

English — Message No. 42 (SHAMA)

What outcome will Iran's national uprising lead to?

The valiant people of Iran

We congratulate you, the great and valiant nation of Iran, on the eleventh day of the new phase of your national uprising—an uprising that each day continues more spirited, more numerous, more civilized, and at the same time more decisive than the day before, and is moving toward becoming a full-fledged revolution that will roll up the legacy of despotism, superstition, plunder, and repression. It is clear that, despite its wide scope, given the experience of past failed uprisings—and even the experience of the 1357 Revolution, when we emerged from the pit of the Shah's despotism only to fall into the well of the Sheikh's despotism—you may be concerned about the final outcome. In light of the accurate analyses and forecasts of the National Council of Iran's Revolutionary Transition, whose correctness has been proven in practice, we now present points to remove anxiety and to reassure you of the success of your national revolution:

- 1)** The 1357 Revolution, which arose not as a choice but as a necessity against a system that was neither reformable nor tolerable, despite its strength and victory, is now in the process of collapse for various reasons—including the incompatibility of its foundations with contemporary needs and requirements, its inherent internal contradictions, ignorant leadership, and ideological impulses and positions that conflict with the structure of international relations.
- 2)** In the past quarter-century, we have witnessed at least five major uprisings, all of which ended in failure:
 - a)** The 1378 student movement, lacking a clear leadership and largely confined to the student sphere, failed to attract broad public support and ended in defeat. In fact, this uprising was essentially doomed because of the lack of effective popular participation and the absence of leadership.
 - b)** The Green Movement, unlike the 1378 student movement, benefited both from massive popular participation and from leadership; but it was largely a protest movement focused on contesting presidential election results within the framework of two factions of a single regime. The dominant faction imposed severe repression, which radicalized the movement: within about three months, its initial slogan—"Where is my vote?"—turned into "Independence, Freedom, Iranian Republic," meaning a passage beyond the Islamic Republic. Therefore, especially after this radicalization, Mir-Hossein Mousavi—who had led the movement—neither wished nor was able to lead it; thus he abandoned it. The result was that, despite the participation of large numbers of people, once the movement radicalized, it lacked leadership at the level of a capable leader, and its failure became inevitable.
 - c)** In the 1396 movement, despite relative popular participation, it had no leader; therefore it lacked organization, management, planning, and a roadmap, and it failed.
 - d)** The 1398 uprising, despite being broader than the 1396 movement and despite stronger motivations—since the tripling of gasoline prices directly targeted people's livelihoods—still

lacked leadership and thus lacked management, planning, and organization; severe repression also pushed it into eclipse.

e) The “Woman, Life, Freedom” uprising, which rapidly expanded and drew global admiration and support, likewise lacked leadership and thus lacked management, order and discipline, a roadmap, and organization. The son of the former dictator, together with a few individuals, attempted to seize its leadership; but due to lack of competence and capacity, he not only failed to lead it successfully, but became a factor in its failure.

3) A summary of these five failed uprisings over the past quarter-century shows that in three cases the uprising was entirely without leadership and therefore lacked management, a roadmap, order and discipline, organization, and continuity; in one case—the Green Movement—despite broad popular participation, weak leadership led to failure; and in the last case (“Woman, Life, Freedom”), although the son of the former dictator sought to seize leadership, he could not, and it ultimately ended in failure.

4) Now, learning from the experience of the 1357 Revolution and the five uprisings in the past quarter-century, we must rapidly identify capable and aware leader(s) and entrust them with the responsibility of guiding the national uprising. If the leader is capable but not aware of the political and struggle-related requirements, even if victory is achieved, it will suffer the fate of the 1357 Revolution; and if there is no leader or the leadership is weak, it will suffer the fate of the five uprisings—namely, defeat.

5) In view of the above, and given the speed of developments in Iran, the risk of foreign intervention, and the existence of an incompetent government and the state’s financial and economic bankruptcy—which may turn Iran into a failed state, thereby making foreign interference easier—it appears that, to avoid the fate of the five uprisings and also to avoid the fate of the 1357 Revolution, our most urgent duty is to identify capable and aware leader(s) committed to Iran’s territorial integrity, greatness, and independence; to delegate responsibility to them; and to provide practical support for the program and roadmap they propose.

Proud nation of Iran
Long live Iran

National Council of Iran’s Revolutionary Transition
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