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**On Transformation of the Iranian Political Structure and Politics.
Potentials and Risks**



1. Iran is transforming. The events

After the debated election of June 12th 2009 we are facing a momentous protest against the attempt of the former president to declare victory. More than 3 million were on the streets of Tehran and elsewhere. Moreover: These protests went on, although parts of the regime tried to crack them down by the use of brutal use of violence, even in a stalinistic manner

Kharrubi in his letter from 18.8.09

After the 10th Presidential election [of 12 June] horrific events involving violence, lawlessness, irresponsibility by individuals having no official position interfering in the name of protecting the establishment, by paramilitary groups, and by plainclothes security forces have occurred in our country. These events are such that responsible, concerned, and informed individuals must set aside caution and self-preservation in order to do whatever they can in order to prevent a repetition of these events and destroy all the roots of such styles of confrontation....

2. The New Format of the Protest of the people

The first time since the early 80s the reformists groups and independent forces as well as spontaneous, especially the younger groups came together to protest against a perceived fraud of the election.

3. Transformation of the power structure - where to ?

Since the early days of the Iranian revolution 79 there hasnt been such a challenge to the specific power structure of that regime, described as a hybrid one (Buchta). This Iranian system, due to the Constitution of 1989 and up to 2009 in praxi, is clearly dominated by the religious leadership, but has semi-democratic institutions. Now we have seen the unfolding of the political system and splits in it.

We are witnessing an attempt of a quasi-military coup d'état of the group around the former president, parts of the secret services of the Revolutionary guard with the initial and then withdrawn support of the religious leader Khamenei. Using excessive, even totalitarian-like violence, an attempt of a Maßnahme- versus a Normenstaat in the understanding of Ernst Fraenkel.

4. Scenarios of Politics

Today we don't know where this will lead. And there are a lot of indications, that the system won't be the same in the future, whatever will be decided in the next few days and weeks.

There are several scenarios possible*

- 1) **The coup d'état will prevail** with brutal force, without regaining the previous legitimacy of the regime and thus using even more stalinistic brutality.
- 2) **The nowadays dominant figures will retreat.** This, if, wont happen soon.
- 3) **There will be an ongoing transformation,** especially because of the ongoing protest and international alert

Impact on easing tensions and good governance ?

With the **second and third scenario** there will be more rationality in economic, cultural and international terms and more empowerment by and for civil society, as it is discussed at length though for a different, but also deeply authoritarian political culture, especially with respect to women´s rights, a bit less with respect to universities and knowledge distribution - in the *Arab Human Development Report 2002*. That report is related to the concept of good governance, with its characteristics of participation, the rule of law, particularly the laws on human rights, transparency, responsiveness, equity, including effectiveness and efficiency, accountability – and the overall vision on good governance of leaders and the public.

This allows to use the potentials and skills of the many, who now ask for a better life in decent and free conditions, with less fear, with more opportunities, especially for the younger generations.

(We have seen, by the way, during our fact finding mission abundantly the necessity for an overhaul towards more efficiency of energy resources and consumption, more orientation to the needs of people for efficient heating, repairing technologies; partially because of the sanctions, but to a big part also due to internal mistakes and incapacibilities.)

Parallel there are also interest groups, who wants to reduce the amount of corrupt and mafiotic relationships within the country and can change the nowadays stagnation and inabilities, they have to face in economic terms; this includes strategies of efficiency in energy consumption, a master plan for renewable energy and the usage of natural resources.

- A more rational framework internally and internationally reduces also the international quest for further sanctions and even the potential of dangerous escalations.