

English Translation — Message No. 35 (SHAMA)

Great Nation of Iran

With respect to the pure souls of the martyrs of Dey 1396

Your nationwide strikes and civil disobedience, in the form of civilized protests, began with such strength and magnificence and so rapidly took on national dimensions and shook the pillars of the Islamic Republic that in less than 48 hours—out of fear of the regime’s overthrow—the government proposed negotiations. At the same time, it resorted to desperate measures to create a pause in this process and to take advantage of the proverb “between two pillars there is relief,” as well as by dismissing and appointing certain officials, granting pardons and reducing sentences for some convicts, slightly lowering the rising exchange rate, and so on—seeking to win hearts and perhaps dissuade you, the great nation, from continuing these struggles. Therefore, we present the following points to your attention:

- 1) Today’s Wednesday closure on the pretext of cold weather is a tactic of the regime—especially given the blessed entry of students into the arena of strikes and protests, which has breathed new life into the body of the struggle. In its desperate attempt, and in view of the Saturday closure of 13 Dey, the regime imagines that four consecutive days of تعطیلی will encourage a large segment of the people to travel, thereby creating a break in the continuity and persistence of the struggle. But it has forgotten that even during the twelve-day aggressions, large numbers of people who had traveled returned to their cities to defend beloved Iran and to mock the danger of death.
- 2) As you yourselves are aware, and as stated in Message No. 33 of this Council, the causes of the crisis and of your uprising, great nation, are far deeper and broader than measures such as replacing the central bank governor, the heads of the three branches, the government, or a slight administrative reduction in the exchange rate, and so forth. They are rooted in the “dysfunctional structure of the system and its illegitimate, removed, ignorant, and incompetent leader,” and in the “humiliation of a nation” that is civilization-building and culture-creating by rulers who are “uncultured and uncivilized.” These desperate efforts will not even play the role of a painkiller.
- 3) The experience of the failed uprisings of the past quarter century shows that one of the most important causes of these failures has been the “lack of continuity of struggle,” which itself stems from the absence of order, discipline, organization, a roadmap, and management—or, in other words, the absence of leadership of the uprising. For the leadership of an uprising bears responsibility for organization, preparing a roadmap, management, and arranging all mechanisms of the uprising; its absence means the absence of these mechanisms.
- 4) As we have said before, including in Message No. 33, the Islamic Republic of Iran has neither the possibility of reform nor is it tolerable; its survival requires the continued decline and destruction of the country. Experience has shown that when it faces decisive popular protests, it falls into pleading and offers hollow promises; but as soon as it senses that your will to continue protesting has weakened, it unsheathes the sword. One example is the “Woman, Life, Freedom” uprising and the “turban-throwing” movement, when officials even blamed one another for the very existence of the morality police, and the Prosecutor General promised to resolve the matter within 15 days—meaning to satisfy public demands. Yet as soon as the waters calmed and the regime felt the protests had subsided, it drew the sword; instead of keeping its promises, it enacted a law that

raised a punishment that previously, under Note to Article 638 of the Penal Code, had been 10 to 60 days' imprisonment or up to fifty thousand tomans' fine, in some cases to as much as 10 years' imprisonment.

On the other hand, we have said that the overthrow of the Islamic Republic—because it is neither reformable nor tolerable—is not even a choice; it is an obligation.

5) Even if, hypothetically, these rulers wished to accept reform of the system, since the time for reforms has passed, such reforms would only accelerate the regime's collapse—much like the late reforms of Mohammad Reza Shah, which came only 37 days before the Revolution, when the revolutionary flood had already begun and swept everything away (as it swept away Bakhtiar and his government), or like Gorbachev's late reforms, which accelerated the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, one must not be deceived by the regime's promises.

6) Fortunately, the strategy of non-violent struggle and the tactic of strikes and civil disobedience—emphasized by this Council and adopted and implemented by you yourselves—are signs of your political maturity and your correct understanding of the current conditions. This approach both minimizes the human and material risks of struggle and, given the government's financial and economic bankruptcy, is more effective than other methods. Therefore:

A) The joining of governmental and public institutions, and especially the oil and petrochemical industries, and companies that generate wealth for the regime—such as copper and others—can accelerate the achievement of objectives and strengthen national solidarity. However, given the winter season, activity in oil, petrochemical, and gas industries is recommended only to the extent necessary to meet domestic needs.

B) Refraining from paying any funds to the state and government—whether for water, electricity, gas, telephone consumption, taxes, duties, and the like—which are examples of civil disobedience, can be effective in shifting the balance of power in favor of the nation and thus in encouraging the unlawful and removed leader to “transfer power” to the people through “peaceful” means.

C) Given the illegitimacy of the government, any transaction with the state, with non-state entities, and with institutions, foundations, and companies affiliated with them, and any interaction with the government and its components and foundations—such as Setad-e Ejra'i or the Foundation of the Oppressed and others—is legally and religiously invalid. Moreover, given awareness of the invalidity of such transactions, and under the legal rule of “assumption of risk,” not only will transfer of ownership not occur, but payments made will be non-refundable.

Forward toward the expansion of strikes, protests, and civil disobedience.

Proud nation of Iran
Long live Iran

National Council of Iran's Revolutionary Transition
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