

ROUHANI METER

PRESENTS

A 100-Day Report on the Observations
of the Rouhani Meter and the Rouhani
Presidency

MUNK SCHOOL OF GLOBAL AFFAIRS

AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

AND ASL19

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Rouhani Meter

On August 3rd, 2013, RouhaniMeter.com set out to measure the performance of Iranian President Hassan Rouhani by monitoring the status of promises he made during his campaign. As of November 12, 2013, 100 days since the beginning of his term, experts and researchers have collected data from media outlets, government releases, government proceedings, social media posts, and community contributions from Iranians inside the country. In that time, over one million users have visited RouhaniMeter.com from inside Iran and it has been showcased across popular Iranian media outlets

The following report is a look at the Rouhani presidency through the work of the first 100 days of the Rouhani Meter project, from August 3rd to November 12th. In addition to an extended analysis, this report shares new research on public requests for change made by civil society groups, academics, and prominent Iranian figures within Iran to President Rouhani.

Hassan Rouhani Is Elected

Hassan Rouhani's June 2013 presidential election victory was won as a result of a unique electoral process. This process required Rouhani, as well as all other prospective candidates, to register to be vetted by the 12 members of Iran's Guardian Council. The Iranian government has reported that the June 2013 presidential election saw around 72 percent of Iran's eligible voting population (35,458,747 of 50,483,192 people) come to the polls, with 18,613,329 of them voting to elect Rouhani.¹ One reformist sociologist, Hamid Reza Jalaeipour, told a University of Tehran crowd that "mobilizational potential turned into an electoral uprising."² Reports from inside Iran indicated that, similar to the crowds that gathered in 2009 to protest the Iranian presidential election, Iran saw a large number of people on the streets—only this time celebrating the election's outcome.

¹ Ministry of Interior, *The Final Report on the Eleventh Presidential Election*, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.moi.ir/Portal/Home/ShowPage.aspx?Object=News&CategoryID=cc1955c9-7610-428d-b15c-fafc947cc884&WebPartID=47942904-35b9-4ecc-bfc4-4d6d3bee26d8&ID=ab-52b9a8-e2a6-41e4-bbcc-15665125a6b2>.

² Quoted in Kevan Harris, "An 'Electoral Uprising' in Iran," *Middle East Research and Information Project*, July 19, 2013, accessed November 8, 2013, <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero071913>.

Many analysts have heralded the election of Rouhani as the arrival of a new era in Iranian politics. His resume is a roster of positions within the highest echelons of the elite of the Islamic Republic of Iran. He has been a member of the Supreme National Security Council since 1989 and the head of the Center for Strategic Research since 1992. An insider with close relations with Iran's highest power, the Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei, Rouhani was simultaneously elected with the support of Iran's youth-dominated population and Iran's reformists, including former presidents Mohammad Khatami and Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani. Throughout his election campaign and the post-election period, Rouhani made many promises regarding what his administration would accomplish. Rouhani Meter documented these promises in four categories and attempted to measure progress on these promises throughout the president's first 100 days in office.

As secretary of the Supreme National Security Council, Rouhani built international diplomatic ties as the country's top nuclear negotiator, dealing with the UK, France, and Germany from 1989 to 2005. His ascent to the presidency came at a crucial time in Iranian politics, when diplomacy and shrewd economic policy were required to help Iran come out of the devastating effects of economic mismanagement and foreign sanctions.

The Significance of Hassan Rouhani's Election

Rouhani's experience with Western diplomacy, his background of Western education, and his campaign platform of "prudence and hope" came together at the moment when the Iranian population was looking to counteract the regressive achievements of the Ahmadinejad era: the high rates of inflation and unemployment; Iran's status as a pariah state on the international level due to the nuclear issue; the extent of corruption in the entire body of government administration; and the lack of development in the country. The promises Rouhani made were largely focused on relieving the Iranian population of these issues. However, this new rhetoric of hope is a familiar theme in post-revolutionary Iran, where public political sentiments have often vacillated between optimism and pessimism. This dichotomy began with the hopeful popular revolution that established the Islamic Republic in 1979, but that was quickly followed by the elimination of revolutionaries that did not belong to the clerical elite. A new wave of optimism was initiated with the onset of the reform movement in 1997, which was subdued by the subsequent hardline antics of the Ahmadinejad years. More recently, collective optimism reemerged in the lead-up to and aftermath of the 2009 presidential election. This uprising, now known as the Green Movement, was eventually quelled and its leaders were placed under house arrest, where they remain to this day.

The most recent election has brought about another symbol of hope, with the newly elected president Hassan Rouhani. Rouhani's credentials have won him favour with both Iran's conservative elements, as well the country's young, educated population. The weeks following Rouhani's election saw a "movement of joy" within the streets of Iran. Iranian people were overjoyed that the power of their vote had put an end to eight years of hardline policies and had simultaneously prevented the election of another conservative candidate considered a favourite of Ayatollah Khamenei, Saeed Jalili.

The Reasoning Behind Rouhani Meter

The strong wave of optimism that overtook the streets of Iran following Rouhani's election warranted a closer examination into whether or not the promises he made on his way to victory are either achievable or genuine. The Munk School of Global Affairs and ASL19 set up a project called Rouhani Meter, to assess the work of the new president through an academic and objective lens.

Prior to the launch of this project, the Munk School of Global Affairs and ASL19 initiated preliminary research to gauge the scope of the project in two ways. First, a report was created as a preliminary assessment of the speeches, visions, and policies promoted by then President-elect Hassan Rouhani from the period between 1999, when he was head of the Supreme National Security Council, and his first press conference following his June 2013 election (provided in Appendix A of this report).

The aggregate of speeches and reports in the preliminary assessment indicates a man who always tows a fine diplomatic line in both his foreign and domestic policy. However, the purpose of the Meter is to look beyond the president's rhetoric and delve into the concrete actions and results he produces. Documenting his promises goes beyond merely monitoring the work of President Rouhani and looks at how accountable he is to his own words.

The second method for gauging the scope of Rouhani Meter was an attempt to assemble a complete list of the public requests demanding change that came from civil society groups, academics, and prominent Iranian figures within Iran (provided in full with associated sources in Appendix B of this report). These were the overwhelming demands of the people upon Rouhani's election, and how they correlate to his promises is in its own way a measurement of the significance of this Meter.

Below is a list of all the public requests that are associated with the Rouhani Meter promises. There are quite a few requests that have no associated promises. Two possibilities remain as to why this is: either Rouhani ignored these requests or they did not lie within his allocated power and responsibilities. Most notable of the public requests that went

ignored was one that called for the release of “political prisoners, ending the house arrest of Mir Hossein Mousavi, Zahra Rahnavard, and Mehdi Karroubi” (see 1-1 in Appendix B). On such matters, there have been no explicit commitments by Rouhani, but recognition of issues like these requires “consensus of other branches and officials.”³

³Hassan Rouhani, interview with Lionel Barber, Roula Khalaf, and Najmeh Bozorgmehr, *Financial Times*, November 29, 2013, <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/0/46248710-58f2-11e3-a7cb-00144feabdc0.html>.

TABLE 1.
PUBLIC REQUESTS MADE OF AND PROMISES MADE BY THE ROUHANI ADMINISTRATION

Promises	Themes	Requests
<p>Minimizing controls and censorship in the film industry</p> <p>Assigning experienced members of the film industry to tasks concerning cinema auditing</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Minimize government involvement and interference</p>	<p>15-8 Taking practical steps to transfer the cinema of Hoze Honari (Artistic Center of Islamic Development Organization) to the private sector and ending government interference</p> <p>18-3 Limiting the role of the government in art and cultural domains; strengthening civic and non-governmental organizations</p> <p>25-2 Leaving publishing affairs to publishing associations</p> <p>31-3 Guaranteeing the freedoms mentioned in the constitution, including freedom of speech, and lifting censorship</p>
<p>Setting clear rules and regulations for auditing books</p> <p>Easing Iran’s monitoring phase prior to the publishing</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Censorship regulations</p>	<p>15-9 Implementing regulations to maintain a system of meritocracy over nepotism within cultural and cinematic affairs</p> <p>20-1 Facilitating the process by which permits are issued</p> <p>15-5 Regulating production audits and preventing the influence of personal preferences in these audits</p> <p>25-1 Lifting censorship and personal preferences regarding book licensing</p>

Promises	Themes	Requests
<p>Ending the expulsions of politically active university students (“starring”)</p> <p>Reinstating university professors and administrators dismissed or forced into retirement for their political views</p> <p>Removing barriers that make it difficult for university professors to travel abroad</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Education related</p>	<p>16-2 Putting an end to denying the rights to education for university students</p> <p>16-3 Reinstating university students who have been suspended or expelled, and those “starred” during their post-secondary exams</p> <p>16-5 Ending the forceful dismissal and retirement of university professors</p>
<p>Developing smart health cards for patients with refractory diseases</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Health</p>	<p>17-2 Reducing the costs of medicine and health care</p>
<p>Establishing a Ministry of Women</p> <p>Submitting bills to protect women’s rights</p> <p>Providing insurance for women who are primary caregivers</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Women</p>	<p>11-1 Recognizing the necessity of the appointment of female ministers</p> <p>11-2 Considering women for important cabinet positions and for promotions to executive positions</p> <p>12-4 Taking practical steps to empower women and increase their participation [in society]</p> <p>14-8 Taking continuous and practical steps to value and respect the rights of women and children</p>

Promises	Themes	Requests
<p>Organizing unions in the film industry and delegating the affairs to the unions</p> <p>Reviving the Association of Iranian Journalists</p> <p>Reopening Iran's House of Cinema (Khaneh Cinema)</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Empowering unions</p>	<p>18-1 Turning policy-making and other like responsibilities over to the union</p> <p>18-11 Supporting the establishment and strengthening of unions and professional associations in all branches of art and culture</p> <p>20-6 Delegating supervisory powers and quality-control practices to professional associations, and empowering civic and non-governmental music organizations</p> <p>27-1 Reviving the Association of Iranian Journalists</p> <p>28-2 Permitting union activities for teachers</p> <p>30-2 Reopening of the Association of Iranian Journalists, Association of Iranian Authors, House of Cinema, and local journalist associations alongside other NGOs that have been shut down by government agencies</p> <p>31-2 Recognizing union rights and entrusting the cinematic affairs to the guilds</p>
<p>Establishing the Academy of Azeri Language and Literature</p>	<p>Socio-cultural: Languages</p>	

Promises	Themes	Requests
<p>Submitting the Charter of Citizens Rights to Parliament as a bill</p> <p>Assuring equal rights for all Iranian ethnicities</p> <p>Assuring equality for men and women</p> <p>Respecting and allowing minorities to practice of religious rituals</p>	<p>Domestic policy: Human rights and minority rights</p>	<p>4-2 Re-evaluating government policies toward Kurdistan and the Kurdish people</p> <p>4-6 End the narrow-minded and uninformed way that the administration deals with Kurdistan and its issues</p> <p>6-1 Respecting the religious and legal rights of Sunnis and implementing Articles 12, 15, and 19 of the Constitution</p> <p>14-1 / 10-3 Respecting and defending of the rights of the people as defined in the third chapter of the Constitution</p> <p>11-3 Ending discrimination against women</p> <p>12-2 Acting on the promise to “change existing approaches towards women and end discrimination against them”</p> <p>12-3 Employing qualified and competent women as decision-makers and for top-level executive positions</p>

Promises	Themes	Requests
<p>Appointing members of Iran's minority groups as advisors to the president</p> <p>Appointing locals for executive and managerial positions across Iran</p> <p>Appointing a New Technology advisor for the office of the president</p> <p>Ending the constant dismissal of government ministers and administrators</p> <p>Reopening the Management and Planning Organization of Iran (MPO)</p>	<p>Domestic policy: Structural changes</p>	<p>4-3 Gradually transferring governing power to the Kurdish people and Kurdish elites</p> <p>4-5 Making partnerships with Kurdish elites in the governing the country</p> <p>4-7 The formation of a government body under the supervision of the president, which will follow up on issues of ethnic concern, as well as those affecting border regions</p> <p>5-1 Appointing two Sunni ministers and one Sunni deputy</p> <p>7-1 Appointing elites from Sunni and other ethnic communities to top governmental positions, both regionally and nationally</p> <p>7-2 Appointing high-ranking government officials on the basis of merit and not religious or ethnic affiliation</p> <p>7-3 Forming a department of Ethnic and Religious Affairs, to be supervised by the president</p> <p>14-3 Employing expert, experienced, and committed individuals in government</p> <p>14-5 Altering administrative structures and bureaucratic relations in order to reduce bureaucratic red tape and reviving useful bodies like the High Administrative councils</p>

Promises	Themes	Requests
Preventing Lake Urmia from drying up	Domestic policy: Environment	
<p>Encouraging and welcoming criticism of his administration</p> <p>Presenting accurate and transparent facts and figures to the public</p>	Domestic policy: Good governance and transparency	<p>2-1 Increasing transparency in the selection and appointment of ministers, deputies</p> <p>13-1 Forming an administrative office responsible for collecting and responding to public concerns, complaints, and requests, and for bringing these to the attention of the president</p>
Controlling Iran's inflation	Economy: Inflation	34-1 Stabilizing and controlling inflation
<p>Instate independence for Iran's central bank</p> <p>Empowering the Money and Credit Council</p>	Economy: Financial institutions	<p>34-2 Giving the Central Bank of Iran the independence to decide on and implement monetary policies according to macroeconomic objectives and to control and uproot the causes of inflation and prevent the government from selling foreign currency at an inflated price</p> <p>36-5 Removing the limitations placed on economic development organizations and empowering the chambers of commerce and the parliament for the private sector</p> <p>36-11 Empowering the Business Development Organization</p> <p>36-14 Restoring the Council for Dialogue between state and the private sector</p>

Promises	Themes	Requests
Strengthening the value of Iranian currency	Economy: Currency	36-2 Preventing daily interference in the currency exchange market
Increasing the buying power of Iranian households (a priority for the administration in the short term)	Economy: Improving economic situation of people	38-1 Offering job security for workers 38-2 Regulating temporary contract work 39-2 Practising tripartism and defining real wages and labour contracts
Continuing Iran's subsidy program without reducing the amounts currently paid out Consulting with unions and guilds regarding targeted subsidy plan Providing commodity subsidies for basic goods to support households with low incomes	Economy: Welfare/subsidy	
Completing the South Pars project Exporting petroleum products instead of selling crude oil	Economy: Oil/petroleum	
Instituting privatization as according to article 44 in the Iranian constitution	Economy: Privatization	36-1 Privatizing state-owned enterprises in accordance with Article 44 of the Constitution
Creating and administering laws and regulations to facilitate a healthy economy with a focus on decreasing unemployment	Economy: Economic progress	35-3 Supporting economic progress as an inalienable right 39-1 Maintaining existing employment 42-1 Improving the ailing economy

Promises	Themes	Requests
Providing affordable housing and controlling housing prices	Economy: Housing	
Including entrepreneurs amongst Iran's presidential entourage while travelling abroad	Economy: Entrepreneurship	
<p>Reducing and lifting sanctions</p> <p>Preventing the application of further sanctions in the future</p>	Foreign policy: Sanctions	<p>35-1 Making a serious attempt to have international sanctions lifted</p> <p>35-4 The Chamber of Commerce demands Rouhani to reduce the sanctions</p>
Improving bilateral relations with Persian Gulf States, especially Saudi Arabia	Foreign policy: Foreign relations in the region	
Applying more transparency for Iran's nuclear program	Foreign policy: Nuclear program	

Community Engagement with Rouhani Meter

During the late 1990s the presidency of Mohammad Khatami also came with similar hopes, expectations, and demands, which eventually dissipated within the power struggles of Iran's various political factions. In the case of the Rouhani administration, we have found the opportune moment to document achievements and failures in digital space, where Iranians can engage in dialogue and discussions. Within the first 100 days, over one million unique visitors from inside Iran visited the Rouhani Meter website. Being in contact with the public, especially Iranians, has been one of Rouhani Meter's fundamental priorities and an essential one, and we have accomplished this through social media and the website's Community Watch platforms.

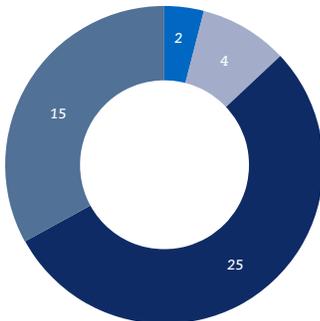
Our bilingual Twitter account has aimed to reach out to the public on an international level and the official Facebook page for Rouhani Meter has become a hotbed for community engagement, with about 15,057 fans (out of 17,869 total fans) coming from inside Iran within the first 100 days. While exact penetration rates are unknown, estimates state Tehran houses around one million Facebook users, with about two million in total in the whole country. The popularity of Facebook inside the country made this social network a vital connection between Iranians and the work of the Rouhani Meter researchers. The project launched hours after Rouhani was sworn in as president, and to date, has grown to have over 21,500 followers (as of December 2013). Additionally, many users have continually provided suggestions on how the Meter can improve its performance. Many community members share and comment on the status of promises.

Our Community Watch platform has been another testament to engagement through a digital space—many Iranians have used it to inform the research team about missing promises (or progress on promises.) For instance, the “socio-cultural” promise to develop a smart-card for patients with refractory diseases, came from our Community Watch users. Our research team recognizes the limitations of being based outside of Iran—insights from users inside the country are essential for validating and supporting the Rouhani Meter's research. One of the shortcomings of this form of engagement, however, is that users often fail to provide the proper links and citations for their submissions.

Why 100 Days?

While the Meter was inspired by an Egyptian project called “Morsi Meter,” the choice to measure Rouhani’s performance within the first 100 days stems from the traditional American concept of assessing American presidents’ performance and style within the first hundred days of their administrations. The concept was coined by President Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933 when he pledged to take the United States out of economic depression. Wary that neither Egyptian nor American political discourse can be likened to Iranian politics, we undertook this project as an experiment, in part inspired by Rouhani’s own pledge to be judged within his first 100 days. Prior to his election, President Rouhani publicly declared that his Presidency would deliver solutions to the country’s domestic and international problems within the first 100 days. It’s also worth noting that while Rouhani Meter’s 100 days starts from the day of his inauguration into the presidency on August 2, 2013, Rouhani has marked the beginning of his term with the initiation of his government on August 17.

Rouhani Meter 100 Days



46 Promises in Total

- Achieved - 4
- Not Achieved - 2
- In Progress - 15
- Not in Progress - 25

Rouhani Meter’s 100 Days

The first 100 days of Rouhani Meter came to a close on November 12, 2013. In that time, of the 46 total promises made, two were marked as explicitly “**Not Achieved**” (broken), and four as “**Achieved**” (completed). At the 100 day mark 25 of the total promises remained “**Not in Progress**” (with no available evidence indicating any action toward their achievement) and 15 of the promises have been marked as “**In Progress**” (with evidence suggesting some action has been taken toward their completion).

TABLE 2.
WHICH PROMISES ARE ACHIEVED AND WHICH ARE NOT ACHIEVED

Achieved	Not Achieved
Reinstating university professors and administrators dismissed or forced into retirement for their political views	Easing Iran’s monitoring phase prior to the publishing
Reopening Iran’s House of Cinema (Khaneh Cinema)	Establishing a Ministry of Women
Continuing Iran’s subsidy program without reducing the amounts currently being paid out	
Ending the expulsions of politically active university students (“starring”)	

TABLE 3.
WHICH PROMISES ARE IN PROGRESS AND WHICH ARE NOT IN PROGRESS

In Progress	Not in Progress
Organizing unions in the film industry and delegating the affairs to the unions	Developing smart health cards for patients with refractory diseases
Increasing the buying power of Iranian households (a priority for the administration in the short term)	Submitting bills to protect women’s rights
Creating and administering laws and regulations to facilitate a healthy economy, with a focus on decreasing unemployment	Reviving the Association of Iranian Journalists
Controlling Iran’s inflation	Minimizing controls and censorship in the film industry
Instituting privatization as according to article 44 in the Iranian constitution	Assigning experienced members of the film industry to tasks concerning cinema auditing
Encouraging and welcoming criticism of his administration	Establishing the Academy of Azeri Language and Literature
Preventing Lake Urmia from drying up	Developing smart health cards for patients with refractory diseases
	Submitting bills to protect women’s rights
	Reviving the Association of Iranian Journalists

In Progress	Not in Progress
Reopening the Management and Planning Organization of Iran (MPO)	Minimizing controls and censorship in the film industry
Presenting accurate and transparent facts and figures to the public	Assigning experienced members of the film industry to tasks concerning cinema auditing
Submitting the Charter of Citizens' Rights to Parliament as a bill	Establishing the Academy of Azeri Language and Literature
Improving bilateral relations with Persian Gulf States, especially Saudi Arabia	Instate independence for Iran's central bank
Applying more transparency for Iran's nuclear program	Empowering the Money and Credit Council
Applying more transparency for Iran's nuclear program	Strengthening the value of Iranian currency
Reducing and lifting international sanctions (In progress within Rouhani's first 100 days)	Consulting with unions and guilds regarding targeted subsidy plans
	Exporting petroleum products instead of selling crude oil
	Providing affordable housing and controlling housing prices
	Including entrepreneurs amongst Iran's presidential entourage while travelling abroad
	Ending the constant dismissals of government ministers and administrators
	Appointing a New Technology advisor for the office of the president
	Removing barriers that make it difficult for university professors to travel abroad
	Appointing locals for executive and managerial positions across Iran
	Assuring equal rights for all Iranian ethnicities
	Assuring equality for men and women
	Respecting and allowing minorities to practice of religious rituals
	Appointing members of Iran's minority groups as advisors to the president

Currently, the four promises that were achieved lay within the scope of socio-cultural matters, which also includes the denial of two other election promises. While a lot of the activity within this administration has been focused on matters of foreign policy, the changes here have proven difficult to decipher in their levels of progress or completion. For instance, the decision to label these promises “in progress” took numerous sessions of discussion and analyses amongst the research committee to decipher whether certain circumstances warranted a change in status. For instance, after much deliberation, our team recognized the third round of negotiations that led to the signing of a preliminary six-month agreement on easing sanctions on Iran to be a change worthy of the label “in progress” for the promise regarding the “reducing and lifting of sanctions.”⁴ Our community feedback on this perhaps speaks strongly to this notion of the immeasurability of promises, and a different scale by which Iranians measure events within Iran. For instance, one follower, Mojdeh, a Rouhani Meter Facebook follower states, “Mr. Rouhani has a good performance in his foreign policy, but there are not many activities in other fields,” which contradicts the Meter’s results—they show tangible changes in the areas of socio-cultural matters, and less so in the realm of foreign policy.⁵

Since many desire to see more from both the Rouhani administration and the research within Rouhani Meter, we have extended the project beyond the first 100 days. We intend to continue monitoring the work of the Rouhani administration in regards to fulfilling his campaign promises. At the moment we have documented the details of each promise, and see the promises in context of administrative limitations and where these decisions are made. In general, the Rouhani Meter research team looks for instances of direct or executive orders to inform the movement on the status of each promise. While in some cases, such as the establishment of a Ministry of Women,⁶ it is easy to decipher whether this has occurred or not, in other cases it is more difficult to measure, such as strengthening the value of the Iranian currency,⁷ which has been in flux since Rouhani’s inauguration.

⁴ “Reducing and Lifting Sanctions,” Rouhani Meter, <http://rouhanimeter.com/promise/reducing-and-lifting-sanctions/>.

⁵ Mojdeh Esfahani, Facebook comment, November 8, 2013, accessed December 17, 2013, https://www.facebook.com/Rouhanimeter/posts/434795246625906?comment_id=2114444&offset=0&total_comments=18.

⁶ “Establishing a Ministry of Women,” Rouhani Meter, <http://rouhanimeter.com/promise/establishing-ministry-of-women/>.

⁷ “Strengthen the Value of Iranian Currency,” Rouhani Meter, <http://rouhanimeter.com/promise/strengthening-the-value-of-iranian-currency/>.

Hassan Rouhani's Report on 100 Days

While Rouhani Meter marked the first 100 days of this administration on November 12, 2013, starting from his inauguration on August 3, the president set his 100 days from the first day of his cabinet on August 17, to end on November 25. He presented an outline of his administration's work during a live television question-and-answer session on the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting (IRIB), following it with the first draft of his Charter of Citizens' Rights⁸ which was consequently a promise⁹ Rouhani Meter had documented. Rouhani Meter changed this to "in progress" when Rouhani gave the order to his vice president for legal affairs, Elhad Aminzadeh, to form the legal committee that would draft this letter. The completion of this promise awaits the passing of the Charter as a bill in parliament.

⁸ <http://www.shoraqz.ir/Portals/4/Papers-Files/4.5.110.pdf>

⁹ "Civil Rights Charter Will Be Submitted to Parliament as a Bill," Rouhani Meter, <http://rouhanimeter.com/promise/submitting-the-civil-rights-charter-to-the-parliament-as-a-bill/>.

Summary of 100-Day interview with Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting¹⁰

The interview was 110 minutes in length and a 35-minute chunk of the interview was occupied with criticizing the work of the previous administration. In his explanations regarding the economy, Rouhani explained that his administration had successfully controlled the country's inflation and aspired to stabilize inflation by the end of the Persian year, adding that this would be a top government priority. He promised to bring inflation down to 35 percent, and to provide, for households with low incomes, two commodity packages by the end of the year. Since economic growth was in the negative numbers, he promised to have economic growth at three percent (an unspecified measurement during the interview) by the end of 2015. He also explained that prices had gone down and the foundations of the sanctions regime had been shaken throughout his first 100 days. In regards to the nuclear issue, Rouhani vowed that enrichment would continue, as it has been the nation's firm redline.

¹⁰ <http://www.president.ir/fa/72988>

In terms of cultural affairs, Rouhani celebrated the reopening of the House of Cinema, talked of how many more such organizations would be opened, and, furthermore, promised to reduce government interference in cultural affairs. Regarding the nation's medicine shortage, the president boasted it had been resolved, and promised to provide free milk to all elementary school children starting that November.

Our researchers will be using this 100-day report, alongside the many other speeches and reports of Rouhani's entire administration since he took office, to prepare an updated list of promises to be measured by the Meter. This study of measuring Rouhani's performance according to his promises will be extended until the end of the first year of his presidency.

Appendix A

Preliminary Assessment of President-elect Hassan Rouhani

In an effort to document and analyze the speeches, visions, and policies of Iran's new president, Hassan Rouhani, ASL19 has formed an aggregate of speeches and ideologies from three periods: the period prior to the 2013 presidential election; the period during the 2013 election; and the period following the election.

Speeches, Visions, and Policies in Three Periods

SPEECHES, VISIONS, AND POLICIES PRIOR TO THE ELECTION

July 1999

Hassan Rouhani on the issue of attacks against University Students

January 2005

Dissatisfaction within a dictatorship

On running for president

Rouhani's thoughts on Iran's relationship with the United States

Rouhani's thoughts on Iran's relationship with Europe

Thoughts on public diplomacy

Thoughts on freedom of speech

Rouhani criticizes the limits on building foreign networks for Iranians

Criticisms on the limits of media freedoms

September 2005

Rouhani's address to the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council as the head of the National Security Council on the Nuclear Dossier

2010

Rouhani explores the correlations between Iran's National Security policies and the Economy

2011

Rouhani explores the intersecting topics of family and religion in a paper entitled, "Family, Family Capital, and the Challenges in our Society"

February 2013

On the crisis of the Islamic Republic

On relations with Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei and former president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

Rouhani on accepting the results of the 2009 presidential election, February 2013

On free and fair elections in Iran

DURING THE ELECTION

Domestic Policy

On his character as a politician

Basis of domestic policy

Administrative repair and renewal of governmental institutions

Public vote

Avoiding extremism in politics

Using experts in the scientific management of the country

Presenting the people with transparent statistics

Dismissals and replacements of ministers and directors

On criticizing the administration

Supervising the president

The Leader's constitutional supervision over the president

Rouhani's thoughts on e-government

On university politics and policies

Codification of the Charter of Citizens Rights

On individual liberties

On freedom of expression

On freedom of press

Freedom for Green Movement leaders Mousavi and Karroubi

Rights of ethnic, religious minorities

Information technology

On Preserving Lake Urmia (in northwestern Iran, by Iran's border with Turkey)

Foreign Policy

Basis of foreign policy

Relationship with the world

Relationship with China

Relationship with Great Britain

Relationship with Saudi Arabia and Arab countries

On the Relationship with the United States

The status of the Iranian passport and travel conditions for Iranians living abroad

On Iran's Nuclear file

On sanctions

AFTER THE ELECTION

Press Conference June 17, 2013

Domestic Policy

Foreign Policy

SPEECHES, VISIONS, AND POLICIES PRIOR TO THE ELECTION

1999-2013

Hassan Rouhani on the issue of attacks against University Students

Spoken during a rally for Hezbollah Forces in Tehran, July 14, 1999

Speaking as the Secretary of the National Security Council, Hassan Rouhani [stated](#), “the council is still working on the issue of the university dormitory attacks so we can explain to the public the roots that caused this problem.” Rouhani further denounced the attacks on students at the university dormitories, and called it a “bitter and unfortunate event.” He asserted his respect for the rights of university students, and vowed to work on resolving the matter.

Rouhani took a firm stand against those students carrying out slogans against the Supreme Leader, and the notion of divine rule, known as Velayat.

The people know this very well that Velayat is the symbol of our society’s unity, Velayat is the symbol of our national competence. Disrespecting the Velayat is disrespecting the nation of Iran and all nobles whose hearts are filled with affection for the Islamic Iran as the center point of the Islamic world. This disrespectfulness is not acceptable to the Iranian people and to those all around the globe who love Islamic Revolution. Although those who have committed such obscene acts are few.

On those [arrested](#) during the July protests, Rouhani noted they included thugs, criminals and convicted felons from Iran’s opposition groups, and those hired to protest from “suspicious” sources. He also vowed to try those arrested in a fair Islamic court as corrupt militants endangering national security.

While the unrest was seen as a negative occurrence in the country, Rouhani saw an opportunity for the nation to refine Iran’s ongoing revolution. He stated, “although we suffered damages, in the long-run this will result in the revolutions progress and refining its movement.” He used the opportunity to warn activists against the use of violence, and need to pay heed to the rule of law within the country. His warnings to violent protesters was as follows

Thugs and anarchist elements will be severely put down, to act as a lesson to others. We promise the people that the Islamic Republic’s security forces and the Judiciary will act decisively regarding destructive and corrupt elements. We assure the people that the government is controlling the situation and there is no need to worry.

This speech was followed by cheers of “Allah-o Akbar,” and a further thank you by Rouhani to the police, Basij, and the Ministry of Intelligence for quelling the protests. He further said, “we also thank the students who distanced themselves from the corrupt elements amongst their peers.”

Dissatisfaction within a dictatorship

Rouhani is quoted in a 2005 interview with Hamshari newspaper as [saying](#),

In every country where a minority rules the majority there will be a dictatorship. This minority's rule will lead to dissatisfaction amongst the people and pressure on the majority.

On running for president

Rouhani addressed [rumours](#) of his candidacy for president in 2005, during his tenure as Secretary of the National Security Council.

I have not made a decision yet, although there have been talks and suggestion both from individuals and groups. In case I run and get elected, I say how do I choose my cabinet. If you have followed my career in parliament, National Security Council, and Centre for Strategic Research, you know that I do not consider an individual's political views when choosing the people of my office. This is completely evident right now if you take a look at the make of the National Security Council. I think that anyone who has the qualifications will take the responsibility. Government is different from political tendencies and parties.

<http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm>

Rouhani's thoughts on Iran's relationship with the United States

In his 2005 interview with Hamshari newspaper, Rouhani [explains](#) the need for creating a pragmatic solution for Iran's antagonism with the United States.

I suppose we have taken our conflict with America very seriously, meaning that we call them our enemy and do not bother to move further. America is a big economic and security power. You can see American soldiers in all four corners of the world and this is a reality, and a reality that cannot be denied. America is an influential power in United Nations. We see their actions in I.A.E.A. and this shows that they are causing us difficulty wherever they are. So America cannot be dismissed. They are coming after us, even if we do not have anything to do with them. I believe we need to think this through and come up with a plan on how to deal with them. Our strategy is to label them as our enemy and try to carry out normal relations with the rest of the world. We should also factor in how this relationship is complicated our other international endeavors. We need to think this through, as a relationship with America is so much more than that. We cannot solve this issue in four or eight years. We need a plan; one that bears our principles and national self-interest.

www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm

Rouhani's thoughts on Iran's relationship with Europe

In the same interview, Rouhani [explains](#) the necessity of relations with Iran in order to maintain economic growth through international trade.

In today's world, we need to interact with other nations. We need markets, technology, industrial development, and foreign investment, none of which can be achieved through a closed economy. We cannot achieve much without international trade, especially with partners such as the European nations. 40 percent of our trade is with Europe, and such it is one of our obvious choices for importing technology.

On what is impeding the development of a prospering relationship with Europe, Rouhani looks at the lack of coherence amongst Iranian politicians and policy makers, due in part to Iran's lack of rigid political parties.

Political systems often operate under clear structure of political parties. In Iran, we do not have clear parties with finite policies. One political faction might take up power in Iran, and completely reorient the nation's stand. This has created problems for domestic and international politics.

Rouhani's solution for the problem of maintaining healthy relations with Europe are to create policies within Iran's political parties, that can continue in the long-term. He calls for the creation of two or three strong and clear parties, that people can identify with long-lasting policy positions, such as maintaining amicable trade relations with Europe.

<http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm>

Thoughts on public diplomacy

Rouhani elaborates in the same [article](#) on public diplomacy, and Iran's place in a global dialogue with other nationalities and societies.

Public diplomacy, alongside non-governmental organizations, cultural, political, and economic tools are needed to pave the way for state's official line of diplomacy. This highlights the importance of soft power between societies, a concept utilized before drastic measures such as war.

<http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm>

Thoughts on freedom of speech

Rouhani [advocates](#) for freedom of expression amongst certain domains, such as academia and research which are often censored.

What is the meaning of limiting freedom of expression within the academic and research centres? We

should not censor people from censoring their views who are not within official state positions. As a matter of fact, sometimes it is important that some views be expressed from unofficial channels. The views of members of parliament, a corporation, an elite, or an academic, outside of the official sphere are sometimes necessary.

Rouhani criticizes the limits on building foreign networks for Iranians

Rouhani [speaks against](#) the restrictions faced by Iranians in travelling abroad and building foreign relationships:

Throughout the past two administrations, public diplomacy has been restricted for non-governmental organizations. Even universities have been limited to the extent that if an academic attends a foreign conference, he or she will arouse suspicions.

There are organizations and centres, which can be active in the international arena but are not allowed to participate. Even parliamentarians do not have enough freedom to manoeuvre. Members of parliament are involved in international public diplomacy and need to be present and active in other countries.

www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm

Criticisms on the limits of media freedoms

We need to liberate different tools in order to capitalize on them. The authoritarian approach towards television, radio, and newspapers will not succeed. There are obvious red lines in the major policies of the country, but in style and tactics these entities and non-governmental organizations should be free to act.

<http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm>

Rouhani's address to the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council as the head of the National Security Council on the Nuclear Dossier - [LINK](#)

This address from 2005 takes a pragmatic stance at the players involved in the nuclear issue. He analyses the dynamics between Iran and the then director general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, Mohammad Elbaradei, and the power dynamics amongst the countries on the UN Security Council, working on Iran's nuclear program. The brokerings between the different bodies since 1999, when the Iranian Atomic Energy Agency decided to upgrade Iran's nuclear capabilities, are the items within Rouhani points. His main argument advocates for Iran's nuclear program, explaining the misunderstandings to the technologies, and the fears belonging to Europe and the United States.

Rouhani explores the correlations between Iran's National Security policies and the Economy

In a 2010 [book](#) called *National Security and Iran's Economic System*, Rouhani explores the correlations between the two topics. With excerpts from a series of sessions from the Strategic Research Centre of the Expediency Council during 2000–2004, in which some top members of the government of the time were attending beside Rouhani as the centre's director. In that book Rouhani concludes,

The execution of the country's constitution and Iran's 20-year Vision Plan will occur through the design and planning of a native development pattern; a pattern that considers the country's cultural, geographical, and historical aspects. An Iranian Islamic development plan is desirable since it contains creating wealth, power, and security and spreading justice. Actualizing this view and its objectives can only be achieved by implementing competitive production strategies.

Rouhani explores the intersecting topics of family and religion in a paper entitled, "Family, Family Capital, and the Challenges in our Society"

In a [paper](#) called "Family, Family Capital, and the Challenges in our Society," Rouhani reasons that family is a form of social capital. Although his ideas are rooted in religion, he emphasizes tolerance and reconciliation in order to adapt traditional concepts into the challenges of modern urban life.

On the crisis of the Islamic Republic

In an [interview](#) with Khorasan Newspaper in the February of 2013, Rouhani categorized the Islamic Republic's crises into three groups: domestic problems; economic problems; and foreign policy problems. The following are his translated statements:

I believe we have three main problems at the moment. The first is the domestic crisis. While there have always been differences between different parties and sects, in recent years these disagreements have deepened immensely. These disagreements are turning into gaps. While we are far from a rupture, the forces loyal to the revolution and the Islamic Republic and the constitution must be gathered under one umbrella. Yes, disagreements are not always bad, and they can also be blessings that allow thoughts to progress. But the current domestic gap must be repaired by moving towards a moderate policy and a logical method.

The second issue relevant to the economy. It is true that we were facing financial difficulties in the past few years, and at times we were experiencing high rates of inflation and unemployment. But never had we experienced such downfalls in the national currency. More critical than the devaluation of the national currency, is the instability in the field of production. We must reach economic stability, and move away from inflation along with stagnation and unemployment. Currently, based on official statistics the rate of urban youth unemployment is 34 percent, which is an alarming number. We also have problems with domestic and foreign investments which need to be solved.

The third issue is our foreign policy crisis. We have had previous problems, but the situation has worsened during the past couple of years. “Iranophobia” has been intensified and we are not only having difficulties in our relations with the West, but also in relations with our neighbors. Our foreign relations must be amended, so we can achieve our national interests and security, with all nations except the one or two that have always been hostile to us.

I consider these three issues our main crises. Future administrations must have thought about these three issues, with a plan to tackle them so that we can slowly resolve these problems in the next term.

On relations with Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei and former president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

In the same Khorasan [interview](#), Rouhani explains the dynamics of his relations with the former president and the nation’s Supreme Leader.

Mr. Hashemi is one of the Revolution’s most notable individuals. I have known Mr. Hashemi since 1963 and have been familiar with his activities. After the Revolution he played a number of constructive roles, including: a member of the Revolutionary Council; Speaker of the Parliament; commander of war; President; and currently the chairman of the Expediency Discernment Council. I have had many contacts with him due to my responsibilities. In the past, both within Majlis and the War Committee, I was his deputy. During the war, in specific circumstances, Mr. Hashemi and Mr. Khamenei [then president] asked me to command the Iran Air Defense Force. Initially I declined but they emphasized that this is an order from Imam and so I accepted.

Due to my posts and responsibilities during the war, I was close to Mr. Hashemi and also cooperated with Mr. Khamenei who was at the time the head of the High Council of Defense. As the chairman of the Parliament’s Defense Commission, I was always present during the High Council of Defense’s meetings. After a while, the Supreme Council for Supporting War was established with Mr. Khamenei as its chairman, which I was a member of. A committee was founded to execute the decisions of the Council and I was chosen as its head. Therefore through these structures I have always been close to the Leader and Mr. Hashemi. I have had close relations with the Leader [Mr. Khamenei] since 1968. After 45 years, this friendship has remained lasting.

I respect and agree with some of Mr. Hashemi’s ideas and I always consult with him on important matters. He too sometimes consults with me. I admire Mr. Hashemi and agree with him on most issues, but at the same time I am independent and may naturally disagree with his approaches. He himself does not seek authority and does not expect to be followed. I have always respected him and we have always had discussions and exchanged of views. Therefore it is correct to say that my views on political and economical grounds are akin to those of Mr. Hashemi. However, it is not possible to assume that those views are identical.

Rouhani on accepting the results of the 2009 presidential election, February 2013

Rouhani refuses to accept the 2009 election was rigged, in the February 2013 Khorasan [interview](#).

When someone takes part in elections, it means that they accept the constitution and the election mechanism. If they don't, then they shouldn't participate. Participation means that they accept the Guardian Council's supervision and the election regulations that recognizes the administration as the executioner of the election. If I run for office, that means I have accepted the law. I ran in the Assembly of Experts in the past and have been a Member of Parliament for five terms. This means that I have accepted the law, and according to the law I became an official and was able to hold those positions. If that mechanism is inaccurate, then I am not the public's real representative in the Assembly of Experts. In my opinion it is not acceptable if someone says they do not recognize the election mechanism but at the same time are willing to run for office. It is very natural for someone to lose in an election. Elections have winners and losers. If I ever decided to run I will bow to the result.

On free and fair elections in Iran

Rouhani [explains](#), Iran's plans to mend the nation's election laws.

Nothing is absolute or complete. Iran's election is also not flawless. It is for this reason that the election laws are constantly being amended. The Expediency Discernment Council is after amending the election laws.

The Election law has its flaws, and it is not infallible like God, but it is an acceptable mechanism. I have always expressed that our elections must be executed in a way that the public feel that it is free and fair. Even though it might not be 100 percent feasible, 80 to 90 percent of the public should feel that way, and we should help create that feeling.

<http://www.hamshahrionline.ir/hamnews/1383/831111/world/siasatw.htm>

DURING THE ELECTION

Domestic Policy

On his character as a politician

On deceiving the public

I have never deceived you nor have I spoken in contrary to what I believe. I have never been involved in questionable political and financial activities. Instead of desiring to become a famous politician, I have always preferred the country's honor and public prosperity over popularity and populism. I am not suggesting that I am the best choice for the Iranian people, but I am hoping to put forward my best moral efforts and to be the needed water the thirsty people long for.

Campaign pledges

I hope that my administration acts in a way that the only worries will be attaining higher eminence, forming better relations instead of worrying about debt, spending quality time with friends and family, enjoying good food and comfortable housing, better healthcare, and to not long for the previous years as each new year arrives.

I have never acted militaristic, I'm a jurist

Since the beginning, my path has always been clear and I have never acted nor thought militaristically. I have studied law, I am not a colonel, I am a jurist.

My basis is not degradation

I should remind the great nation that I do not admire degradation and I will not degrade my rival. I will never disclose confidential documents on this stage.

If I ever make mistakes I will openly apologize to the nation.

Experience at Center for Strategic Research

My presence at Expediency Discernment Council and Strategic Researches Centre was a valuable experience and has always brought various studies opportunities and I will use these expertise in running the country.

I will not allow insults and accusations

I promise, on my own part, that I will never allow for someone to be insulted or falsely accused. Morality,

brotherhood and affection will be restored in this country Inshallah and it is with brotherhood, affection and unity that we can push this country forward.

Basis of domestic policy

The foundation of domestic policy of my administration is based on ensuring security and tranquility for all Iranians in every aspect of life including cultural, financial, jobs and privacy. The people must always experience security and tranquility everywhere.

Administrative repair and renewal of governmental institutions

The [Currency and Credit Council](#) will regain its authority.

The return of the [Plan and Budget Organization](#).

The [Central Bank](#) will regain its independence.

I will make the [Economic Council](#), which has recently held a meeting after five years, once again a powerful institution.

Public vote

[Velayat-e-Faqih has a sublime position but the republic's is also high](#): It is essential to rely both on republicanism and Islam. Today some think of Islamic Republic as Republic alone, or only Velayat-e-Faqih. Velayat-e-Faqih has a sublime position but that of the republic is also high. In Iran's Islamic system, according to 6th statute of the constitution, all affairs are based on public vote and the country must be run based on people's vote. Imam [Khomeini] wanted to keep both republic and Islamic [aspects of the regime].

Avoiding extremism in politics

I am not in good terms with extremism and I believe those who had chosen this path, even with good intentions, practically did not serve the country. I will ask for the help of all experts and connoisseurs and we need to build this country hand in hand.

One cannot [run a](#) country with only one [political] sect. My administration will be an ultra sectarian one. I really like the word ultra sectarian because I believe one cannot run a country with only one sect. I have no commitment to any party whatsoever.

Using experts in the scientific management of the country

Dear Nation! Managing and running the country must be scientific and merited. Experts must be used in all aspects.

Presenting the people with transparent statistics

People must be approached about difficulties and statistics with transparency so that we can pass this historical turning point.

Dismissals and replacements of ministers and directors

Throughout the past 7-8 years, the country's directors have been constantly replaced. The strategic Ministry of Oil witnessed four ministers. Four Ministers have been appointed to the Interior Ministry, the most crucial of political institutions. The Central Bank's director was replaced three times. We are witnessing instability on the political scene.

On criticizing the administration

What I want during my visits to provinces is that to have people writing to me, criticizing my ways and to give suggestions on how to improve them. I especially want the youth, our dear boys and girls, students to be active in this process and to have their voices heard. We have to believe that their criticism is valuable. If we pay attention to what they have to say and when all opinions are heard, the country will be managed better and errorless.

Supervising the president

Rouhani gives his [thoughts](#) on the media supervising the President.

The media including newspapers, news websites and radio and television are important supervising fractions, which are able to have the perfect role in controlling the administration. We should provide freedoms for the press and tolerate their criticism.

I believe that media can be the best supporter and [supervisor for the administrator](#).

The Leader's constitutional supervision over the president

Also the Supreme Leader is among those who are able to supervise the administration within the constitutional frameworks.

Rouhani's thoughts on e-government

The government must move towards becoming electronic. This can solve difficulties since bureaucracy is a problem and this must be solved through online world.

On university politics and policies

- [Objection to identifying Students with records](#)

We should abandon the term ‘starred student.’ Students should be able to freely participate in scientific and political activities with only the view of national interest as their only redline. Students should not be deprived of higher education because of violations, but if someone crosses the line, a qualified court must rule.

- [Returning Professors Back to University](#)

Those [professors] who have been excluded from universities for expressing themselves, must return to the classrooms.

- [Removing Barriers for Professors to Travel Abroad](#)

There are limitations for our university professors. They must go through ‘seven labours’ to participate in a scientific conference and there will be another ‘seven labours’ to be held accountable for political reasons.

- [We should clear the way for scholars to travel](#)

I dislike the current narrow-mindedness towards students and professors, and the fact that a very few number of them get the opportunity to participate in seminars and fellowships. I am against this mindset and I believe that we need to open up the sphere so that our scholars can travel abroad and have their foreign counterparts to visit Iran. Gone are the times that the communication of two people was considered problem solving. The world today is that of information and people are connected with each other, therefore the regime must trust their own people. We must provide the necessary platform to have foreign students and professors visit Iran.

Codification of the Charter of Citizens Rights

As of now, the initial draft of the [Charter of Citizens Rights](#) has been prepared, and I will present it as a document and a bill to the parliament. In this charter, equal rights have been foreseen for all citizens, regardless of their gender and ethnicity.

Based on the [third chapter of the constitution](#), the question of citizens and national rights must be codified and based on the notion of equal rights for all Iranians. Differences in ethnicity, religion and race cannot interfere in these rights.

[Legal Bills](#)

I will codify the chapter three of the constitution regarding the nation’s rights and will present it to the parliament as a bill.

Equal Rights and Participation

The question of justice across the country and the citizen rights issue is something to be emphasized in the administration of “scheme and hope,” so all Iranians from different ethnicities and tribes will feel like citizens of one country with equal rights. The platform for participation must be provided so that citizens different political and social sects will participate with confidence and trust.

On individual liberties

- [Rigidness must not take place](#)
Liberty is an important issue and people need to feel the responsible liberties in every aspect of their lives. Platforms where they can express themselves or participate in elections with absolute freedom and in some cases it is ignored with, in my opinion unnecessary rigidness on the election scene.
- [Opposing arrest](#)
In reply to the former chief of the Police Forces, Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf: I told you if you want to draw them [the students] onto the street and then arrest them pincer style and have lawsuits against them, it is not right. Don't do it.
- [Forcing people into heaven](#)
In my administration, men, women, girls and boys will feel their freedoms, and future administrations will not believe in forcing people into heaven.

On freedom of expression

[I think the freedom of expression](#) must be expressed. I have always confronted the extremists. I have always been a supporter of freedom of speech and against extremism and detachment. I have always chosen the moderate path.

We will achieve national strength by providing the [public with freedom of expression](#) and it is liberty that can create national strength for us. We can only witness national force only when the people can participate actively in all contexts.

On freedom of press

- [Freedom of press in the framework of law](#)
Freedom of press is the preserver of human rights and for preserving human rights the press must be expanded within the frameworks of law.

[Media freedom](#) is also among the factors that prevent corruption in the country.

- [Economic development is](#) dependent on political development and freedom of speech
It is not possible for a nation to enjoy growth and development without criticism and freedom of speech. In fact economical development will not be gained without political development.
- [Censorship](#)
The main issue regarding culture is that we need to make the cultural scene a secure place for those who take part in it. Those who are active should not be concerned with unimportant issues, like worrying about censorship.
- [Freedom of Speech for the Media](#)
I believe in providing the media with freedom. Today our written medias are riddled with problems; they are numerous but not diverse.
- [Media Frameworks](#)
The press and the media must function within legal frameworks, and must not interfere with public freedoms. No national or local news outlets have the right to interfere with people's privacy or publish lies or accusations. It is then when the people's fundamental rights will be violated.
- [Recognition of Media Plurality](#)
The more our domestic media becomes active, the less effective the foreign media will be. So we must recognize the youth with their different styles and tastes, and their media plurality.

Freedom for Green Movement leaders Mousavi and Karroubi

Rouhani on the removal of Mousavi and Karroubi and the events of 2009

These issues are because of the policing atmosphere stowed upon the country therefore I will try to lift these circumstances in the future administration.

- [On extremism during the 2009 election](#)
If there were no extremism, we would have not witnessed the street expeditions four years ago. There would have been no need for trials, imprisonments or arrests. All these problems are rooted in extremism.
- [Securing the Ballots](#)
What will go wrong if we had cameras by the ballot boxes so that everyone can witness what is going on and what it being said. It is also better if there would be a list of the each ballot box's results. We don't have to wait for the Election Headquarters to announce the votes. The public should stay informed of what is happening in the ballot boxes so that it produces joy and excitement.
- [On Hiring the Disabled](#)
The disabled constitute five percent of the society and according to law three percent of them must be

employed. But this law is not being executed nor are the other rules regarding the disabled.

Rights of ethnic, religious minorities

- [Hassan Rouhani's pledge](#)

I am engaged and willing, in case of winning your vote of trust and establishing my administration, to implement the following ten articles in order to execute the constitution's chapter of Nation's Rights which is among the most important goals of the glorious regime of Islamic Republic and bringing to reality what has been only a slogan until today.

There will be [Public Participation](#) regardless of language and religion in the country's macroeconomic managements and implementing the principle meritocracy in all political-administrative levels in a way that all the citizens enjoy equal opportunity in participating in all levels even membership in the cabinet.

Appointments will be made with [merits](#) in management in different parts of the country. This will support, strengthen and delegate the local administrative tasks amongst the administration's general policies.

The [teaching of different Iranian mother tongues](#) (Kurdish, Azeri, Arabic, etc.) will officially be implemented in schools and universities in light of article 15 of constitution.

[Implementing religious rites and practices](#)

Observing the right of followers of other religions and faiths and avoiding interfering with their religious affairs by providing them the freedom of religious practice in just circumstances.

[Avoiding the police-state approach](#) towards ethnic and cultural minorities of Iran and changing policing structures into an efficient and scientific management in order to make the best use of the plenteous and original human and material resources of these parts of the country.

[Appointing deputies from religious minorities](#) and assigning the responsibility of coordinating and planning in order to execute the nine articles above. [There should](#) be a deputy from the minorities to handle the minorities' issues.

[Guaranteeing the rights of ethnic minorities](#): Regarding ethnic minorities, did you have the same approach when you were in power then? What wrongdoing had the Supreme National Security Council committed regarding ethnic minorities? The Council had emphasized on protecting the rights of all minorities at all times. We have always reacted whenever there was a case which was not right.

Information technology

[Iranians deserve better internet bandwidth](#)

Touching upon expanding Communication and Information Technology in the online world, Hassan Rouhani said: “Iranians deserve better internet bandwidth. We are living in a world of communications but unfortunately some are still living in the nineteenth century.

We are living in a world that [limiting information](#) is not possible and by doing this we are putting the youth under an information bombardment. Our students and researchers need to use the internet and it damages our people’s dignity to wait for hour to get the information they are looking for.

Iranians deserve better [internet bandwidth](#).

[Iranians deserve faster internet speed](#)

Hassan Rouhani’s views regarding IT are focused mostly on criticizing the current internet situation in Iran.

On Preserving Lake Urmia (in northwestern Iran, by Iran’s border with Turkey)

[I will not allow Lake Urmia to dry out](#)

I will give you my word if I take the burden of forming the cabinet, on day one resolving the problem of Lake Urmia will be on my priorities. I promise you that in my administration, revival of Lake Urmia will be among the [top priorities](#).

Foreign Policy

Basis of foreign policy

[Turning Threats to Opportunities](#)

The basis of our work is to turn threats to opportunities or at least to damage, and then turn the damage into normal situation and then to opportunity.

http://www.rouhani.ir/event.php?event_id=55

[Relationship with the world](#)

In the world today, no country can separate itself by hedges and walls and no country can develop in isolation and without relationship with the rest of the world, good life is not possible.

[Relationship with China](#)

There are some factors to consider in relations with China, but in general we are pursuing a good relationship with that country.

[Relationship with Great Britain](#)

We are relying on mutual respect and mutual interests. Relation with Great Britain is not any different

from this.

Relationship with Saudi Arabia and Arab countries

- [Gulf Countries](#)

The government's priority is good and close relation with the neighbouring countries. The relationship with 15 neighbour countries will be based on friendship and mutual respect. The Persian Gulf has strategic qualities and we are neighbours and brother with the gulf countries.

- [Saudi Arabia](#)

Not only are we neighbours and brothers with Saudi Arabia, we have many cultural commonalities. Saudi Arabia is qibla for all muslims. Many Iranians visit Saudi Arabia for hajj annually, and many of their citizens visit our country. The groundwork is ready for collaboration and we hope to have good relations with our neighbours.

- [Syria](#)

The situation in Syria will only be resolved by the people's verdict. The concerns of our nation on Syria is a civil war and foreign interventions, which needs to end. The current government of Syria has to be legitimate for all countries until the next election, and in the election of 2014 the new elected government will come to power.

On the Relationship with the United States

[Moving from Enmity to Strategic Relations](#)

At this moment, we are in a state enmity with the united States and we have reached an important stage. We need to reduce this enmity step by step and ameliorate it to state of tensions and then work on reducing the tensions.

In our foreign policy, we need to move from tensions to cold relations and then to normal relations and finally to strategic relations with other governments. In my time as deputy of Supreme Council for National Security, we had strategic relations with governments.

The status of the Iranian passport and travel conditions for Iranians living abroad

I will try to return the prestige to the [Iranian passport](#). The value of passport is a sign of our relationship with the world. If our relations with a country, continent, or the whole world be based on trust, mutual respect, and mutual interests so there would be warm and friendly relations, Iran will gain a different position.

We need to facilitate Iranians to [travel to Iran](#), even those who have legal problems should be able to

communicate with the judiciary so they can travel to Iran.

On Iran's Nuclear file

Practical Way in Resolving Nuclear Issue

Nothing will be achieved by stating our position and reading articles. We need to understand the issue and that is the only way to resolve the problem. We need to use experts and diplomats not inexperienced people.

Negotiation Is the Only Way Out

The nuclear issue can only be resolved through negotiation, until then threats and sanctions will be effective. We should implement our past experiences. The reality is that the future government will have the obvious rights of the Iranian people in mind and will try to remove the sanctions. Fordow is a minor issue that can be discussed later.

Time Is Up for Stopping the Enrichment

Currently we are in a special situation. I think we have many ways to create trust (other than stopping enrichment).

Negotiations Need to be on the Level of Ministers

Today the negotiations are on the level directors. We need reach the level of ministers and presidents. This is doable and we will hopefully pursue this with prudence and this threat will be transformed to opportunity.

We achieve our nuclear rights with a minimum cost

My government will pursue and stabilize this right with a minimum cost. The important matter is what we achieve and at what cost.

Nuclear energy is good pending that industry, economy, and people's lives be in good situation as well.

Creating Trust

We will both pursue building power plants and making the fuels needed for it. We will also build trust and will not let the current situation that is created with the excuse of the nuclear issue be continued.

Taking out the nuclear file from the security council

Back then we did not let the file get to the security council. Now that the enemy has taken the file there, we need try and try harder to get the file out of the security council.

The file needs to go back to the Board of Governors of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

[Resolving the nuclear issue takes time](#)

Those who say that we will get the sanctions removed don't know how complicated the world is. We need unity and consensus since the nuclear matter is not a partisan issue and it is related to national interests. Meanwhile, some approach this issue without proper knowledge.

On sanctions

[Negotiation:](#)

Negotiation is only way, both for us and the enemy and the west.

[Negotiation is the best way](#)

If west is really looking for clarity surrounding the nuclear matter it has no way but negotiation. In order to pursue our rights, remove the sanctions, and passing from the situation that the enemy has created for us, it is good for us to negotiate as well.

[Iran's first priority is removing sanctions](#)

Removing sanctions and resolving our problems with other countries is the government's first priority. It is possible that the issue of removing sanctions be a negotiation tactic, but our final goal must be to have them removed, since they are not in the interest of our people. The way we will approach this issue and in which round of negotiations is a tactic.

[Our tone and language needs to change to some extent](#)

Although we are critical of the world order, we do not want to confront the whole world. We need to deal with the world in a way so we can reduce our cost and gain the objectives mentioned in our vision document.

[Creating alignments in \(IAEA's\) Board of Governors](#)

In foreign policy, we need seek for alignments. There are 35 countries in the Board of governors from which we need to create alignments to reach our goals.

[Reaching the goal is the most important thing](#)

I believe that we need a way that help us reach out goal and not just make us feel good.

The group of 5+1 is a good opportunity for the Americans. If they want to talk about the nuclear issue the negotiation table is a good place, but if they come there and be strict and resistant, the opportunity will be lost.

[I will celebrate](#) the day when the sanctions are removed and we get to commence good relations with the world.

[Preventing formation of consensus for sanctions](#)

One problem is that sanctions have been initiated in the security council which is an unprecedented issue [for us]. The other problem [or the advantage we used to use and don't have anymore] is that we used create a distance between the European Union and the United States, which was sometimes strategic and sometimes tactical. So our diplomats need to be capable of preventing the consensus to build against us.

Sanctions are to the advantage of Israel

The time of sanctions has passed. Sanctions are to the disadvantage of the west itself, especially with financial malaise they are facing. If anyone benefits from these sanctions it is Israel.

Finding common ground in negotiations

Negotiations are not a place where we announce our positions, it is a place to discuss a subject and bridge the ideas of both sides and create common ground.

Two Steps for Removing the Sanctions

Removing the sanctions may not be achieved over night and is a set by [step procedure](#). First step is to create more transparency. Although our nuclear programs are very clear, we are willing to make it more transparent so that the world knows that Islamic Republic of Iran is working within international frameworks.

Secondly, we will improve the level of trust between Iran and other countries. Wherever there are mistrusts, we will [try to resolve](#) them.

AFTER THE ELECTION

These are the excerpts from the first press conference held by Rouhani has President-elect. The event took place in a hall affiliated to the Expediency Council in presence of many domestic and foreign journalists.

Domestic Policy

Releasing Mousavi and Karoubi

Responding to question regarding releasing Mousavi and Karoubi, two presidential candidates in 2009, Rouhani said that many tasks are not be taken just by the executive branch and all three branches of government have to work together on it. He promised that "the atmosphere will change and the basis for meeting many demands will be provided".

Restoring Journalists' Syndicate

"I think that we should restore not only this syndicate but all syndicates, since the society is best run through these trade unions. So I will do my best in this regard."

Economic Domain

Improving the economy, specifically reducing the inflation and preventing new sanctions and trying to alleviate the current sanctions, were the most important promises that Mr. Rouhani mentioned on this domain.

Foreign Policy

Sanctions

Mr. Rouhani said that alleviating sanctions and restoring relations with other countries would be a top priority in his government.

Nuclear File

Mr. Rouhani said that the nuclear crisis and the sanctions will be gradually resolved through creating transparency around Iran's nuclear activities and creating trust with the negotiating parties.

Israel

Mr. Rouhani said that he is ready to expand relations with all countries, except Israel.

Relations with the United States

Mr. Rouhani said that if United States reaffirms that it will interfere with Iran internal matters according to the Algiers Accords, acknowledges Iran's rights like the nuclear rights and terminates politics of dominance with regard to Iran, the two countries can negotiate with mutual respect and from an equal position.

Relations with the Saudi Arabia

Having friendly and close relations with all 15 neighbouring countries will be the top foreign policy in the government. Not only we brothers and neighbors with the Saudi's, we also have many cultural and historical similarities. I hope we have good relations with neighbors and especially with Saudi Arabia.

Resolving the Syria Crisis Only Through its People

Syrians are in charge of their affairs and final decision makers for their future. Although we are against terrorism, we are also against foreign interference by other countries. We hope that with the help all regional countries peace returns to Syria and the Syrian people reach their goal.

Appendix B

Public Requests Demanding Change

These public requests were made directly to Hassan Rouhani in the form of open letters to his election campaign and following his June 13, 2013, presidential election. Unions, prominent political figures, and civil society members wrote these. Political parties had numerous requests, but the most letters came from those involved in cinema, theatre, workers, and union activists. Numerous requests that were made on a regional basis were omitted from this list, as our research concerned itself with national matters.

Domestic Policy

1 A speech by former president Mohammad Reza Khatami

1-1 [Releasing](#) political prisoners, ending the house arrest of Mir Hossein Mousavi, Zahra Rahnavard, and Mehdi Karroubi

1-2 [Easing](#) the atmosphere of security and surveillance that is present in society

2 A letter by Ahmad Pournajati, a reformist politician and a former MP to Rouhani

2-1 Increasing transparency in the selection and appointment of ministers, deputies, and others employed by the 11th government

3 A letter by Keyvan Samimi, an imprisoned journalist, to Rouhani

3-1 Releasing prisoners of conscience, political prisoners, and those charged with endangering national security; trying appeals publicly and away from the influence of politicians and security officials

4 A letter by Adnan Hassanpour, an incarcerated Kurdish journalist, to Rouhani

4-1 Implement the Constitution unconditionally

4-2 Re-evaluating government policies toward Kurdistan and the Kurdish people

4-3 Gradually transferring governing power to the Kurdish people and Kurdish elites

4-4 Support the formation of independent civil society organizations that can act as points of contact

between the government and the Kurdish people

4-5 Making partnerships with Kurdish elites in the governing the country

4-6 Ending the narrow-minded and uninformed way that the administration deals with Kurdistan and its issues

4-7 The formation of a government body under the supervision of the President, which will follow up on issues of ethnic concern, as well as those affecting border regions; or as suggested by Mohammad Reza Aref, the formation of a Department of Ethnic Affairs, to be supervised by the President

5 [A request by Hassan Amini, Sunni Islamic scholar and senior judge of Kurdistan.](#) (Islamccourt.com later removed this article)

5-1 Appointing two Sunni ministers and one Sunni deputy

6 [A letter by Hassan Amini to Rouhani](#) (Islamcourt.com later removed this article)

6-1 Respecting the religious and legal rights of Sunnis and implementing [Articles 12, 15, and 19](#) of the Constitution

6-2 Releasing political prisoners and prisoners of conscience

7 [Requests by Molavi AbdolHamid Ismaeelzahi, a Sunni theologian and the spiritual leader of the Sunni community in Iran](#)

7-1 Appointing elites from Sunni and other ethnic communities to top governmental positions, both regionally and nationally

7-2 Appointing high-ranking government officials on the basis of merit and not religious or ethnic affiliation

7-3 Forming a department of Ethnic and Religious Affairs, to be supervised by the president

8 [Requests by the Iran Bar Association](#)

8-1 Removing threats against the independence of lawyers and the Bar Association

8-2 Supporting the legal aid system offered by the Bar Association

9 Reformists' Requests as explained by Mohammad Reza Khatami

9-1 The implementation of promises made during the election

9-2 Easing the atmosphere of security and surveillance that exists in universities, the cultural domain, and society at large

9-3 Improving the economy before, or at least along with, making progress on nuclear programs

10 A letter by the Association of Iranian Jurists Defending Human Rights

10-1 Protecting the human dignity of Iranians, and improving the quality of defending their basic rights (within Iran's judicial order)

10-2 Resuming the activities of the Supervisory Committee for the Implementation of the Constitution

10-3 Respecting and defending of the rights of the people as defined in the third chapter of the Constitution

10-4 Avoiding despotism and autocracy and defending freedom, human dignity, and the rights of the people

11 Requests by the Female Journalists Association

11-1 Recognizing the necessity of the appointment of female ministers

11-2 Considering women for important cabinet positions and for promotions to executive positions

11-3 Ending discrimination against women

11-4 Publishing annual reports that outline which women's rights the President has implemented

12 A letter by Touran Valimorad, general secretary of the Islamic Coalition of Women

12-1 Refrain from appointing men who undervalue women to key government positions

12-2 Acting on the promise to "change existing approaches towards women and end discrimination against them"

12-3 Employing qualified and competent women as decision-makers and for top-level executive positions

12-4 Taking practical steps to empower women and increase their participation [in society]

13 [Requests by Mohammad Boroon](#), Rouhani's electoral assistant in Khuzestan Province

13-1 Forming an administrative office responsible for collecting and responding to public concerns, complaints, and requests, and for bringing these to the attention of the president

14 [Statement by a group of lawyers based in Eastern Iran](#)

14-1 Respecting and defending the rights of the people as defined in the third chapter of the Constitution, particularly those laws often disregarded and overlooked

14-2 Increasing and improving legal education nationwide in order to advance public knowledge of the law

14-3 Employing expert, experienced, and committed individuals in government

14-4 Promoting a culture of respect for the law in all the three branches of government (judicial, legislative, and executive) with particular emphasis on the executive branch

14-5 Altering administrative structures and bureaucratic relations in order to reduce bureaucratic red tape; reviving useful bodies like the High Administrative councils

14-6 Modifying the budget-writing process, as well as micro- and macro- planning, through close collaborations between organizations; reopening the Management and Planning Organization of Iran.

14-7 Following international principles while committing to the protection of national interests

14-8 Taking continuous and practical steps to value and respect the rights of women and children

Social and Cultural Requests

15 [Requests by a group of independent movie producers](#)

15-1 Depoliticizing cultural affairs

15-2 Increasing job security for those working in the movie industry

15-3 Reopening the House of Cinema and allocating the union related responsibilities over its members and affiliates

15-4 Reviving the movie industry's private sector and ending government productions

15-5 Regulating production audits and preventing the influence of personal preferences in these audits

15-6 Eliminating the discriminations imposed on certain members of the industry and ending the "extra" payments made to a few members in the industry

15-7 Building new cinemas and preserving existing ones

15-8 Taking practical steps to transfer the cinema of Hoze Honari (Artistic Center of Islamic Development Organization) to the private sector and ending government interference

15-9 Implementing regulations to maintain a system of meritocracy over nepotism within cultural and cinematic affairs

15-10 Creating a fund to support filmmakers, the production process, and to honor pioneers of the movie industry

16 A letter by the Council to Defend the Right to Education

16-1 Implementing the people's rights as defined in the Constitution

16-2 Putting an end to denying the rights to education for university students

16-3 Reinstating university students who have been suspended or expelled [for political or religious reasons], and those "starred" [blacklisted] during their post-secondary exams

16-4 Immediately ending gender segregation and the process of Gozinesh, or selection at universities

16-5 Ending the forceful dismissal and retirement of university professors

16-6 Ending the Gozinesh process and the non-academic and non-scientific criteria it uses to select university faculty members

16-7 Allowing the staff to elect the heads of universities and respecting the independence of universities

16-8 Releasing university students imprisoned only expressing their dissenting opinions

16-9 Releasing imprisoned members of the Council to Defend the Right to Education: Zia Nabavi, Majid Dari, Saeed Jalalifar, and Shiva Nazar Ahari

17 Requests by Mohammad Hadi Imanieh, the head of Shiraz University of Medical Science

17-1 Putting into practice the slogan “Health: The Axis of Development,” the 20-year outlook plan, the five-year development plan, and other health-related regulations

17-2 Reducing the costs of medicine and health care

18 A letter by the Iranian Musicians Union

18-1 Turning policy-making and other like responsibilities over to the union

18-2 Endorsing art and culture as key components of social life; honoring art and artists; and showing appreciation for artists, authors, and all of those who contribute to the cultural affairs of the nation

18-3 Limiting the role of the government in art and cultural domains; strengthening civic and non-governmental organizations

18-4 Supporting the cultural diversity and advocating for the creation of independent literary and artistic works that are free of personal, partisan, and factional interests

18-5 Making rules and regulations to facilitate creative expressions and to avoid the interference of personal or partisan preferences

18-6 Effectively implementing laws to protect the rights of artists, authors, and composers

18-7 Eliminating the role of the government and, instead, transferring the executive responsibilities of the cultural domain to the private sector

18-8 Investing in institutions of art and culture and especially in public arts education, and supporting young artists

18-9 Appointing directors trusted by various artists’ union and associations based on their competence and eligibility and in consultation with artists and authors

18-10 Allowing artists to take part in the policy-making, planning, and implementation process of cultural development programs

18-11 Supporting the establishment and strengthening of unions and professional associations in all branches of art and culture

18-12 Establishing a social security system for artists which would include employment insurance to

safeguard professional and intellectual integrity.

18-13 establishing non-governmental funds to ensure the production of cultural programs and services, as well as the distribution and export of works of art.

18-14 Expanding the spaces used to produce and distribute artistic and cultural productions, such as cinema complexes, theatre halls, music venues, libraries, art galleries, and art museums, in cities across country and in accordance with global standards

18-15 Amending laws and regulations in order to ensure freedom of expression and cultural pluralism, removing both official and unofficial barriers to these rights; to do away with censorship; and to facilitate the participation of NGOs, unions, and professional associations in religious affairs

18-16 Facilitating and expanding artistic collaboration and exchange at the international level; allowing Iranian participation in and interaction with global culture

19 [A letter by Ali Rahbari](#), composer and Permanent Conductor of Tehran Symphony Orchestra.

19-1 Paying attention to orchestral music by the government

20 [Statement by the Board of the House of Music](#)

20-1 Facilitating the process by which permits are issued

20-2 Eliminating interference by the security establishment in conventional and harmless artistic endeavours

20-3 Removing barriers to the production of music and easing bureaucratic red tape

20-4 Guaranteeing permits for musical activities; preventing special interest groups from pressuring the authorities to revoke or invalidate permits after-the-fact

20-5 Providing equal opportunities for male and female activists, publishers, artists, performers, and professionals working in the field of music around the country

20-6 Delegating supervisory powers and quality-control practices to professional associations, and empowering civic and non-governmental music organizations

21 [Statement by a group of women's rights activists](#)

21-1 Ministers should be against gender, ethnic, religious, and language discrimination in all economic,

social, cultural, and political fields

21-2 Ministers should be committed to eliminating gender discrimination from their projects and programs

22 [An open letter by 105 artists](#)

22-1 Providing financial assistance (slightly over four million dollars this year) to senior artists so that they may cover their medical expenses

22-2 Cover the costs of sending a limited number of elderly artists with no families to nursing homes

22-3 Following through with the promise made by a previous administration to offer artists a loan (almost USD\$20,300) to buy or build their own homes

22-4 Offering health insurance to all pioneering artists

22-5 Permitting members of the Pioneering Artists Organization to be admitted to specialized hospitals across the country [free of charge]

22-6 Offering special discounts for pioneering artists to tourist attractions and recreational facilities; permitting them free entry to museums

22-7 Establishing a center for pioneering artists to assist the president

23 [A Letter from the Academy of Science to Hassan Rouhani](#)

23-1 Bring order to the critical situation in institutions of higher education, especially universities

23-2 Developing a vision for the future university; properly executing development plans

23-3 Preventing non-academic organizations from interfering in university affairs and easing the atmosphere of surveillance and security that characterizes the university environment

23-4 Reinforcing the authority of the Ministry of Science, Research and Technology, as stated in the Act of August 2004

23-5 Recognizing and respecting university independence; reinforcing the role of Boards of Trustees in policy-making, organization, decision-making, planning, and implementation of educational, administrative, and research regulations; supporting the scientists and scholars

23-6 Allowing academics to participate in a meaningful way in the selection of university presidents, deans, and directors; ensuring that this process is not politicized and that these appointments are made on the basis of merit

23-7 Strengthening and modernizing civic and academic organizations

23-8 Decentralizing the recruitment of faculty and revising the bylaws that govern promotion and dismissal in order to minimize the influence of outside actors in this process

23-9 Decentralizing admission to specialized PhD programs and eliminating gender quotas in admissions programs at all levels of education

23-10 Recognizing the necessity of international cooperation with prestigious universities and scientific and technological centres (This story was also reported in Ebtekar News.)

24 A Letter by 116 University of Hamedan professors

24-1 Providing a safe space for the academic, social, and political activities that take place in the university

24-2 Ensuring and securing academic integrity and keeping the environment of the university hopeful and joyous

24-3 Restoring university independence and the rightful position of the Ministry of Science

24-4 Paying special attention to the state of the nation's higher education system and appointing as minister an experienced and informed individual; he or she should come from the academic community and be respected within it

25 A Letter from the Association of Publishers and Booksellers of Tehran

25-1 Lifting censorship and personal preferences regarding book licensing

25-2 Leaving publishing affairs to publishing associations

25-3 Providing tax exemptions for publishers

26 Mowlavi Abdulhamid Ismaiel Zehi, a top Sunni Leader

26-1 Protecting Sunni religious rights under Iran's constitution

26-2 Observing justice and equal rights for Sunnis and ending discrimination against the Sunni minority

26-3 Resolving the recruitment issues Sunnis face in government agencies

27 Letters from Journalists

27-1 Reviving the Association of Iranian Journalists

27-2 Adherence to the principle freedom of press and providing professional security for the media

27-3 Removing the obstacles preventing the re-publishing of banned press outlets and restoring the right to work in the national information and reflecting public demands.

28 A Request by the Iranian Teachers' Association

28-1 Implementing the civil service law regarding teachers

28-2 Permitting union activities for teachers

28-3 Eliminating insecurity and reducing student accidents

28-4 Eliminating the security environment in schools

29 A Request by Sunnis for the appointment of two Sunni cabinet ministers and a vice president from this sect (the open letter was later removed by Islamcourt.com)

30 A Letter by Journalist and Authors of city of Bushehr

30-1 Appointing a minister of culture who is a leading cultural figure, open minded and a courageous advocate of artists and authors. Someone who believes in freedom of speech, press, expression, artistic creativity, opposed to censorship and to dictating a certain belief and way of life

30-2 Reopening the Association of Iranian Journalists, Association of Iranian Authors, House of Cinema, and local journalist associations alongside other NGOs that have been shut down by government agencies and have stopped operating.

30-3 Ensuring the freedom of speech, artistic products, public media and freedom of press for receiving, processing and publishing information.

30-4 Recognition of the freedom of press in criticizing the political power (status quo)

30-5 Ending the non-cultural oriented and authoritative point of view towards media, books and art

31 A Letter from House of Cinema Unions

- 31-1** Providing job security and establishing an unemployment fund
- 31-2** Recognizing union rights and entrusting the cinematic affairs to the guilds
- 31-3** Guaranteeing the freedoms mentioned in the constitution, including freedom of speech, and lifting censorship
- 31-4** Create an environment for the private sector to survive in the film industry
- 31-5** Limit the government's role in general cultural policy making
- 31-6** Investing in the film industry and providing monetary support for technological advancement
- 31-7** Appointing a minister that uses the language of culture to speak to the artists and trust them and their true unions.

32 A Letter by 3000 Students of the Iran's University of Medical Sciences (IUMS)

- 32-1 Opposing and preventing the IUMS's secession from Tehran

33 A Statement by the Teacher's Association of Islamic Iran and teachers supporting Rouhani

- 33-1** Returning the educational system and teachers to higher standards
- 33-2** Providing the necessary platform for participation of teachers in the decision making process
- 33-3** Creating a favorable environment for the development of teachers' associations and political organizations
- 33-4** Undertaking an effort to maintain teachers' dignity and livelihood
- 33-5** Ending discrimination, spontaneous decision making, politicization in the Ministry of Education
- 33-6** Supporting professional unions and civic organizations
- 33-7** Forming the Supreme Council of Teachers as an advisory body to the minister
- 33-8** Establishing a teacher's organization to improve the rating system and ensure the livelihood and dignity of teachers

33-9 Appointing a minister with experience in the field of education, who is well-versed in the issues affecting the education system, has an advanced degree in education, has been approved by the educational community, and is trusted by the President

Economic Requests

34 Letter of Iran's Association of Economists to Hassan Rouhani

34-1 Stabilizing and controlling inflation, which has now reached 40 percent

34-2 Giving the Central Bank of Iran the independence to decide on and implement monetary policies according to macroeconomic objectives and to control and uproot the causes of inflation and prevent the government from selling foreign currency at an inflated price

34-3 Free the Judiciary from Executive control and institute reforms that will allow it to meet international standards of impartiality

34-4 Reforming the Department of Finance, empowering it to collect public revenue from a larger tax base and remove tax exemptions

34-5 Reforming government rules and regulations and three government bodies who play a key role in the state of economy

35 Appeal by the Chamber of Commerce to Rouhani

35-1 Making a serious attempt to have international sanctions lifted

35-2 Collaborating with the private sector and the Chamber of Commerce to communicate the country's desire to have the sanctions lifted and to cultivate a culture of mutual respect and benefit between international business partners

35-3 Supporting economic progress as an inalienable right

35-4 The Chamber of Commerce demands Rouhani to reduce the sanctions (Also referenced here: <http://dana.ir/News/2672.html> and http://www.bbc.co.uk/persian/business/2013/07/130707_l01_rohani_chamber_of_commerce.shtml)

36 Requests by the Chamber of Commerce to Hassan Rouhani

- 36-1** Privatizing state-owned enterprises in accordance with Article 44 of the Constitution
- 36-2** Preventing daily interference in the currency exchange market
- 36-3** Forming a partnership between the Chamber of Commerce and the administration
- 36-4** Fixing the mismanagement in imports and exports
- 36-5** Removing the limitations placed on economic development organizations and empowering the chambers of commerce and the parliament for the private sector
- 36-6** Organizing trading cards
- 36-7** Ending the practice of making ad hoc economic decisions without referring to economic expertise
- 36-8** Separating the Ministries of Industry and Trade
- 36-9** Seeking the participation of the provinces in economic decision-making
- 36-10** Seeking feedback from provincial Chambers of Commerce when appointing governors
- 36-11** Empowering the Business Development Organization
- 36-12** Addressing the insurance and tax problems entrepreneurs
- 36-13** Addressing the difficulties involved in registering import orders and lack of coordination between government agencies
- 36-14** Restoring the Council for Dialogue between state and the private sector

37 Stop importing Chinese rigs

- 37-1** Ending the import of Chinese-made rigs

38 Olia Ali Beigi, president of National Supreme Association of Islamic Councils of Labour

- 38-1** Offering job security for workers
- 38-2** Regulating temporary contract work

38-3 Allowing the National Supreme Association of Islamic Council of Labour to review the parliament's draft of the Labour Law

39 [Gholamreza Khademizadeh](#), president of Supreme Association of Labour Unions

39-1 Maintaining existing employment

39-2 Practising tripartism and defining real wages and labor contracts

39-3 Rehabilitating the Council of Social Security

39-4 Inviting labour union representatives to join the boards of Social Security Association and Social Security Investment Co.

40 [Hadi Abavi](#), spokesman for Supreme Association of Labour Unions

40-1 Eliminating barriers to the passing of a workspace climate law

40-2 Drafting labour law reforms

40-3 Codifying the National Master Plan for Decent Work

41 [Abdullah Mokhtari](#), secretary of City of Tehran's Workers Associations Union

41-1 Making illegal the operation of recruiting companies and temporary worker agencies

41-2 Making it illegal to employ laborers without proper work contracts

42 [Keyvan Samimi's letter to Rouhani from prison](#)

42-1 Improving the ailing economy

