

## English

### Message No. 65 – SHAMA

#### The Necessity of Changing the Tactics of Struggle

##### Great People of Iran,

One of the most important duties of the leadership of revolutions is the continuous evaluation of the effectiveness of adopted tactics—and even strategies—of struggle, and, where efficiency proves insufficient and conditions so require, to take action to **change tactics or strategy**. This is because the objective of the principle of **economy of force** and the rule of **uprising management** is to secure the **maximum achievement** at the **minimum cost**.

In fulfillment of this responsibility, and based on a review of the six failed uprisings of the past quarter century, as well as **moment-by-moment monitoring** of the first phase of the national revolution that began on the 7th of Dey, the **National Council of Iran's Revolution** considers a **change of tactics** in the struggle to be an **unavoidable necessity**, and hereby communicates the following points for the attention and action of the great people of Iran:

1. The first phase of Iran's national revolution began on the 7th of Dey with the **free fall** of the national currency's value and a dollar rate of 145,000 tomans, starting with protests by bazaar merchants, and it rapidly assumed a **nationwide scope**, such that—by the admission of the incompetent officials of the Islamic Republic—it spread to 400 cities and beyond.
2. Not only did the government fail to create any **relief** in people's livelihoods, but even the minor **coercive reduction** in foreign exchange rates did not last, and once again the national currency's value continued to fall. Today, the price of the dollar has surpassed **157,000 tomans**.
3. The current situation not only shows no positive outlook for reducing the price of foreign currencies, but—especially due to intensified sanctions and military threats against our country—the future horizon can be expected to become even darker.
4. Not only has the livelihood crisis not been resolved, but as stated, an even darker outlook is foreseeable due to the continued rise in foreign currency prices—meaning further devaluation of the national currency—and the unprecedented **massacre** of compatriots, with thousands of martyrs and many more injured, demonstrates that in **street-based uprisings** the government holds the **upper hand**, raising human and material costs to such a level that success becomes impossible.
5. Those who beat the drum of **armed struggle** must now answer: when simple street protests result in **thousands of martyrs** and far greater numbers of wounded and blinded, what catastrophe would armed struggle unleash?
6. Even a preliminary and cursory assessment up to this point shows that, on the one hand, there has been no even partial success in halting the collapse of the national currency's value—in fact, the pace of devaluation has increased—and on the other hand, the heavy human and material costs attest to the **failure of the street-protest tactic**.
7. Accordingly, the balance sheet of street protests in the first phase of Iran's national revolution is even **negative**: not only were objectives not achieved, but due to the rapid devaluation of the national currency, people's livelihoods worsened, and thousands of noble

martyrs, a very large number of eye injuries, and countless wounded were added to the already extensive list of past costs—while the government itself has become emboldened and drawn its sword openly.

8. If the **next phase of U.S. and Israeli aggression** occurs, matters will only worsen further. If the removed leader and source of corruption opts for **compromise**, given Mr. Trump's appetite, little of Iran would remain. And even if a **limbo state of threats without war** continues, the parallel collapse of the national currency will intensify, reaching an **explosive point** where **chaos, blind unrest**, and similar outcomes will become unavoidable.
9. One of the key principles of strategy is the **transmission of accurate information** to the adversary to prevent **miscalculation**, while simultaneously instilling belief in one's **power and resolve** to impose **heavy costs**. For example, the U.S. downing of an Iranian civilian airliner with 290 non-combatant passengers was meant to convey America's capacity and will to impose **greater damage** on Khomeini and to end the eight-year war. Now, as the traitorous leader seeks—through an unprecedented **massacre**—to convey that the people will not be the **winners of street protests**, we have no choice but to **change the battlefield**, in other words, to **change the tactic** from the street to **strikes and civil disobedience**. To convince him that **victory** for us in this terrain and tactic is certain, these strikes and acts of disobedience must be so **widespread, organized, and disciplined** that this belief is firmly established—meaning they must be forceful and unmistakable.
10. From the outset, we have insisted upon and emphasized the tactic of **nationwide strikes and civil disobedience**. Now that the ineffectiveness of street protests at this stage has been experienced at the cost of a **massacre**, we reaffirm this tactic with even greater certainty and resolve. Success in this tactic, however, requires **national solidarity, nationwide and universal participation**, and **comprehensive, countrywide strikes and civil disobedience**, accompanied by a **national pact** based on **shared responsibility**, as well as a **division of duties between the people and the National Council of Iran's Revolution**. Employees of all public institutions and organizations, major industries such as oil, gas, petrochemicals, steel, copper, and others, as well as all professions and social groups—including workers, teachers, university students, school students, lawyers, artists, athletes, bazaar merchants, ethnic communities, and all 85 million Iranians—must give a **practical and affirmative response** to strikes and civil disobedience. Given that **all opportunities have been lost**, if you respond **from this very moment**, broadly and nationwide, to the call of your National Council of Revolution, **dear Iran will endure**.

**Proud be the people of Iran**  
**Long live Iran**

National Council of Iran's Revolution  
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