



*British Parliamentary Committee for Iran Freedom*

# **The "Green Movement" in Iran**

Rise and Fall of the "Green Movement": A Factual Review

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## Introduction

In 2012, the Iranian regime stepped up domestic suppression with an increase in executions and political arrests and a severe crackdown on the media and access to the internet. The death under torture of Sattar Beheshti, a blogger who defied the regime and the so called reformists by calling for fundamental change in Iran, reflects the beginning of a new era in Iran and radicalization of the people's demands.

Four years ago, following the rift within the regime that emerged in the course of the presidential election, the Iranian people poured out onto the streets demanding an end to the ruling regime, while leaders of the "Green Movement" declared their loyalty to the constitution of the Islamic Republic. The regime's brutal crackdown on popular uprisings, coupled with the compromising position of the "Green leaders" and the failure of the Western governments to side with the Iranian people in their demand for regime change quelled the Iranian Spring.

In 2012, a sharp fall in the value of the Iranian currency and the deteriorating economic situation led to anti-government demonstrations once again calling for end to the regime's nuclear program and the dictatorial regime. The rise in popular discontent has also contributed to the escalation of infighting within the ruling establishment, weakening the regime in its entirety. The dispute which emerged between President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the Speaker of Parliament in a recent parliamentary session illustrates the fragile state of the regime.

In the run-up to the presidential election in June, Iranian officials fear that the internal feuding might lead to yet another outburst of popular discontent seeking regime change. In these circumstances, a review of the rise and fall of the "Green Movement" would illustrate how the situation has been radicalized in Iran which Western governments should consider in their policies towards Iran. The stalemate in the nuclear issue, while Iran continues its enrichment, and Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei's rejection of direct talks with the US strengthens the need for the West to envisage possible regime change in Iran and be prepared for it.

## The Green Movement

### Formation

#### Inception with 2009 presidential sham elections in Iran

The Green Movement refers to a coalition of internal factions<sup>1</sup> of the Iranian regime that vied for power in the 2009 Iranian sham presidential election, and was locked out of power by the dominant faction, represented by Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, backed by the regime's supreme leader, Ali Khamenei. The election led to widespread protests by masses of Iranians who used the space provided by division in the regime to air their opposition to it in its entirety. The election fraud ignited a massive show of pent up desire for regime change by ordinary Iranians and put to rest the myth of the Islamic Republic's stability

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or legitimacy. Thus, the desire of the masses in the street was very different to that of the Green movement.

In the course of the 2009 presidential election in Iran, supporters of former prime minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi, backed by a powerful figure in the Islamic Republic, former president Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, chose the color green to symbolize their election campaign. Green is the traditional color of Islam. Many flags of the Islamic world are green in deference to the traditional green banner and robes of the Prophet of Islam. A contest for the stewardship of the color that represents the faith broke out with the Mousavi campaign claiming it, and then not surprisingly, only a few days after the start of uprising in a government organized demonstration, Ahmadinejad wore a green scarf, and the protesters who rejected the regime's claims to the faith used it to signal dissent and opposition to the Islamist regime.

For the majority of Iranians who participated in anti-regime demonstrations after the sham election, green identified neither Islamic tradition nor particular political tendencies, however, for some it was a symbol of dissent and rejection of all things related to the ruling establishment. Indeed, there was no clear definition at the time of a Green movement. As the uprising gained momentum and the prospect of change in Iran appeared, a rash of political figures turned "green." "Green spokespersons" popped out of nowhere to declare what the "Green Movement" meant, while others such as monarchists, including Reza Pahlavi, as well as known lobbyists of the Iranian regime, and former communists, suddenly turned "green." However, soon a distinction was made between the desire of the people for regime change and those who were seeking change within the current regime. Some, including Mousavi, tried to offer some kind of manifesto to describe what the "Green Movement" is. The core of the manifesto issued by Mousavi and espoused by those operating as the "Green Movement" today was a reiteration of loyalty to the Islamic Republic Constitution, and a betrayal of all those who protested against the regime.

In the course of the 2009 uprising, however, the protesters had increasingly moved beyond the objectives of Green leaders who only sought a greater share of power within the regime's standing constitution. The main slogan at all events and many nights in Tehran during rooftop protests was "Down with the dictator" and "Down with the principle of Velayat-e Faqih<sup>2</sup> which was in total contrast to what Mousavi and the so called Green Movement had in mind.<sup>3</sup> This episode in Iranian history highlighted the historical divide between the Iranian people and their desire for change and the ruling establishment and all its factions.

### Presidential debates and rallies, and fanning the flames

In the lead-up to the election, the supreme leader of the regime, Ali Khamenei, sensed an opportunity to consolidate his regime by eliminating the rival faction represented by Rafsanjani-Khatami and approved a risky policy. Public presidential debates and public rallies were allowed to ignite public interest in what was generally considered a closed election with pre-determined candidates and results. Khamenei miscalculated the intricate balance of power within the regime and expected to engineer the election of his favorite candidate, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, without any consequences. This set the stage for airing

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of factional infighting<sup>4</sup> that reflected the divide between the competing factions<sup>5</sup> within the regime and an opening for a modest public show of dissent to particular regime policies in areas of women's rights, human rights, freedom of expression, press freedom, foreign policy, and economic policy.

The regime intentionally but guardedly allowed opposing views on some policy points to be fanned on condition that the candidates and opposing campaigns observed the red lines of unquestionable loyalty to the principle of political and spiritual supremacy of the clerics and in particular the Vali-Faqih, Ali Khamenei. So as long as the parties remained loyal to the "System," as the ruling apparatus is called, they could disagree and air their viewpoints on different issues to some extent, in a carefully stage-managed debate. Ahmadinejad emerged as the real aggressor during the debates as he lambasted not only his rivals but also Rafsanjani. He went as far as to hold his rivals to account for some of the regime's atrocities in the 1980s, when both of his rivals were high ranking officials of the regime Ahmadinejad, having known that he had full support of Ali Khamenei, used these debates in order to undermine other candidates not only in the manner in which they have conducted themselves politically in the past but went as far as personalizing his attacks on their integrity and honesty. He even suggested that Rafsanjani passed messages to one head of state in the region that, "you should not worry about this government as it will only last for six month....".<sup>6</sup> His conducts were aimed to eliminate not only his opponents but in fact to undermine all those whom Ali Khamenei considered to be a threat to his position as supreme leader namely Rafsanjani who was one of the main allies of Khomeini and was said to be considered by Khomeini as a son. He also went as far as to hold his rivals to account for some of the regime's atrocities in the 1980s, when both of his main rivals, namely Mousavi and Karroubi were high ranking officials of the regime, in particular, Mousavi who was the prime minister for eight years and under his leadership his government was responsible for the darkest chapters of Iran's post-revolutionary period including the imprisonment and executions of tens of thousands of its opponents and widespread human rights abuses. Internationally he was in charge of a government that conducted acts of terror outside Iran as well as support for Hezbollah and other terror groups affiliated to Iranian regime.<sup>7</sup>

Khamenei's calculations on the debates backfired, as divisions came into open view with the opposing sides ripping into each other, and the public sensed the regime's weakness and the hollowness of the opposing camp's reformist feigns. Thus, the fissure at the top of the clerical regime presented a unique opportunity for a population which had been suppressed for years.

The election results, though not unexpected considering all other sham and "engineered" elections in the Islamic Republic regime since 1979, led to public outrage and protests to the overt and excessive rigging and voting irregularities leading to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's reelection. The sham election became a focal point for protesters who used the occasion to openly question the regime and eventually call for the regime's downfall. The protests which started out with "Where is my vote?" quickly moved past reformist pleas to an overwhelming call for the downfall of the despotic religious establishment on Ashura Day, December 27, 2009,<sup>8</sup> in which people openly chanted that they will avenge the death of innocent protesters and called for the overthrow of the regime.

### Leaders - Historical Background

The uprising propelled Mir Hossein Mousavi and Mehdi Karroubi as political leaders of the Green Movement.

#### Who is Hossein Mousavi?

Mir-Hossein Mousavi, born in 1942 in the town of Khameneh in East Azerbaijan province, is a distant relative of the regime's supreme leader, Ali Khamenei. Mousavi studied architecture and during the revolution of 1979 became a follower of Mohammad Beheshti, who was a close confidant and advisor to Ruhollah Khomeini, abandoning earlier sympathies for the ideas of Dr. Ali Shariati and Iran's Freedom Movement. Beheshti designated Mousavi to establish the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) in 1979 and Mousavi became chief editor of its mouthpiece, *Jomhuri-e Eslami* newspaper which became the main platform to attack other parties who resisted monopoly of power by the clerics. The party was formed to act as a counter-balance to leftist and liberal parties who questioned Khomeini's inclination to despotism and his attacks on democratic ideals. Beheshti, who was known as the *Rasputin* of the Iranian revolution for his connivance to monopolize power in the hands of the clergy on behalf of Khomeini, relied on Mousavi and the IRP to attack all proponents of free speech, women's rights, and progressive social agenda, including the MEK.

Mousavi was named as Prime Minister on December 15, 1981, after Ali Khamenei was appointed as president in October 1981. The two clashed repeatedly during the next eight years of shared governance and their disputes were often mediated or ended by Khomeini's intervention. Mousavi effectively represented the more populist and adventurist strain of the Islamic fundamentalist movement, while Khamenei represented the more conservative feudal and traditional merchants in bazaar. This divide later developed into the pseudo-reformist and pseudo-modernist faction represented first by Rafsanjani, then by Khatami, and eventually by the so called Green Movement on the one side, and by Khamenei, and conservative factions within the regime on the other. Mousavi presided over the war with Iraq which cost estimated one million lives and could have ended in summer of 1982 when Iraq was in defensive and withdrew behind Iranian borders.<sup>9</sup> He was also in charge of government that rounded up tens of thousands of people many of whom suffered torture and executions. In fact it was reported that 800 political prisoners were executed between February 1<sup>st</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> of 1982<sup>10</sup> and many thousand were to be executed whilst Mousavi remained prime minister in the 80s.<sup>11</sup> In fact the treatment of women prisoners became the most shameful chapter in Mousavi's government where young women were raped before been sent to their deaths.<sup>12</sup> Even worse was the mass execution of political prisoners in 1988 which can only be described as crimes against humanity in which tens of thousands political prisoners were executed in a short space of time. This act carried out with the full knowledge of Mousavi after a decree issued by Khomeini.<sup>13</sup>

Mousavi's reputation for radical views on the export of terrorism under the guise of export of Islamic revolution was well known. When he introduced his cabinet in 1985, he boasted that his interior minister, Ali Akbar Mohtashami, was a religious conservative who'd built his reputation while building

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Hezbollah, the Party of God, in Lebanon. Mousavi's parliamentary followers supported continuing terrorist operations in Lebanon.<sup>14</sup>

At the end of the Iran-Iraq war in August 1988, when Ali-Akbar Rafsanjani, the speaker of Iran's parliament at the time suggested that Iran should accept some western help with reconstruction, Mousavi disagreed, claiming the move would betray the ideals of the revolution. Mousavi consistently favored state controls over the economy rather than free-market policies. Iran's business class doesn't like him. He had also opposed ending the Iran-Iraq war, claiming that "a large portion of the masses" were indignant over the cease-fire.<sup>15</sup>

After the death of Khomeini in 1989, amendments to the constitution abolished the position of Prime Minister, Khamenei was appointed as Khomeini's successor as supreme leader, Rafsanjani took office as president, and Mousavi's premiership ended. Mousavi was not invited to participate in the new government and he effectively withdrew from public politics.

During the lead-up to the 2009 sham election Mousavi surfaced again, offering the best hope of the regime's loyal opposition for a return to government. In the debates, rallies, and aftermath of the protests that followed the election results, Mousavi provided lackluster leadership and never challenged the regime's legitimacy or its constitution<sup>16</sup>, which he actually defended in an attempt to distance himself from protestors who increasingly called for the downfall of the regime in its entirety. The constitution demands total loyalty from anyone in power to acknowledge the role of supreme leader and his powers within the Islamic Republic. Many articles but in particular Article 110 of the constitution defines the powers of the supreme leader.<sup>17</sup> It was clear that Iranians and the world could not expect regime change from Mousavi.<sup>18</sup> Mousavi's position and other self-claimed Green leaders were seen as a betrayal of the masses who poured into the streets demanding regime change. It is natural to understand why, given their past role in government in the 80s.

Mousavi, like all other major regime politicians, is opposed to suspending the country's nuclear-enrichment program.

Pierre Tristam describes Mousavi in About.com: "Mousavi's more patrician tone and sharper intellect distance him from Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and seduce a young generation that never knew his radicalism and apologies for terror and bloodshed. But his policies and ideology, his faithfulness to the Islamic revolution, his economic policies, and his anti-Americanism are all of a piece with Ahmadinejad's. His election to the Iranian presidency may signal a change in tone, but not a change in policies."<sup>19</sup> In one of his statements whilst the demonstrators were being gunned down by security forces, he declared, "In doing this, we are not confronting the Basij [an auxiliary paramilitary force]. The Basiji is our brother. In doing this, we are not confronting the armed forces [the Revolutionary Guard]. The Guard(s) are the keepers of our revolution. We are not confronting the army. The army is the keeper of our borders. We are not confronting our holy establishment or its legal structures. These structures are what preserve our independence, our freedom, and our Islamic republic".<sup>20</sup>

### Who is Mehdi Karroubi?

Mehdi Karroubi was a mid-level cleric during the Iranian revolution loyal to Khomeini and joined forces with the clerical leader in the ensuing post-revolutionary struggle between parties seeking a progressive, secular, and democratic way forward and Islamist forces favoring Khomeini's self-styled "government of God." Karroubi was appointed by Khomeini to head one of Iran's major conglomerates, "Martyrs Foundation," in 1980, and served two terms as speaker of parliament from 1989 to 1992 and again from 2000 to 2004, a body that served to rubber-stamp policies favored by the supreme leader.

The execution of thousands of political prisoners during the late spring and summer of 1988 as one of the bloodiest episodes of the Islamic Republic's rule and one of the most horrific crimes in contemporary Iranian history continues to haunt Green leaders. Karroubi was speaker of the Majles (parliament) at the time; former president Mohammad Khatami was Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance; and Mir-Hossein Mousavi was the Prime Minister.

Grand Ayatollah Montazeri, who had been anointed as Khomeini's successor up to 1988, learned of the executions and opposed it from within the government hierarchy. In an open letter he criticized the manner in which political prisoners some of whom were nearing the end of their sentence were executed<sup>21</sup>. Karroubi who was a former student of Montazeri sided with Khomeini due to his loyalty. He strongly attacked Montazeri's opposition to the executions.

Karroubi, together with Emam Jamarani and Seyyed Hamid Rouhani, both ranking clerics in the ruling establishment, wrote an open letter to Montazeri, attacking his position<sup>22</sup> on the political prisoners and executions. The letter said, "Some unidentified people and even counter-revolutionaries make baseless statements against the political establishment, its organs, and officials, and are accepted by him [Grand Ayatollah Montazeri], [to the extent that] he becomes their spokesman, and repeats the same in his [public] speeches and messages..."<sup>23</sup>.

The three stage-managed Khomeini's ouster of Montazeri as his successor by accusing him of siding with the MEK political prisoners who were massacred in 1988.

After Karroubi's last stint as speaker of parliament, he was absent from government although he continued to be a fixture in regime politics. In 2005 he was a candidate for president and lost to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and formed the National Trust Party. He ran again in 2009 and lost again. During the 2009 protests, Karroubi, as Mousavi, was surprised by events that moved beyond the Green leaders' demands for power sharing within the regime and seemed unable to lead the protests and the aspirations for democratic change that were expressed by the protesters.

### Role in 1988 Massacre – A crime against humanity

Much remains to be discovered about the 1988 massacre of political prisoners on Khomeini's decree. In the span of a few months, a "death committee," comprised of current members of the ruling regime, swept through scores of prisons throughout Iran and asked a simple question: "Do you still insist on your position?" The position that was alluded to was a belief in the MEK's interpretation of Islam and any

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sympathy for the group. If the answer was yes, the sentence was swift execution, even though a prison sentence was already being served or had been completed. But even if the answer was no, the next question was: "Will you participate in the execution of the hypocrites (MEK)," who could have been the defendant's cellmates. If the answer to this question was no then the same fate awaited the defendant. Some reports put the number of people executed as high as 30,000. It could only be described as a massacre and crimes against humanity.

It is reported by many political prisoners who survived the ordeal for various reasons, that regime officials and employees were brought to the prisons to fire the *coup de grâce* as a test of loyalty. Whether the Green leaders were among the shooters is not known but given the unconditional support and loyalty they had to Khomeini, one can strongly speculate that they supported it, directed it, justified it, or at least acquiesced to the massacre.

During the 2009 campaigning, students at Tehran University and other universities repeatedly questioned Mir-Hossein Mousavi on his involvement in the massacre<sup>24</sup> but each time he evaded the issue and refused to answer.

Geoffrey Robertson, QC and prominent British human rights lawyer, has written<sup>25</sup> Mousavi was challenged at election meetings last year by chants of "1988" but has declined to tell what he knows of the mass murder. In the course of an inquiry conducted for the US-based Abdorrahman Boroumand Foundation I have come across an interview he gave to Austrian television in December 1988. In answer to allegations Amnesty International was making, he dishonestly said the prisoners were planning an uprising: "We had to crush the conspiracy – in that respect we have no mercy." He appealed to western intellectuals to support the right of revolutionary governments to take "decisive action" against enemies. It is an irony that the regime he defended with such hypocrisy now crushes his own supporters without mercy.

### Political Base

In the course of the presidential election Mousavi was supported by several defeated factions of the regime, including Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF), close to Khatami; a section of Executives of Construction Party, close to Rafsanjani; and Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution, a group formed on Khomeini's order in the early days of revolution to confront the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran. Although these groups have their own differences but they were united on two grounds: loyalty to Islamic Republic and opposition to Ahmadinejad.

#### Islamic Iran Participation Front - IIPF (Khatami)

The Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF), *Jebheh-ye Mosharekat-e Iran-e Islami*, was founded in 1998 by leading members of Mohammad Khatami's campaign in the 1997 presidential election and was headed by Mohammad Khatami's brother, Mohammad-Reza Khatami. Many of the party's founders had earlier been radical members of the "Muslim Student Followers of the Imam's Line" (*Daneshjooyan-e Mosalman-e Peyrov-e Khatt-e Emam*) that seized the United States Embassy in Tehran in 1979 and took

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53 US diplomats hostage for over a year. After the hostage crisis, the group continued an active role within the Iranian regime's state security apparatus and foreign and interior ministry. In the late 1990s, they reconstituted as so-called reformists. After a decade at the margins of the Islamic Republic's politics, many took positions within the executive after Khatami's victory in 1997. They lost all parliamentary seats in 2003 after the opposing conservative faction pushed them out in yet another engineered election.

The party's main figures are Mohammad-Reza Khatami, the Secretary-General of the party until 2005, and younger brother of former president Mohammad Khatami. He served as deputy speaker of the sixth parliament (2000-2004); Mohsen Mirdamadi, the current Secretary-General and a member of the sixth parliament; Saeed Hajjarian, chief theorist and strategist of the "reform movement," a founder of the Ministry of Intelligence in the 1980s, and one of Khatami's advisors; Abdollah Ramzanzadeh, Khatami's spokesperson; and Mostafa Tajzadeh, deputy of the Ministry of Interior.

In the 2009 presidential election, the party first invited former president Khatami to run, but after Khatami withdrew from the race, it endorsed former prime minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi.

### Executives of Construction Party (Rafsanjani)

The Party of the Executives of the Construction of Iran (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi-e Iran) was formed shortly before the parliamentary elections in 1996. Rafsanjani had failed to convince fellow members of the Society of the Militant Clergy (Jameh Ruhaniyyat-e Mobarez-e – JRM) to include in their Tehran list of candidates the names of five technocrats whom he deemed important. The excluded candidates, with his support, founded a new party under the title "Executives of the Construction of Iran." Several of the founders had served as vice ministers and in other capacities in Rafsanjani's second cabinet (1993-1997). As such they were directly involved in the regime's infamous campaign to assassinate opposition figures abroad such as Dr. Kazem Rajavi (human rights activist, former Iranian ambassador, brother of NCRI Chairman Massoud Rajavi), Abdul-Rahman Ghassemloo and Sadegh Sharafkandi (both Secretary-Generals of the Kurdish Democratic Party of Iran), and others. Economically, the party supported policies that favored Iran's major conglomerates to satisfy their economic interests which although it appeared to favor free market policies was however controlled by Iran's economic mafia with Rafsanjani as a major player. The main organ of the party's perspective was the Hamshahri newspaper, published by the Tehran municipality under the mayoral tenure of Gholam Hossein Karbaschi, one of the founders of the party. With its different outlook in cultural and economic policy, the party attempted to present itself as the "Modern Right" faction in Iranian politics. Like all other active parties in Iran, the Kargozaran states that members believe in the doctrine of the "Guardianship of the Jurist" (velayat-e faqih).

### Mojahedin-e Enghelab Eslami / Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution (Anti MEK militia)

The People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran, PMOI, or Mojahedin-e Khalq, MEK, was widely known, and supported in the aftermath of the Iranian revolution. After it became clear to Khomeini that the MEK would not bow to him and his demands, he ordered the formation of a rival but similarly named group

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to wean off support from the MEK. The newly formed Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution (Sazman-e Mojahedin-e Enqelab-e Islami-ye Iran), part and parcel of the ruling security apparatus, styled as a militia whose main role was to stage attacks and counter demonstrations against MEK sympathizers.

The group was mostly formed by non-clerical religious followers of Khomeini. They staffed the revolutionary committees that policed Iranian streets and neighborhoods, founded the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC), established the Intelligence Unit of the IRGC, and later formed the bulk of the leaders and rank and file of the Intelligence Ministry. The group dissolved itself in 1986 after losing its utility upon consolidation of security institutions in the Islamic Republic, but was reconstituted in 1991 and published “Asr-e Ma” (Our Era). In 1997 the group’s leaders formed the main ideologues of the Khatami presidency and gradually revised its positions and put more emphasis on the restriction of the supreme leader’s power within the boundaries of the 1979 constitution, which in any case recognized him as the supreme leader. This strain among the Islamic regime’s factions became known as the “reformist” faction. The reform that they sought however did not have anything to do with the restoration of popular sovereignty or rejection of the constitution which forms the basis of a flawed contract with society nor of recognition of human rights violations and holding those responsible to account.

The Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolution formed part of the coalition that supported Mir-Hossein Mousavi in the 2009 elections.

### Political Platform

#### Defense of Islamist regime’s constitutional enshrining of religious despotism

Article 110 of the Islamic Republic’s constitution grants wide powers to a Supreme Leader, laying the basis for extra-legal interventions into the affairs of the state and society. The original draft of the constitution modeled after Iran’s 1906 constitution lacked such an article and was to be reviewed in a constituent assembly in 1979. Under Khomeini’s influence, however, the assembly was named “Assembly of Experts”. The seventy-three-member Assembly of Experts was made up of 55 clerics, 50 of whom were candidates of the Islamic Republic Party. They were “elected” in an election marred by violence, voter intimidation, and widespread fraud. The assembly modified the draft most importantly to include the principle of Guardianship of the Islamic Jurist (velayat-e faqih) and established the basis for a state dominated by the Shia clergy.

Despite MEK protests that the new constitutional draft was undemocratic and a violation of popular sovereignty, Khomeini endorsed the draft and called a referendum. The vote took place, the MEK boycotted, and the constitution was adopted in October 1979 and later modified after Khomeini’s death on July 28, 1989.

The constitution has been repeatedly confirmed by Mousavi and Karroubi.<sup>26</sup> On January 1, 2010, Mousavi issued a statement to make clear his position on various critical issues facing the country at the time. He was particularly adamant that the regime's Constitution must be implemented fully and any

change must be within the framework of the Constitution which is based on the principle of Velayat-e Faqih.

He said "Before I offer my solution to the current crisis, I deem it appropriate to underline the character of the Green Movement, which is Islamic, nationalistic, opposed to foreign domination and loyal to the Constitution."<sup>27</sup>

He is on the record to have publicly stated that "Full implementation of the principles of the Constitution ... is the irreversible and definitive objective and demand of the Green Movement."<sup>28</sup> He has further stated that "The Green Movement, standing by its commitment to humane, ethical, religious and Iranian principles and fundamental values, identifies itself as a refiner and rectifier of the trend within the Islamic Republic of Iran during the years after the Revolution, therefore, on these bases, it makes efforts within the framework of the Constitution and in respect to people's views and votes as its objective."<sup>29</sup>

Mousavi's maximum request for change in the constitution has been to remove the existing ban on the private ownership of television stations (currently all Iranian television stations are state-owned), as well as transfer the control of the law-enforcement forces to the President from the Supreme Leader.

### **Support of nuclear option**

BBC News reported that Mousavi has refused to back down from the country's disputed nuclear program, saying it is for peaceful purposes.<sup>30</sup>

Time Magazine interview, June 12, 2009:

#### **With a change in government, do you think there may be a change in Iran's stance on its nuclear energy program?**

"We may change our methods. In regard to nuclear energy, there are two issues. One is our right to nuclear energy, which is non-negotiable. The second issue is related to concerns about the diversion of this program toward weaponization. Personally, I view this second part, which is both technical and political, as negotiable. We will not accept our country's deprivation from the right to nuclear energy."<sup>31</sup>

According to a 2007 IAEA report, Mousavi also played a lead role in establishing Iran's controversial nuclear program. According to the November 2007 IAEA report,<sup>32</sup> the decision to acquire centrifuge technology from the A.Q. Khan network was made by Iran's Atomic Energy Organization and endorsed by then-Prime Minister Mousavi in 1987. In 2007, Iran provided the IAEA with a copy of a "confidential communication" between the AEOI and Prime Minister Mousavi dated March 5, 1987 in which the AEOI President stated that Iran's activities with the Khan network "should be treated fully confidentially." The communication was intended in part to substantiate Iran's assurances to the IAEA that no military organization was involved in the centrifuge program. Mousavi effectively approved Iran's use of the black market to pursue its secret gas centrifuge program.<sup>33</sup>

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Mousavi's position on the regime's nuclear program, the fact that it started under his premiership in total violation of the NPT and in pursuit of the nuclear weapon option against Iraq in the eight year war,<sup>34</sup> and his caveats, hedging, and refusal to declare a non-nuclear Iran, make it clear that he essentially espouses the same old cat and mouse policy of the current regime in a dual-track strategy of pleading a case for peaceful use while pursuing a military option at all times.

### **Opposition to international sanctions**

Mousavi and so-called green leaders and spokespersons have repeatedly opposed, as has the Tehran regime, any sanctions aimed at punishing the regime for its rogue behavior and delegitimizing it. While Mousavi sheds tears for the Iranian people who endure sanctions but fails to recognize that extensive commercial ties with Tehran have enabled the regime to plough billions of dollars into the security forces, the nuclear program, export of terrorism, and domestic suppression.

The AFP reported from Tehran on September 28, 2009 that, "Mir Hossein Mousavi said on Monday he opposes sanctions against Tehran, ahead of talks between the Islamic republic and world powers over its controversial nuclear program. 'We are against any sanctions against our nation,' Mousavi said in a statement posted on Rouyadnews reformist website."<sup>35</sup>

### **Denial of human rights violations against MEK and hostility to MEK and regime change**

Zahra Rahnavard, wife of Mir-Hossein Mousavi, on the MEK:

*The MEK can't be part of the Green Movement. This bankrupt political group now makes some laughable claims, but the Green Movement and the MEK have a wall between them and all of us, including myself, Mr. Mousavi, Mr. Khatami, and Mr. Karroubi and all of us within the Green Movement do not consider the MEK a part of the Green Movement.*<sup>36</sup>

Zahra Rahnavard may be correct about a wall existing between green leaders and MEK, because Green leaders have never accepted responsibility for their very specific and direct roles in the tragedies of the 1980s and the many murders, massacres, violations of human rights, and violence that they instigated on peaceful MEK sympathizers starting in 1979 to 1981, and then from 1981 onwards in every prison and street in Iran. As described before in this study, the 1988 massacres continue to haunt green leaders and they continue to dodge the main question: what do they know about those massacres, and was their role? These are questions that they will need to account for before they can pretend to support reforms for Iran.

## 2009 Uprising

### **"Election" results**

The morning after June 12, 2009, the Interior Ministry declared Mahmoud Ahmadinejad the winner of the presidential election. It was claimed that 24.5 million voters chose Ahmadinejad over three other contenders out of 38.7 million voters, with 63.8% of the vote.<sup>37</sup>

### **Protests and counter-attacks**

The results were surprising even by Iranian standards of three decades of “engineered” – fraudulent - elections and triggered protests from opposing candidates who openly called the elections rigged. The open clash of the regime’s factions led to a rift in the political-security apparatus that provided space for the general public to express their dissent and opposition to the regime.

The regime unleashed the *Basij*, plainclothes thugs that organize and train for street warfare and political suppression, enraging the public who responded with more protests for the first time in many years. Major protests occurred on major regime holidays, as protesters hijacked regime theme-days and expressed mounting opposition.

#### **Sept. 18 – Qods Day, or Jerusalem Day**

On Qods Day, which the regime convenes every year to support its terrorist affiliates abroad, they chanted: “Not Gaza, Not Lebanon, I die only for Iran.”

In its article, *Lemonde.fr* said that people's minds have changed, that people are counter-attacking against the *Basij* to free their friends, and that the regime, facing these several months-long protests, is increasingly losing support.<sup>38</sup>

#### **Nov. 4 – Anniversary of the U.S. Embassy takeover**

On November 4 (13 Aban on the Iranian calendar) the regime commemorates the anniversary of the US Embassy takeover and hostage-taking in 1979. During the official ceremony government supporters set fire to US flags to commemorate the 1979 embassy takeover. The ceremony was televised and, despite Iranian government authorities encouraging people to chant "Death to America," protesters instead chanted "Death to the Dictator".<sup>39</sup> Protesters also chanted "A green Iran doesn't need nuclear weapons."<sup>40</sup>

#### **Dec. 7 – National Students Day**

December 7 (16 of Azar on the Iranian calendar) is Student Day in Iran and people across Iran broke out in protests chanting “death to the dictator.”

In an article “In Iran, protests gaining a radical tinge,”<sup>41</sup> the New York Times wrote:

*That message has grown increasingly common in recent protests, as demonstrators have made it clear that their target is not just President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, or the disputed election that returned him to power in June, but the entire foundation of Iran’s theocracy.*

*During Monday’s demonstrations, the civil tone of many earlier rallies was noticeably absent. There was no sign of the opposition leader Mir Hussein Mousavi, a moderate figure who supports change within the system, and few were wearing the signature bright green of his campaign.*

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*Instead, the protesters, most of them young people, took direct aim at Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, chanting, "Khamenei knows his time is up!" They held up flags from which the "Allah" symbol — added after Iran's 1979 revolution — had been removed. Most shocking of all, some burned an image of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, the father of the revolution.*

### Popular protests move beyond Green Leaders goals

And so the protests markedly moved beyond what Mousavi and Karroubi had intended, which was to return to government and in Mousavi's case, to revive the "golden era of the Imam," meaning Khomeini.<sup>42</sup>

In this there was a distinct disconnect between the people's desire for regime change and the Green leaders desire for preserving the "System" and rotating out the faction in government.

### Jumping on the bandwagon

The massive and continued protests demanding change led many Iranian political parties and exiles who until then had been skeptical of the regime's downfall and had maneuvered to build bridges with the regime, to conclude that some kind of change, even if not regime change, is inevitable. So in addition to the Green leaders' political parties within the regime, many others suddenly and opportunistically turned "green." These included some well-known monarchists, isolated groups on the left, and even some pro-regime figures in the West. Being part of the "Green Movement" with no manifesto, no identity, and no clear policy, was vogue for those who for many years were considered otherwise irrelevant in Iranian political life.

Reza Pahlavi, the son of the Shah, turned out one day at Rockefeller Center in New York wearing a green tie and sporting a green hand band to proclaim himself "Green."<sup>43</sup>

Among those who also turned green was Trita Parsi, head of NIAC, who is documented by papers presented to a court in a defamation case he lost, to be a lobbyist for the Iranian regime. After so many years of lobbying for the regime, even with Ahmadinejad as its president, Parsi opportunistically began to criticize the regime and spoke favorably of the "Greens."

Another such individual was Hadi Ghaemi, a former NIAC board member.<sup>44</sup> Ghaemi who was active in NIAC for years, had previously travelled to Iran to work with the Iranian government under the pretext of working with NGOs as part of a NIAC project. In 2004, a joint workshop was held in Tehran by NIAC and Hamyaran, an Iranian regime front organization. Hadi Ghaemi and Dokhi Fassihian represented NIAC.<sup>45</sup> He was also the author of a damning report against the PMOI in 2005 for HRW which has been widely criticized and discredited for its methodology, purely relying on telephone conversions with several individuals suspected of working with Iran's Ministry of Intelligence, as well as its poor factual reasoning. However, with his newly founded International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran he suddenly introduced himself as an independent human rights advocate sympathetic with the "Green Movement." He also appeared in a YouTube program "Week of Green" talking about human rights and

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the green movement. Interestingly, in his bios he makes no reference about his working with NIAC and visiting Iran.

### Ashura, a break with the Greens

In December 2009, the protests escalated and government security forces opened fire on protesters on the Shi'a holy day of Ashura (December 27, 2009), a day "symbolically about justice" and during which any kind of violence is forbidden. A protester from Tehran told ABC News by telephone "Killing Muslims on Ashura, is like crucifying Christians on Christmas."<sup>46</sup> The ABC News report continued:

*In the wake of the deadliest protests in six months, reports said the Iranian government today arrested hundreds of protesters and began a roundup of prominent opposition figures.*

*In the bold demonstrations Sunday, the crowd lashed back at security forces, attacking riot police and burning their motorcycles and vans.*

*One video shows riot police cornered in a shop entrance, begging for forgiveness.*

*The demonstrations spread to several cities across the country and across wide swaths of Iranian society.*

*Several witnesses also describe a crowd more mixed than before, a sign the movement is expanding beyond the young, urban, educated people who have mostly led the charge.*

*"The crowd included people not just from one part of society, young and old, religious and secular," the same protester said. "It's clear lots of people are unhappy with the government."*

*As in several recent protests, participants condemned the regime, not just June's disputed presidential election.*

Spiegel Online International reported<sup>47</sup>:

*The slogans used on Sunday underscore the fact that they [the protesters] still want to force regime change, despite the danger. As they marched through the streets of Tehran, thousands cried: "We will fight, we will die, we will reconquer our country."*

Perhaps echoing the view of Mousavi and Karroubi, Mohsen Kadivar, a former Khomeini loyalist and cleric, who is now living in exile in the US and promoting Mousavi, spoke to Spiegle Online on December 28, 2009 and advised against sanctions on the brutal regime and insisted on reforms rather than regime change.<sup>48</sup>

A day after the regime murdered protesters on Ashura day, Mousavi was reported by Australian ABC News to have said: <sup>49</sup>

*MIR HOSSEIN MOUSAVI (voiceover): Neither Karoubi nor Khatemi, not even my friends and myself issued statements ahead of Ashura. Nevertheless the people came back to the stage and*

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*proved that they won't wait for statements.*

*ANNE BARKER: As a way out of the crisis, Mr Mousavi has put forward a five point plan to the Government for political and social reforms. But he says Iran's leaders must accept responsibility for the crisis and stop its crackdown on dissent.*

*He's called for the release of all political prisoners, more transparent election laws, and a recognition of the right to protest and a free press.*

It was clear that the protesters wanted regime change and Mousavi ever so carefully sought “reforms” that would preserve the core of the regime and its constitution.

In the aftermath of Ashura, the regime arrested hundreds of activists. Many MEK supporters who reported for the Resistance satellite channel *Simaye Azadi* were arrested, tortured, and some executed.

### **The Green Retreat**

Perhaps nothing can better symbolize the unwillingness and inability of the “Green” leaders and the bandwagon riders of the self-proclaimed “Green Movement” than the failed exercise of opposing the regime and standing up for your convictions “without paying a price,” as the protesters were counseled to do by the Green leaders in February 2010.

In 2010, the Green leaders tried to mobilize demonstrations for the February 11 anniversary of the revolution. But besides the regime crackdown, which was also present in all previous protests as well, the protest never materialized. Green leaders asked protesters to mingle with the pro-regime crowds and fade into their midst and then emerge to protest ever so slightly with green scarves. They reasoned that the people were not ready to pay a price and they were counseling an “inexpensive” way that would attract the masses. The bitter truth, however, was that the people were paying the price every day and it was the so-called “Green” leaders who were afraid to pay the price.

Three protesters who participated in the February 11, 2010 event have written:

*In a breezy morning, we three headed down to a main square at Tehran to join the anti-regime protests on the occasion of the regime's victory anniversary on February 11, 2010. Seems paradoxical? Of course, there were millions of people gathering there: a bizarre, heterogeneous mixture of almost two large groups of people, supporters and protestors, walking next to each other, each one having a nervous look at the face of the other. A spark was needed to ignite the whole crowd. Some comrades, who we saw them by accident, had the same feeling: being lost and lonely. Like former protests, we hoped that somewhere someplace some people may have sorted out some sort of protests. We wandered for hours to find them. But nothing did really happen that day. That day, the confused, wandering population of protesters was abused by the government as their supporters.*

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The gap between the regime insiders turned leaders of the Green movement and the protesters began to show itself when the first protest cry of 'where is my vote?' was replaced by the chant: 'freedom, independence, Iranian republic' and 'down with dictator.' The incompatibility between the green leaders' demands for a repeat election and a return to power, and the people's revolutionary demand to replace the regime in its entirety with a democratic government has resulted in a green retreat and fading away.

The protest movement of 2009 signaled the masses readiness to sacrifice for a new era and life and to turn the page on this regime. But this movement for regime change has been hampered by the Mousavis and Karroubis who are trapped by their past and burdened by the heaviness of having participated in the despotism, war, mass murder and many broken promises and betrayals of the current regime.

Instead of bypassing themselves with a clean break with the past, these green leaders have instead talked about a return to the era of Khomeini, a perpetuation of the constitution that forms the basis of religious despotism, and about the need to reconcile with Khamenei and his allies.

### Role of PMOI in 2009 Uprising

The British Parliamentary Committee for Iran Freedom, published a factual review of the 2009 protest movement, "Iran, The Gathering Storm," in February 2010. The report illustrates that PMOI/MEK supporters which contrary to Green's leaders have been advocating regime change, were the most active participants and organizers of the protests.<sup>50</sup> Excerpts below:

*During the course of the 2009 protests, high ranking officials of the Iranian regime complained that, "the slogans voiced by Massoud Rajavi... are being heard in Tehran's streets," that the "PMOI directed the Ashura uprising" and that "the presence and the role of the PMOI in recent events particularly on the day of Ashura (27 December) demonstrates that a rational and calculating force is orchestrating these incidents."...*

*The subsequent arrest of former political prisoners of the 1980s and setting up Kangaroo courts to execute people under the pretext of Mohareb (Arabic for "at war," borrowed from the Quran and referring to persons deemed to be at war with God) for affiliation with the PMOI aimed to quell the huge potential that surfaced for regime change.*

*In addition to the PMOI's organized and underground network, the families of PMOI martyrs and political prisoners form a large social network across Iran. There is hardly a neighborhood in Iran that has not had one or more of its residents executed, exiled or now living in Camp Ashraf, home to PMOI members in Iraq.*

*Therefore, there is no doubt that PMOI and the coalition of the National Council of Resistance of Iran are major players in developments in Iran...*

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Ahmad Alamolhoda, the Friday prayer leader in the city of Mashhad, labeled the regime's opponents as mohareb (waging war on God) and said the protests were directed by the main Iranian opposition, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI/MEK).

Specifically, he said, "The actions carried out on the day of Ashura can be deemed as an exact case of Moharebeh [waging war against God]. The rioters chanted the same slogans that had been published on Monafeqin's [PMOI] website since 7 December [Student Day]. So, the unrest on Ashura was directed by the PMOI."...

On 28 January 2010, state-run media reported that the trial for five defendants charged with moharebeh has started. According to ISNA news agency, the indictment for one of the defendants was as follows, "1. Moharebeh by way of supporting and having connections with the PMOI. 2. Setting up associations and [participating in] conspiracy with the intention of committing crimes against national security in cooperation with Sara, Rayhaneh and Mohsen [Her apparent contacts]. 3. Engaging in propaganda against the establishment and in support of the enemies, PMOI, and terrorists. 4. Leaving the country illegally."

According to the indictment, the prosecutor's demand for a death sentence was merely based on alleged contacts with the PMOI and engaging in "propaganda" in favor of the PMOI and "terrorists." The charge of leaving the country illegally referred to the defendant's trip to Iraq where he visited his relatives in Camp Ashraf, home to 3,400 PMOI members. In recent years, many Iranians have been sentenced to long term imprisonment for visiting Camp Ashraf and their loved ones residing there. A list of 150 people arrested by the regime on charges of visiting Ashraf has been delivered to the UN...

Iranian state-run media outlets and international news agencies have also reported about more arrests and death sentences. Agence France Presse, for example, has reported, "Iran will 'soon execute' nine people arrested during anti-government protests for seeking to topple the Islamic regime, Fars news agency reported on Tuesday quoting a senior judiciary official. 'The two people executed and another nine who will soon be executed were definitely arrested in recent riots and each was linked with counter-revolutionary movements,' deputy judiciary head Ebrahim Raisi told a meeting in the holy city of Qom late Monday. 'They had participated in riots with the aim of creating disunity and toppling the system,' he added."<sup>51</sup>

In the course of kangaroo courts staged by the regime, the material evidence presented against the defendants were nothing more than participation in demonstrations, taking pictures and video footage at the anti-regime rallies and sending them to the PMOI, and sending SMS messages inviting others to participate in the demonstrations. According to a website affiliated with an internal faction of the regime, "Among the five persons on trial, in addition to the three a part of whose trial was broadcast by the state television regarding visiting Camp Ashraf and recording videos of protests in Iran, there was a couple over 50 years old whose son resides in

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*Ashraf and the brothers of the man were executed during the early years of the revolution on charges of membership in the PMOI terrorist group.<sup>52</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> The “Green Movement” as a political movement represents factions of the ruling establishment that have been in and out of government since the beginning of the Islamic Republic regime in Iran in 1979. The members of this political class are mainly composed of the Islamic Participation Front (Khatami), the Executives of Construction Party (Rafsanjani), and the Mujahedin-e Enghelab Eslami / Mujahedin of the Islamic Revolution (Anti MEK militia). All of the above have participated more or less in the regime’s security, political, and economic establishment from the start. The infighting between this faction and the regime’s other currently dominant faction stems from differences in power sharing and control of Iran’s state revenues rather than from any fundamental difference regarding democratic rights or freedoms.

<sup>2</sup> The absolute rule of the clergy

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O\\_FgMOizLQ8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O_FgMOizLQ8), in many clips posted, protesters chanted “Death to Khamenei”, the supreme leader to whom Mousavi and other candidates partaking in elections are required to show absolute loyalty demanded by the constitution of the Islamic republic of Iran.

<sup>4</sup> “Iranian poll rivals clash on live TV,” BBC News, June 3, 2009,  
([http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/8080999.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8080999.stm))

<sup>5</sup> Nazila Fathi, “Iran President and Challenger Clash in Debate,” New York Times, June 3, 2009  
([http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/world/middleeast/04iran.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/04/world/middleeast/04iran.html?_r=0))

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3XkHuFJNcPU>, accessed January 26th, 2013

<sup>7</sup> <http://terrorism.about.com/od/iran/p/Iran2.htm>

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DzCiSQj-MBM> accessed January 26<sup>th</sup>, 2013

<sup>9</sup> <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/sep/23/iran-iraq-war-anniversary>

<sup>10</sup> <http://www.iranrights.org/english/document-97.php>

<sup>11</sup> <http://www.iranrights.org/english/document-97.php>

<sup>12</sup> <http://www.hafteh.de/?p=4559>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.amontazeri.com/farsi/khaterat/html/0560.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Pierre Tristam, “Profile: Mir-Hossein Mousavi, Iran’s Radical Turned Reformist,” About.com

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Fredrik Dahl, “Mousavi’s wife says brother jailed in Iran crackdown,” Reuters, July 23, 2009  
(<http://mobile.reuters.com/article/worldNews/idUSTRE56M1TH20090723?irpc=932>). “Mousavi said Wednesday he would soon unveil a new ‘charter’ to ‘make the neglected parts of the constitution functional.’ He also stressed the need to act within the law. ‘If we move out of the constitution’s framework then we would face uncontrollable anarchy,’ he said on his Web site.”

<sup>17</sup> <http://www.iranonline.com/iran/iran-info/government/constitution-8.html>

<sup>18</sup> “Is Mousavi a Reformer? Iranian Reform and Stagnation,” Middle East Quarterly (Spring 2010): 77-80. “As the following document clearly shows, he retains a firm belief in the Islamic regime that governs Iran. There is no hope at all that if Mousavi ever comes to power he will do more than a little regime house-cleaning. The following excerpted version of Mousavi’s June 20, 2009 address makes this clear and serves as a warning that even if he were to be elected president, the West could expect no progress with regard to deep and lasting regime change — The Editors”

<sup>19</sup> Pierre Tristam, Op Cit

<sup>20</sup> <http://www.meforum.org/2702/is-mousavi-a-reformer>

<sup>21</sup> [http://www.iran-press-service.com/articles\\_2000/dec\\_2000/montazeri\\_memories\\_131200.htm](http://www.iran-press-service.com/articles_2000/dec_2000/montazeri_memories_131200.htm)

<sup>22</sup> <http://www.fshahed.blogfa.com/post-120.aspx> In this letter Karroubi and two other clerics strongly criticize Grand Ayatollah Montazeri on range of issues which he was critical of Khomeini and others in his Islamic Republic. The letter is in Farsi.

<sup>23</sup> Letter signed by Mehdi Karroubi, along with two others, condemning Grand Ayatollah Hossein-Ali Montazeri, for publicly speaking out against the massacre of imprisoned dissidents in 1988.

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<sup>24</sup> Con Coughlin, "Mir-Hossein Mousavi 'involved in massacre', says report," The Telegraph, June 8, 2010, (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iran/7811996/Mir-Hossein-Mousavi-involved-in-massacre-says-report.html>)

<sup>25</sup> Geoffrey Robertson, "The UN must try Iran's 1988 murderers," The Guardian, June 7, 2010, (<http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/libertycentral/2010/jun/07/iran-1988-prisoners-murder-international-court>)

<sup>26</sup> Middle East Quarterly (Spring 2010), Op Cit

<sup>27</sup> Statement Number 17, from official website of the Green Movement, "Kaleme," (<http://www.kaleme.org/1388/10/11/klm-7047>)

<sup>28</sup> Statement Number 18, Official website of the Green Movement, "Kaleme," (<http://www.kaleme.com/1389/03/25/klm-22913>)

<sup>29</sup> Ibid

<sup>30</sup> "Iran's presidential candidates," BBC News, June 12, 2009, ([http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/8060304.stm#mousavi](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/8060304.stm#mousavi))

<sup>31</sup> Joe Klein and Nahid Siamdoust, "The Man Who Could Beat Ahmadinejad: Mousavi Talks to TIME," June 12, 2009, (<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1904343,00.html#ixzz2Gk5Uf000>)

<sup>32</sup> IAEA Board of Governors, "Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions 1737 (2006) and 1747 (2007) in the Islamic Republic of Iran," IAEA, November 15, 2007, ([http://www.isisnucleariran.org/assets/pdf/IAEA\\_Report\\_Nov152007.pdf](http://www.isisnucleariran.org/assets/pdf/IAEA_Report_Nov152007.pdf))

<sup>33</sup> "Mousavi's connection to the Khan network," ISIS, June 10, 2009, (<http://www.isisnucleariran.org/brief/detail/mousavis-connection-to-the-khan-network>)

<sup>34</sup> "Is Mousavi Worse for Israel? Israeli Experts are Divided," Arutz Sheva, June 23, 2009, "As prime minister in the late 1980s, Mousavi was among the initiators of Iran's military nuclear program, explained veteran analyst Ron Ben-Yishai in a recent article on the Hebrew language website Ynet. 'He was the one who began the clandestine program for acquisition of know-how and equipment for nuclear weapons production from Pakistani scientist Abdel Kadr Khan.' In addition, Mousavi made it clear on the eve of the recent elections that he would continue Iran's nuclear program as President, meaning that his election probably would not cause Iran to give up its military nuclear ambition.'

<sup>35</sup> "Iran's Mousavi opposes sanctions against Tehran," AFP, September 28, 2009, (<http://www.google.com/hostednews/afp/article/ALeqM5gUK5HtyWI6K2PHpt3TW1HfuinG-w>)

<sup>36</sup> Patrick Disney, "Congressional backers look to exiled Iranian group for regime change," Foreign Policy, September 22, 2010, ([http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/22/congressional\\_backers\\_look\\_to\\_exiled\\_iranian\\_group\\_for\\_regime\\_change](http://mideast.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2010/09/22/congressional_backers_look_to_exiled_iranian_group_for_regime_change)), Note: Patrick Disney identifies himself as an Iran analyst currently pursuing an M.A. in international relations at Yale University. Previously, he was the Assistant Policy Director at the National Iranian American Council, and coordinator of the Campaign for a New American Policy on Iran, a coalition of national advocacy organizations promoting a diplomatic solution to the US-Iran conflict. He is in fewer words a lobbyist for the Iranian regime.

<sup>37</sup> Charlie Szrom and Ahmad Majidiyar, "Iranian 2009 Presidential Election Results by Province," AEI Iran Tracker, June 14, 2009, (<http://www.irantracker.org/analysis/iranian-2009-presidential-election-results-province>)

<sup>38</sup> Marie-Claude Decamps, "L'opposition iranienne réaffirme son existence lors de la journée d'Al-Qods", Lemonde.fr, Septembre 18, 2009

<sup>39</sup> Adrian Blomfield, "Iran protests: opposition clashes with security forces," The Telegraph, November 4, 2009, (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/iran/6502277/Iran-protests-opposition-clashes-with-security-forces.html>)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Robert F. Worth, "In Iran, Protests Gaining a Radical Tinge," New York Times, December 10, 2009, ([http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/11/world/middleeast/11iran.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/11/world/middleeast/11iran.html?_r=0))

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<sup>42</sup> "Mousavi, Karroubi, and the Opposition in the Diaspora," PBS Frontline, December 17, 2010, (<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2010/12/mousavi-karroubi-and-the-opposition-in-the-diaspora.html#ixzz2GibJ9Mbd>)

<sup>43</sup> <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bTLKgW7hnVA>

<sup>44</sup> <http://www.niacouncil.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=5820>

<sup>45</sup> <http://www.iranian-americans.com/2009/12/1663.html>

<sup>46</sup> Jim Sciutto, "Protester: 'Killing Muslims on Ashura Is Like Crucifying Christians on Christmas.'", ABC News, December 28, 2009, (<http://abcnews.go.com/WN/iranian-government-arrests-hundreds-tensions-mount/story?id=9436148#.UOLDMqBk2mw>)

<sup>47</sup> Ulrike Putz, "Iranian Demonstrators Put the Regime on the Defensive," Spiegel Online International, December 28, 2009, (<http://www.spiegel.de/international/world/violence-in-tehran-iranian-demonstrators-put-the-regime-on-the-defensive-a-669317.html>)

<sup>48</sup> Erich Follath, "Iran Ayatollah: 'I Am Convinced that the Regime Will Collapse'," ABC News citing Spiegel Online, December 28, 2009, (<http://abcnews.go.com/International/iran-ayatollah-kadivar-iranian-regime-opposition-movement/story?id=9433282&page=2#.UOLGNaBk2mw>)

<sup>49</sup> "Mousavi prepared to die for his cause," ABC News, January 2, 2010,

(<http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2009/s2784149.htm>)

<sup>50</sup> "Iran - The Gathering Storm," British Parliamentary Committee of Iran Freedom, February 2010, ([http://iran-freedom.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=270&Itemid=29](http://iran-freedom.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=270&Itemid=29))

<sup>51</sup> Agence France Presse, February 2, 2010

<sup>52</sup> Ayandeh website, January 30, 2010

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