



Campaign Plan of Dr. Hooshang Amirahmadi

For President of Iran, June 2013



Introduction

The Islamic Republic was formed as the result of a great people's revolution, a revolution with such high aims and aspirations as freedom and justice for the Iranian people, independence and development for the country and a relationship with the world community based on "dignity, wisdom and expediency." In the last more than 30 years that the Islamic Republic has ruled Iran, the world has experienced great transformations and Iran has been the subject of many changes. But as the world has moved into a digital age, the Islamic Republic has been struggling with factional infightings, an imposed war by Iraq and external pressures in the form of economic sanctions and dangerous political isolation. Because of these developments, animosity toward the revolution combined with mismanagement of the nation, the Islamic Republic has failed to realize many of the most important goals of the 1979 Revolution. Notwithstanding its failures, it must also be acknowledged that the Islamic Republic has had important and praiseworthy achievements in political, economic, social and infrastructural areas. For example, Iran has achieved a degree of national independence that is unprecedented in the country's contemporary history. Significant progress has also been made in automobile and food industries, petrochemi-



also been achieved in health and education, much work has been accomplished in depressed regions and rural areas and social programs for the working people have been expanded. In addition, a degree of self-sufficiency has been achieved in key economic sectors and progress has been made in reducing subsidies, collecting more taxes from the rich and increasing non-oil exports.

Despite these notable achievements, Iran continues to suffer from internal and external crises. These include inimical relations with the West, the U.S. in particular; economic and financial sanctions and political isolation; consensus in the U.N. Security Council and beyond as well as with world public opinion rallied against Iran; inflation and high unemployment, particularly for the youth; a widening gap between the poor and the rich; unstable public policies and lack of security for productive investments and economic growth; mismanagement, corruption, nepotism and bureaucratic centralism; technological backwardness and insufficient investment in R&D; institutional inadequacies, particularly in the judicial system; a glaring lack of technocratic and meritocratic cultures in the public administration; political restrictions and social ills, particularly with respect to women, ethnic groups and the youth (such as discrimination, addiction and prostitution); tension between modernized and traditional groups; damage to natural and man-made environments; deteriorating public health; and lack of due attention to our precious national heritage. Given these problems, ills and crises, it is no wonder that the need for urgent solutions is so widely felt. Indeed, the Supreme Leader seems more concerned about a quick solution than any in the nation; but he needs help to better formulate his “Islamic-Iranian development model”, and those in a position to provide support must cooperate. The good news is that the Iranian nation continues to remain hopeful of effective change and this is despite the fact that Iranians are often bombarded with despairing and confusing propaganda.

Yet, nothing can be achieved solely with expressions of sorrow, criticism, or optimism. We must draft a new plan and seek a fresh path as only a novel plan and path can change the troubling current trends and instead lead towards a better future. The Iranian people, too, require new ideas and effective solutions and are tired of the same old faces, repeating the tired old talks buttressed by nominal actions. They know well that those who have created the problems in the first place cannot remedy them; the problem makers must not be given another chance; the country needs fresh problem solvers. It is for this reason that Dr. Amirahmadi, believing that he qualifies to serve as Iran’s President, is offering himself as a candidate in the June 2013 Presidential election. To that end he is proposing to the Iranian people the present **Campaign Plan**. He believes that his Plan, along with a free, fair and transparent election, offer the most economical and productive alternative at realizing a better future for Iran and Iranians. The main goal of his Plan is to achieve national reconciliation among Iranians and between them and the world community and securing Iran’s national interest. In his view, when these ambitious goals are achieved, the Iranian people will become contented and their country will become eternal.



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The framework within which Dr. Amirahmadi will seek to achieve these noble outcomes is built around his novel concept of “nationalism” - as distinct from the traditional nationalism. Nation within this perspective comprises people and their homeland, that is, the nation is a people living in a given territory. In contrast, the traditional notion of Iranian nationalism is only geographic while Islamism centers on the Islamic ummah, or Muslims, irrespective of where they live. So, while nationalism is territory-bound, Islamism is people-bound. In contrast, Nationism combines people and territory and thus has the potential to reconcile Islamism and nationalism. It can also simultaneously optimize the interests of people and their territory. When these interests are optimized, people will become contented and territory eternal. But, nationalism cannot be achieved outside national and international reconciliations. Thus, in this Plan, Dr. Amirahmadi will outline conditions for the required reconciliations and the instruments that must be employed towards a contented people and an eternal territory. In Dr. Amirahmadi’s view, in cooperation and partnership with the Iranian people, these goals are achievable. He extends a hand of solidarity towards all who wish to join the campaign and begs others to read this Plan for peaceful change before rejecting it. He remains fully open to new and productive ideas.

A key ideological foundation of this Plan is to explain and dismiss the inimical discourse that dominates the triangle of the Iranian government, its opposition and the U.S. Domestic and international difficulties that face Iran today have many complex historical, geographic, cultural, economic and political roots. Many opinion leaders, Iranians and foreign, have written about these difficulties, trying to explain their root causes. Some have focused on economic ills, proposing solutions for economic development; others have focused on political ills, offering solutions centered on political development; and yet others have emphasized cultural, historical and geographic factors, advocating long-term gradual change as remedies. In the realm of politics, emphasis has differed from domestic political schism to U.S.-Iran or Iran –West negative relations, arguing that these animosities are the key to Iran’s problems, proposing solutions for better relations. However, what many have failed to address is the fact that the three main players of the Iranian political economy, namely the government, its opposition and the U.S., use derogatory discourses to address their antagonists, often endangering each other’s interests or even existence, thus making it impossible for a reconciliation discourse to emerge.

The argument here is not offered as an ethical critique of this pejorative discourse, but to indicate that given the entrenched nature of this discourse, it is impossible to even imagine the formation of solutions to Iranian domestic problems or U.S.-Iran relations. Yet, the worst news for the players in this triangle is that the level of their animosities will over time intensify, making a clash of some sort among them inevitable, causing them to lose heavily. Meanwhile, the balance of power among the three antagonists is such that no one can have a clean victory through its own monopolistic dominance. On the contrary, evidence suggests that all three are becoming weaker by the day and their fight is a lose-lose game. Therefore, revisiting the divisive discourse is a



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precondition for not only solving the problems among and between them but also avoiding a tragedy that is rapidly unfolding. It is for this reason that Dr. Amirahmadi's theoretical and practical works have been informed by a spirited dialogue based on wisdom, realism and pragmatism between the Iranian government and its opposition, on the one hand, and between Iran and the U.S. on the other. His hopes and works have for years been directed toward utilizing such a dialogue for reconciliation.

Unfortunately, because certain groups and individuals from various political orientations have failed to grasp Dr. Amirahmadi's analyses of the Iranian condition and also because they have been unable to properly assess the future, these forces have subjected him to their unfair criticism, preventing the formation of a reconciliation discourse. These criticisms, at times even vitriolic personal attacks (which are based on a misunderstanding of his positions and/or a lack of understanding of Iranian situation, and of course also based at times on jealousy and meanness), have made Dr. Amirahmadi a subject of baseless accusations. These include calumnies such as being subservient to this or that group or to this or that political leader. In the last 30 years since Dr. Amirahmadi has been ceaselessly active in Iranian politics and U.S.-Iran relations, a political tendency inside Iran has called him "a CIA agent," while an opposing tendency outside the country has labeled him "an agent of the Islamic Republic." This very contradictory characterization of Dr. Amirahmadi should suffice for any judicious and independent observer to conclude that his adversaries are dishonest and that their purpose is purely and transparently character assassination. In a long paper called "My Story," available on his website, Dr. Amirahmadi has tried to give a clear picture of his theoretical contributions and policy positions in the last three decades. In continuation of that attempt at clarification, in this **Campaign Plan** too Dr. Amirahmadi has used the logic and language of reconciliation, hoping that this discourse will take precedence over the current discourse of animosity among the triangle of the Iranian government, its opposition and the U.S., leading to a narrowing of the existing wide gaps.

This Campaign Plan outlines the reasons why Dr. Hooshang Amirahmadi is putting forward his candidacy for the June 2013 Iranian Presidential election and describes how he intends to confront the very urgent issues facing the Iranian nation. This Plan sheds light on the ideas, actions and procedures that Dr. Amirahmadi applies throughout the election campaign and also articulates in greater detail his vision and strategy to maintain and strengthen Iran's economic, political, social, cultural, and territorial development. Dr Amirahmadi also outlines his vision for normalizing relations between Iran and the West, including the U.S., thereby ensuring a prestigious place for Iran within the international community. In addition, Dr Amirahmadi outlines the many opportunities and challenges that his Presidential campaign will have to embrace and tackle respectively. Underpinning Dr Amirahmadi's vision will be scores of plans, hundreds of programs, and literally thousands of policies that will have to be formulated in order to meet the multifarious challenges which today confront the great nation of Iran. Both during and beyond



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the campaign, Dr. Amirahmadi, with the help of his advisors and experts, will detail those issue-focused plans, programs, and policies and outline the significant human, capital, material, institutional, and managerial resources required to implement them.

The audience for this **Campaign Plan** is the noble Iranian people, leaders of the Islamic Republic and the interested international community. Diversity within Iranian society, including the Islamic system and the abnormality of relations within this diversity and between Iran and the outside world is a harsh reality. Therefore, it is with respect to this diversity and abnormality that this Plan offers ideas and strategies in the form of a new ‘language of dialogue’ and in the direction of the normalization of affairs. The clerical establishment is the most important force in Iran today and as such it is the primary audience of this Plan. No nation can do without religion and spiritual leaders. The religious institutions and the clergy must be invigorated and their respect preserved. The Islamic system is the result of a historic revolution; if it were to fully utilize the power of the people, it could achieve wonders. The armed forces are another important group which this plan aims to attract. They are often patriotic, modernist and pragmatist. They must be encouraged to increasingly become developmentalist as well. They must be promoted and their power increased in the direction of serving defense and development purposes. The next interest group this Plan addresses is the ethnic and religious minorities. Utmost legal and practical efforts must be directed at their national integration and solidarity, as well as growth and progress; all forms of discrimination against them must be fully uprooted, making them equal citizens. Women constitute more than half of the nation’s population and yet they still account for less than 20 percent of the nation’s economic, political, social, and cultural assets and opportunities. Elimination of this form of naked discrimination must top the future government’s priorities and policies.

Young Iranians are another group whom this Plan supports spiritually, intellectually and practically. Iran’s progress toward a better future depends on the comprehensive development of its talented young people educationally, professionally, technologically, artistically and athletically. The Iranian investor community needs to create jobs, products and services and to that end this Plan supports them fully and unconditionally. No society can do without this group who should complement the work of the public sector in the economic field - but not just as mere followers but true economic leaders. Next to investors come the professional and intellectual middle class who complements not just the public sector but also the investing class. This class of Iranians is the backbone of the nation’s scientific and cultural development. However, the middle class will not be able to provide such critical functions unless their political development is facilitated to its full extent. The investing and the middle classes will not succeed without the base class of workers, peasants and the rest. Without these latter groups, society has no foundation upon which to stand. Thus, their basic needs and preconditions for a better and productive life must be met. Universities are the heart of a nation and the engine of its progress; without them working properly national life will remain static. As a university educator, Dr. Amirahmadi is particularly



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keen to make sure that the Iranian universities will become centers of academic excellence, quality scientific and applied research and teaching. He also expects the university community, including scientists, intellectuals and artists to support him in this campaign for a better university environment and a more comprehensively developed Iran. The expatriate Iranians are another major force that this Plan hopes to attract and from whom to receive support. Dr. Amirahmadi believes that this group must be reunited with the homeland in the direction of their own interests and the interests of the Iranian nation. He will do everything in his power as President to achieve this noble goal. Last, but not least, is the world outside Iran. This Plan has the following message for the West, the East, the neighbors and the Muslim World: we want to live with you in peace and work with you cooperatively and within a win-win framework. There will be no exception to this noble goal.

The Iranian people are also divided across ideologies and political orientations. This Plan is written with this diversity in mind as well and hopes to have a cross-ideological and cross-political appeal. A most stark divide is between the modern and traditional sections of the population. Currently most traditionalists are supporters of the Islamic system, and they value not just tradition but also the call for independence and regional power that the Islamic Republic has so seriously cultivated. This Plan fully supports the Iranian traditions and calls for full independence and a prestigious regional stature. At the same time, the Plan is cognizant of the fact that the modern sectors require a modern life and a global orientation. For too long, tradition and modernity in Iran have been viewed as antagonistic; they do not need to be as such because they are better viewed as complementary and mutually enriching.

Another divide in Iran has been that between the nationalist, Islamists and socialists. Again the present Plan addresses itself to a cross-section of these political orientations and hopes to avoid the usual political entanglement with these tendencies. In Dr. Amirahmadi's view, the Plan serves the best interest of the groups and orientations named here and others who have been inadvertently left from the list and that it also serves Iran's best interest in the international community. Indeed, the interest of the world community will also be better served by an Iran that this plan wishes to create: a peaceful, democratic and developed Iran.

Recognizing that Iran faces multiple problems, some needing urgent solutions, Dr. Amirahmadi's Plan proposes progressive strategies in each of the following key areas: economic, political, social, cultural, territorial and international. Dr. Amirahmadi's Plan proposes a social-market economic policy that focuses on creating jobs, globalizing the labor market, industrializing through export promotion, and promoting economic justice. His political development strategy focuses on realizing national reconciliation and securing citizenship rights. Dr. Amirahmadi's social programs focus on crafting a just society where the basic needs of the base class, the political needs of the middle class and the economic needs of the upper class are met. His cultural policy is based on ensuring that the Iranian-Islamic heritage is preserved and



promoted. Dr. Amirahmadi's territorial policy concentrates on safeguarding the nation's environment and integrating its political-economy geography. His foreign policy focuses on normalizing relations with the West, including the U.S., and promoting Iran's image and stature in the international community. Reducing tension internationally and mitigating restrictions internally will help open Iran to the outside world. These and other strategies and policies will be designed to bridge the gap between the nation's rich resources and poor achievements. His candidacy will also help him act as a bridge maker and an ambassador of reconciliation between the religious and secular forces, among the contending economic and socio-political interest groups, among Iranian ethnic communities, between Iranians at home and expatriates and between Iran and other nations. The ultimate goal of Dr. Amirahmadi's efforts is to create conditions for the Iranian people to become increasingly contented and for their territory to become solidly eternal.

It is Dr. Amirahmadi's hope that the reader of this **Campaign Plan** and all others who have a heart for a better Iran will read and judge it in its totality, bearing in mind that its language and contents are envisaged to apply to as wide an audience as possible. The aim has been to draw a strategic road map and draft it in a language that would be appealing to the wider audience inside Iran and beyond. As such, some may not find the Plan attractive to their particular agenda. For example, the Plan tries to establish a logical dialogue with the existing power and to offer the political elite an approach for cooperation rather than conflict. The truth is, the current political culture of Iran hardly knows how to speak to power and often confronts the power rather than offers it a path to salvation for all. Thus, the Plan has tried to approach the Iranian polity with realism and pragmatism and hopes to make such a discourse a dominant feature of the emerging political culture in the country. In addition, the Plan has tried to put its messages and solutions in positive terms and thus create positive energies in the people rather than just focus on problems and level non-constructive criticisms at those involved.

This **Campaign Plan** will be made available in Farsi (Persian), English, Azeri, Arabic, Kurdish, and hopefully in other languages in order to reach out to a larger audience in Iran and beyond. Dr. Amirahmadi is the author of this **Campaign Plan**, but it has been enhanced by comments and suggestions from his close friends and associates. He remains solely responsible for any shortcoming, error or omission in the Plan and sincerely hopes to receive assistance for its improvement and implementation. Let us come together and unite in order to reignite the former glory of Iran, re-establish pride amongst its people to enable Iran to take its rightful seat within the international community. To that end, he extends his hands toward you in solidarity, cooperation and partnership for a better Iran.





Questions and Answers

1. Why is Dr. Amirahmadi running for President of Iran?

- A. Tension with the West and domestic pressures are entering a dangerous phase
- B. Call for an urgent solution to the 'Iran Problem' is mounting
- C. The Supreme Leader is in search of a solution and needs help
- D. Iranians remain passionate for change despite being blasted by words of despair
- E. A new perspective can reverse the current deteriorating trend
- F. Elections are the most desirable road to a better future
- G. The 2013 Presidential election symbolizes a crossroads in Iran's recent politics
- H. Candidacy in 2013 Presidential election is realistic
- I. Standing for President in this election is constitutional
- J. Supporting a Presidential candidate is legal

2. Is Dr. Amirahmadi qualified to serve as President?

- A. Dr. Amirahmadi is constitutionally qualified
- B. Dr. Amirahmadi has an illustrious record of services
- C. Dr. Amirahmadi is a highly-successful academic
- D. Dr. Amirahmadi is a visionary thinker and doer
- E. Dr. Amirahmadi is a strategic manager and bridge-maker
- F. Dr. Amirahmadi is an economic planner, institution builder and policy expert

3. What are Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign objectives?

- A. Win the election and build coalitions
- B. Help improve the Iranian political environment
 - a. Promote fair and transparent elections
 - b. Influence and modernize Iran's electoral politics
- C. Re-establish credibility and legitimacy to the Iranian political system
- D. Introduce a problem-solving and cooperative culture
- E. Assemble a national team of leaders and managers
- F. Put forth practical ideas for national unity and development

4. What will Dr. Amirahmadi do for the country as President?

A. Strategizing a prosperous and proud nation

- a. Iran is rich and deserves to be an affluent and advanced country
- b. Iran can and should become a model of development for the Islamic World



- d. Iran merits a higher economic and political place in the world
- e. Efforts for a loftier Iran will have to top national priorities
- f. Iran needs a new strategy for a better tomorrow

B. Focusing attention on strategic issues and action areas

- a. Choosing the right path to a better future
- b. Promoting new and constructive policies
- c. Calling for national reconciliation and unity
- d. Advocating free, transparent and fair elections
- e. Building political parties and coalition governments
- f. Removing political revenge, demanding amnesty
- g. Making people sovereign and independent
- h. Protecting individual and private property rights

C. Advancing the interests of the Iranian people

- a. Conceiving a national development vision
 - Making 'nationalism' the basis for a new social contract
 - Forging a 'national-interests' umbrella
 - Managing population growth and reversing the 'brain drain'
 - Adopting a balanced economic development strategy
 - Creating a competitive social-market economy
- b. Strategizing economic development
 - Modernizing bureaucracies and economic management
 - Creating jobs and globalizing the labor market
 - Enhancing economic productivity and competitiveness
 - Restructuring and diversifying the oil sector
 - Promoting a trade-based industrial policy and globalization
- c. Strategizing a fair political environment
 - Instigating institutional and administrative restructuring
 - Implementing and revisiting the Islamic Constitution
 - Enhancing state-religion interaction and relations
- d. Strategizing social justice
 - Making education a pivot of social justice
 - Promoting participation of the youth in national development
 - Advancing women's role as top managers and decision-makers



- Connecting expatriate Iranians to their homeland
- Streamlining social-welfare programs and policies
- Promoting social capital and eliminating discrimination
- e. Strategizing cultural progress
 - Promoting national arts and cultures
 - Balancing tradition and modernity
- f. Strategizing foreign policy
 - Adopting a win-win foreign policy
 - Building respectful diplomatic and commercial relations
 - Participating in multilateral institution and forums
- g. Strategizing U.S.-Iran Relations
 - Building trust between Iran and the U.S.
 - Securing Iran's right to peaceful nuclear technology
 - Negotiating normal relations with the U.S.
 - Building respectful and democratic US.-Iran relations
 - Using diplomatic ties for peace and sustainable development

D. Advancing Iran's territorial interests

- a. Building a strong defense and independent nation
- b. Preserving and enhancing the environment
- c. Fixing Iran's internal political and economic geography
- d. Building extensive safe and efficient transport networks
- e. Developing telecommunication and superhighway systems
- f. Forming an integrated and habitable settlement system
- g. Promoting sectorial and provincial decentralization
- h. Protecting and promoting Iran's national heritage

5. How will Dr. Amirahmadi run his campaign for President?

A. The target population for Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign

B. Campaign administration

- a. Campaign Director
- b. Senior Political Advisor
- c. Senior Economic Advisor
- d. Communication Advisor



- e. Media Manager
- f. Campaign Spokesperson
- g. Senior Researcher
- h. Campaign Field Manager
- i. Financial Support Manager
- j. Campaign Accountant
- k. Legal Advisor
- l. Office Manager

C. Campaign strategy design stages

- a. Stage one: preparation for the campaign
- b. Stage two: Strategizing the campaign
 - Designing campaign's message and slogan
 - Designing candidate's plans and policies
 - Designing campaign media and marketing strategies
 - Designing responsive campaign strategy
 - Designing field campaign strategy
 - Designing crisis management policy

6. What obstacles does Dr. Amirahmadi anticipate and how are they overcome?

- A. People's mistrust and 'despair' issue
- B. Leadership's suspicion of the 'outsiders'
- C. Iran's war and sanctions environment
- D. Constitutional limitations for change
- E. Limited political space and national perils
- F. Iran's unhealthy political culture
- G. Dearth of national unity and reconciliation
- H. Incomplete nation building and 'nationalism'
- I. Lack of institutional polity and civil society
- J. Restrictions on domestic campaigning
- K. Dr. Amirahmadi's residency in the U.S.

7. How will Dr. Amirahmadi pay for his plans and programs?

8. How much will Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign cost?

9. Why should you support Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign?

10. Why should you write the last chapter of this plan?



Campaign Plan

1. Why is Dr. Amirahmadi running for president of Iran?

A. Tensions with the West and domestic pressures are entering a dangerous phase.

Iran today is engulfed by growing domestic and international pressures, a reality that is widely acknowledged even by the upper echelons of the Islamic Republic. Domestically, conditions for economic growth, political development and social justice are lacking. Economic mismanagement and sanctions have led to the rapid devaluation of the Rial, rising inflation, rising unemployment and failed targeted subsidies plan, culminating in the country being on the brink of economic collapse. In the political realm, buried under the ashes are the unresolved differences that emerged after the 2009 elections. Raw memories and deep divisions have resulted in an uneasy and delicate balance within a society that seems to be waiting for the next spark. Meanwhile, attention to national unity and interests, as well as the use of experts and technocrats, remain inadequate to say the least. Indeed, not just the nation's interests but even the interests of the system, factions and individuals are in jeopardy because of unregulated political rivalry among these desperate interest groups. Internationally, non-communication and uncompromising relations between Iran and the U.S. have led to crippling sanctions and more ominously to the imminent danger of a war between the two states with devastating consequences. Beside the relentlessly unfair and unjustified pressures imposed by the West, especially the U.S., political mismanagement and ill-conceived public policies have largely contributed to the crises. Unless the current management and policies change for the better, the situation can only deteriorate, with far-reaching consequences for the Iranian people and the international community. It is time that Iran takes a new course for a better tomorrow.

B. Call for an urgent solution to the 'Iran problem' is mounting.

Resolution of the current crisis requires immediate and appropriate interventions. Inaction in the face of the deepening crisis will only lead to a destructive external war and or internal political-economy chaos. The consequences of these unimaginable alternatives for the country and the wider region are unthinkable. The first opportunity for nation-wide action is the next Presidential elections in June 2013. However, the work in that direction must start now.

C. The Supreme Leader is in search of a solution and needs help.

The increasing scope and scale of the problems facing the Iranian nation and the mounting call for a solution has not escaped the attention of the Supreme Leader. He has, on many occasions, said that the state of the nation is not fully satisfactory and



that he wants better plans and policies. The Supreme Leader has even taken it upon himself to direct the formulation of a new Islamic-Iranian development model for the country. It is clear to him and to the nation that past approaches cannot solve new problems that are arising by the day. A new strategy will be required and that will also require a new national executive team, economic management and political environment. President Ahmadinejad's exit from a tumultuous Presidency in less than a year and the coming Presidential elections in June 2013 are the windows of opportunities that the Supreme Leader can use to begin a new era of meritocracy and accountability. He needs help to march forward in this new direction and my candidacy will be designed to offer him the support.

D. Iranians remain passionate for change despite being blasted by words of despair.

Iran is a historic country and as such it has experienced periods of both glory and despair. They are the people of Nowruz, the new day that arrives after the rough winter. It is no wonder that no matter how bad their plight and how hard Iran's rivals have tried to despair them, they continue to have passion for transformation. This is important because hope is a precondition for change.

E. A new perspective can reverse the current deteriorating trend.

Accumulation of economic, political, social, territorial, cultural and international problems is so huge that there is very little room for them to worsen further. Even the Majlis and the Principalists are now attacking and questioning the management of affairs of state. In the absence of a new vision to tackle the multi-dimensional, interrelated, and complicated political and economic problems that we face today, the survival of the nation is at risk. The opportunity for correcting political and economic strategies cannot be missed. The emergence of a new perspective leading to new policies is inevitable in the immediate future.

F. Elections are the most desirable road towards a better future.

Moving forward, Iranians have four alternatives: First, to stay with the current state of affairs. This is not possible because the current economic crisis and political divide will only continue to deteriorate and once it passes a certain tipping point it becomes irreversible. The state may lose command and control and the foreign powers may become highly encouraged to attack Iran; Second, external intervention, a la Libya or Iraq. This will be a criminal and hugely destructive option. On the one hand, given Iranian patriotism, a foreign intervention will be transformed into a broad regional war and on the other hand, simmering ethnic issues may give rise to civil wars which can easily spill over into the neighboring countries; Third, to work towards a revolution. Even if this was a genuine possibility, it will only lead to civil war and chaos as there is no single national figure to hold the nation together; Fourth, to advocate free,



to elect or be elected. This last option is our choice as it is the safest and most practical and logical road to solving the current crisis. Even though elections in Iran are not problem-free, they provide opportunities for democratic participation and positive surprises. During the Presidential elections of 1997, Mohammad Khatami appeared out of nowhere. He defeated hard-liners who had ruled Iran since the 1979 Islamic Revolution in a landslide victory. Again, in 2005, while not even a single religious institution or high-ranking clergy (rowhaniyyat) had supported Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, he defeated the powerful Ayatollah Rafsanjani who was widely considered the favorite to win.

G. The 2013 Presidential election symbolizes a crossroads in Iran's recent politics.

Over the last few decades, elections have been the time of surprises and major turning points. This is because elections unleash simmering and undercover political energies. The next Presidential election will be even more significant given the growing tensions with the West, considerable economic uncertainties, and bitter political divisions. Under these conditions, the public is increasingly demanding a dynamic President to reverse the current dangerous economic stagnation and political trends. No prudent Iranian politician can afford to miss the opportunity.

H. Candidacy in 2013 presidential elections is realistic.

In the past, the Guardian Council has disqualified unwanted candidates on a wholesale basis. This time though is entirely a different situation. Due to serious threats caused by mounting domestic and international pressures, both people and the political system will be looking for a political figure who appears to be capable of solving complex existing problems, mainly in the areas of the economy and foreign policy. It is, therefore, a unique opportunity for non-threatening qualified Iranians to stand for elections.

I. Standing for President in this election is constitutional.

There are no legal prohibitions for individual citizens, including Dr. Amirahmadi, to run for president. The constitution defines qualifications and the Iranian civic code elaborates on them; however, the Guardian Council will have the final say. The candidate is allowed to declare candidacy and register with the Interior Ministry as an official candidate. The Guardian Council then vets candidates, a practice that is widely criticized by the Iranian people. It is hard to believe that in the current deteriorating condition, the Council is willing or can continue with its vetting practice.

J. Supporting a Presidential candidate is legal.

No individual or group has ever been charged with any criminal or civil offence for simply supporting a candidate through financial donations or organizational and logis-



activists, and hundreds of large donors. No one has ever had to face governmental repression except in cases when they have protested election results or supported an ‘illegal’ candidate. Dr. Amirahmadi’s candidacy will be fully legal and carried within the nation’s constitutional framework.

2. Is Dr. Amirahmadi qualified to serve as President?

A. Dr. Amirahmadi is constitutionally qualified.

According to the amended Iranian Constitution of 1989, “the President must be elected from among religious and political personalities possessing the following qualifications: Iranian origin; Iranian nationality; administrative capacity and resourcefulness; a good past-record; trustworthiness and piety; convinced belief in the fundamental principles of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the official religion of the country.” On the basis of this specification, Dr. Amirahmadi is fully qualified to serve as President of Iran. He is a self-made individual, born in 1947 into a middle-class family in Talesh County on the Caspian Sea coast. He completed his primary and secondary schooling in Talesh and completed his high school in Rasht, the provincial capital. Inspired by the anti-Shah movements, he turned to writing and publishing poetry and short stories as well as paintings when he was 17. He studied at Tabriz University where he received his Agricultural Engineering degree in 1967. He then joined the military as an Officer of the Extension and Development Corps, and upon completion of the service, began working at sugar factories in Lurestan and Kohkiloyeh-Boyerahmadi, serving the toiling Lori, Boyerahmadi, Bakhtyari and Qashqai villagers and tribes. He left Iran in 1975 for graduate education in the U.S. after the Shah’s secret police forced him to resign from his position upon his refusal to join the official Rastakhiz Party. Dr. Amirahmadi has returned to Iran many times and for extended periods when he has served the nation in many capacities including post-war (Iran-Iraq) and post-earthquake (1990) reconstructions.

B. Dr. Amirahmadi has an illustrious record of services.

He is unique among Iranian expatriates for his active role in the war against Iraq and for helping with post-war reconstruction efforts. He visited the war zone three times between 1986 and 1988. He was also active in post-earthquake reconstruction and visited the quake sites both in Roudbar-Manjeel (1990) and in Bam (2003). He has stood for Iran’s legitimate rights in the dispute over the Persian Gulf Island of Tonbs and Abu Musa and over the Caspian Sea’s legal status. His books on both subjects detail and defend such Iranian rights. Dr. Amirahmadi has also actively opposed sanctions, isolation and the threat of war against the Islamic Republic. In March 2000, he orchestrated the American apology to the Iranians for its involvement in the 1953 coup against the Prime Minister Mohammad Mosadeq. He belatedly ran for President



His ‘**My Story**’ and website, both in Persian and English (www.amirahmadi.com), outlines his contributions to many noble causes throughout his lifetime.

C. Dr. Amirahmadi is a highly successful academic.

He holds a Ph.D. in international development and planning from Cornell University. He also holds an MA in industrial management and a BS in agricultural engineering. Currently he is a professor of planning and public policy at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey, U.S.A. He has served as a Senior Associate Member at Oxford University and as director of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at Rutgers. He has published 12 books, 14 monographs and over 150 scholarly journal articles and book chapters (in English and Persian). A recipient of many grants and awards from prestigious foundations and corporations, his graduate teachings at Rutgers have included courses in global restructuring and public policy, international economic development, industrial policy and management and national and regional planning. A frequent contributor to numerous conferences and media in Europe, North America, Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, Dr. Amirahmadi’s writings have been translated and published in Europe, Iran and the Arab World.

D. Dr. Amirahmadi is a visionary thinker and doer.

Over the last three decades, Dr. Amirahmadi has consistently remained a leader and strategic thinker in academia and politics. His ‘force theory’, which argues that “offensive force cannot be gainfully used” in the new world was instrumental in convincing the Iranian leaders to accept the cease-fire with Iraq in 1988. He pioneered writings on “‘civil society in Iran’, a concept that was successfully applied by President Mohammad Khatami during his landslide election victory in 1997. Since 1990, Dr. Amirahmadi has been one of the leading pioneers calling for the normalization of US-Iran relations. Beginning in the late 1980s, he was among a few individuals who originally underscored the need for national reconciliation, free and fair elections and political coalition. Dr. Amirahmadi’s most recent contribution is the concept of ‘nationism’, which is built on the notion that nations are made of and driven by two sets of interests: territorial interests and people’s interests. This concept offers a more holistic approach incorporating Iranian nationalism, which emphasizes territory, and Iranian Islamism, which focuses on the people.

E. Dr. Amirahmadi is a strategic manager and bridge builder.

. Iran’s economy is deteriorating and its politics is perplexed by the aggressive policies pursued and led by the U.S. government. The Iranian people yearn for a president with vision, experience, global wisdom, and strategic management capabilities. Most importantly, they are looking for an individual who fully understands American and Iranian politics, society and culture - as well as their differences. They are also



such qualifications. He is a pragmatic Muslim and an independent ‘nationalist’ who wholeheartedly believes in social and economic justice. He also deeply believes in human, civil and individual rights and prosperity. He despises political revenge and will continue to work for the national reconciliation among all Iranians irrespective of their religious, ideological and political orientations. Dr. Amirahmadi has a nuanced understanding of the Iranian political leadership and has a healthy channel of communication with key media outlets and prominent international players. As President, he will approach politics as a social act, reunite Iran with the international community and foresee future opportunities and challenges and solve national problems in the most cost-effective manner.

F. Dr. Amirahmadi is an economic planner, institution builder and policy expert.

He is trained and experienced in management, development, planning and public policy. He has many years’ experience in as a professor, director and chair at Rutgers University, as an international consultant in socio-economic development, planning and public policy and as a manager in several academic institutions and industrial organizations in Iran and the U.S. He is the Founder and President not only of the American Iranian Council (www.american-iranian.org), a prominent organization focused on normalizing U.S.-Iran relations, but also of the strategic consulting firm Caspian Associates (www.caspian-associates.com). His advice has been sought by the United Nations, the World Bank, the Agha Khan Foundation and by many governments, corporations, law firms, media and NGOs throughout the world.

3. What are Dr. Amirahmadi’s campaign objectives?

A. Win the election and build coalitions.

Iran today is engulfed in complicated internal and international problems that require immediate solutions. The Islamic system must find urgent and effective remedies before it is too late. The Iranian people are ready for change and wish for this to materialize in a peaceful manner. For 33 years, the Iranian electorate has voted for candidates approved by the system and every time they have been disappointed with the policies of their governments. They are now looking for an alternative that offers a new perspective, even a new façade: an educated, modern, and dignified technocrat, who can advance Iran’s national interests, knows how to solve complicated national and international problems and is apt for reviving Iran’s pride. Dr. Amirahmadi is uniquely qualified to prepare Iran to live peacefully in international society based on dignity, foresight and pragmatism as stipulated in Iran's 20-year perspective document. The Islamic Republic may find it problematic to disqualify Dr. Amirahmadi, who is not only such a candidate but has the added qualifications of being non-threatening to the system and familiar with the global community, particularly with



B. Help improve the Iranian political environment.

Presidential elections provide various avenues to effect change particularly improvement in the realm of political culture.

a. Promote Free, transparent and fair elections.

The Iranian presidential election process involves four stages. First, the candidate declares candidacy. There is no restriction as to when a candidate enters the race. Second, official registration with the Interior Ministry. This happens about two months before Election Day; there is no restriction as to who can register. Third, the Guardian Council vets the candidates about 40 days before Election Day. Only candidates approved can stand for election. Disqualified candidates may protest and ask for revision. While not common, the Council has in the past reversed its decision. Last, the Election Day, when people cast their secret votes for the approved candidates. This election process allows a candidate to stay in the race for a significant period of time before he or she is disqualified. Each of these stages presents a candidate with challenges of its own, some legal, others cultural. Dr Amirahmadi will use the opportunity to introduce a more open political discourse in an attempt to enhance the nation's political culture and electoral system. His attention throughout the campaign will be on the promotion of a free, fair and transparent election.

b. Influence and modernize Iran's electoral politics.

The election process provides a candidate with Dr. Amirahmadi's qualifications with ample opportunity to influence the election result. First, it is possible that he can be approved. Second, in case of disapproval, he could enter into a coalition with an approved candidate who is acceptable to his campaign. One can see from the United Kingdom and Germany that coalitions can be an effective form of government. Finally, in case none of the above scenarios are possible, Dr. Amirahmadi's candidacy will still have an impact on the election and society by at least introducing new ideas to the people. Specifically, a new constructive national discourse can emerge from the campaign. Dr. Amirahmadi is presenting to Iranians a comprehensive and balanced campaign plan, something no previous candidate has ever done. This in itself is a significant educational step forward and will help modernize the Iranian electoral process. It will also help advance a more competitive political culture and democratic participation.

C. Re-establish credibility and legitimacy into the Iranian political system.

The last two Presidential elections have called into question the legitimacy of elections in the Islamic Republic. The elections were boycotted by many and results were disputed. The strict vetting has been most disappointing to the voting population



strongly believes that legitimate elections must be re-established and he is intending to work in that direction. One sure way to do so is for the Islamic Republic to allow fair and transparent elections and for the candidates to observe the election rules as closely as possible. Boycotting elections has been very counterproductive and all candidates must encourage the voting population to participate in the elections to the fullest possible extent.

D. Introduce a problem-solving and cooperative culture.

The Iranian political culture is revolutionary and oppositional; and it lacks patience and is conflictual. Dr. Amirahmadi will use the campaign opportunity to redefine Iran's domestic politics and invite attention to the need for building new institutions such as political parties in order to reconstruct a united Iran and an internal peaceful environment. He will advocate gradualism, problem-solving, and cooperation as the most appropriate approaches to developing a 'culture of being friendly and helpful' to bringing about progress. Dr. Amirahmadi also intends to use the campaign to publicize among Iranians and Iranian-Americans new, rational, and practical solutions for ending the conflict between the U.S. and Iran and to familiarize them with the misperceptions that have caused the longevity of the hostility between the two states. Last, but not least, the Dr. Amirahmadi will offer practical solutions for Iran to live peacefully within itself and in international society based on dignity, foresight and pragmatism as stipulated in Iran's 20-year perspective document.

E. Assemble a national team of leaders and managers.

One of the most unfortunate and harmful occurrences in Iran has been the periodic development and destruction of members of the political and economic elite. For example, the elite who emerged under the Qajars dynasty were eliminated or excluded by the Pahlavi dynasty. Likewise, the Pahlavi elite was eliminated and excluded by the Islamic Republic. This debilitating practice must be stopped and Dr. Amirahmadi hopes to use his campaign to invite attention to the problem and offer a practical solution. His remedy will involve assembling a professional team of leaders and managers to serve the nation. The selection will be based on education, skills, and experience; incorruptibility and honesty; and commitment to national development, patriotism and humanistic values. This means that those serving in Dr. Amirahmadi's administration could include individuals who have served in the current or previous regimes or have been excluded by them including the expatriates. The serving elite's composition will be carefully balanced to include individuals of diverse ethnic, ideological, political and social-class backgrounds. Special attention will be paid to the inclusion of women in high-ranking positions and to young Iranians with leadership and management potential. With this approach, it is hoped that some of the most talented and qualified individuals in certain areas of government will not be excluded



hoped that by having some individuals from the previous regime in Dr. Amirahmadi's camp an effective platform and bridge to a wider section of the electorate will be provided.

F. Put forth practical ideas for national unity and development.

The Iranian government and people need help to move forward in the direction of unity and development. Yet, because of the national cacophony and international conflicts, only a rare few are offering constructive and practical ideas and policies to solve the nation's mounting political disunity and economic underdevelopment problems. But the dearth of productive and applied ideas and policies is also rooted in Iran's political culture, which more often than not promotes negativism and romanticism. Within this culture, the political opposition regards as criminal any accommodation with the existing system; instead, it upholds that all actions must be directed toward discrediting the system and making it fail. Unfortunately, this political culture operates as a two-edge sword; the existing system also tends to exclude those who are not in conformity with its ideas or policies. Despite this culture and discord, Dr. Amirahmadi is of the view that he should use the campaign opportunity to put forth constructive and practical problem-solving ideas and policies to the nation. He also knows well that he will be criticized by many in the opposition (and perhaps the outside world) for standing as a candidate for President in the Islamic system, while some within the ruling elite would view him as an outsider with unacceptable liberal and westernized ideas. Disregarding such misgivings, Dr. Amirahmadi plans to use the campaign to propagate his constructive and practical ideas and policies for Iran.

4. What will Dr. Amirahmadi do for the country as President?

A. Strategizing a prosperous and proud nation

a. Iran is rich and deserves to be an affluent and advanced country.

Iran deserves to be a country with a high standard of living, at least on a par with Japan and South Korea. Unfortunately, all is not well in Iran today and the nation lacks a prestigious address in the emerging global community. The country faces a number of challenging problems: it is politically fragmented, socially unreceptive, economically stagnant, technologically less developed, and internationally demonized and isolated. It lacks social and economic justice and suffers from regional disparities as admitted even by Iran's Supreme Leader. Corruption taints every aspect of life and the state remains undisciplined and ambiguous about its direction and policies. Public trust, participation and cooperation remain low, to say the least. All these have led to despair on the part of the young Iranians, who have trouble seeing a prosperous Iran on the horizon. By mercilessly depicting such a bleak picture Dr. Amirahmadi does not mean to cultivate gloom but to invite atten-



better as their country is rich in people, history, culture, art, geography, climate and natural resources. But, today, a great gap exists between Iran's resources and its achievements. Why so? It is certainly not because the nation has not tried. They have used reforms and revolutions as well as myriad theories, strategies and policies to advance the country. Most Iranians blame foreign powers, while some fault the governments and macro-management policies, and still others hold a combination of the two responsible. Without rejecting these causes, Dr. Amirahmadi believes a lack of visionary leaders and strategists capable of conceiving Iran's national interests in a complicated world and reconciling tradition and modernity, thus maximizing the use of resources, is the main reason, a problem that is rooted in the obsolete and inefficient Iranian political culture.

b. Iran can and should become a model of development for the Islamic World.

The Islamic Revolution promised the Iranian people a just, free, developed and peaceful society. If the Republic wants to become a model of Islamic development, it must deliver these promises and above all become a model of economic growth. It must reduce poverty and class differences to the extent possible. It must help with securing world and regional peace and eliminating civilization and cultural animosities. The primary aim of Islam was and should remain the establishment of justice on earth. According to Article One of the Islamic Constitution, "The Iranian Government is an Islamic Republic and the Iranian people voted for this form of government based on their traditional belief in a government of rights and justice as stipulated in the Holy Quran." According to the Second Article, "the Islamic Government is a system that secures political, economic, social and cultural justice and independence for the Iranian people as well as their national solidarity." However, in reality these noble goals have not been achieved. According to Ayatollah Khamenei, the Supreme Leader, "the situation of justice in the country is not at all satisfactory." How can Iran claim to become an Islamic model of development and fight global injustice while it has failed to achieve the most basic requirements of national development at home? According to the late Ayatollah Khomeini, Founder of the Islamic Republic, the Islamic Government should be a defender of the oppressed people (*koukh neshinan*); in reality, however, it has become a defender of the oppressors (*kakh neshinan*). Given this situation, why should Muslim people around the world follow the model of the Islamic Republic? Indeed, even in Islamic countries where revolutionary changes have occurred, such as Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen and Libya, the Iranian Islamic Model has not been imitated. This should be bad news for the Islamic Republic and indeed is. Dr. Amirahmadi's Plan offers a path that can help Iran become a model of development for its region and the Muslim World.



c. The changing world is requiring new and effective public policies.

While Iran remains less-developed and is isolated, the world has entered the post-modern age of globalization and interdependencies. In the new world, not just nation-states but transnational corporations, multilateral agencies and non-governmental organizations are key power players. This multi-centric world is also a world of global issues (e.g., terrorism, nuclear proliferation, poverty, drug trafficking, pandemics, environmental degradation, income and spatial disparities) and regional groupings. All these have created a world that is insecure at every level and caught between two diametrically-opposing forces of integration and disintegration. Under these conditions, the utility of offensive forces such as militarism, dictatorship, foreign interventions and terrorism has diminished while economic development, technological innovations, respect for human rights and security, democratic governance, and international cooperation have become central to a new national defense and development strategy. Progressive governments now also favor a social market economy, selective direct foreign investment, export promotion, high-technology development, and partnership with the private and cooperative sector. Indeed, the idea of a balanced pluralistic economy alongside political pluralism has gained increasing public acceptability.

d. Iran merits a higher economic and political place in the world.

Where is the political and economic place of Iran in this new world? Politically, Iran today is isolated from the main global players. Yet, given its vast and strategic geography, resources and population, Iran should have naturally been a major political participant on the world scene. Isolation by the U.S. and internal factional divisions are at the roots of the problem. While the West has been unfair in its dealings with Iran, the Islamic regime is also responsible for its international failures and domestic problems. Abroad, the system has aligned itself with anti-Western forces and at home it has limited political space. Economically, too, Iran is only partially integrated into the global economy via its oil industry. Iran's share of the total imports of industrialized countries (including oil) is less than one percent; only 15 percent of Iran's total exports are non-oil. Its share of the total exports from the same countries is also less than one percent. Seventy five percent of Iran's imports are consumer goods; only 1 percent is capital goods. Iran's foreign investment also remains miniscule and its per capita value added in manufacturing is one third of the average for developing countries. Iran is also behind in technological development, particularly in the emerging 'brain' industries. There are also disturbing statistics with regards to social ills such as poverty, drug addiction, prostitution, inequality and discrimination. Finally, as the world focuses on 'smart power' (combining hard and soft power into a winning strategy), Iran continues to increasingly rely on its 'hard power' and is entirely indifferent to



e. Efforts for a loftier Iran will have to top national priorities.

There is some good news! Iranian political culture is changing and foreign policy is increasingly based on national interests. There is also the recognition that new nuclear proliferators will not be tolerated and that identification with anti-Western forces has its costs. An increasing number of the political elite now view ‘smart power’ as the preferred source of national strength and the most effective means of national defense. The overriding role of government is being increasingly challenged by hundreds of humanitarian NGOs and civil society organizations demanding partnership and participation. The state’s legitimacy has sharply declined due to its inefficiency, lack of accountability and harsh treatment of the opposition. A good number of Iranian companies are operating internationally and expatriate counterparts have also emerged in the West. Should Iran’s relations with the West normalize, these companies could help Iran’s economic integration, capital and population flow, technology transfer, and foreign partnership. The level of education and professionalism is fast improving. There are now over seven million university graduates in the country. Women’s literacy rates and economic independence have notably improved. The middle class continues to remain assertive and demand liberalism and democracy. Their numbers are large and their quality high. They now have better connections with the world thanks to the internet and social media. Despite these advances, the middle class remains disunited between its traditionalist and modernist factions and unless a solution is found for their reconciliation, the required political stability will be hard to achieve. Another challenge facing Iran is its failure to nurture visionary and worldly leaders and strategic managers. Unless this issue is also addressed, Iran may not achieve the place it deserves in the international community.

f. Iran needs a new strategy for a better tomorrow.

Iran has been unfairly denied a prestigious address in the new world order. To achieve a superior place, the nation needs to develop a new strategy for a wholly new Iran and nurture visionary and worldly leaders. Iran is an Islamic country and must remain so. A religious person has every right to political participation just as non-religious individuals do. There is no need and it is not also possible to isolate Islam from politics. They have and can co-exist. Dr. Amirahmadi believes in republicanism and in a developed and democratic Iran where the state, the national religion and the people are distinctly separate entities. As a Muslim ‘nationalist,’ he believes Iran’s national interests must include the interests of its people and its territory and that a coalition government is best for the nation. Dr. Amirahmadi believes in the separation of executive, legislative and judiciary powers and election to these posts by the people. Six mutually-inclusive interests form the foundation of a democratic Iran: national independence and territorial integrity;



B. Focusing attention on strategic issues and action areas

a. Choosing the right path to a better future.

Unfortunately, because of inattention to the vital role of public participation in the political life of the country, the nation is faced with a stark choice between domestic unrest and international conflict. Dr. Amirahmadi has always opposed sanctions, regime change and war against Iran. He does not believe in another revolution or war, which would have no other outcome but further destruction and bloodshed and he opposes dictatorship as a solution to the growing national discord and insecurity. Dr. Amirahmadi's chosen path is fair and transparent elections and political cohesion, which in his view is the only path that can protect the nation in these turbulent times and guide it towards salvation and progress. Indeed, for over two decades he has made every effort to bring about reconciliation among Iranians and between Iran and its international adversaries, particularly the U.S. With such motives in mind, Dr. Amirahmadi would sincerely join hands with all religious and secular forces to help institutionalize a culture of free, fair and transparent elections and political coalition in Iran beginning with the Eleventh Presidential Election in 2013. better as their country is rich in people, history, culture, art, geography, climate and natural resources.

c. Calling for national reconciliation and unity.

It is Dr. Amirahmadi's hope that, as a fair-minded and pragmatic person, with negotiating skills and a background in peace activism and as an original promoter of civil society idea in Iran, his candidacy will help him act as a bridge builder and an ambassador of reconciliation between the disparate religious and secular forces, among the contending economic and socio-political interest groups, among Iranian ethnic people, between Iranians at home and expatriates and between Iran and other nations. Dr. Amirahmadi can state with great pride that he has been for many years one of the leading advocates of reconciliation among Iranians and between Iran and the West, the U.S. in particular. In his opinion, for Iranians to prosper in the new world, they must promote national and international reconciliation and strike a proper balance between localism and globalism. Fortunately, the younger Iranians support selective globalization, reconciliation among Iranians and peaceful co-existence with the global community. However, to accomplish these ideals, Iranians must first form a united front in purpose and action, as no political faction can alone resolve the national crises. One way to form that united front is to allow political parties to establish and institutionalize free, fair and transparent elections and via building governing coalitions.

d. Advocating free, fair and transparent elections.

Every Iranian citizen has an inalienable right to elect and be elected unless



prevented by law. This requirement is enshrined in the Islamic Constitution and in such international documents as the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of Inter-Parliamentary Council. Iran is a signatory to these international conventions. No well-wishing, patriotic and qualified Iranian should be restricted from running for elected offices; otherwise the public will grow indifferent to elections or protest against the results as has happened in the past. The 2013 Presidential Election is expected to be a watershed in the life of the Islamic Republic - the Supreme Leader seems poised to create a more open political environment following Mr. Ahmadinejad's exit. Dr. Amirahmadi's hope is to contribute to that movement in particular by mobilizing the disenchanting public to fully participate in the elections.

e. Building political parties and coalition governments.

The last several elections have indicated that a coalition government would have been a peaceful and practical solution to factional hostilities. None of the political forces at home or abroad, from fundamentalists, neoconservatives and religious reformists, to religious and secular nationalists, royalists, leftists and social democrats can solve national problems either alone or even in the form of false coalitions. No social force can or should assume a guardian role for others and no political faction should wish to exclude the competition. Efforts toward forming a true coalition government must begin with changing the present electoral system into a system of proportional representation. Accordingly, the current 'winner-take-all' system will be replaced with a system in which 'all will win in accordance to their relative social weight and no one will lose.' In such a system of proportional representation, all political forces must be allowed to form their own political parties since in their absence a coalition government could not be formed. Any coalition government must reflect the needs and interests of the main social classes, including the base, the middle and the upper classes. They must include social justice, political freedom and economic development, respectively. Dr. Amirahmadi hopes to attract attention to the need for coalition-building and will be prepared to form a coalition government with the politically correct forces when the right time comes.

f. Removing political revenge, demanding amnesty.

Dr. Amirahmadi firmly believes that for building a strong Iran a general amnesty, freeing all political prisoners and eliminating 'political revenge' is an essential requirement. Such a change will reduce violence and eliminate fears that are often associated with the loss of power in Iran. So long as political leaders are worried of conspiracy and revenge by the opposition, they are unlikely to allow for peaceful or non-violent transition — they would even oppose the formation of a coalition government. Eliminating political revenge is particularly important in Iran where



among various political and social forces, often resulting in deaths, political imprisonments and exiles. In Iran, the culture of political revenge is an evil phenomenon that produces enmity and violence, hinders elite circulation and peaceful transfer of power, and thwarts civilized political associations. Changing this political culture, building a nation with no political prisoners, and calling for a national amnesty is a major part of Dr. Amirahmadi's plan of action, and he has every intention to use all means at his disposal to dispel this evil culture of political revenge from the homeland.

g. Making people sovereign and independent

Dr. Amirahmadi wishes to use his candidacy to bring attention to the new concepts of sovereignty and independence, and help infuse them in the state-people relations in Iran. Traditionally, both these notions have been applied to the state only. Now they are being applied to the people as well. In the new world, a sovereign and independent country is one in which the people are true citizens: their democratic and human rights and security are fully granted, and they are full partners in the decision-making and management of their state (the new governance notion); in such a country, the state gains legitimacy and builds national power by democratic practices, balanced and sustainable national development and by the maintenance of peace, law and order. In other words, a sovereign and independent nation is one that has a democratic political system.

h. Protecting individual and private property rights.

The Iranian people are not just 'citizens' or 'members of the human race' but also 'individuals' with rights of their own. They include the right to a private living space, the right to physical security and the right to own property. These rights are enshrined in the Islamic Constitution and they must be recognized and sacredly protected. While this notion of individual rights must be obvious to the state, groups and individuals, it is not always observed. It is no wonder that Iran has been a short-term and vengeful society where the past achievements have often been destroyed and achievers eliminated. While the fear of physical insecurity often pre-occupies Iranians, private property expropriation has had a devastating effect on their economic development and socio-political morale. Dr. Amirahmadi will propose legislation to secure individual rights to full private life and make expropriation of legitimate properties unlawful.

D. Advancing the interests of the Iranian people

a. Conceiving a national development vision

- **Making 'nationalism' the basis for a new social contract.**

The concept of nation incorporates the people and their territory, and nationalism is a concept built on the belief that nations are driven by two sets of interrelated



interests: public interests and territorial interests. In Iran, where ‘nation building’ remains imperfect, this simple fact of dual-interests has never been advanced except for a short period during the truncated Constitutional Revolution at the turn of the 20th century. For example, Iranian traditional nationalism focuses primarily on territorial interests while Islamism focuses primarily on public (ummah) interests. This differing focus is also the cause of tension between Iranian nationalism and Iranian Islamism. Using the concept of nationalism, Dr. Amirahmadi will resolve this tenuous duality by creating a framework within which Islam and Iran will continue to mutually serve each other.

- **Forging a national-interest ‘umbrella’.**

According to Dr. Amirahmadi, under the ‘umbrella of national interests’ will reside the people’s interests and the territorial interests of the country. The people’s interests are achieved when key social groups are provided with their basic economic, political, social and cultural needs and rights. For example, the working class must be provided with its basic needs, the political class with its democratic needs and the business class with its economic needs. The needs and rights of ethnic groups, women, armed forces, the clerical establishment, public servants and others must be also met. These needs and rights are mutually inclusive and form an inseparable national interest ‘umbrella’. Accomplishing the people’s interests will also require achieving the nation’s territorial interests. Territorial interests are realized when the nation’s physical structures are protected and developed. These include, e.g., national borders, cultural monuments, the natural environment, cities, towns and villages, plus material infrastructure. Accomplishing territorial interests will require achieving people’s interests. When the interests of the people are realized they become happy and when the interests of the territory are attained, it becomes eternal. So, national interest means people’s happiness and territorial eternity.

- **Managing population growth and reversing the ‘brain drain’.**

Iran’s current population is around 75 million. By the year 2025 it could approach 100 million. About 65 percent of the population is under 35 years of age. Iran boasts about 10 million university graduates and the number is rapidly growing. The territorial distribution of the population is uneven with Tehran dominating both in terms of number and quality. The nation needs to manage its population and provide them with their rising economic, political, social and cultural needs. Some five million Iranians live outside their motherland. Most among this population are gifted Iranian scientists, university scholars, business professionals, political intellectuals, media personalities and artists. They are a significant part of Iran’s national wealth and the country cannot afford to perma-



earnestly launching a battle against bureaucracy and corruption, attacking any sort of discrimination, and satisfying talents' multi-level needs spiritually and materially. He will also introduce plans and programs to manage the population and provide them with their needs.

- **Adopting a balanced economic development strategy.**

Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign will detail a national development plan based on his conceptual framework of nationism. Specifically, the campaign will draw up a people's plan for the maximum protection and development of the Iranian people, and a territorial plan for the maximum protection and development of the national territory. Both these plans will be advanced with a global and local vision anchored in national power, balanced economic growth, infrastructural development, industrialization, agricultural mechanization and self-sufficiency, and technological innovations. Dr. Amirahmadi believes that the Iranian economy must become a full member of the global economy by means of export-promotion in the emerging non-oil, knowledge-based industries as well as in the traditional oil and gas sector. Globalization of the Iranian labor and capital markets and entrepreneurial talents will be designed to create a new space for Iran in the evolving global competition and international division of labor. However, global integration will be selective to protect the nation's new economy from the vagaries of globalization. Protectionism will be used where needed, particularly to guard nascent industries and agriculture from global competition. Dr. Amirahmadi further believes that a 'prosperous economy without depending on oil' should be the nation's long-term goal.

- **Creating a competitive social market economy.**

Economic development means developing people's intellectual and material capacities. These can be best achieved by a liberal economic system that accounts for social needs and environmental sustainability. Dr. Amirahmadi calls this a social market economy. For such an economy to properly function, it will require the nurturing of an independent entrepreneurial class and the guiding supervision of an efficient and accountable state. The public sector will initially lead to provide the general conditions for a vibrant private enterprise to emerge and over the long run to crowd out the state in areas where massive investment may not be needed. The building blocks of a balanced and sustainable economy are individuals and local communities. For such an economic system to prosper, industrialization, science and technology must be highly supported, as should participation in global trade and financial institutions. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan for the people will also include programs for economic, political, social and cultural development of the citizenry. These programs will



stabilizing prices and national currency, reducing poverty and income inequality and eliminating territorial disparities. They will also help prepare the infrastructural and security conditions for attracting massive but selective foreign direct investments and encouraging the Iranian expatriates to return home with their capital and management expertise. Only then can Iran become a modern global power in the 21st century.

b. Strategizing economic development

- **Modernizing bureaucracies and economic management.**

The Iranian state bureaucracies are obsolete, thin institutionally, inefficient and unresponsive to the nation's needs. Red tape and corruption abounds, as does nepotism and immoral behavior, while managers are appointed on a client-patronage basis. Mismanagement permeates all bureaucracies and in the economic sphere it is responsible for most of, if not all, economic ills. The recent scandal in the banking system is just one instance of nationwide mismanagement. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan calls for restructuring obsolete bureaucracies, reinventing economic management in the direction of technocracy and meritocracy and making corruption a criminal offence. There are also parallel bureaucracies that must be eliminated, streamlined or reinvented. The nation's tax administration will also be fully redesigned for maximum fairness and efficiency, making the wealthy Iranians and big businesses pay their fair share of taxes. The ultimate purpose of Dr. Amirahmadi's plan is to create a lean and clean government based on professional values, work ethics, discipline, accountability, transparency and efficiency.

- **Creating jobs and globalizing the labor market.**

Creating jobs for younger Iranians in various skill categories will be at the core of Dr. Amirahmadi's national economic plan. These jobs will be created in the public and private sectors, in various infrastructural, socio-economic and service activities, in high-tech and low-tech industries, in small, medium and large firms and in rural and urban areas. Specifically, the jobs will be created through massive increases in public investments in productive economic sectors and infrastructural projects, carefully designed job-creating incentive packages for the private sector, building support networks for small and medium-sized economic activities, assisting younger Iranians in becoming entrepreneurial, attracting as much foreign and expatriate investment as possible and extensive work force development programs. Institutional and legal reforms will be introduced to provide a safe and secure environment for business investment and public-private partnership.



- **Enhancing economic productivity and competitiveness.**

The new world is a world of hyper productivity and global competition. Productivity increases when for the same amount of inputs more outputs are produced. Most modern industries of our age are ‘brain’ industries, that is, their main inputs are labor, science and technology. Thus, to increase productivity in these and other ‘knowledge’ or ‘learning’ economic activities, it is critical that education, R&D and industry-driven research are highly promoted. Productivity increases helps reduce unit costs, boost wages and reduce prices and controls for inflation. Accompanied by an appropriate employment policy, productivity increases will lead to an increase in personal income and a corresponding reduction in poverty. They will also help enhance national and business competitiveness in regional and global markets as they will make the nation’s exports more competitive and improved in quality. Dr. Amirahmadi’s plan will call for significant increases in labor productivity across economic sectors, agriculture and manufacturing in particular and achieve this goal by introducing modern workforce development programs throughout the nation. Improvements in productivity will also be achieved by introducing new technologies, processes, materials and other modern inputs into the Iranian economic units.

- **Restructuring and diversifying the oil sector.**

The Iranian economy is oil-based and oil nationalism has made the Iranian state into a rentier and obstructionist bureaucracy. Back in the 1950s, Iranians reclaimed the oil from Great Britain and handed it over to the state. This time, they need to reclaim it back from the state and give it to the people. This must be done through increasing people’s control over the oil sector. As long as the Iranian government depends solely on oil for its survival, it will not be answerable to the people. When the government takes control of the oil money and acts as an oil manager, it loses its connection with the people. Such a government loses its sense of justice, transparency, accountability, and responsibility. Besides, such an authority over the wealth of the nation inevitably leads to the emergence of corrupt elements within the government and their counterparts in the private sector. In this regards the U.S. \$3 billion embezzlement scandal is a perfect example. Democratic privatization and diversification of the oil economy would benefit the people at the expense of the government. A cash-hungry government will then have to rely on taxes, and when it does, it will have to correct its behavior to function effectively. A disciplined and well-structured state can emerge as a result.

- **Promoting a trade-based industrial policy and globalization.**

Most nations that have developed their economies in recent decades have done



so through a trade-based industrial policy and globalization strategy. They include the so-called NICS (Newly Industrializing Countries such as South Korea and Taiwan) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa). Their economic development strategy has more or less involved import-substitution in the early development stage and export-promotion in the more mature stage. It is the second stage that guaranteed their success in industrialization and global integration. While Iran did adopt a policy of import-substitution, it failed to successfully move to the export-promotion industrialization stage largely due to the dominance of oil in the economy. Dr. Amirahmadi's administration will help diversify the oil sector and promote trade-based industrialization, adopting both import-substitution and export-promotion strategies. His focus will, however, be in promoting non-oil exports particularly in the emerging and growing 'brain industries.' A successful export promotion strategy will depend on world markets and on targeted and successful global integration, which in turn requires a foreign policy based on normal relations with economies throughout the world.

c. Strategizing a fair political environment

- **Instigating institutional and administrative restructuring.**

Institutions are a set of formal and informal rules including the conditions of their reinforcement. Administrations and organizations are the embodiment of peoples, materials and institutions. Political development entails protecting the constitutional rights of the people, including citizenship and human rights, nurturing competitive political parties and promoting a progressive political culture that rejects violence, discrimination, and political revenge. All citizens have equal rights in all spheres of life and the state is a developmentalist institution elected to serve the people by working with them (governance), not just for them (governing). Nobody is above the law and rights based on ideology and heritage must be constitutionally barred. All forms of individual and social rights must be guaranteed as per the constitution. Dr. Amirahmadi's political programs will provide for the promotion and implementation of such rights and values. He will garner support for the legal elimination of all forms of discrimination and political revenge against individuals irrespective of their ideological and political orientations, ethnicity, race, religion, gender, color, age, national origin or other traits. Dr. Amirahmadi's governance programs will include instituting political parties, fair and transparent elections, public participatory management, political decentralization, and economic federalization for the provincial administration. Reforming and streamlining the state's administrative bureaucracies will be a top priority. The current judiciary is particularly obsolete



person. While reforming this system is beyond the authority of the president, Dr. Amirahmadi will invite attention to the problem and ask for help from the relevant authorities and institutions to streamline a fairer justice system.

- **Implementing and revisiting the Islamic Constitution.**

The Islamic Constitution defines a system that combines republicanism (the people) with Islamism (Velayat-e Faghih). Needless to say, Dr. Amirahmadi is running within the framework of this constitution, which was ratified by an absolute majority of the Iranian people. However, more than 30 years have passed since it was originally conceived in 1979 and over a generation has passed since it was amended in 1989. Indeed, more than 65 percent of Iranians have not voted for this constitution. Meanwhile, Iranian society and its global environment have changed drastically, with the Islamic system being confronted by mounting domestic problems and international pressures. The time may have come for the Iranian religious and political leaders to subject the constitution to a vigorous re-evaluation in the face of these new challenges and amend it as required by the modernizing of Iranian society. Such an amendment will also be in line with the expressed views of the late Ayatollah Khomeini, the founder of the republic. Dr. Amirahmadi as President will uphold the constitution but he will also call attention to the need for its timely revision, on the basis of the procedures outlined in the Constitution.

- **Enhancing state-religion interaction and relations.**

Islam is a great religion with over 1.3 billion followers. All except those in Iran live in non-theocratic Islamic states. Iran is a cultural and spiritual country and the nation is fortunate to have Islam as its primary religion. Iran is an Islamic country in an Islamic region and this could work to its advantage. However, Iran is predominantly Shia, a fact that limits its Islamic leadership reach in the Sunni Islamic world. Besides, so long as the religion is nestled within the state, its full potential may not be realized; the integration has indeed severely restrained the Islamic state in a secular and hostile world, particularly in the West. Regulating state-religion relations is not a new idea; it was carried out in the Christian world centuries ago, where 'reformation' laid the bedrock for Western progress. Many of the high-ranking Shiite leaders in Iran and throughout the world have also accepted this notion of regulation. Religion in the state is often mistaken for religion in politics. Religious individuals cannot be barred from participating in polity, including forming political parties or becoming political leaders, including President. However, using Islam as the basis for public policy to run a nation must be rethought. While religion in politics is helpful to the religion, religion in the state can harm the religion if public policies were to result in negative devel-



and political societies, where they have served as educators, guardians of justice, limiters of the state's abuses and as providers of spiritual guidance. They have also offered resolute political leadership. The theocracy in Iran is more than three decades old; the time may have come for the religious authorities to subject the association between religion and the state to a vigorous re-evaluation with the aim of better regulating their relations. Dr. Amirahmadi's administration will have no authority in this particular area but it can and will invite attention to the need for reassessment. As President, Dr. Amirahmadi will also introduce fitting measures to promote Islam and its leadership in the nation's spiritual and socio-political life.

d. Strategizing social justice

- **Making education a pivot of social justice.**

Social justice includes free or affordable provision of basic human needs such as civil rights, jobs, food, shelter, education, health care and recreation. It also includes economic, political, communal, cultural, territorial and international justice. In a just society people have equal rights and opportunities and discriminations of all and every type are constitutionally, legally and practically reprehensible and prohibited. Dr. Amirahmadi's social justice programs will include a national drive for civil rights and well-paying jobs, scientific education, affordable and quality health care and suitable housing and recreation. More significantly, he will also initiate a 'war' on poverty, deteriorating public health, drug addiction, social crimes, corruption and discriminations. Education will form the core of Dr. Amirahmadi's social policy. Every Iranian will be provided with a decent and affordable capacity-building education from primary schooling to post-graduate studies. Public and private schools, colleges and universities will be made affordable to all Iranians. All educational institutions will be closely monitored for the quality of their teaching, reach and public services. But they will be also directed towards producing skills and expertise that the nation requires to advance its scientific, technological and industrial infrastructures. To this end, funds for research and development (R&D) will be increased to about six percent of the Gross National Product (GNP), comparable to the levels in developed nations. He will pay for the programs by streamlining the bureaucracy.

- **Promoting participation of the youth in national development**

Iran has a very young population. Some 65 percent of Iran's 75 million plus population is below the age of 35. The needs of this section of the population are very basic, extensive and urgent. The youth requires such services as education, health care and recreation. These needs must be met in a timely and efficient manner. The



want to form families, be free and enjoy a vibrant social life. And they want not only living security but also connection to the wider global society. Most of these basic needs are not provided for Iranian youth. As a result, apathy and disillusionment has become widespread among them and they are often caught in drug addiction and other rebellious social behaviors. They are hopeless and helpless, have no drive for self-promotion, and are always looking for a way to leave their country. This situation for the youth must change. Their basic needs must be met and they must be made hopeful of the future. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan for the youth will strengthen the newly established Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, providing it with the resources required to uplift the youth's living conditions in economic, political, social, and cultural spheres including work, education, health, sport and recreation.

- **Advancing women's role as top managers and decision-makers.**

Despite many tough obstacles and discriminations, including the ubiquitous Islamic dress code, Iranian women have achieved significant progress, particularly in education and the labor markets. More than half of university students are women and women carry the lion's share of family burdens, working at home and outside, both in cities and in villages. Yet, their place in top management and high decision-making positions remains vacant. This injustice must be remedied and Dr. Amirahmadi will use the campaign as an opportunity to bring recognition to this problem and push for the inclusion of women in the nation's top jobs. Toward this aim, Dr. Amirahmadi as President will propose a new Ministry of Women and will equip it with the assets and instruments it needs to promote Iranian women's place in society.

- **Promoting Iranian ethnic communities.**

Iran is a multi-ethnic nation and has been so for all its history and will have to remain so for eternity. This diversity is one of Iran's major sources of national richness and beauty as well as a secret of its enduring cultural fullness and integrity. As a predominantly cultural nation, Iran must preserve this diversity and promote its health by a policy of true socio-economic, political and territorial inclusion and integration. The past discriminatory policy in favor of a few growth centers in the nation must be abandoned in favor of a policy of balanced provincial development. This requires a controlled decentralization of political, economic and social programs. The central administration will have to manage certain national functions and leave others to be administered at the provincial level. It is only unfortunate that some in the political community have called for 'federalism' as a solution to the nation's ethnic administrative problems. The fact is that nowhere has federalism has been a solution to such matters. Indeed,



problems and their adoption of a political federal system is meant to guarantee administrative decentralism. In the case of Iran, given its history, geography and level of development, a controlled decentralized system with a fitting form of fiscal federalism, where provincial and sectorial powers are balanced, should work best. Dr. Amirahmadi as President will promote such an administrative system.

- **Connecting expatriate Iranians to their homeland.**

Iran has ever been an immigrant-sending nation and in each period of its history, specific reasons have led to the flight of its people to neighboring countries and beyond. Until recently, economic reasons dominated and expatriates were primarily working people leaving Iran for neighboring countries in search of work or escaping oppression at the hands of landlords and courtiers. Lately, however, the majority of Iranians leaving their homeland are among the middle and upper classes, largely educated Iranians, who primarily go to the West; they are pushed from their homeland by a combination of economic, political and social reasons. While accurate statistics are hard to come by, an estimated five million Iranians live in countries around the world, mainly in the West. Among them are many scientists, educators, professionals, artists, businessmen, media personalities and the intelligentsia. They form a significant national asset and the nation cannot afford to lose them forever. This brain drain is caused largely by internal push factors such as a lack of adequate high-level educational and research opportunities, a chronic shortage of job and business prospects, and suffocating socio-political limitations. Governments have often tried in vain to return the expatriates to their homeland for technical assistance or investment using nationalistic sentiments. Dr. Amirahmadi's Government will reverse this brain drain by ceaselessly struggling against red tape, corruption and discrimination of all types and forms, as well as by providing for the multidimensional spiritual, material and socio-political needs of the expatriates and others still in the country. Meanwhile, Dr. Amirahmadi believes that the Iranian expatriates must be viewed as residing in a 'virtual province' of Iran outside its political borders. As such, they must also be entitled to a 'Provincial Government' or a 'Ministry of Expatriates.' Such organizations are needed because, first, most Iranian expatriates will not permanently physically return to their homeland; second, the children of expatriates are not attuned to the Iranian way of life and will want to live in their country of birth. In addition, globalization has made immigration a natural phenomenon, meaning many Iranians will continue to live outside their homeland. Therefore, the best and most efficient way to benefit from the expatriate community is to organize them and then reconnect them in real and virtual ways to their homeland.



- **Streamlining social-welfare programs and policies.**

The basic needs of all Iranians must be met. Programs for job creation and education should help reduce unemployment, increase personal incomes and reduce poverty. They should also help mitigate other social ills such as youth drug addiction. However, continued civil strife, war, sanctions and mismanagement or just sheer neglect have produced a society that is gripped by many ills that require focused attention. Poverty and social imbalances are most critical. Welfare and distributional programs such as subsidies, bank credit, unemployment insurance and access to basic health care have to be better streamlined and managed for maximum efficiency and equity. The country's public health has deteriorated and communicable diseases like AIDS are spreading at alarming speed. Just visit the public bathrooms in the nation; they are simply awful! A national, well-funded sanitation program, with essential physical and educational dimensions, needs to be instituted to upgrade sewer systems and clean public spaces in order to maintain high hygiene levels.

- **Promoting social capital and eliminating discrimination.**

Iran today has become a nation of mistrust and hostility caused by division and corruption as well as greed and selfish interests. This must change and Dr. Amirahmadi will work relentlessly to promote a culture of social capital, unity and public interests. Towards this aim, he will promote cooperation and coordination towards a true reconciliation among hostile political factions, uniting them around national interests. Dr. Amirahmadi will also strategize his policies toward the elimination of unfair, unequal and discriminative conditions that prohibit citizens from participating in the political fate of the nation and enhance national trust. This will be based on 'actualization' of 'equal opportunity' for all citizens which is a clear goal of Iran's 20-year perspective document.

d. **Strategizing social justice**

- **Making education a pivot of social justice.**

Culture is the backbone of a nation's soul and body and its promotion is a must in any sophisticated society, particularly in Iran today where domestic frictions and external pressures have deprived the people of their full enjoyment of life. Meanwhile, unnecessary social restrictions have led to a sense of individual and social insecurity and desolation. A community that mislays security and happiness becomes gloomy and depressive. People in such a society become dejected, dispirited, distrustful and schizophrenic; they also lose self-confidence and hope for a better future. Resentment replaces competition and social deviation and corruption becomes a venue for relieving anger and frustration. One of the primary debts of the Islamic Republic to the people of Iran is happiness. Dr.



people by implementing fitting cultural programs.

- **Balancing tradition and modernity.**

Specifically, Dr. Amirahmadi's cultural programs will include the promotion of Iranian heritage and modern recreational activities to provide happiness, beautification, physical fitness, mental health and spiritual development of the nation as well as its historic preservation. Promotion of internal and international tourism, national and global sports, literary and spiritual works, performing and imaging arts and other forms of cultural and artistic activities will have to be a top priority in the present depressive Iranian society. However, cultural promotion will be carefully planned to maintain a proper balance between Iranian traditions and global modernity in accordance with the Iranian national character, religion and aspirations. Iran is a multi-ethnic society in a growingly open international community. This fact necessitates promoting a multicultural Iranian community in which ethnic, national and global cultures find their proper mix and place. As a historical and cultural nation, Iranians are socially pleasant and benefit from a rich literary and mystical tradition. Yet, the nation is not as fortunate in the realm of political culture where obsolete norms and behaviors abound. Changing this unhealthy political culture is a must for Iran's cultural revival and modernization. To that end, promoting cultural education at all societal levels must take a pivotal role, an idea that Dr. Amirahmadi as President will actively promote. He will also promote a culture of tolerance for different and even opposing views. Dr. Amirahmadi will also promote a culture of cooperation among people with differing ideological orientations and world-views.

d. Strategizing social justice

- **Adopting a win-win foreign policy.**

Peace within and among nations is the most basic condition of human existence; peace is also the foundation on which social and economic cooperation and development can flourish. There is no alternative to a foreign policy that makes peace with other nations its top priority; and Iranian nationalism must be globalist and integrationist, not parochial and isolationist. Dr. Amirahmadi's foreign policy will be based on normal relations with non-aggressive nations, irrespective of their economic, political and ideological orientations. The United Nations' charter will form the basis for Iran's international policy. Respect for territorial integrity and reverence for national sovereignty and independence of all nations will be the guiding principles of Iran's foreign policy. According to Dr. Amirahmadi's nationalism, all nations have public interests and territorial interests; those interests cannot be tampered with and national interests can best



policy. While Iran will strengthen its ‘hard power,’ it will increasingly rely on the ‘soft power’ of its people to build its national power. Not just Iran’s national security but also the human security of its people will be advanced by creating a strong Iran; and a strong Iran can play a leading role in maintaining regional and global stability. To this end, efforts on behalf of world peace and active participation in international institutions will be significantly increased. The first step in this direction will be building trust with the U.N. and the global community, reversing Iran’s isolation, and normalizing relations with the West, particularly the U.S.

- **Building respectful diplomatic and commercial relations.**

Iran’s current foreign policy calls for an eastward orientation, focusing on strategic cooperation with Russia and China, maintaining good relations with its neighbors, expanding ties with Muslim nations, reducing tensions with Europe and confronting the U.S., the U.K. and Israel. In Dr. Amirahmadi’s opinion, Iran’s policy needs to be altered in relation to these three countries and modified with respect to Europe and Saudi Arabia. The time for a confrontational approach to international relations passed with the thawing of the Cold War. Even detente is no longer an acceptable foreign policy stance. Iran must build cooperative relations with every nation in the global community - even with those from whom it wishes to remain aloof. U.S.-Iran relations are the key to Iran’s relations with the West and a fundamental obstacle to closing the U.S.-Iran diplomatic gap is Iran’s nuclear enrichment programs. Mutual distrust is at the heart of the U.S.-Iran standoff, itself a product of real differences but also of misperceptions and misanalyses.

- **Participating in multilateral institutions and forums.**

While the building blocks of our world remain nation-states, other units like large businesses and NGOs are effectively competing with states for influence. Meanwhile, the world is no longer one of nations but global issues, such as terrorism, nuclear proliferation, human rights, drug trafficking, disease, poverty and environmental degradation, to name but a few. Then there is the force of globalization that has spread to every human function. This trend towards integration through what Dr. Amirahmadi has called the ‘world-integrative forces’ is confronted by an opposite trend towards disintegration by the ‘world-disintegrative forces’. The result is a continuous tension between chaos and order, co-existence and conflict. Iran must find its proper place in this complex and chaotic world and help promote inter-state and world peace. It must chart a responsible path for itself towards selective integration as it avoids disintegrative behaviors and forces. Iran must share inputs and partake of the global



presence on the world scene through membership in all relevant multilateral institutions and participation in international and regional forums. To begin in this direction, Iran must first and foremost mend relations with the United Nations. It is only unfortunate that the Security Council should view Iran as a nation threatening world peace and pass several resolutions against the country. Iran must take serious and immediate steps to relieve itself of these demeaning resolutions and again become a normal member of the world's most important multilateral body. As long as Iran remains trapped in the Security Council, it will be unable to effectively participate in the global community for peace and development. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan will free Iran from the yoke of the U.N.S.C. and chart a prestigious place for a strong and cooperative Iran among the community of nations. An Iranian passport will then become one of the world's most trusted national identity documents, symbolizing global recognition for Iran and its people.

g. Strategizing U.S.-Iran relations

- **Building trust between Iran and the U.S.**

Specifically, the Islamic Republic sees the U.S. through the prism of its Islamic Revolution, believing that it is a 'wolf' bent on destroying the 'sheep,' i.e., Iran; meanwhile the U.S. views Iran as an 'evil state' bent on harming its interests, Israel and other allies. Acting on wrong grounds, Tehran has adopted a policy of confrontation and Washington has applied a policy of sanctions, isolation, destabilization, and support for the Iranian opposition movement. Thus, it is no wonder that the U.S.-Iran conflict has been on a downward spiral, where even good intentions by one side have often been met with negative reactions by the other. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan for normalization of U.S.-Iran relations, in consultation with the Supreme Leader, will be built on breaking through the deadlock by building trust between the two nations, beginning with a correction of the perceptions and analyses. To this end, he will propose introducing a short truce period to allow for re-evaluating mutual understandings, listening to voices of reason and trying a set of confidence-building measures. He will propose the truce following approval by the Iranian Parliament. Thereafter, Iran and the U.S. will agree to simultaneously announce that they are willing to mend relations, circumstances permitting. Dr. Amirahmadi has already prepared a road map for mending U.S.-Iran relations and will make it available to the public in due course.

- **Building trust between Iran and the U.S.**

Currently, the key problem in U.S.-Iran relations is Iran's nuclear enrichment program. Iran is a member of the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and as such is



intentions and holds that it must reassure the world of its peaceful intentions by accepting the terms that the U.N. Security Council has set for it. Iran insists that its programs is solely for civilian purposes and considers those terms unfair and maintains that it will not suspend enriching uranium. The bottom line is this: Iran should reassure the U.S. and the world that its programs is civilian in nature to continue enrichment as otherwise it is almost certain that the dispute could lead to more sanctions against Iran and could even lead to a destructive war. Dr. Amirahmadi has lived in the U.S. for almost 40 years and understands the U.S. well. He is in a rare position to convince the U.S. and its Israeli and Arab allies (as well as European nations) that Iran can and should be trusted in its words and deeds. In consultation with the Supreme Leader, he will work with these and other states, including members of the BRICS nations, to diplomatically end the dispute in the best interests of all involved and within the Iranian foreign policy framework of dignity, wisdom and expediency. Dr. Amirahmadi will propose a verifiable deal where the U.S. and its allies would openly accept Iran's right to peaceful nuclear programs as well as offering it security guarantees in return for Iran suspending uranium enrichment beyond five percent purity. The International Energy Agency (I.A.E.A.) will be able to verify Iran's civilian programs because Iran will implement the IAEA's Additional Protocol and respond to its questions. Dr. Amirahmadi will also accept transferring any uranium enriched beyond five percent to outside Iran in return for fuel plates for Iran's research reactor in Tehran University (RRT) and the gradual lifting of sanctions. At this point, Iran's file must return to the I.A.E.A. and U.N. resolutions against Iran must be annulled. The two sides will then negotiate in earnest to mitigate tension in the broader relations on the basis of a comprehensive agenda that will include Iran's relations with Israel and Saudi Arabia. A key to a sustained regional peace then will be the formation of a regional security framework and implementation of initiatives toward realizing a Weapons of Mass Destruction-Free Middle East.

- **Negotiating normal relations with the U.S.**

Next, the U.S. and Iran will continue negotiations toward partial normalization of relations. The Iranian people will definitely support these negotiations. According to many opinion polls, a large majority of Iranians, while critical of U.S. policies, see normalizing relations with that country as one of their main priorities. Fortunately, the majority of political forces in Iran have also recognized, albeit belatedly, the importance of normalization, although a small number of Iranians on the extreme fringes of politics are opposed to this. During the past three decades, Iran has maintained a policy of 'neither war nor peace' with the United States. That policy has now lost much ground as the U.S. increasingly moves towards choosing between regime change and war. Only a



to utilize the small window of opportunity that remains. Under these circumstances, where concern for national security and territorial integrity of Iran increasingly finds objective grounds, removing the danger through normalization of relations with the U.S. has become more urgent than ever. As his past achievements in this area indicate, Dr. Amirahmadi will be in the best position to use the opportunity to resolve the U.S.-Iran dispute in the best interests of both nations.

- **Building respectful and democratic U.S.-Iran relations.**

During the past 33 years of U.S.-Iran relations, both nations have lost trillions of dollars in real accounting terms and opportunity cost; they have also suffered untold and irreparable strategic damage. Resolving these issues will open Iran's huge investment to the world and put the country on a healthy economic course, as it will also help the U.S. to re-ignite its moribund economy. Those seeking optimization of Iran's economic potential while rejecting normalization of relations with the U.S. are pipe dreamers. However, to benefit the nation, relations must be put on a solid foundation. Countries have had three types of relations with the U.S.: fascination with and servitude to it; anti-Americanism and hostility towards it; and a balanced relationship with the U.S., based on mutual interests and national independence. Iran's relations with the U.S. have historically fluctuated between the first two extreme types. During his past 25 years of efforts for improving U.S.-Iran relations, Dr. Amirahmadi has learned that it is indeed possible to build a more democratic relationship between Iran and the U.S.

- **Using diplomatic ties for peace and sustainable development.**

Why is it so critical that Iran improves its diplomatic relations with the U.S.? Aside from the damage that Iran has sustained from its conflict with the U.S., under an inimical relationship with the West, including the U.S., Iran will never sustainably develop or become democratic. Not just hostility but servitude to the U.S. and the West has also been counterproductive to the developing nations. This is a lesson borne from the history in the last two centuries or so. It is not an accident that most countries with dictatorial governments that have had balanced diplomatic relations with the U.S. have ultimately achieved development and democracy, while dictatorships with submissive relations with the U.S. have failed and been ultimately overthrown. The opposite is true about regimes that have promoted anti-Americanism and refused to establish diplomatic ties with the U.S.: they often live longer but remain autocratic and cannot sustain economic growth. Since the U.S. considers itself the symbol of global democracy and development, it will not allow any anti-U.S. model to have such



is through establishing balanced ties with the U.S.

E. Advancing Iran's territorial interests

a. Building a strong defense and independent nation.

The plans and programs for the people feed into and are complemented by the territorial plans and programs. These will include schemes for preservation of the nation's territorial integrity, protection and beautification of Iran's natural environment, unification of its political geography, preservation of the nation's historical heritage and monuments, development of its cities, towns and villages, and expansion of Iran's infrastructural networks throughout the country, into the neighboring states, and globally. Iran's national security requirements are complex as it involves territorial, human, economic and energy securities among other types. Protecting Iran's territorial integrity and safeguarding its borders are of paramount importance. These require a strong defense system of hard and soft powers, coupled with a sound foreign policy. This is best achieved by comprehensive national development and the expansion of friendly and cooperative relations with every nation in the global community based on national interests and world peace. Iran must strike a balance between military strength and economic strength in its defense planning and play a significant role in the United Nations and other multilateral agencies. National integrity also requires that ethnic and religious minorities be provided with equal rights and opportunities. Individuals serving in the Iranian defense establishment are patriotic, pragmatic and modernist. They are also uniquely Islamic and developmentalist. Dr. Amirahmadi's administration, in coordination with the Supreme Leader of the Republic, will draw plans and programs for the maximum use of these qualities in the Iranian armed forces; he will also provide them with the maximum means to live a safe and honorable life to build a strong and peaceful Iran based on the principles of dignity, foresight and pragmatism.

b. Preserving and enhancing the environment.

Environmental protection and development is another aspect of Iran's territorial interests and national security. Because the nation is largely arid and mountainous, its seas (Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea), lakes, rivers, dams, swamps, creeks, springs, waterfalls, plains, arable lands, national parks, hills and forests must be meticulously cared for. Reports indicate that the national environment has been deteriorating significantly, with its internal lakes and rivers losing water, its air infected with pollution (Tehran is a disaster in this respect), and its natural habitats of flora and fauna being damaged. Plans and programs, as well as strict laws and regulations, will be articulated for maximum clean up, beautification, protection and development of the nation's environment. The country's



adequate technical, financial and human resources to carry out these plans and programs and to enforce the laws and regulations in coordination with the nation's judiciary. The country's environmental NGOs will also be expanded and supported to complement the state's environmental protection efforts. A zero-tolerance policy will be followed against those who pollute or damage the nation's natural and man-made environments.

c. Fixing Iran's internal political and economic geography.

An important aspect of Iran's environmental development is fixing its political-economy geography. Iran lacks navigable rivers and canals and an absence of internal waterways has often hindered national territorial integration and expansion of the national market. This should be a source of serious concern in a multi-ethnic, geographically large, economically less-developed and politically turbulent country. Dr. Amirahmadi will propose plans to build navigable canals across the nation and to dredge and widen a few large rivers to make them usable for light water transports. Roads, airways, railways, electric grids and telecommunication networks will also be expanded and protected in the direction of building integrative political-economy geography for the nation. A National Territorial Development Plan will be drawn up for the promotion of spatial economic specialization, the formation of territorial production complexes, the creation of provincial central places and the development of networked human settlement systems to further regional and national integration.

d. Building extensive safe and efficient transport networks.

Iran has a large population and geography. National development, population movement and territorial integration require that the country's lands, air and water transport networks expanded, are made safe and used efficiently. Years of crippling sanctions have made Iranian airways very unsafe. Planes are old, maintenance is inadequate, and there is too much unregulated air traffic in Iranian airspace. Iran's road networks are also inadequate and unsafe. The country needs to build more highways and make roads safer. Iran also needs to expand its railroads and develop water transport systems. Dr. Amirahmadi has been outspoken against U.S. sanctions for causing the Iranian airways safety problems and has written to U.S. presidents protesting the ban on the sale of planes and spare parts to Iran. Like many Iranians, Dr. Amirahmadi has also been harmed by lack of road safety in Iran; he lost his parents and several immediate relatives in road accidents. His plan and programs for Iranian land, air and water transport networks will call for expansion, safety and administrative efficiency by settling the diplomatic row with the West and injecting adequate expertise and resources into the nation's transport infrastructure.



e. Developing telecommunication and superhighway systems.

Iran lives in a world of information technology and electronics. These high-technologies have combined to create a world of cyber-highways, flexible production, interactive communication and multi-media interface. Internets, intranets, websites, social media, satellites and the like are just the beginners in an emerging world of telecommunication and information superhighways. As there are developed and developing nations, there are also “switched off” and ‘switched on’ nations in the cyber age. Iran must become a switched on nation and for that to happen it must not just become a consumer nation of the new technologies but their producer as well. Restrictions or neglects on this front are counterproductive to a prosperous future and therefore unforgivable. The nation needs to become increasingly connected within and outside its borders through these new means of communication. Dr. Amirahmadi’s plans and programs will call for the maximum development and utilization of these new productive, communicative and interactive cyber technologies. To that end, his administration will promote strategic technology alliances with advanced nations, assemble and utilize the most extensive network of talented and entrepreneurial Iranians at home and abroad and provide the maximum means necessary to make the nation a cyber-technology leader.

f. Forming an integrated and habitable settlement system.

Iran is an increasingly urbanized nation, with close to 70 percent of its population now living in urban places. Cities, towns and villages in Iran are not just physical entities; they are, more significantly, human settlements, innovative centers and administrative units. These living environments must be developed, kept clean and integrated to form an orderly national settlement, innovative and administrative system. Fortunately, Iran benefits from a fairly balanced national urban hierarchy except that the relationships between its primary city, Tehran, secondary cities (large provincial capitals), tertiary cities (intermediate provincial capitals), small towns and villages are often broken. While Tehran operates nationally and internationally (but not as a ‘global city’), secondary and intermediate cities often have only provincial functions. Thus, Tehran is the only urban place that holds the urban Iran together. At provincial levels, too, larger cities are not well integrated with the rest of the provincial human settlements. Therefore, their networking abilities for economic, cultural and socio-political interactions remain limited. The urban centers are particularly unprepared for technological and artistic innovations, a key function of any serious city. Smaller towns and villages still depend on ‘periodic markets’ to satisfy their market needs. Dr. Amirahmadi’s administration will address these problems and create highly habitable territorial communities within a well-structured national spatial



stature. This task will be accomplished through a National Spatial Development Plan (*Amayesh-e Sarzamin*).

g. Promoting sectorial and provincial decentralization.

Another matter that directly impacts upon the nation's territorial interest is the national provincial administration. The Iranian state has a unitary form, organized hierarchically and vertically along 24 sectorial lines with each sector led by a minister. Only the Interior Ministry is organized spatially and horizontally along 30 provincial units, with each province headed by a governor. Thus, in Iran just as in other unitary states, function (sectors) dominates territory (provinces) and the nation is vertically administered rather than horizontally as in a federal system. The result has been a highly centralized state administration headquartered in Tehran. In a multi-ethnic and large nation, this is hardly an equitable or even efficient administrative system. Ethnic provinces have for a long time demanded a more territorial national administration in which provinces will dominate sectors and a horizontal integration of national spaces takes hold. This proposal is reasonable except that no one as yet has come up with a system that uniquely fits Iran. Among the ethnic forces, a few have called for a federal administration, others have asked for provincial autonomy and still an extremist minority has demanded secession. None of these ethnic forces has as yet succeeded to impose its will on the central administration largely because such proposals have not been favorably received by the general public, who mistrust ethnic political movements. Dr. Amirahmadi's plan for the nation's provincial administration calls for 'political decentralization' along with 'economic federalization'. Under this system, provinces will gain significant local decision-making and taxation-spending powers, as they also receive their fair share of the national wealth and partake in national political administration. Fiscal federalism will also require that poorer provinces receive heavy economic support from the central government.

h. Protecting and promoting Iran's national heritage.

Iran is a historic and cultural country with a mix of pre-Islamic and Islamic identity and heritage. Modern Iran has also been influenced by world cultures. Iran's physical and cultural heritage is a source of national identity and world-wide recognition, historical records and memories, patriotism and pride and national income and foreign exchange earnings. Tourism will not only bring in money but also global appreciation; most Iranians still like to identify themselves with their past civilization achievements including empire building, freeing Jews from enslavement in Babylon and conceiving the world's first human rights declaration as inscribed in Cyrus the Great's Cylinder. The extraor-



historic buildings and unusual structures (such as the Persepolis), Islamic shrines and monuments of exceptional architectural designs and paintings, cultural and historic artifacts and elements, unusual relics of forgone civilizations, and astonishingly unique human settlements. In recent years, dam-building and other infrastructural and economic projects may have made certain historic sites vulnerable to future incidents. Dr. Amirahmadi as President will empower Iran's Cultural Heritage Organization with additional tools including technical, financial, legal and human resources to undertake discovering, registering, preserving, renewing and safeguarding operations. The nation's cultural NGOs will be also encouraged and supported to assist in protecting and propagating Iranian heritage. A policy of zero tolerance, embedded in laws and regulations, will be pursued to punish crimes against, or even neglect of, these national and world inheritances.

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6. How will Dr. Amirahmadi run his campaign for president?

A. The target population for Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign.

Dr. Amirahmadi's political philosophy is one of inclusion and accommodation. He believes that Iranians are diverse in their backgrounds and needs. Broadly, there are upper, middle and base social classes with respective economic growth, political reform and social justice needs. Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign, recognizing these needs, will appeal to the ambitious urban middle classes, the aspiring youth and the next generation of this great country without comprising on tradition, culture and freedom. That is, his campaign will be inclusive and accommodative. But he will also speak for the women, youth and minorities, as well as for such reference groups as the clergies, the state functionaries, armed forces, academic community, ethnic groups, professionals and capitalists (including the bazaar). The campaign will articulate the specific needs of these reference groups, beyond their social class needs and include those needs in its plans and programs. Dr. Amirahmadi believes that given the tension with the outside world, the armed forces of the nation must be given not only patriotic support but added resources to strengthen their defensive capabilities.

B. Campaign administration.

Dr. Amirahmadi will lead a well-organized campaign and will use it as an opportunity to modernize the Iranian political campaign system. The campaign will recruit young Iranians to promote its ideas and the candidate. The new generation of Iranians is pragmatic and professional and is well versed in modern sciences and technologies. They are also skillful in the new networked organizations and social media. The campaign will also utilize the services of professional organizations and individuals for marketing, promotion, public relations and other campaign requirements. The campaign administration will include the following positions, all of which, with the exception of the Campaign Field Manager, will be located outside Iran:

a. Campaign Manager.

Coordinates all campaign activities, supervises the campaign team.

b. Senior Political Advisor.

Coordinates all phases of designing campaign strategies and policies; manages campaign's political office, and coordinates the work of all campaign advisors.

c. Senior Economic Advisor.

Coordinates all phases of designing economic strategies and policies for the campaign purpose; and manages campaign's economic office where economic information will be maintained.



d. Communication Advisor.

Writes campaign speeches, schedules campaign speech and public dialogue events, and advises the candidate on these matters.

e. Media Manager.

Manages the campaign website and interacts with internet-based sites, including social media network such as Facebook and Twitter.

f. Campaign Spokesperson.

Communicates with domestic and international media, gives interviews to media when necessary, provides news regarding the campaign, and responds to negative stories about the campaign.

g. Senior Researcher.

Collects and maintains data and statistics on demography and geography of voters, monitors the public perception about the campaign and the candidate and gathers information about the rivals and media reactions in preparation for a negative campaign.

h. Campaign Field Manager.

Resides in Iran (depending on the political climate, this position may reside in a neighboring country). This position will coordinate activities of campaign offices and field volunteers and activists in Tehran and provinces, and manage relations between the campaign and the government, security systems and civic organizations.

i. Financial Support Manager.

Raises funds for the campaign through internet and organized fund-raising events and similar such activities.

j. Campaign Accountant.

Maintains financial books and documents, accounts for all campaign expenses and revenues.

k. Legal Advisor.

A lawyer who represents the campaign on all legal matters.

l. Office Manager.

Undertakes all office affairs, maintains files and provides logistics.



C. Campaign strategy design stages.

The strategy takes shape in two stages. In the first stage, beginning in January 2013, Dr. Amirahmadi will be prepared for the candidacy and declares his candidacy officially (duration: four months). In the second stage, the campaign focuses on developing strategic plans, specific programs and implementable policies for the nation, advancing campaign strategies and marketing tactics and undertaking field campaigning. This stage continues to the day when the Guardian Council announces approved candidates or beyond that point to the Election Day depending on the political circumstances.

a. Stage one: preparation for the campaign.

During this stage, Dr. Amirahmadi's personal, professional and political biographies will be designed and he will be prepared for the field campaign. His personal biography will focus on his age, place of birth, educational and social background and interests and hobbies, including his literary and artistic works. This non-political personal side of Dr. Amirahmadi will be developed to promote his human relations with the Iranian people. His professional biography will focus on his academic achievements as a social scientist, a development planner and a public policy expert. The biography will list his key publications, courses he has taught and researches he has undertaken. His consulting works, management experiences and skills and institution-building expertise will be demonstrated by providing specific examples of activities and organizations. Dr. Amirahmadi's political biography will outline his leadership in initiating ideas that have had a far-reaching impact on Iran's civil and political societies in the last three decades. These include advancing the civil society paradigm and nationalism concept, advocating free elections and an interest-based national development strategy and the promotion of normalization of U.S.-Iran relations and peace and cooperation between Iran and the international community. Dr. Amirahmadi's presence in the war front with Iraq and his works in postwar reconstruction and disaster management in Iran will be also highlighted. In this stage, the campaign will publish a booklet and produces videos, audios and other media reflecting the candidate's views and qualifications.

b. Stage two: Strategizing the campaign.

In this stage, campaign messages and slogans, the candidate's plans and policies and strategies for campaign public relations, reaction to current policies, the negative campaign, field campaign and crisis policy will be designed.

- **Designing campaign's message and slogan.**

Dr. Amirahmadi's belief and goals are centered on Iran's economic growth,



political development, justice promotion and international peace, all directed to meeting diverse national needs and interests toward people's happiness and territorial eternity, acquiring the status of an economic emerging power joining BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa). The campaign messages and slogans will reflect these ideals dictated by the need to move Iran forward in the fastest time possible as the global community advances unabated toward a more modern and prosperous future. As a planner, development expert and peace-maker, Dr. Amirahmadi is uniquely placed to persuasively advocate and advance these noble goals.

- **Designing candidate's plans and policies.**

This will involve developing detailed national popular and territorial plans and specific programs as outlined in the section on **'What will Dr. Amirahmadi do for the country as President?'** The ultimate purpose of these plans and policies is to make the Iranian territory eternal and its people happy. These plans and policies will be designed with the Iranian reality in mind (potentials and constraints) and on the basis of a fair criticism of the current plans and policies. Needless to say, Dr. Amirahmadi's plans and policies will not be offered to the public as final and unchanging but rather as proposals to be further developed by inputs from the people and experts in the course of the campaign.

- **Designing campaign media and marketing strategies.**

These will involve developing various channels of communication with the public and the media using diverse technologies and procedures available through both the physical and cyber worlds. The strategies will concentrate on the media (campaign website, Persian satellite TV channels and social media), the audience for advertising and marketing, and public opinion (conducting opinion polls).

- **Designing responsive campaign strategy.**

Dr. Amirahmadi will campaign with a fair and positive message with respect to his rivals. He will not initiate negative campaigns but will engage in a critical and constructive dialogue regarding his rivals. However, whenever a negative campaign is directed toward him or his campaign, he will be prepared to respond with fairness and justice in mind and with a view to turning critics into advocates and supporters. Meanwhile, Dr. Amirahmadi will be completely honest about his own weaknesses and will acknowledge the strength of his rivals when required. He will not be in the field to 'destroy' anyone but rather to promote his own campaign to make the Iranian people happy and their homeland eternal



- **Designing field campaign strategy.**

Depending on the political situation on the ground in Iran at the time, the campaign will establish field offices in Tehran and other key Iranian cities and will recruit volunteers and activists in every corner of the nation. This activity will have to wait until after the Guardian Council has made a decision on the candidates.

- **Designing crisis management policy.**

The current geopolitical condition in the Middle East and the growing tension between Iran and its adversaries, particularly the U.S. and Israel, make predictions about Iran's political stability very difficult if not impossible. Meanwhile, it is prudent to watch for developing crises and unexpected conflicts. A 'Crisis Office' will be established to monitor the situation and develop a 'Plan B' when necessary. The office will also be in charge of any unforeseen developments within the campaign and in relation to the candidate.

6. **What obstacles does Dr. Amirahmadi anticipate and how are they overcome?**

Obstacles facing the candidate Dr. Amirahmadi and President Dr. Amirahmadi in implementing his vision, strategies and policies are numerous and varied but, critically, they are not insurmountable. Among them are:

A. **People's mistrust and the 'despair' issue.**

Building trust with the people of Iran and convincing them to join the campaign must be carefully addressed. This is an important issue given that the Iranian people are generally disappointed with and cynical regarding past elections and Presidents. The nation's adversaries are also planting seeds of desperation among the people to block any movement toward peaceful evolution toward progress. Dr. Amirahmadi presents a wholly new face and campaign plan, almost unprecedented in the recent history of Iran. This fact must be fully and effectively communicated to the people with the aim of instilling hope for change in the nation.

B. **Leadership suspicion of the 'outsider'.**

The Iranian Islamic Revolution was one of the world's most popular revolutions. Yet, from the very beginning, the revolution faced serious challenges from contestants inside and enemies outside. Over time, even friends of the revolution could not co-exist and the result was inimical factionalism. These and other developments made the Islamic leaders increasingly suspect even well-meaning people who for reasons beyond their control had to stay outside the system. This problem



has become a serious obstacle to national reconciliation. Dr. Amirahmadi has already built bridges by participating in national efforts (e.g., post-war reconstruction) and by observing the red lines of the Islamic system. As a nationalist Muslim Iranian, he has earned the respect and trust of the religious authorities and will continue to present his nationalism idea as a bridge-building notion to the Islamic political leaders in an effort to gain their approval.

C. Iran's war and sanctions environment.

The campaign must prudently deal with the deterioration in U.S.-Iran relations and the fact that the immediate future is heavily poisoned by a fear of war and the reality of impending and already applied sanctions. To counter this problem, Iranians must also campaign against war and sanctions and demand peace through a 'white-flag movement.' Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign must call for such a movement to convince Iran's leadership through constructive and rational dialogue – as opposed to street protests and a 'war of words' - and bring pressure to bear on its adversaries in the West, the U.S. in particular. Dr. Amirahmadi's years of service in U.S.-Iran relations will be most helpful in this regard.

D. Constitutional limitations for change.

The Islamic Constitution provides ample space for creating a developed Iran and a prosperous people. Yet, it also imposes limits, some even unnecessary, towards that direction. This constitution has already been amended once and now, 20 years later, it may need to be revised. As President, Dr. Amirahmadi will be the guardian of the constitution and responsible for its full implementation. But he will also invite attention to its limitations in the emerging global community. Dr. Amirahmadi, in consultation with the Supreme Leader, will address the amendment issue through the procedures enshrined in the final chapter of the constitution.

E. Limited political space and national perils.

The political space in Iran has increasingly become narrowed as factions have tried to exclude each other. This trend is unhealthy and poses a serious threat to the Islamic system and is unproductive for the well-being of the Iranian nation at a time when domestic and international pressures are mounting. A major factor that drastically affected U.S. President Barak Obama's policy toward Iran was the post-2009 election protests. Based on those events, Americans became deluded, thinking that crippling sanctions and/or a limited war can bring the regime down. The issue is not that they are right or wrong; this delusion has already led to crippling sanctions and can also lead to a horrific war and the assured destruction of Iran. Dr. Amirahmadi believes that the time has come for national unity, particularly with regards to the external dangers even if division over domestic



matters may persist. The continuation of the current situation is paving the road to hell. Mousavi and Karubi along with other political leaders have to be freed and they must accept to help the nation in its struggle against sanctions and isolation. A move toward national reconciliation also makes it imperative that Iran opens up its political space for fair, transparent and free elections, including the Presidential election in 2013. Dr. Amirahmadi, in coordination with other political leaders, will engage in a private and public dialogue with the top leaders of the country in an effort to bring unity and openness.

F. Iran's obsolete political culture.

This problem has been extensively treated in Dr. Amirahmadi's writings, where he has proposed short-term and long-term remedies. In a nutshell, the issue must be tackled through promotion of education for tolerance and competition. Dr. Amirahmadi's ideas will be incorporated in the campaign to make sure that the issue is fully understood and solutions are well communicated.

G. Dearth of national unity and reconciliation.

This is a complicated issue, requiring hard and honest work. Fortunately, an imperative already exists for national reconciliation at the time of national discord and war threats. Unfortunately, not many political leaders from various political and ideological orientations are calling for national unity. President Mohammad Khatami has been a notable exception. This ignorance toward national unity must change. Just like in the past, Dr. Amirahmadi will continue to call for national reconciliation and will join force with others who wish to help further this important national cause.

H. Incomplete nation building and nationalism.

Nation building in Iran has remained incomplete, a problem that has become the source of many national ills. Dr. Amirahmadi's 'nationalism' conceptual framework addresses this problem and offers solutions as it also reconciles Islamism with Iranism. The campaign must propagate the concept and communicate its potentially path-breaking positive consequences for the Iranian people, territory and Islam. Nationalism combines the people and the territory of Iran, making the first 'happy' and the second 'eternal' within an Islamic nation.

I. Lack of institutional polity and civil society.

The absence of political parties has led to the politicization of civil society and its premature demise in Iran. Dr. Amirahmadi has addressed this issue in several writings and is an expert on relations between the state and civil society in the development process. The campaign will incorporate his ideas on the matter in national debates and help convince political leaders of the utmost need for institutionalizing political and civil societies for a vigorous and developed Iran.



J. Restrictions on domestic campaigning.

Over 30 years of factional political strife, war, sanctions, isolations and threats of new wars have pushed Iran in the direction of building more ‘hard power’ away from the original drive for building more ‘soft power’. Meanwhile, the more intelligent nations are building up their ‘smart power’. Under this condition, the Islamic Republic has also become sensitive to any political demands and movements that have the potential to introduce instability and uncertainty in society. For this and other reasons, the campaign will be designed with full transparency of actions and ideas, avoiding divisive politics and will work with the government to ensure that no security red lines are crossed.

K. Dr. Amirahmadi’s residency in the U.S.

Dr. Amirahmadi has been living and working in the U.S. for over 35 years. Running for President as an expatriate may not be welcomed by some segments of Iranian society. This matter of concern must be carefully addressed. The Iranian people must be persuaded that Dr. Amirahmadi is a true Iranian and that his years in the U.S. have been used to also serve his homeland. The campaign will demonstrate this fact by emphasizing his extensive trips to Iran, his presence in the war front and for post-war and post-earthquake reconstructions, his efforts to prevent a U.S. war against Iran, his help in extracting an official U.S. apology for the 1953 coup, his 25 years of hard work to improve U.S.-Iran relations, his extensive writings on Iran and his other distinguished services. The campaign must also communicate to the Iranian people that Dr. Amirahmadi has a house in the county of Talesh where his immediate relatives still live. Finally, the Iranian people must be reminded that the Founder of the Islamic Republic was also an expatriate, several Iranian high-ranking officials were not even born in Iran and that in the new global community Iranian expatriates do indeed form a virtual Iranian ‘province’.

7. How will Dr. Amirahmadi pay for his plans and programs?

Iran is a rich country of talented people and hugely-endowed natural resources, including oil and gas. Dr. Amirahmadi will finance his plans and programs by using a more prudent fiscal and monetary policy and by utilizing a combination of funding sources. To begin with, the success of Dr. Amirahmadi’s administration in advancing the nation will largely depend on reducing tension with the West and normalizing the domestic political and social situation. In particular, sources of tension with big powers, the U.S. in particular, will have to be mitigated and domestic push factors significantly reduced if adequate financing were to become available. Reducing tension internationally and mitigating restrictions internally will help open Iran to the outside world. Under such corrected conditions, revenues from taxes and oil exports, the Iranian government’s traditional sources of money, can be significantly increased. Simultaneously, foreign investments and funds from the large and wealthy Iranian expatriates can find their ways towards



Reconciliation for National Interest, Contented People and Eternal Territory

Iran. The country's tax administration remains rudimentary and the tax system is regressive. Reform in these areas has the potential to increase tax revenues by several times. But it is not just increases in revenue that are important; even more significant are savings through correcting fiscal and monetary policies, reprioritizing state spending, shifting resources to more productive uses, and reducing wasteful and luxury spending, among other similar measures.

8. How much will Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign cost?

Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign will not accept money from any government, including the governments of Iran and the United States. A detailed budget is currently being prepared for the various stages and activities of the campaign. Initially, we estimate a total budget of \$3,600,000 for the entire campaign period. We also estimate 'seed capital' of about **\$360,000** to establish the campaign offices, hire campaign officers and pay for other startup expenses. We need to raise the seed money as soon as possible. The initial funding will have to come from wealthy individuals and organizations that are already familiar with Dr. Amirahmadi, believe in his vision for Iran and wish to take a stand for a developed Iran emerging as a new and peace-loving power. What follows is a very rough estimate of campaign expense items and their corresponding costs. A professional accountant will be hired to draw a campaign cash flow upon raising the initial funds

Campaign Budget, January 2012-July 2013

Cost Items	Estimated Amount (US \$)
1. Personnel (12 officers; see Campaign administration)	900,000
2. Campaign strategies development	100,000
3. Travel and accommodations	360,000
4. Communications	90,000
5. Printing and copying	20,000
6. Publications	30,000
7. Editing and translations	20,000
8. Marketing and advertising	300,000
9. Research and data collections	20,000
10. Campaign meetings and events	600,000
11. Campaign websites and social media networks	50,000
12. Campaign offices	120,000
13. Campaign logo and slogans development	10,000
14. Dr. Amirahmadi's plans and programs development	800,000
15. Equipment and supplies	120,000
16. Overhead charges	30,000
17. Miscellaneous	30,000
TOTAL	3,600,000



9. Why should you support Dr. Amirahmadi's campaign?

If the current political direction and mismanagement in Iran continues, and the West continues to pursue its unwise and perilous policies, the challenges will only deepen with far-reaching consequences for all involved. Politically, civic and business communities cannot afford a bleak future that is envisaged and developing in Iran as a result of the West's hostile policies and internal mismanagement. Dr. Amirahmadi trusts that you are, just like him, against war, revolution or any other form of violence and that you also think, just like he does, that the most humane and economical way to transform Iran into a developed and peaceful country is through fair, transparent and free elections. So, just like Dr. Amirahmadi, you also need to take an active stand in the next Presidential election when Iran will be at a crucial crossroads of development or destruction. Dr. Amirahmadi is hopeful that you will take a stand for development and that you will join him in this historic mission by engaging in his campaign strategically and financially. Please note that as a university professor, Dr. Amirahmadi's financial resources are very limited while he will be competing with rivals who have tremendous personal wealth and who will leverage both formal and informal financial and logistical support. To start with, the campaign needs your financial support and the financial support of your friends and associates. Please help raise the funds that this campaign so urgently needs. Dr. Amirahmadi is well aware that there are many noble causes that demand your support. Let him impress upon you that his cause is also most deserving given what is at stake and what can be achieved as outlined in this **Campaign Plan**. Dr. Amirahmadi has extended his hand for partnership towards you and he hopes that you will shake it. Please note that your contribution is critical for the success of his campaign and that supporting this campaign is legal, safe and involves no risk whatsoever.

10. Why should you write the last chapter of this plan?

In writing this Campaign Plan, Dr. Amirahmadi was helped by a few friends and associates who put forth great ideas for a better Iran. They helped assemble a plan that offers innovative, practical and reasonable ideas. Yet, the plan is by no means complete as it should have benefitted from the participation by many who could have made important contributions to the plan. This was not possible given the constraints of time, space and resources. Thus, the plan is considered a 'draft' or work-in-progress to be further developed. Articulating Ideas for a better Iran should not and cannot be the work of a few; it requires thoughtful, intelligent contributions from many, particularly those who get a chance to read the plan with care and interest. It is in the spirit of this call for partnership that you are urged to help write the last chapter of this plan. It is your chance to be heard and to be influential in building a better Iran. Please send your criticisms and constructive ideas to hooshang@amirahmadi.com. Dr. Amirahmadi will be most pleased to hear from you and work with you as this plan is perfected and our