparedness—especially at a time when they were engaged in what was described as an aggressive war with U.S. imperialism, a power with 25 military bases in the region. Iran's military and security forces knew

about the U.S. trick and tactic in advance and were prepared to counter it, ultimately thwarting the planned attack on missile and nuclear facilities.

As a result, the self-proclaimed superpower accepted a humiliating defeat and evacuated the remaining commandos using the two undamaged Hercules aircraft. Immediately afterward, their fighter jets bombed the remaining equipment from the operation.

Thus, the U.S. military operation "Mahyar Plain," much like the well-known "Operation Eagle Claw" of May 5, 1980, in the Tabas desert—which aimed to free 66 hostages in Tehran—ended in failure, with eight American soldiers killed, and a retreat instead of success. Once again, with both human and material losses, they fled, marking another military and psychological defeat for the United States. The "major operation" that was supposed to culminate in a declared victory was effectively crushed at its inception.

Following this, Trump reportedly issued unprecedented angry threats against Iran, warning of destroying its civilization and sending Iran "back to the Stone Age." According to this account, the real objective of the Mahyar Plain operation was not, as claimed by U.S. imperialism, the "rescue of an F-35 pilot," but rather the seizure of more than 400 kilograms of 60% enriched uranium and the destruction of Iran's missile facilities—an objective that ultimately failed due to the timely and vigilant actions of Iran's military.

A two-week ceasefire and the beginning of negotiations based on Iran's 10-point plan between U.S. imperialism and the Islamic Republic of Iran briefly raised hopes worldwide for peace between the two countries. However, these hopes have so far been dashed due to what is described as U.S. overreach. The negotiations themselves—having thus far been accompanied by alleged breaches of trust and deception by the U.S., including aggression against Iran—are seen as less significant than the deeper issue: the persistent lack of trust stemming from perceived U.S. unreliability.

Especially now, with the rise of the Global South, the significant decline in the value of the dollar and U.S. hegemony, and growing disillusionment within the transatlantic NATO alliance, the influence of this superpower is portrayed as steadily diminishing.

From this perspective, since the emergence and empowerment of the Global South across economic, political, and even military spheres, the era of absolute dominance and coercion by U.S. imperialism has passed. Despite its military strength, the United States is no longer able to impose its will unilaterally. The resistance—and, it is argued, even victory—of Iran in **Continued on page 7**

### Comrade Naaebian

During this period, in close unity with his fellow comrades, he devoted himself to serving the people. In accordance with the Party's directive, he chose to go to war-torn regions.

In these areas, the comrades confronted severe hardships. On the one hand, they were responsible for carrying out the revolutionary duties that had brought them there; on the other, they faced constant threats from the so-called "Prosecutor General of the Revolution," who branded them counter-revolutionaries and threatened them with arrest. At the same time, they endured acute shortages of food, shelter, and other basic necessities. Yet, despite these conditions, Comrade Masoud and his comrades organized collective physical training groups to prepare themselves for the rigors of their mission. Through disciplined work and revolutionary commitment, they forged deep bonds with the war-affected masses and actively assisted them.

As a result of their selfless service, the comrades were embraced by the people as sincere and trusted allies. The war-stricken population was burdened by profound poverty and deprivation, and witnessing these conditions further intensified the flame of revolutionary love and class consciousness in Comrade Masoud's heart.

In late 1980, Comrade Masoud was recognized as one of the most capable, disciplined, and self-sacrificing members of the proletarian party of Iran. After several months, mounting pressure from the ruling authorities forced the comrades to withdraw from the war zones and return to the city of Bojnord.

Comrade Masoud was an indefatigable fighter for the cause of the working class. Whenever comrades encountered him, he was in constant motion, tirelessly advancing Party work. He would sometimes remark, "I have not slept for 24 hours, and still there is much work to be done tonight." He and Comrade Daryoush Ansari stood as loyal friends, steadfast comrades, and devoted collaborators in the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades Masoud and Dariush devoted even their moments together to the struggle for their great goal, and in the end, they gave their lives side by side on the path of the people.

At first, Comrade Masoud was active in the Party's student sector. However, driven by a conscious desire to work among workers and labourers, he later joined the Party's labour division. He became well known for his participation in discussions. With calm yet persuasive words, he defended the people, the Party, and its principles—those very ideals that gave meaning to his life. He would often ridicule those who spent their days on street corners engaging in so-called "intellectual debates"

, shifting left or right according to their interests. He would say: "Not only do they fail to understand Marxism–Leninism, but at the decisive moment, they will act against it."

He exerted a profound influence on his comrades. He would remind them: "It does not matter that our Party is still small. I am certain that this is the organization that will ultimately advance," and "With effort and determination, we will attract many militant members to Toufan."

In time, he became one of the Party's most effective and dedicated members, tirelessly advancing its work and assuming numerous responsibilities. His arrest and subsequent execution were deeply painful for all, yet the sacrifice and unwavering resolve he demonstrated became a powerful example. Comrade Masoud stood as a true model of a revolutionary.

In prison, like all sons and daughters of the people organized in Toufan, he remained steadfast. Upon being informed of his death sentence, he proudly began to hum the Party's anthem. At dawn in August 1981, Comrade Masoud, together with Comrade Daryoush Ansari, faced the bullets of the cold-hearted executioners of the Islamic Republic.

The life of Comrade Masoud Naaebian—his perseverance, steadfastness, and courageous death—remains a source of pride for the Party of Labour of Iran (Toufan).

**May his memory be honoured!**

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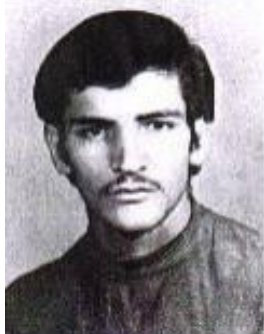


The victims of the Minab Elementary Girls' School — the first "gift" of "humanitarian" intervention!



**U.S. Imperialism: Hands Off Venezuela and Cuba!**

**A steadfast comrade who gave his life in the supreme sacrifice for the cause of the Revolution**



Comrade Masoud Naaebian

Comrade Masoud Naaebian became acquainted with the Party of Labour of Iran in 1979. Through conscious study and ideological investigation, he came to embrace the Party wholeheartedly, committing himself to the path of the great Marxist-Leninists such as Lenin and Stalin, and dedicating his life to the struggle to alleviate the suffering of the oppressed and exploited masses of Iran.

He received his diploma in 1978 and, in 1979, entered compulsory military service. **Continued on page 12**

## Anger and Disgust at the War of Aggression Against Iran

Anti-war sentiment in the United States is growing, and a peace movement is beginning to take root.

The brutal aggression against Iran is becoming increasingly difficult and problematic for the Trump administration.

According to *The Wall Street Journal*, "Pete Hegseth," Trump's "war secretary," authorized the deployment of an "amphibious assault group" to Iran — a move widely viewed as a prelude to deploying infantry units. Interestingly, the erratic Trump had declared such a decision unnecessary only a few days earlier.

These contradictions show that there is no realistic or strategic plan within Trump's team for achieving its objectives or ending the war.

At present, tensions are escalating due to Iran's closure of the Strait of Hormuz. For this reason, Donald Trump is urging NATO to focus on the Strait of Hormuz. However, most NATO members have rejected his proposal, arguing that "this is not our war."

On the other hand, polls show **Continued on page 9**

## "Left", imperialist aggression against Iran, and the concept of anti-imperialist struggle

**First:** The issue of imperialist aggression against nations—especially our homeland, Iran—is not merely debated; it is urgent and undeniable. Those who fail to understand the nature of imperialism simply have not grasped why thousands of American troops are stationed across dozens of military bases in the Persian Gulf—spanning Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, the UAE, and Kuwait—nor the strategic objectives behind this sustained military presence.

Such individuals have yet to comprehend the most basic principles of national sovereignty, the equality of states, and the inherent right of peoples to self-determination. Nor do they recognize a fundamental truth—aggression against Iran is no different in essence from the military interventions inflicted upon Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Syria, Palestine, Lebanon, Venezuela, Cuba, and others.

Unfortunately, a significant section of the so-called left in Iran—whose outlook has been **Continued on page 10**

## The failure of the largest U.S. 'gangster-style' operation in the Mahyar Plain of Isfahan, Iran

While Donald Trump, the mentally unbalanced President of the United States, spoke on March 25 about the "possibility that the military attack on Iran was nearing its end," none of his imagined objectives had yet been achieved. Iran's "missile capability" had not been destroyed, nor its "defensive infrastructure," nor had the country's "air and naval forces" been eliminated, nor its "nuclear capability." The latter, in fact, was one of the main goals of the February 28 aggression by U.S. imperialism and the Zionist-fascist Israeli regime against Iran. Therefore, they decided that, by any means necessary, they had to seize Iran's "more than 400 kilograms of 60% enriched uranium."

To that end, in the early hours of March 5, four U.S. "Hercules C-130" aircraft from the "160th SOAR(A)" (Special Operations Aviation Regiment) of the U.S. Army—whose primary mission is to support special forces—took off with a capacity of nearly **Continued on page 11**