

کوشش برای استقرار ديمقراسی و حقوق بشر در خاورمیانه

Action for Democracy & Human Rights in the Middle East (Non-Profit)

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February 2012

Operation Plan Outline to Manage the Iranian Crisis in Support of the Democratic Transition of the State

Challenges facing society:

1. An intolerant theocracy violating the U.N.'s proclamation of Human Rights, and its protocols; promoting discrimination against women and minorities. Rampant nepotism, corruption and favoritism within the government.
2. An inept bureaucracy incapable of managing the economy, lacking viable solutions for problems as varied as unemployment, poverty, the widening gap between the well-to-do and the destitute.
3. Regime's covert as well as overt support of terrorism, hindering the Middle East peace process, and heavily contributing to anti-American and anti-Israeli propaganda in the region.
4. Regime's actively and covertly pursuing the weapons of mass destruction in spite of being a signatory to the ban of such activities.
5. Regime's meddling in the internal affairs of the countries of the Middle East and Central Asian republics.
6. Fragmentation and polarization of the democratic opposition groups; their inability to
 - a. set aside their differences and form a solid block against the regime, and
 - b. actively organize an effective civil disobedience movement

Suggestions to manage the crisis in the interest of a bloodless transition:

1. Application of an all around pressure policy at the international level, especially through Europe and the United States in order for the regime to:
 - a. Cease discrimination against the opposition, guaranteeing free press and free assembly, and the speedy release of all political prisoners.
 - b. Agree to hold a national referendum, with international supervision, with the aim of holding a constitutional assembly to discuss and vote on the nature of the future regime in Iran and to create a constitution. International supervision should be extended to ensure universal participation of all political parties regardless of ideology and program.
 - c. Agree to cease all illegal nuclear activities.
 - d. Agree to discontinue its support of international terrorism.

Supporting the democracy movement in Iran:

- e. It is imperative that an umbrella/coalition is formed consisting of all national & democratic forces inside the country and abroad.
- f. For the successful navigation through the transition phase, the current personalities of the regime, such as Mr. Rafsanjani, Mousavi and Krouby are not to be trusted. They have played a pivotal role in the taking of the American hostages that year. They are also known to have played a key role in the assassination of opposition leaders, namely Dr. Ghassemlou in Vienna in 1989, Dr. Shapour Bakhtiar in Paris in 1991, Dr. Sadegh Sharafkany in Berlin in 1992, Darioush Forouhar in Tehran in 1997 and many Iranian writers and intellectuals since 1979.
- g. Western entities and governments should refrain from getting involved in the selection of individuals and groups to be included in the coalition. Such meddling will cause negative reactions and will contribute to further animosities and polarization among the opposition. This process should be managed by Iranians to ensure its credibility.
- h. Democratic forces and states may contribute organizational and operational resources (printing, broadcasting, etc.) to this process by providing certain means or assets to a working group of trusted Iranian activists and organizers.

- i. Establishment of a political headquarters inside the Iran to be used by a coordinating council of national & democratic forces for training and organizational purposes.**
- j. Establishment of an independent radio and television station, technically robust enough to cover the entire nation.

The motives to organize a national emancipation council do exist, if the necessary and appropriate means are present. Such a council will include unknown-to-the-regime activists inside the country and intelligent and resolute individuals abroad. This council will be empowered to create working groups and operational teams that will begin the project of seriously undermining the regime.

To protect the integrity of the movement and maintain the reputation of its key leaders, given the sensitive political culture, it is important that means and assets for the organization of the struggle inside and outside the country is provided through not-for-profit organizations and institutions promoting democracy.

Formation of the provisional government and the mechanics of the transition:

- k. Following a national referendum, exhibiting the regime's unpopularity in no uncertain terms, it is imperative that a provisional coalition cabinet is formed.**
- l. As the embodiment of the democracy movement preceding it, the cabinet will consist of representatives of secular, pluralist groups committed to the Declaration of Human Rights and its protocols.
- m. Inclusion of all democratic forces, as an unprecedented event in the Iranian history, will engender national solidarity and ensure political stability required for the transitional period, the length of which will be determined beforehand by the national emancipation council. What is important is the fact that such solidarity will prevent acts of sabotage from taking place, or a civil war from breaking out.
- n. The main objective for the provisional coalition government will be to institutionalize democratic organs and principles within the society at large by defending the salient elements of the Declaration of Human Rights such as equality for women and minorities, civic freedoms, and international cooperation.

Creation of Civil Society and Formation a Democratic Alternative as a Political Force in Iran

A. Domestic Obstacles:

1. Dictatorship

Even though Iranians have only enjoyed brief periods of freedom and democracy between the 1906 Constitutional Revolution and the 1979 revolution, they had never before experienced oppression, censorship and naked terror as they have faced since the fall of Monarchy. Claiming divine representation (Allah), the officials of the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) have abolished all personal and individual rights. While previous Iranian dictatorial regimes, at least in words, pretended to be nationalist or politically pluralist, the Islamic regime ruling Iran today rejects both sentiments in words and in practice.

2. Public Indifference

The political, cultural, and ethical failure of the revolution in Iran drastically contributed to the already cynical masses' loss of faith in political leadership. This cynicism is further aggravated by the self serving, opportunistic individuals and groups, who claim the mantel of the opposition leadership.

3. Lack of Resources

The regime's hold on power by means of naked aggression, and the total control of the mass media facilitated by unaccounted Petro-dollars has outshined the national liberal democratic opposition to the point that it is invisible, due to the lack of resources necessary to present its views to the public.

B. International Obstacles :

1. The diplomatic relations of many European governments, Japan, Russia, and China with the Islamic Republic, their seeming indifference to the terrorist regime's atrocities, and their behind-the-scene economic deals to maximize profits and secure trade concessions currently constitute major international obstacles to the opposition.

2. The absence of cooperation with and support of the national-democratic opposition, while cooperating with ill-reputable and opportunistic individuals and groups for exerting tactical pressure on the regime, damages the prestige and effectiveness of the national- democratic opposition in general.

C. Favorable Trends:

1. The great dissatisfaction of the masses has resulted in spontaneous demonstrations, civil unrest, and street riots. The motive for these actions have been socio-economic in nature; the regime physically removes those who voice political dissent. The Iranian society has come of age

and is openly articulating its concerns regarding a number of issues: separation of church and state, respect for fundamental freedoms and individual rights, rights to life, liberty, and personal security, freedom from government interference in private life. These concerns, aspirations and hopes are expressed by the youth and women, the intellectuals, the personnel of the armed forces, and millions of other Iranians.

2. The regime has failed to integrate the youth, who constitute sixty percent of the population, into the work force. It has completely alienated the women. It has actively sought to eliminate political and human rights activists, journalists and intellectuals who have tried to help reverse this process.

3. Iranian democratic groups and individuals will take stock of their collective resources and seek other talents inside and outside Iran to create the economic opportunities necessary to lay the foundation for a democratic culture befitting a democratic society.

4. The success of these individuals and groups in creating a diverse coalition is considered a clear sign that conditions are ripe for the opposition's success.

Laying Down the Foundation for a Democratic Alternative:

1. Create radio and television programming beamed via satellite to the entire country. Target audience will be Iranians of all faith and ethnicity, although special focus will be on those who play an important role in the struggle against tyranny, and those who will participate socially and politically in rebuilding the future of Iran, i.e. women, youth, workers, secular-democrat groups, the military, technocrats, writers, poets, artisans, technologists, and ethnic and religious minorities.
2. Establish underground cells throughout Iran with a secure line of contact with overseas.
3. Establish contacts with experts of all fields, specialists, technocrats, and managers inside and outside Iran to begin drafting plans for rebuilding and reconstructing all aspects of the economy and industry after the fall of the regime.
4. Create publishing houses to disseminate Persian literature to further inform the Iranian masses, and English literature for friends of Iran in the West.
5. Establish offices in Europe and the U.S. accessible to the Iranian community and others.
6. Organize fund-raisers within the Iranian community and internationally.
7. Organize demonstrations, sit-ins and other actions inside and outside Iran for freedom, democracy, and human rights, and against terrorism and dictatorship.
8. Help set the preconditions for dialogue among various groups in the opposition with the goal of eventual formation of a coalition of democratic forces as a viable alternative to the present regime.
9. Accomplishing these steps will accelerate the demise of the regime and its replacement by a democratic alternative.

Objectives:

1. To support and encourage all freedom loving Iranians in their struggle for establishing a secular government while creating and defending a Civil Society.
2. To help break up the present regime as quickly as possible.
3. To help create preconditions which will open the Iranian society to begin debate on the future of Iran.
4. To help create the conditions which will facilitate the election of a democratic government based on a new constitution.

Strategy:

1. A suitable broadcasting facility beamed to Iran will:
 - a) Counter the regime's systematic campaign of deception.
 - b) Facilitate the exchange of news, ideas and information.
 - c) Mobilize mass support for change.
2. Campaign to mobilize financial support within the Iranian community abroad and the friends of Iran.
3. Initiate and implement the work required to achieve the above objectives.

Project: Radio / Television :

A free & independent radio and television program biased towards freedom and democracy, beamed via satellite to Iran could play a significant role in giving moral support and encouragement to the dissatisfied Iranian masses. It could play a major role in exposing the crimes and corruption of the reactionary, terrorist regime. It will also help inspire and organize various groups in the struggle to change the system and lay the necessary foundation for a coalition of national democratic forces.

At present there are over 20 satellite television stations beaming farsi programming to Iran. Mostly of these are devoid of political, social, economic or cultural content and are financed by Persian carpet auctioneers. The Islamic Republic regime also airs some channels via satellite. Because of more varied programming, there is anecdotal evidence that it has captured a much greater share of the market than all the so called opposition networks combined.

We feel that there is a definite void in this market which must be exploited in favor of the people. The Iranian people must be provided with real news and meaningful programming without having to resort the BBC or VOA. Part of the process of building democratic institutions is to create confidence in 'homegrown' sources of news, information and programming. By homegrown we mean sources and programming originating with or produced by Iranians, both abroad and within. The current state of affairs in this field has eroded what little confidence existed in the Iranian media.

We intend to use local sources and personnel with special attention to ethnic and gender diversity. Even though the programming we envisage will be primarily in Farsi, we do plan on airing programs in Kurdish, Azari and Arabic.

We also would like to make this a center for the promotion of journalism among the ethnic Iranian youth residing abroad, as well as the training of budding journalists in Iran. Diversity of sources as well as the promotion and training of young minds will be the main factors ensuring the success of this project, and the only possible hope of a free Iran in the future.

There are a number of highly capable and talented Iranian professionals currently living in the U.S. and Europe (and available in Iran) who, given the right resources, can produce very high quality socio-political programming interspersed with educational, cultural and entertainment programs.

Political Goals of this Project:

1. Educating the Iranian people in the meaning of democracy and democratic institutions.
2. Teaching the people the basic requirements of functioning within democratic institutions.
3. Showing the people what 'civil disobedience' means and how it can be implemented as a powerful tool against a vicious, repressive regime.
4. The reasoning behind why the constitution of the Islamic Republic should be unconditionally rejected, why separation of church and state is an ideal to strive for, why every Iranian should believe in and defend his right to freedom, and why the government should not meddle in religion and be neutral with regards to all religions.
5. Implementation, without exception, of the Declaration of Human Rights. Unconditional guarantee of women's rights and all the other rights contained in the Declaration and its amendments and additions.
6. The sovereignty of the People: That the future political system of Iran should be determined through a constituent assembly, and approved by the people through general referendum.
7. The belief in the geographical integrity of Iran, a strong central government, and devolution (decentralization) of certain socio-economic rights to the provinces, the extent of which to be determined by the constituent assembly and enshrined in the Constitution.

Target Audience:

1. Special focus will be on the people and areas that have traditionally neglected the most
2. The people in the forefront of the struggle against the tyranny of the regime
4. Those willing to participate socially and politically in rebuilding the future Iran, i.e. women, youths, workers, secular groups, the military personnel, technocrats, writers, poets, artisans, and ethnic and religious minorities.

Programming Strategy

Categories:

- A. Iran's daily political news / events
- B. World & International political news / events
- C. National / Historical Days (calendar of events)
- D. Living condition of the masses
- E. Oppression, censorship, and suppression of individual freedom
- F. Violation of Human Rights
- G. The condition of political prisoners
- H. The condition of women
- I. The absence of opportunity for the youth
- J. The condition of workers and the poor

Above are some of the focal points to demonstrate the failure of the Islamic Regime. We then present goals, plans and programs for a free, democratic, and prosperous Iran, based on the following.

General Guidelines:

1. Tolerance and respect with regards to others' faith and beliefs
2. Importance of non-violent methods of struggle such as civil disobedience, sit-ins etc...
3. Importance of secularism for civil society's growth
4. Importance of struggle against coercion, destruction, despair, and disunity.
5. Emphasizing the need to have friendly relations with other nations and denouncing war and terrorism.
6. Inviting professionals, experts, technocrats, and managers to plan for reconstruction of Iran, offering:
 - a. Programs demonstrating how people in free societies establish a democratic system by shaping democratic institutions and creating a democratic culture.
 - b. Cultural programs featuring poets, writers and artists.
 - c. Programs introducing women's issues and their role in reshaping and rebuilding the society.
 - d. Programs dealing with concerns of ethnic and religious minorities.
 - e. Round table discussions and interviews with pundits.
 - f. Call-in shows with open lines to Iran.

The Team Needed to Operate and Manage the Program:

- PR Coordinator / Promoter / Advertising
- Female anchorperson / writer
- Male anchorperson / writer
- Reporter/ interviewer

- Audio / video technician
- Writer / Analyst (2)

To further enrich programming, guests from inside and outside Iran may be invited to participate to share their views and report on their intellectual and cultural activities.

The New Free Radio / TV:

1. Must address the need of the Iranian masses. In order to have the desirable outcome it has to set itself apart by its content from the existing Persian radio programs offered by The Voice of America, Radio Israel, BBC, French - International, and others.
2. Must attract audiences all over Iran in general, with emphasis on women, religious groups, the youth, the armed forces and the intelligencia in particular.
3. Should be managed and operated by Iranian experts. They are familiar with the nuances of the culture and sensitive to the complexities of minority communities.
4. Must be empowered to break through the regime's censorship apparatus and disrupt its propaganda machines inside and outside the country (see Note below.) Above all it must generate a spirit of cooperation among the Iranian diaspora, while giving hope to the masses in their struggle for freedom and democracy.
5. Should also be heard in neighboring Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Central Asian Republics, Turkey, Iraq, and the Persian Gulf region to counter the Islamic Republic's propaganda.
6. Should be disassociated with ill-reputed currents and tainted characters within the community.
7. Must be independent in programming with the clear purpose of establishing democracy in Iran, in order to be embraced socially and accepted politically by the Iranian masses.
8. A team of 5 to 10 experts are prepared to start and stay with the program, on a full-time basis, for as long as necessary. There are many more willing to contribute part-time.
9. The issue of security and safety of the people involved should be considered.

Note: A series of overt and covert propaganda tools are utilized by the Islamic Republic:

- a. Television program in the US and Europe .
- b. Islamic and Cultural Societies in Europe and America set up as fronts for their activities.
- c. A series of publications in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, English, and other languages inside and outside the country.
- d. A new TV program, being prepared in Persian, Arabic, Turkish, and other languages, to be televised via satellite

The New Free Radio / TV must be capable of broadcasting to Europe and America in order to counter these activities.

The Initial Team for The Radio/TV:

Needed to start and manage the program:

- A Coordinator for promotion and advertising (full-time)
- A female announcer capable of writing articles (part-time)
- A male announcer capable of writing articles (part-time)
- A technician for taping, sound, etc...(part-time)

Facility:

- Airtime/TV, Short Wave Radio
- Studio
- Office
- Office equipments
- Broadcasting equipments
- The initial operating Budget

How to Start the Activities in Different Fields?

The Goals & Program:

- * **To oppose the terrorist Islamic Republic in Iran and conduct free election and ensure a peaceful transition to a government chosen by the people of Iran.**
- * **Restoration of respect to individual and social freedom based on Universal Declaration of Human Rights and political pluralism.**
- * **Institutionalization of parliamentarianism and equal rights for women and men, equal rights for ethnic, religious and social minorities.**
- * **Institutionalization of secularism, separation of church and state while respecting the religious beliefs of the people.**
- * **Securing the national integrity and unity.**
- * **To create conditions for fundamental reform of Iran's educational, Judicial, economic, and bureaucratic institutions.**
- * **To establish diplomatic & friendly relations with all nations & governments**

The Actions:

- 1- **To Form a Coalition of National & Democratic Forces in Iran and Abroad.**
- 2- **To Coordinate the Human Rights Activities and Organizing an International Solidarity Conference with Iranian People.**
- 3- **To Organize an Independent Satellite /TV& Radio - Program.**
- 4- **To Support the Civil Rights Movements in Iran.**
- 5- **To Organize the "Researchers and the Expertise" for the Reconstruction of Iran.**
- 6- **To Organize "Political & Organizational Nett-Works"(open & secret activities) in Iran.**

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Means Needed:

- 1-Financial support,
- 2- Technology.

Means Available:

- 1-Management & Coordination –Working-Groups to Coordinate Activities, and to Respond the Situations in Iran.
- 2- Team of Expertise for TV& Radio.
- 3- Political Cadres (Professionals Political Activists & Organizers in Different Fields, in Iran & Abroad).

Regards, Hassan Massali, Ph.D