

Establishing an Iranian Government-in-Exile under the 1906 Constitution

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Executive Summary

Iran stands at a defining moment in its modern history. After more than four decades under the theocratic rule of the Islamic Republic, the convergence of deepening internal dissent and shifting geopolitical currents has created an historic opportunity for meaningful and lasting change. In light of this, we put forward a strategic proposal: the formation of a Transitional Government-in-Exile, founded upon the legal and constitutional framework of Iran's 1906 Constitution, and headquartered — symbolically and securely — on property in Tel Aviv originally purchased by His Imperial Majesty Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.¹

This initiative is no mere gesture of protest. It is a serious political undertaking aimed at transferring moral and institutional legitimacy away from a regime that has long forfeited both. What is proposed here is not the restoration of monarchy, but the reassertion of lawful sovereignty — through a transitional regency under the moral auspices of the Pahlavi legacy, pending the eventual reconstitution of democratic governance in Iran.

The strategic value of such a move lies in its precision:

- The 1906 Constitution provides legal continuity — not as an anachronism, but as a lawful bridge between a stolen past and a democratic future.
- The Pahlavi name, embodied in the moral authority of Queen Farah and the unifying figure of Crown Prince Reza, offers a symbol of national coherence without the burdens of authoritarian rule.
- The Tel Aviv base, tied historically to the late Shah's investment and diplomatically situated at the centre of a new regional axis, offers a potent platform for both symbolic and operational activity.

We urge policymakers, foreign ministries, and multilateral institutions to assess this proposal not as a nostalgic enterprise, but as a pragmatic diplomatic instrument. It is a tool of *realpolitik* — a way to establish new facts on the ground, to signal that the international community no longer recognises the Islamic Republic as the sole or legitimate voice of the Iranian people, and to begin laying the legal and moral architecture for Iran's post-theocratic rebirth.

The establishment of a Government-in-Exile would:

- Provide the Iranian people — at home and in the diaspora — with a tangible alternative to despair and fragmentation.
- Rally and legitimise internal opposition by offering a recognised sovereign body abroad.

¹ Orly R. Rahimiyan, "A Homecoming Crown: The Queen Regent and the Last Exile of the Islamic Republic," *The Times of Israel Blogs*, June 2025, accessed June 30, 2025, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/a-homecoming-crown-the-queen-regent-and-the-last-exile-of-the-islamic-republic/>

- Clarify the international posture of democratic states by withdrawing recognition from an illegitimate regime and extending it to a transitional authority grounded in rule of law.
- Facilitate early diplomatic coordination and reconstruction planning, averting a dangerous power vacuum when the regime inevitably collapses.

We must be clear: the Islamic Republic is beyond reform. Its ideological infrastructure, entrenched repression, and systemic corruption render internal transformation impossible. The belief that so-called “moderates” within the regime can usher in change has been proven repeatedly — and fatally — wrong.

This proposal is, therefore, a call to moral clarity and strategic resolve. It is an appeal to governments, institutions, and allies of liberty to stand not with the illusion of reform, but with the reality of renewal. The future of Iran does not lie in appeasement or inertia. It lies in the courage to support those who are prepared to reclaim their nation — legally, peacefully, and with vision.

A free and pluralistic Iran is not a distant dream. With resolve and imagination, it can begin now — not in Tehran, but in exile. The time to act is now.

The Strategic Opportunity: Why Recognise a Government-in-Exile Now?

After forty-four years of revolutionary rule, Iran’s clerical regime stands more isolated and internally brittle than at any time since its founding. The broad-based, women-led uprising of 2022–2023 — galvanised under the cry of “*Woman, Life, Freedom*” — exposed the depth of popular alienation from the Islamic Republic and revealed a nation that has not given up on its democratic aspirations. The regime’s answer — brutal suppression, mass arrests, and indiscriminate violence — did not restore its authority. It merely stripped away the last vestiges of moral legitimacy.

Externally, Iran’s behaviour has triggered mounting alarm. The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) now operates as a transnational menace, arming militias, exporting drones, and fanning the flames of regional conflict. Iranian-made weaponry targets both Israeli cities and Ukrainian civilians. Meanwhile, Tehran’s nuclear provocations and ideological interventions continue to destabilise an already fragile Middle East. The international community faces a clear and present danger — not simply from what the regime does, but from what it claims to represent.²

In this context, the formation of a transitional Iranian government-in-exile is not an idealistic flourish. It is a timely and necessary political act. Far from being symbolic, such a move would serve as a strategic declaration — an international assertion that

² United Against Nuclear Iran, “**The Quds Force**”, accessed July 1, 2025, <https://www.unitedagainstnucleariran.com/report/quds-force>.

the clerical regime no longer commands uncontested legitimacy, and that an alternative future is possible and indeed already taking shape.

The moment could not be more opportune. The Islamic Republic's leadership is mired in corruption and discredited on the world stage. Even former advocates for reform within the regime now concede that such change from within is neither credible nor forthcoming. The Iranian people, however, have not relinquished their desire for liberty, dignity, and lawful governance. What they lack is a recognised, coherent vehicle for national recovery — one that embodies legality, cultural continuity, and international respectability.

By establishing a government-in-exile grounded in Iran's 1906 Constitution, and supported by leading figures in the Iranian diaspora, a foundation for lawful succession can be reasserted. This would send a powerful message — not only to the Iranian people, but to the regime's elite: the world no longer confuses the Islamic Republic with the Iranian nation. It would force a decisive question onto the international stage: to whom should legitimacy be extended — a regime that brutalises its own citizens, or a movement rooted in constitutional heritage, cultural memory, and popular sovereignty?

Diplomatically, the mere formation and modest recognition of such a transitional authority would shift the strategic terrain. It would embolden pro-democracy activists on the ground and encourage disaffected officials within the system to consider the possibility of a national future beyond the Islamic Republic. The precedent is not without irony: Ayatollah Khomeini launched the current regime from exile in Paris. It would be historically fitting for a democratic alternative to begin in the same fashion — this time, not to impose a theocracy, but to dismantle it.

In sum, the opportunity is stark and urgent. By legitimising a transitional, democratic government-in-exile, the international community can do more than undermine the regime's standing. It can strengthen the morale of the Iranian people, restore a sense of national dignity, and lay the essential groundwork for a peaceful, lawful, and pluralistic transition of power. This is not a matter of political theory — it is a matter of strategic foresight. The foundations for a post-theocratic Iran must be laid now.

Constitutional Continuity and Legitimacy: The Role of the 1906 Constitution

At the heart of this initiative is the *Persian Constitution of 1906*, a historic charter that established Iran's first constitutional monarchy and parliamentary system. Reinstating this constitution (with necessary modern amendments) provides an invaluable foundation of continuity, legality, and legitimacy for the exile government. The 1906 Constitution, created during Iran's Constitutional Revolution, was not a foreign imposition but the product of the Iranian people's own struggle for representative government. It remained in effect (in amended form) throughout the Pahlavi era until it was supplanted by the Islamic Republic's 1979 constitution. By reviving the 1906

charter, the government-in-exile anchors itself in Iran's lawful sovereign tradition that predates and *supersedes* the Islamic Republic. This sends a powerful message: the *legitimate* constitutional order of Iran endures, ready to be reclaimed.³

Legally, the 1906 Constitution furnishes a ready-made framework for governance during the transitional period. It codified a limited monarchy with separation of powers, an elected parliament (Majlis), and fundamental rights guarantees. Modeled partly on the liberal Belgian constitution, it guaranteed Iranian citizens equality before the law and safeguarded personal freedoms of honor, property, and speech. These principles resonate strongly today: equality of all citizens, the rule of law, and basic civil liberties remain core demands of Iran's protesters. Re-adopting the 1906 Constitution (with updates to enfranchise women and minorities fully, reflecting modern norms) would thus give the exile government a *legitimate constitutional mandate* to act on behalf of the Iranian nation. It symbolises both continuity and reform – honoring Iran's first experiment in democracy while correcting its historical shortcomings in line with 21st-century human rights.

Politically, invoking the 1906 Constitution undercuts the regime's narrative. It reminds both Iranians and the world that Iran had a constitution founded on pluralism and national sovereignty long before the current theocracy. This isn't about nostalgia or turning back the clock; it is about leveraging Iran's own legal heritage to bolster the exile government's claim of continuity of legitimate governance. Whereas the Islamic Republic's constitution is a product of a divisive revolution, the 1906 fundamental law carries the imprimatur of Iran's *original* quest for democracy and rule of law. By governing under its provisions, the exile leadership demonstrates that it is *restoring* Iran's stolen constitutional order rather than imposing a new one. This can help persuade Iranian civil servants, military officers, and even foreign governments that supporting the exile government is not an act of rebellion but of rightful continuity – a return to lawfully constituted authority. In sum, the 1906 Constitution serves as the legal bedrock for the transitional government's legitimacy, offering a bridge from Iran's past to its future and reassuring allies that the new movement is rooted in Iran's own enduring legal norms.

A Base on Democratic Soil: The Tel Aviv Property as Strategic Anchor

In a remarkable twist of history, a quiet piece of real estate in Tel Aviv, Israel, now emerges as a potential *de facto* seat for the Iranian government-in-exile. This property – a villa in central Tel Aviv purchased by Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi in the twilight of his reign – has sat as a little-known Pahlavi family asset for decades. Its significance today is profound. Establishing the exile government's operational base on this site

³ "Iranian Constitutional Revolution," *Britannica*, accessed July 1, 2025, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Constitutional-Revolution>.

would be a masterstroke of both symbolism and strategy, telegraphing a message of reconciliation and resolve.

From a symbolic perspective, the choice of Tel Aviv is powerful. The Islamic Republic has spent decades vilifying Israel, using anti-Israel animus as a pillar of its ideology and a tool of distraction. By contrast, a Free Iran's government-in-exile operating from Israeli soil would dramatically repudiate that narrative. *On the very soil of the nation Iran's regime calls its enemy, a different Iran would raise its voice – one seeking friendship over fanaticism.* The image of an Iranian flag (the Lion-and-Sun of Iran's true heritage, perhaps) flying in Tel Aviv speaks volumes: it heralds an Iran that is ready to rejoin the community of nations in peace. This bold gesture would also resonate deeply with Iranian history – invoking memories of King Cyrus the Great's tolerance and cosmopolitanism against the current rulers' isolationism. In short, the Tel Aviv base would be a living *antithesis* to the Islamic Republic's ideology, proclaiming that Iran's future lies in cooperation, not conflict.

Strategically, Tel Aviv offers practical advantages. Israel is a stable democracy with a strong rule of law and security apparatus, meaning the exile government could operate safely without fear of Iranian assassination plots or intimidation. The Israeli government's willingness to host exiled Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi in 2023 – including meetings with the Prime Minister and President – suggests a readiness to support Iranian opposition activities. Indeed, mainstream Iranian opposition figures across the political spectrum (from liberals to leftists) support normalizing relations with Israel and welcomed Pahlavi's outreach during that visit. Thus, basing the exile government in Tel Aviv would likely enjoy broad acceptance among Iran's pro-democracy forces. It would also facilitate coordination with key international allies: Israel's strategic community, with its deep understanding of the Iranian threat, can provide intelligence, communications infrastructure, and broadcasting capabilities to reach the Iranian populace. Tel Aviv is geographically close enough to Iran to be in a similar time zone and possibly reachable via secure communications to dissidents on the ground, yet distant enough to be out of Tehran's immediate reach.

Finally, the Pahlavi-owned status of the property adds a layer of legal and proprietary clarity. Using a private Pahlavi family property avoids the complications of attempting to operate on foreign government premises or as unwanted guests. It is Iranian-owned land, in effect a sliver of Iran on Israeli soil, which bolsters the symbolism of Iranian sovereignty being preserved in exile. In diplomatic terms, the site could be treated akin to an "embassy" of Free Iran – a place where foreign dignitaries and Iranian expatriates alike can visit and confer with the exile leadership. In time, this Tel Aviv base could grow into a full-fledged *headquarters of the Free Iran movement*, coordinating diplomatic efforts, humanitarian support to Iran, and media outreach. It is hard to imagine a more "exquisite" setting – as one commentator noted, *"how deliciously poetic it would be" if the house the Shah quietly planted decades ago becomes the seat of a reborn Iran-in-exile, serving not as a gimmick but as a declaration of the enduring idea of Iran*

*against the regime. Indeed, in that sunlit corner of Tel Aviv, exile may at last give way to renaissance.*⁴

Leadership Structure: Monarchy as a Unifying Symbol, Democracy as the Goal

A critical element of this government-in-exile strategy is a clear delineation of leadership roles that balances Iran's rich monarchical heritage with its democratic aspirations. To that end, the proposal envisages Her Majesty Farah Pahlavi in the role of *Queen Regent* and Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi as the head of the transitional government. This dual arrangement provides both symbolic continuity and practical leadership for the transition. It is essential to communicate that this is not a return to absolutism, but rather a clever fusion of Iran's historical symbols with modern governance to rally the nation.

Queen Regent Farah Pahlavi: Unity, Continuity, and Cultural Legitimacy

Her Imperial Majesty Farah Pahlavi – the widow of the late Shah and former Empress of Iran – would serve as *Queen Regent*, a ceremonial yet crucial post. In this capacity, Farah Pahlavi embodies the *soul of the Iranian nation* in exile, providing a sense of continuity that spans the rupture of 1979. Now in her eighties, the Queen is a living link to Iran's last era of sovereignty and a maternal figure cherished by many Iranians. She has remained dignified and above partisan fray throughout her exile, never seeking power for herself. As Queen Regent, Farah would lend her voice and blessing to the cause of a Free Iran without wielding day-to-day political power. This arrangement assures monarchists that the throne's legacy is honored, while also assuring republicans that no new autocracy is being imposed. Her role is to unify, inspire, and personify the continuity of the Iranian state pending the people's decision on its future form.

Farah Pahlavi's presence at the helm in a regent capacity would carry tremendous weight domestically and internationally. It would signal that the *Iranian monarchy's heritage is being put in service of democracy*, not against it. From a cultural standpoint, Iranians who remember the late Shah's era – or who have heard of its relative freedoms and national pride – would see in Farah a reassuring symbol that Iran's true identity endures. Even many who do not favor restoration of the monarchy per se respect Farah Pahlavi for her decades of philanthropy, grace, and devotion to Iran's art and culture. Her involvement confers a form of "soft legitimacy" that no other figure could. Moreover, if the Queen Regent were to issue a historic declaration from the Tel Aviv base –

⁴ Orly R. Rahimiyan, "A Homecoming Crown: The Queen Regent and the Last Exile of the Islamic Republic," *Times of Israel Blogs*, June 22, 2025, accessed July 1, 2025, <https://blogs.timesofisrael.com/a-homecoming-crown-the-queen-regent-and-the-last-exile-of-the-islamic-republic/>.

affirming that *“the story of Iran is not over, its soul was never handed to the ayatollahs, and its people never surrendered their birthright”* – it would be a moment of profound resonance. As analysts have noted, were she to speak out from Israel’s soil on behalf of a Free Iran, it could *“unlock a moment of breathtaking resonance,” allowing the voice of another Iran to rise – one of dignity and hope rather than hatred*. In short, Queen Regent Farah would be the *unifying conscience* of the transitional government, assuring all Iranians that the movement is rooted in Iran’s proud history yet focused firmly on the future.

Crown Prince Reza Pahlavi: Transitional Head of Government and Catalyst for Change

Reza Pahlavi, the late Shah’s eldest son and Crown Prince, is positioned to serve as the transitional Head of Government – essentially the executive leader of the government-in-exile. Now in his 60s, Reza Pahlavi has been a prominent opposition figure since the revolution, advocating consistently for democracy and human rights. Importantly, he has publicly disavowed any intent to impose himself as monarch, insisting that the Iranian people must freely choose their form of government via referendum. His stance has always been “I do not seek a throne, only the chance for my countrymen to decide their future”. This commitment to a *free referendum*– reiterated in his speeches – positions him as a transitional figure who will lead the charge to topple the old regime and then step aside for the people’s verdict.⁵ As head of the exile government, Reza would coordinate the political, diplomatic, and organizational efforts needed to turn a movement into a functioning alternative government.

Crown Prince Reza brings several strategic assets to this role. First, he carries the legacy and name recognition of the Pahlavi dynasty, which for many Iranians symbolizes national independence and modernization. This name recognition can rally monarchists and nostalgia-stricken older generations. But Reza Pahlavi has also spent years building bridges with non-monarchist factions, cultivating a reputation as a moderate, secular democrat. Over the decades abroad, he has gained a *sizable following in the Iranian diaspora*, who see him as a trusted, popular leader with principled commitment to democracy. Many of these supporters believe that, should the Islamist regime collapse, Reza is well-positioned to step in and guide a transition in an orderly manner. Indeed, observers note that he has emerged as a unifying figure – one who could “wind back the clock” on the revolution’s damages and restore hope for Iran’s future. His credibility on the international stage is also significant: he has relationships with Western lawmakers, gave addresses at forums like the Munich Security Conference, and in April 2023 made a diplomatically daring visit to Israel, breaking a

⁵ “Who is Reza Pahlavi, Iran’s exiled crown prince and son of the last Shah?” *Economic Times*, accessed June 2025, <https://economictimes.com/news/new-updates/irans-exiled-crown-prince-reza-pahlavi-calls-for-regime-change>.

taboo and signaling a future Iran open to regional peace. All these factors enhance his profile as the de facto *prime minister in exile* for a free Iran.⁶

In executing transitional duties, Reza Pahlavi would be responsible for forming the exile government's cabinet and councils (drawing from the broad opposition), articulating policy positions, and being the chief spokesman to the world. His mandate would be to prepare for a peaceful transfer of power inside Iran when circumstances permit. He has already outlined elements of a "clear plan" for national transition and has stepped forward saying he is ready to *lead the transition* if called upon. At the same time, to allay fears of dynastic ambition, Reza's leadership can be bounded by the transitional charter (see next section) – for instance, committing him not to seek any long-term office until a free election is held. It's worth noting that he even welcomes the idea of a *symbolic coronation in exile*, not as a grasp at power but as a cultural event to pass the torch of Iran's monarchy in a way that *galvanises the new generation* that has known only the Islamic Republic's repression. Such symbolism, if handled carefully, could energize Iranians with pride and continuity while keeping the real authority rooted in democratic process. Ultimately, Reza Pahlavi's role is to be the catalyst and coordinator – leveraging his status to unite disparate groups, reassuring international observers that there is a responsible hand at the tiller, and implementing the practical steps needed for Iran's political rebirth.

Monarchist symbols and the Pahlavi legacy still resonate among segments of the Iranian public. In this early 2025 protest in Europe, demonstrators displayed portraits of Iran's former monarchs alongside Reza Pahlavi, reflecting hopes that the exiled Crown Prince can help lead Iran toward a new era.

Broad Coalition and Transitional Charter for a Free Iran

For the government-in-exile to succeed and gain legitimacy, it must represent as broad and inclusive an alliance of Iranian society as possible. The envisioned coalition goes far beyond the Pahlavis themselves – it is a coalition of the entire Iranian opposition: monarchists, republicans, liberals, ethnic minorities, secularists, and religious moderates united in the goal of ending tyranny in Iran. Recent history provides a template. In early 2023, an unprecedented gathering of prominent exiled dissidents and opposition figures signaled the potential of such unity. Reza Pahlavi stood alongside figures such as women's rights campaigner Masih Alinejad, renowned lawyer and Nobel laureate Shirin Ebadi, activist-lawyer Hamed Esmaeilion (representing victims' families of regime crimes), Kurdish leader Abdullah Mohtadi, and even sports legend Ali Karimi,

⁶ Times of Israel Staff, "Son of Last Iranian Shah to Visit Israel in Bid to Renew 'Ancient Bond'," *Times of Israel*, April 17, 2023, <https://www.timesofisrael.com/son-of-last-iranian-shah-to-visit-israel-in-bid-to-renew-ancient-bond/>.

among others. This diverse lineup – from leftist to nationalist, secular to religious – underscored that *all* segments seek freedom. They jointly issued a *Charter of Solidarity and Alliance for Freedom* (informally the “Mahsa Charter”) outlining common goals. While that initial coalition encountered internal challenges, it proved that Iranians can agree on fundamental principles. The government-in-exile will formalize these understandings in a Transitional Charter – a guiding document that sets forth the interim governing principles and values until democratic elections can be held.

Key Principles likely enshrined in the Transitional Charter include:

- **Commitment to Democracy:** The exile government will serve only as a transitional authority. It guarantees free and fair elections at the earliest feasible opportunity, and a binding **referendum for the Iranian people to choose the future form of government** (e.g. constitutional monarchy, republic, etc.). The charter ensures that ultimate sovereignty rests with the people of Iran.
- **Secular Governance and Human Rights:** It will uphold a clear separation of religion from the state, dismantling theocracy. Fundamental human rights – freedom of speech, press, and religion; gender equality; and rights for ethnic minorities – are explicitly protected. The charter echoes international human rights norms and Iran’s 1906 constitutional spirit of equal protection under law.
- **Territorial Integrity and National Unity:** The exile coalition unequivocally commits to Iran’s territorial integrity and unity, assuaging fears of separatism. All ethnic groups (Persian, Kurdish, Azeri, Baluch, Arab, etc.) are valued stakeholders in a future Iran, with guarantees of cultural and linguistic rights within a united country.
- **Nonviolence and Justice:** The movement favors a nonviolent transition if possible. It renounces vengeance and will pursue *transitional justice* through legal means – for example, fair trials for officials accused of crimes, rather than extrajudicial retribution. A truth and reconciliation mechanism may be established to heal wounds.
- **International Peace and Adherence to International Law:** The charter will proclaim that a free Iran seeks friendship with all nations, especially neighbors. It will abandon the export of terror and proxy warfare, and will comply with nuclear non-proliferation commitments. An Iran under this coalition would no longer threaten Israel or any country; instead it would aim to rejoin the global community as a constructive actor.

These principles are not merely rhetoric; they are intended as binding constraints on the exile government’s conduct. By codifying them, the coalition presents itself as a responsible alternative, addressing international concerns about what comes after the current regime. The presence of respected figures from various backgrounds (law, human rights, academia, former officials, and activists) in the coalition’s leadership structure will lend credibility that these principles are taken seriously. For example, Nobel laureate Shirin Ebadi’s involvement signals commitment to the rule of law and women’s rights; representation from Kurdish and other minority leaders ensures minority rights are built into the platform from day one.

In terms of structure, the government-in-exile would likely consist of a coalition council or cabinet drawing from all key groups. A possible model could be: Farah Pahlavi as ceremonial head (regent), Reza Pahlavi as Prime Minister or President of the Council, and a cabinet-in-exile comprising figures tasked with portfolios (foreign affairs, human rights, finance/economy for reconstruction, etc.). Each portfolio could be led by an expert or opposition leader from that field or community. Such a structure both demonstrates inclusivity and readiness to govern. It signals to Iranians inside the country that this is not a one-man show or a return to old autocracy, but a collective leadership ready to serve the nation. Indeed, the earlier opposition charter effort (Alliance for Freedom) faltered partly due to lack of formal structure; this time, the exile government would operate with a clear, transparent organizational chart and decision-making process, learning from past attempts. Through its Transitional Charter and diverse leadership, the exile government can convincingly present itself as *the legitimate voice of the Iranian people* in international fora, thereby attracting recognition and support.

Pathway to Democratic Legitimacy: From Exile to a Free Iran

While establishing a government-in-exile is a critical step, its ultimate success will be measured by its ability to facilitate a genuine transition to democracy inside Iran. The strategic roadmap for achieving full democratic legitimacy involves several phases, each requiring careful coordination with domestic and international actors. Below is the envisioned pathway from exile to empowerment in Tehran:

1. **Proclamation and International Recognition:** The first step is a formal *Proclamation of the Government-in-Exile Issued* by the coalition council. This proclamation, likely delivered by Queen Regent Farah Pahlavi and Reza Pahlavi jointly, would announce the formation of the transitional government under the 1906 Constitution, name its key figures, and outline its Charter principles. Simultaneously, diplomatic outreach would seek recognition or at least engagement from key countries. Initial recognition may come from states already adversarial to Tehran (for example, perhaps Israel or certain Eastern European states). However, even short of full recognition, many Western governments can informally engage the exile government, opening channels of communication and acknowledging it as a legitimate interlocutor for Iran's future. Each country that lends any form of recognition adds pressure on the regime and credibility to the exile authority. Diplomatic missions worldwide will soon face the question of whom to treat as Iran's true representative, and as this question gains prominence, the momentum can build in the exile government's favor.
2. **Institution-Building in Exile:** As recognition grows, the government-in-exile must prove its seriousness by acting as a proto-government. This means establishing functioning "ministries" or committees that can start performing key tasks. For instance, a *Foreign Affairs Office* to engage with governments and the

Iranian diaspora, a *Humanitarian Committee* to liaise with NGOs and deliver aid to Iranians, a *Media/Communications arm* to broadcast uncensored news into Iran, and a *Government-in-Waiting Economic Council* to plan for managing Iran's economy post-regime. The 1906 Constitution can be used to structure these bodies (e.g., reconstituting a shadow Majlis or advisory assembly in exile). The aim is to demonstrate capacity and readiness to govern. This phase also involves continued coalition management – keeping the diverse opposition united and coordinated. Regular consultative meetings or even a small exile “parliament” could be convened to debate strategy, giving all groups a voice and binding them to the process.

3. **Engagement with the Iranian Population and Security Forces:** A crucial aspect of the pathway is winning hearts and minds within Iran. The exile government should establish secure channels to communicate with protest networks, civil society groups, labor unions, student associations, and yes, even elements of the Iranian civil service and military who are disillusioned with the regime. By providing a viable vision of the future, the exile leadership can encourage non-cooperation with the regime and *incremental defections*. For instance, if parts of the military or bureaucracy sense that an alternative leadership is recognized abroad and prepared at home, they may start refusing orders to shoot protesters or quietly pass information to the opposition. The exile government could offer guarantees to regime officials who defect (such as amnesty or role in the transition if their hands are clean of blood). All these measures prepare the ground for a tipping point, where the regime's internal cohesion breaks. Notably, Reza Pahlavi has been addressing Iran's army and Revolutionary Guards directly in his speeches, urging them to stand with the people and assuring them of a place in a new Iran if they do the right thing. Such assurances – “*Do not fear the day after the fall... Iran will not descend into chaos*” – are vital to mitigate fears of civil war or retribution. The exile government must continually emphasize that *orderly transition and stability* are its priorities, to undermine the regime's propaganda that its downfall would mean anarchy.
4. **Triggering Change on the Ground:** This phase is by nature uncertain in timing – it could be sparked by a surge in protests, an economic collapse, or even external events. The government-in-exile should be poised to seize any opportunity. If mass protests or strikes erupt, the exile leaders can provide coordination and encouragement, possibly even announce formation of local “freedom councils” inside Iran in liberated areas. In a scenario where the regime falters (for example, after the Supreme Leader's passing or a split in the Revolutionary Guard), the exile government would push for a peaceful handover of authority. They could call for an interim period where security forces cooperate to maintain order while transitioning. International mediators (perhaps the UN or friendly states) might be invited to monitor this transition. The exile government's recognition becomes crucial here – if enough countries have recognized or sided with it, they can collectively exert diplomatic pressure and offer incentives (such as lifting certain sanctions, economic aid) to encourage the regime's remnants to stand down.

5. **Return and Establishment of Interim Authority in Iran:** In the moment the Islamic Republic's hold cracks, the exile government should be prepared to deploy its leaders and technocrats into Iran to assume interim administrative control. Queen Regent Farah and Reza Pahlavi would ideally set foot on Iranian soil under the protection of military units that have switched loyalty or neutral international peacekeepers, immediately convening a provisional administration. The 1906 Constitution (as amended by the charter) would by default become the law of the land. At this juncture, a formal abdication of the old regime or a vote by what remains of Iran's parliament might be sought to lend legal formality to the transfer of sovereignty. The exile government, now effectively the interim government on Iranian soil, would work to stabilize the country: maintaining essential services, ensuring public order, and preventing any revenge violence. Humanitarian assistance would be ramped up with international help to address urgent needs of the population.
6. **Path to Elections and Permanent Government:** Once stability is assured (this could be a matter of months up to two years, for example), the final phase is returning power fully to the Iranian people. The interim government would organize a free nationwide referendum on the fundamental question of the state's form (restoration of constitutional monarchy vs. new republic, etc.), in tandem with elections for a Constituent Assembly or a new Majlis. *All* political parties and factions (including those who were in opposition and even reformed elements of the old regime except those with blood on their hands) would be invited to participate in drafting a new constitution or modifying the 1906 Constitution to contemporary standards. Once a new constitution is ratified and a permanent government elected under it, the mandate of the transitional government concludes. Reza Pahlavi and others in the interim leadership would be free to run for office or retire as agreed, but the process would have been handed over to Iran's citizenry. At that point, the international community would normalize relations with the new government of Iran, lifting remaining sanctions and integrating Iran back into global economic and political institutions.

Throughout this pathway, international support is a linchpin. Global actors must be primed to respond at each stage – from providing political recognition early on, to extending economic lifelines and security assurances during the transition, to aiding in election monitoring and institution-building later. The scenario is undoubtedly complex, and risks will abound. Yet, by having a clear roadmap, the government-in-exile can reassure both Iranians and foreign governments that it has a plan to prevent chaos. The overarching message is one of hope but also realism: The fall of the Islamic Republic need not plunge Iran into anarchy or civil war – there is a viable plan and a team ready to guide Iran to a stable democracy. This confidence can become a self-fulfilling prophecy; as more stakeholders believe in the plan, the more likely it is to materialize.

Geopolitical and Security Benefits of Supporting the Initiative

Backing an Iranian government-in-exile is not only a moral stance, but also a smart geopolitical investment for the international community. A successful transition in Iran would fundamentally alter the Middle East strategic landscape *for the better*, addressing many security concerns at their source. Policymakers should recognize the following key benefits of recognizing or engaging with the proposed exile government:

- Constraining a Transnational Threat:** The current Iranian regime is a driver of conflict far beyond its borders – from arming proxy militias in Lebanon, Gaza, Iraq, and Yemen, to plotting assassinations on Western soil. Supporting a legitimate Iranian alternative authority undermines Tehran’s ability to claim nationalist support for its adventurism. It delegitimizes the regime’s calls for “resistance” by showing that the Iranian *nation* does not stand behind those aggressive policies. In practical terms, as the exile government gains traction, it could dissuade other countries from cooperating with Iran’s military projects. Regional actors would think twice about aligning with a regime that the world is beginning to treat as *deposed*. Over time, this can reduce the flow of arms and funds to terrorist organizations. A Free Iran that renounces the export of extremism would remove one of the biggest sources of instability in the Middle East. For Israel and the Arab states alike, this promises a more peaceful region – a strategic game-changer.
- Neutralising the Nuclear Crisis:** Iran’s nuclear ambitions have been a perennial security nightmare. A democratically oriented exile government would have every incentive to reset Iran’s relations with the world by adhering to non-proliferation. Reza Pahlavi and other opposition figures have signaled that a free Iran would not pursue nuclear weapons, as it seeks integration with the international community. If the government-in-exile gains recognition, it could begin engaging international agencies (like the IAEA) to discuss future compliance, further undercutting the current regime’s justification for its nuclear program. This two-government scenario forces a question: which “Iran” will the world trust with sensitive technologies – the rogue regime or a responsible, law-abiding alternative? By lending legitimacy to the latter, policymakers strengthen the case for international unity against the former’s nuclear defiance.
- Human Rights and Refugee Benefits:** The Islamic Republic’s abysmal human rights record has led to continuous outflows of refugees and asylum seekers, regional sectarian tensions, and a moral stain on global conscience. A transition to a government committed to human rights would alleviate these issues. Support for the exile government is support for an end to torture, political prisoners, and gender apartheid in Iran. In concrete terms, it could eventually stem the refugee exodus by making Iran a safer place to live. Neighboring countries currently burdened by Iranian refugees (Turkey, Europe) stand to benefit if Iran stabilizes under better governance. Moreover, a government-in-exile vocal about human rights puts additional pressure on the regime’s internal behavior; even before achieving power, it can serve as a watchdog and advocate, partnering with international human rights organizations to document abuses and hold the regime accountable in global forums. By **giving the Iranian people a voice through the exile administration, their**

dignity has a voice and their future has a form – which is a victory for universal human rights principles.

- **Energy Market Stability:** Iran has the world's second-largest combined oil and gas reserves. Under the current regime, this potential is largely locked away or subject to sanctions, contributing to volatility in global energy markets. A friendly, sanctions-free Iran post-transition could re-enter oil markets in a responsible manner, increasing supply and stability. Countries around the world, from Europe to Asia, would benefit from a stable, energy-rich Iran that trades normally rather than using oil as a geopolitical tool. Engaging the exile government now could accelerate planning for such a future, aligning mutual economic interests.
- **Strengthening International Norms:** Supporting an exiled democratic movement sends a broader message that the world upholds the norms of democracy and opposes authoritarian aggression. It creates a precedent that regimes cannot indefinitely subvert the will of their people without consequence – eventually, the world may side with the people's democratic representatives. This has intangible but real benefits for the international order, potentially deterring other authoritarian actors by highlighting the costs of pariah behavior. For Western democracies in particular, aiding Iran's democratic cause reinforces their credibility in championing freedom globally.

In essence, the collapse of the Islamic Republic and rise of a democratic Iran could transform the Middle East from a locus of perpetual crisis to a zone of growing stability and cooperation. While challenges would remain, many flashpoints – from the Israel-Iran shadow war to Gulf security and Sunni-Shia sectarian strife – would be easier to address with an Iran that is a partner, not a provocateur. By taking steps now to recognize or at least robustly support the Iranian government-in-exile, international actors can materially hasten this positive strategic realignment.

Recommendations for International Engagement

To capitalize on the opportunity and benefits outlined, this brief concludes with concrete recommendations for how governments and multilateral bodies can engage with the Iranian transitional government-in-exile:

- **Grant Political Recognition or Status:** Where formal recognition as the government of Iran is diplomatically challenging, countries can still take intermediate steps. For example, parliaments can pass resolutions recognizing the exile group as the "legitimate representative of the Iranian people" or calling for its inclusion in dialogues about Iran's future. Even symbolic acts – such as inviting exile leaders on official visits, or allowing them to open an "office of the Free Iran government-in-exile" in a host country – confer legitimacy. The European Parliament, U.S. Congress, and others could host addresses by Reza Pahlavi or colleagues to raise their profile as Iran's provisional voice. Every such gesture signals to Tehran that the world is shifting its loyalties.
- **Facilitate a Headquarters and Communications:** Israel's willingness to host the exile base in Tel Aviv is pivotal. Other nations should quietly support this by

providing security assistance and perhaps co-locating liaison diplomats in Tel Aviv to interface with the exile ministers. Furthermore, Western tech companies and governments can assist the exile government in establishing robust communications channels into Iran – from satellite internet equipment for clandestine use, to airtime on Persian-language broadcasts. The aim is to amplify the exile government's outreach so that it can *speak to all Iranians* regularly, undermining state propaganda. This includes helping set up secure platforms for Iranians inside to communicate back with the alternative government.

- **Coordinate Sanctions and Asset Access:** Countries that have sanctioned the Islamic Republic should consider legally transferring frozen Iranian state assets to a trust or escrow that the government-in-exile could access for humanitarian and communication purposes. For instance, Iran's frozen funds in foreign banks might be partly unlocked to fund the exile government's operations, under strict oversight. Additionally, sanctions regimes could be refocused to pressure the old regime while carving out recognition of the exile authorities – for example, allowing countries to deal with “Iran (Free Government-in-Exile)” without triggering penalties. This economically isolates the regime further and empowers the alternative.
- **Engage in Scenario Planning:** Allies should work with the exile leaders to plan for various collapse scenarios. This might involve quiet war-gaming of a sudden regime fall, to ensure rapid deployment of peacekeepers or UN missions if needed to secure nuclear facilities or prevent civil conflict. It could also mean preparing relief packages and reconstruction aid that can be rolled out the moment a transitional government is in place in Tehran. By coordinating these plans now (perhaps through a contact group or multilateral task force), the international community signals its confidence in the exile government and its readiness to assist a transition. This preparedness also strengthens the hand of the exile coalition when negotiating with elements of the regime or military during a changeover – they can credibly say, “the world is ready to help us rebuild if you cooperate, or you can face isolation if you don't.”
- **Leverage Multilateral Forums:** Nations supportive of this initiative should use forums like the United Nations, the European Union, and others to give the exile government a platform. For example, there could be moves to invite the representative of the Free Iran Government-in-Exile to speak at a UN Human Rights Council session about Iran's situation, or to participate informally in discussions on regional security. Even if formal UN recognition is not immediately attainable (due to likely Russian or Chinese opposition in the Security Council), building moral and political recognition in these arenas furthers the narrative that the exile government is the future. The OIC (Organisation of Islamic Cooperation) could also be engaged via Muslim-majority nations friendly to the cause, emphasising the exile government's respect for religion without political Islamism.
- **Maintain Pressure on the Regime:** Engaging a government-in-exile should complement, not replace, existing pressure on the Islamic Republic. Diplomatic isolation, human rights accountability, and targeted sanctions must continue and even escalate to hasten the conditions for change. The difference is that now

those measures can be explicitly tied to support for the alternative government. For instance, sanction relief can be explicitly offered *only in* the context of a verified transition to the exile-led interim authority. Military containment (such as intercepting Iran's arms shipments to proxies) should be strengthened, while covert support to underground anti-regime networks can be expanded, with coordination from the exile leadership who often have contacts on the ground.

The overarching principle for international supporters is to treat the government-in-exile as a partner in shaping Iran's future, not just an observer. This means regular consultation with exile officials about Iran policy, sharing intelligence (e.g. information on IRGC movements, which the exile government can translate into warnings to Iranians), and possibly training exile personnel in governance and civil administration for the day-after scenario. By investing in the exile government now, the international community essentially invests in a smoother, more credible transition later. It is a long-term strategic bet with potentially enormous payoffs for regional peace and the wellbeing of 85 million Iranians.

Choosing Legitimacy Over Tyranny

The formation of an Iranian Government-in-Exile under the banner of the 1906 Constitution, headquartered on a corner of free soil in Tel Aviv, represents a bold synthesis of Iran's heritage and its hopes. It is a plan that marries symbolism with strategy: the symbolism of a Persian crown exiled yet unbroken, and the strategy of leveraging that legacy to unify a coalition and confront a tyrannical regime with a credible alternative. This brief has outlined the compelling rationale for such an initiative, the concrete roles of key figures like Queen Regent Farah Pahlavi and Reza Pahlavi, the broad coalition and values underpinning it, and the roadmap by which it could help Iran emerge from darkness into democracy. High-level decision-makers across the world should view this not as an eccentric monarchist project or a mere exile daydream, but as a *strategic imperative* in the current context.

Recognising or engaging with a transitional Free Iran government is both morally right and geopolitically prudent. It aligns with the ideals of self-determination and justice, standing with a long-suffering people against their oppressors. And it serves tangible interests – from Mideast stability to non-proliferation – in a way that decades of appeasing or containing the Islamic Republic have failed to do. Of course, challenges will abound: the exile government will face skepticism, the Iranian regime will cry “colonial conspiracy,” and unity among exiles will require careful nurturing. But the greater risk lies in *inaction* or clinging to old frameworks. The Islamic Republic has shown itself incapable of reform and unworthy of trust; the world must not prop it up by default. As one analyst put it, this is ultimately a “call to clarity”, a moment to choose sides. Do we side with the *dream of a free, pluralistic Iran*, or do we prolong the nightmare by pretending the current regime can change? The answer should now be evident.

Queen Farah's mere declaration of this new chapter – that Iran's true story continues and its national soul endures – can herald the dawn of Iran's renaissance. And with a chorus of international support, that dawn will break sooner. Let Tel Aviv's sunlit villa be the unlikely cradle of Iran's second constitutional revolution. Let the old antagonisms be overturned as Israelis and Iranians find common cause in liberty. Let Western and regional powers alike cast aside ambivalence and openly back Iran's freedom movement. By doing so, they invest not only in Iran's better future but in a more peaceful and principled world.

In conclusion, the strategic case is clear: Supporting an Iranian Government-in-Exile is an investment in hope, stability, and justice. The opportunity is at hand to help a great nation reclaim its destiny from the clutches of theocracy. History will not judge kindly those who stand on the sidelines. It is time to act – to recognize, to engage, and to empower Iran's legitimate heirs to leadership. In the echo of Cyrus and the spirit of 1906, Iran shall be free, and the community of nations will welcome her back with open arms. The long night is ending; a new dawn for Iran is on the horizon. Let us jointly hasten its arrival.

Addendum: Operational Roadmap and Strategic Implementation Plan

I. Phased Roadmap for Establishing a Transitional Government-in-Exile

Phase 1: Foundational Legitimacy and Internal Structuring

- **Appoint a Transitional Regency**
Queen Farah Pahlavi to be formally acknowledged as *Regent of the Nation* under the legal continuity of the 1906 Constitution.
- **Establish a Founding Council**
Formation of a 15–21 member *Constitutional Council-in-Exile*, composed of:

- Former diplomats, legal scholars, economists, civic activists, and diaspora leaders
- At least three representatives from inside Iran (anonymised if necessary)
- Ethno-religious minority representatives (Kurds, Baluchis, Jews, Bahá'ís, Sunnis)
- **Draft a Transitional Charter**
 - Outlining:
 - Adherence to the 1906 Constitution
 - Civil liberties and democratic principles
 - A roadmap to constitutional monarchy and democratic elections post-liberation
- **Secure Legal Domicile**
 - Tel Aviv-based headquarters on the historic property tied to the late Shah
 - Registered in a jurisdiction that provides diplomatic cover and international recognition options (e.g. Cyprus, UK, or Canada)

Phase 2: Diplomatic Recognition and Public Legitimacy

- **Engage “Sympathetic States” for Tiered Recognition**
 - Tier 1: Public engagement and informal consultations (Israel, UAE, Czech Republic, Romania, possibly UK)
 - Tier 2: Quiet diplomatic recognition or observer status (e.g., Baltic States, Canada)
 - Tier 3: Multilateral forums (European Parliament hearings, OSCE, UN Geneva processes)
- **Launch a Global Outreach Campaign**
 - Establish an official media arm for the Government-in-Exile
 - Deploy cultural diplomacy, including op-eds, media briefings, academic partnerships
 - Coordinate with Iranian civil society networks abroad
- **Hold a National Iranian Congress-in-Exile**
 - Convened in Europe or the Middle East
 - Aimed at building consensus and international visibility
 - Culminating in the ceremonial recognition of the Regency and Council

Phase 3: Parallel Governance and Pressure Architecture

- **Form Ministerial Shadow Portfolios**
 - Foreign Affairs, Justice, Economy, Human Rights, Culture
 - Engage diaspora technocrats and vetted experts
- **Coordinate with Resistance Networks Inside Iran**

- Provide secure communication tools
- Develop information campaigns and psychological operations targeting regime cohesion
- **Publish Strategic White Papers**
 - On post-regime reconstruction
 - Repatriation of frozen assets
 - Reform of the armed forces (de-IRGC-isation)
 - Federalism and minority protections
- **Establish a Sanctions Liaison Office**
 - Work with Western governments to track regime assets
 - Propose Magnitsky-style designations on top officials and clerics