

# English

## Message No. 69 – SHAMA

### In the Two-Ended Deadlock of Unconditional Surrender or an Unequal War, Is There No Third Way?

#### Great People of Iran,

Over the past quarter-century, we have undertaken seven major uprisings. Despite heavy human and material costs, all have ended in defeat. Each time, without identifying and remedying the causes of the previous failure, we moved on to the next uprising and reached the same outcome—returning home empty-handed. In some cases, we even arrived at a regrettable, humiliating theory according to which:

First, we confess our own incompetence.

Second, we seek to compensate for this alleged incompetence by welcoming the military action of our enemies and inviting their aggression against our country.

Now, your own National Council of the Revolution speaks to you out of pain and concern:

1. The causes of failure in the seven recent uprisings were not the incompetence of you, the great people of Iran. Rather, the causes were:
  - a) Lack of a roadmap and plan;
  - b) Insufficient national cohesion;
  - c) Lack of organization;
  - d) Lack of management;
  - e) Lack of credible and capable leadership;
  - f) Brutal repression;
  - g) Lack of order and discipline;
  - h) Lack of continuity in the struggle;
  - i) Lack of a struggle strategy and tactics.
2. Had we found credible and capable leadership, it would have been obliged to:  
Strengthen national unity and cohesion;  
Present a roadmap and plan;  
Organize;  
Establish order and discipline;  
Manage the struggle and achieve the greatest gains with the least human and material cost. By creating national cohesion, it would have shifted the balance of power in favor of the people; government forces would have defected and joined the people, and thus not only would the costs not rise, but the government would have been compelled to transfer power to the people through negotiation.
3. Had we found informed and legitimate leadership, it would have been obliged to:  
Present a strategy of **non-violent struggle** that—treated as a **full-scale war**, not a game—prepared all war-like mechanisms such as unity of command, order and discipline, strategy, tactics, logistics, propaganda, budget, media, etc.; and, while emphasizing **legitimate self-defense** as an exception to non-violence, equip protesters with the tools of legitimate self-defense to narrow the operating space of the repressors.

4. Had we found strong and capable leadership, it would have been obliged to:  
Given the regime's repressive power and its financial and economic bankruptcy, immobilize it through strikes and civil disobedience and by cutting its financial and economic arteries—thereby minimizing human and material costs and bringing the uprising to a quicker conclusion.
5. In such a course, we would neither fall into an **inferiority complex**—confessing our own incapacity—nor pin our hopes on foreign aggression, which contradicts **national pride and honor**.
6. Moreover, while reports indicate negotiations with the United States and while Mr. Trump and Netanyahu seek through talks what they could not obtain by war, the result would be not only our humiliation and unconditional surrender, but also the continued rule of the clerics in illegitimate power.
7. Notably, our own historical experiences with foreign intervention have been catastrophic: the Seleucids ruled us for more than two centuries, the Arab conquerors for nine centuries, and the Mongols for more than two centuries—committing every crime imaginable. The fate of Iraq, Libya, Afghanistan, and Syria today lies before our eyes.
8. With so many martyrs, blinded eyes, and countless wounded, are we to accept both the humiliation of unconditional surrender and the continued rule of our children's killers—and endure a massacre worse than the 1980s, now begun by the “Butchers' Judiciary”?
9. Can we not, instead of echoing the slogans of Israel International television, **declare support for the National Council of Iran's Revolution** and show that Iran is **not ownerless**, so that no one may plot its plunder—thereby enabling it, with the authority drawn from your practical support, to rise **phoenix-like** from the fire of your struggles and accomplish a historic feat?

As Hafez wrote:

*For years the heart sought Jamshid's cup from us;*

*What it already had, it asked of strangers.*

**Proud be the people of Iran**

**Long live Iran**

National Council of Iran's Revolution

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