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Special Report: The Hinge of Fate: Key Iranian Opposition Leader Speaks Out on the “Green Revolution”

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Special Report

The Hinge of Fate: Key Iranian Opposition Leader Speaks Out on the “Green Revolution”

Analysis/Interview. By Jason Fuchs, GIS UN Correspondent. As political turmoil and public protest intensified in Iran on June 15, 2009, Dr Assad Homayoun¹, one of the most significant leaders of Iran’s exiled nationalist opposition, injected his voice into the debate and issued a call for the Iranian people to rise up against the administration of Pres. Mahmud Ahmadi-Nejad and equally against the leadership of “Supreme Leader” “*Ayatollah*” Ali Hoseini-Khamene’i.

Dr Homayoun told GIS/*Defense & Foreign Affairs* that reports he had received from a variety of senior military and intelligence sources inside the Tehran leadership structure indicated:

(a) A significant trend by the Armed Forces to make it clear that they were opposed to the Ahmadi-Nejad Administration’s suppression of the Iranian civil populace;

(b) A refusal by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC: *Pasdaran*), and its intelligence wing, and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) [*Vezerat-e Ettela’at va Amniat-e Keshvar* (VEVAK)], to participate in the suppression of the Iranian population; and

(c) A deliberate decision by “Supreme Leader” Ali Hoseini-Khamene’i to stay with support for Ahmadi-Nejad, despite the potential threat which Ahmadi-Nejad may pose to the current clerical leadership itself, both as a result of the unrest he had unleashed and because of Ahmadi-Nejad’s loyalty to his own religious patron, *Ayatollah* Mohammed Taqi Mesbah-Yazdi, in Qom. It has been suggested for some time that Ahmadi-Nejad had planned to see Mesbah-Yazdi eventually become “Supreme Leader”.

In a conversation with *Defense & Foreign Affairs*, Dr Homayoun also declared that it was time for US Pres. Barack Obama to take “daring action” and “stand unequivocally with the Iranian people as they struggle to end the Islamic Republic and recapture their freedom”.

Dr Homayoun is President of the Azadegan Foundation, an Iranian nationalist group, and he remains one of the few Iranian opposition leaders untainted by the financial backing of foreign intelligence services. Following the contested Iranian presidential election of June 12, 2009, which saw incumbent Pres. Ahmadi-Nejad re-elected with what the Iranian Interior Ministry declared to be a 63.62 percent share of the popular vote, demonstrations erupted in Tehran and throughout Iran's major metropolitan areas in support of the candidacy of former Prime Minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh. Mousavi continued to maintain that election results had been falsified by supporters of the Ahmadi-Nejad Administration and, as of June 15, 2009, although Iran's Supreme Leader "*Ayatollah*" Khamene'i had promised to investigate Mousavi's claims, anti-government demonstrations continued throughout the country. While the incumbent Ahmadi-Nejad Government had "requested" the evacuation of all foreign journalists effective immediately, reports continued to trickle out of an increasingly violent and comprehensive crackdown against supporters of Mousavi in particular and perceived anti-regime elements in general. This included the arrest of some 150 political activists over the weekend of June 13-14, 2009, including the arrest of former Deputy Interior Minister Mostafa Tajzadeh, coupled with reportedly brutal suppression of street demonstrations, specifically on university campuses.

Reports filtering out of Iran via social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook indicated that, by the night of June 16, 2009, as many as 30 students and others had been killed in raids on dormitories and other sites in Tehran and Shiraz and that as many as 100 students were now "missing" as a result of those operations, undertaken — it was understood — by members of the irregular militias of the *Basij* and *Ansar HizbAllah*. Early Monday, June 15, 2009, further reports began to filter out via the Twitter page of an individual claiming to be a "government worker" in north-west Tehran, claiming that police forces were now targeting government officials. At 02.00 hrs local time, the individual, using the name Hadmid

Masoudad, reported on an incident occurring outside his home, writing: "A situation is starting outside of my house!" He then wrote two minutes later: "The police are trying to take government employees out of their homes and arrest them." And, as of the publication of this report, that was Masoudad's last post. On June 15 and 16, 2009, this analyst spoke with Dr Homayoun, a former senior Iranian diplomat currently residing in exile the United States. He was in charge of political affairs at the Iranian Embassy in Washington DC for 12 years and, just before the 1979 revolution, was Minister and Chargé of the Embassy.

Dr Homayoun, who is in daily contact with sources inside the Islamic Republic, described the election in Iran as "to some extent, similar to an election in the West, but with one rather significant difference: the loser will be declared the winner as part of a coup engineered in broad daylight by upper echelons of the military/clerical regime, specifically '*Ayatollah*' Khamene'i working with Pres. Ahmadi-Nejad and supported by *Pasdaran* and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) with, as I understand it, much of the actual machinations being managed by the Supreme Leader's son, Mojtaba Khamene'i."

One factor, however, was that it now appeared that Ahmadi-Nejad's control of the *Pasdaran* and MOIS may not be anything like as firm as it had been, particularly in light of the current refusal of both bodies to participate willingly in the crackdown on Iranian citizens. Both bodies had made this fairly clear in the past, which was why the *Basij* was created, using substantially foreign fighters, and why *Ansar HizbAllah*, an essentially non-governmental militia, was also being used for internal suppression.

Dr Homayoun was perhaps the first to highlight the rôle of Mojtaba in recent events. GIS sources had noted Mojtaba's ascent in the clerical hierarchy in 2004 when reports from sources close to Saudi King 'Abdallah bin 'Abd al-'Aziz al Sa'ud and leaked to the Saudi daily *Al-Sharq al-Awsat* linked Mojtaba to a failed plot to assassinate several CIA agents in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku in the Summer of 2004. Mojtaba was subsequently tasked with liaising between the Supreme Leader and members of Sunni *jihadi* groups, including *al-Qaida*, which had to that point been the responsibility of the *Pasdaran's al-Quds* Forces, for some time handled by Ahmed Vahidi, and later Qassem Soleimani. When Soleimani's focus shifted to anti-Coalition operations in Iraq in 2004, Mojtaba had apparently taken control of non-Iraq related *jihadi* relations for Tehran before playing what Dr Homayoun described as a central rôle in the "rigging" of the 2009 Iranian elections.

It was also significant to note that the staging, or falsification, of the 2009 election was not unique. Evidence, along with reports from sources inside the clerical leadership, have indicated that literally every election since the 1979 revolution had been stage-managed and that outcomes had nothing to do with the voting. It would, then, have been a significant transformation if the 2009 election had been different.

Dr Homayoun went on to note, "Historically, a coup occurs against the ruling regime, but here, we are seeing a *coup d'état* launched directly against the will of the people. Some 500 correspondents of the international press in Tehran have attested to the manipulation by the regime of the election and the manufacturing of the results. Three days prior to the election, mobile phones and communication systems were taken down and now opposition access to the media has been denied." Of Mousavi, he explained that the Iranian people appeared to now view him as "a bridge from the Islamic Republic to a secular Iran" and he further stressed that the Iranian people would not back down even in the face of the regime's

violent pushback, even though he cautioned against seeing Mousavi as anything like a "Yeltsin-like transitional figure". "The Iranian people will never forget the murder of its sons and daughters at the hands of a demonstrably illegitimate Islamist leadership. The people of Iran will continue this struggle, will continue to resist, will continue to shed their sweat, their tears, their very blood so that this generation of Iranians may be the last to know the taste of tyranny, so that the next generation will be the first in three decades to be born into a free Iran."

As for the reaction of Pres. Obama, Dr Homayoun reiterated that Washington and the entire free world must stand with the Iranian people. "This will be a real test of Obama's statesmanship. If he admits to and apologizes for the US involvement in the 1953 anti-Mossadegh coup as he did in Cairo because he believed it denied the Iranian people their freedom, how could he then negotiate and legitimize a totalitarian regime which stole the vote of the Iranian people today? To do so would not be to absolve the sins of 1953, but rather to compound them. Failure to stand for the freedom of the Iranian people a half century ago is not an argument for repeating the same mistake 50-some years later." He noted: "Iran is pregnant with unprecedented events. Today the will of the people is the will of God and it depends in no small part on Pres. Obama how to deal with the current situation. Pres. Obama has called for the Iranian regime to unclench its fist and grasp his Administration's outstretched hand. I ask him today to listen not to the wardens of the jail that is the Islamic Republic, but instead to its hopeful prisoners who look to you, to America, to the West with its hand outstretched, unclenched and desperate for you, Mr President, to reach out, grasp back, and simply say, 'We stand with you.'"

Dr Homayoun added: "The Supreme Leader and Pres. Ahmadi-Nejad perceive this election and the subsequent suppression of the opposition as a key turning point in the export of Khomeini's Islamic Revolution. I agree with their general analysis of this moment's historical import, but for perhaps different reasons."

"Winston Churchill titled the fourth book in his six-volume history of World War II 'The Hinge of Fate'. In it, Churchill detailed what he termed the critical tipping point years of that global conflict ending with the Battle of El Alamein in the Autumn of 1942. Of that decisive encounter, Churchill wrote: 'It marked in fact the turning of the Hinge of Fate. It may almost be said: "Before El Alamein we never had a victory. After El Alamein we never had a defeat."' For the Iranian people, if Pres. Obama, the United States and the free world stand with us, the election of July 12, 2009 — that moment that the regime hoped would mark a watershed for its Islamist empire — will instead stand for something very different. Perhaps it will stand

for the Iranian people's El Alamein, the day the people of Iran, with the free world behind them, shout from the roof-tops, *marg bar dictator*, as they do literally this very moment from Tehran to Tabriz. Which means that one of these tomorrows will finally be the day that an Iranian can declare, to paraphrase an American civil rights hero, '*Azadi be har ghaimat, azadi be har ghaimat, insh'Allah, azadi be har ghaimat.*'"

In English, roughly: Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, free at last.

Footnotes:

1. For the past 20-plus years, Dr Homayoun has provided advice and counsel to many opposition groups in exile. He helped organize the Azadegan movement of Iranian nationalists, along with its founder, the late Gen. Bahram Aryana, who mounted a campaign to topple the clerical Administration in Tehran, but died in exile. Dr Homayoun earned his PhD in International Relations at George Washington University in Washington DC, and served as a professor there, as well. He is the author of many articles on international, Middle Eastern and Iranian affairs including articles for this publication among others. He is also a Senior Fellow at the International Strategic Studies Association (ISSA), the parent organization of *Defense & Foreign Affairs Publications*. He is also an advisor to worldtribune.com.

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لولای سرنوشت: یک رهبر عمده اوپوزیسیون در مورد «انقلاب سبز» سخن می‌راند.

تجزیه و تحلیل توسط جیسون فوش خبرنگار سیستم جهانی اطلاعات که بیشتر بنام دفاع و امور خارجی شناخته می‌شد:

همزمان با بالاگرفتن شورش های سیاسی در ایران در روز ۱۵ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ دکتر اسد همایون یکی از رهبران ملی در اوپوزیسیون بیرون از ایران در یک گفتگو نظرات خود را به اینصورت ارائه داد و خطاب به مردم ایران پیامی داد تا در یک رستاخیز همزمان بر علیه پرزیدنت محمود احمدی نژاد و رهبری «ولایت فقیه» و آیت الله علی حسینی خامنه ای برخیزند.

دکتر همایون به سیستم جهانی اطلاعات/ دفاع و امور خارجی گفت بر اساس گزارش هائی که از برخی از نظامیان رتبه بالا و مقامات امنیتی در تهران و دیگر افراد مهم در ساختار نظام بدست آورده:

الف: به روشنی یک روند محسوس و معنی داری از سوی نیروهای نظامی در جریان است تا نشان دهد با دستگاه اداری احمدی نژاد و فشار های او بر علیه مردم ایران مخالف هستند

ب: یک نوع مخالفت از سوی بدنه سپاه پاسداران و شاخه امنیتی آن و از جمله وزارت اطلاعات و امنیت کشور با شرکت در اعمال فشار به مردم ایران احساس می‌شود.. و

ج: تصمیم تعمدی از سوی «رهبر» علی حسینی خامنه ای اینطور استنباط می‌شود که او همچنان از احمدی نژاد پشتیبانی می‌کند، باوجود اینکه ممکن است احمدی نژاد خطر بزرگی بر علیه رهبران مذهبی حاضر فراهم بیاورد، ناآرامی ها و خیزش های حاضر در نتیجه وفاداری احمدی نژاد به آیت الله محمد تقی مصباح یزدی مقلد مذهبی اش که در قم اقامت دارد و همچنین باور های مذهبی اش بوجود آمده است. گفته می‌شود احمدی نژاد از مدتی پیش در فکر این بوده است تا مصباح یزدی را به مقام «رهبری» برساند.

در گفتگو با دفاع و امور خارجی دکتر همایون (اسد) همچنین اعلام کردند که زمان آن فرارسیده است تا پرزیدنت اوباما رئیس جمهوری آمریکا یک ژست «بیارانی و متهورانه» بگیرند و بدون هرگونه ابهام و تردید درکنار مردم ایران که برای بدست آوردن آزادی بپا خاسته اند تا به عمر رژیم اسلامی پایان دهند بایستند.

دکتر همایون پرزیدنت بنیاد آزادگان که یک گروه ناسیونالیستی می‌باشد و هرگز آلوده به پشتیبانی ها و کمک های سرویس های خارجی نشده است به عنوان یک رهبر اوپوزیسیون همواره نظرات خردمندانه ابراز میدارد. بدنبال انتخابات ریاست جمهوری روز ۱۲ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ که منبع اختلافات و ناگزیر به انتخاب دوباره پرزیدنت احمدی نژاد منجر شد درحالیکه وزارت کشور اعلام کرده ۶۳،۶۲ درصد آرا مردم به او تعلق دارد موجب گردید در تهران تظاهراتی برپا شود. و در سرتاسر تهران در پشتیبانی از کاندیدای دیگر، نخست وزیر اسبق میر حسین موسوی خامنه به خیابان

ریختند. موسوی مرتباً تکرار می کند که در نتیجه انتخابات تقلب شده است و طرفداران احمدی نژاد و کارمندان از روز ۱۵ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ گرچه ولی فقیه "آیت الله" خامنه ای قول داده بود که به درخواست موسوی به مسئله رسیدگی خواهد کرد معهداً تظاهرکنندگان همچنان در سرتاسر کشور در صحنه باقی مانده اند درحالیکه دولت مسئول احمدی نژاد از همه خبرنگاران خارجی «درخواست» کرده است بفریت از کشور خارج شوند گزارش ها همچنان به بیرون از ایران می رسند و میزان خشونت ها افزایش یافته و نابودکردن طرفداران موسوی به طور گسترده ای ادامه دارد و به ویژه این فشار ها به نماد های ضد رژیم درکل نشانه رفته است. این دستگیری ها که نزدیک به ۱۵۰ نفر می باشند در آخر هفته ژوئن ۱۳، ۲۰۰۹ صورت گرفته است شامل دستگیری معاون سابق وزارت کشور مصطفی تاجزاده می باشد از قرار زیر فشار سنگینی که درخیابان ها به تظاهر کنندگان و به ویژه به کوی دانشگاه وارد می شود را ازجمه قابل ذکر هستند.

از گزارش هائی که به کمک تارنمایی همانند تویتر و فیس بوک (Twitter and Facebook) به خارج از ایران درز می کند بر می آید که تا شب ۱۶ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ نزدیک به ۳۰ تن از دانشجویان و مردم دیگر در حمله های وحشیانه به مردم کشته شده اند و در جاهای دیگر تهران و شیراز نزدیک به ۱۰۰ نفر از دانشجویان «ناپدید» شده اند این عملیات رژیم - گمان می شود - از سوی افراد غیرنظامی اجبر شده بسیجی و انصار حزب الله به اجرا در آمده است. در بامداد روز ۱۵ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ گزارش های دیگری از سوی کسی که ادعا داشته «کارمند دولت» می باشد و در شمال غربی تهران بوده است از طریق تویتر به بیرون درز کرده است نشان می دهد نیرو های پلیس مقامات دولتی را هدف قرار می دهند. در ساعت ۲ بعد از ظهر به وقت محلی این شخص که نام حمید مسعود (مسعوداد) را بکار می برد گزارش دیگری را درباره وقایع بیرون منزلش مخابره کرده است که در آن نوشته بود: «بیک وضع غیر عادی در بیرون خانه من در جریان است!» دو دقیقه پس از آن دوباره نوشته است: «پلیس تلاش دارد کارمندان دولت که بیرون از خانه شان هستند را دستگیر کند» و بنا به نوشته های این شخص این آخرین نوشته مسعود بوده است.

در روز ۱۵ و ۱۶ ژوئن ۲۰۰۹ این تحلیلگر با دکتر همایون این دبیمات برجسته پیشین که در حال حاضر در غربت ودر ایالات متحده آمریکا بسر می برد، دریک گفتگو شرکت نمود. او مسئول سیاست خارجی سفارت ایران در واشنگتن دی سی بود و بمدت ۱۲ سال در این پست بود و تا پیش از سال ۱۹۷۹ که انقلابی در ایران رخ داد در مقام کاردار سفارت انجام وظیفه میکرد.

دکتر همایون؛ که درتماس روزانه با منابعی در درون جمهوری اسلامی است، چنین تشریح می کند که انتخابات ایران تا حدودی مشابه انتخابات در غرب است اما با این تفاوت فاحش و چشم گیر که بازنده را می توان برنده اعلام نمود که بخشی از یک کودتای طراحی شده ای است که در روز روشن از سوی پژواک رفتاری نظامی مذهبی رژیم به ویژه آیت الله خامنه ای که از نزدیک با پرزیدنت احمدی نژاد کار میکند و از سوی سپاه پاسداران، وزارت اطلاعات و امنیت کشور و مجتبی خامنه ای پسر رهبر مذهبی پشتیبانی می شود.

فاکتور عمده ای که هم اکنون ظاهر شده نشان می دهد که بنظر نمی رسد احمدی نژاد همان کنترلی که بر پاسداران و ساواما رژیم داشت را در اختیار دارد به ویژه اینکه هردو سوی این مخاصمه با طیب خاطر در پی خرد کردن شهروندان ایرانی هستند. هردو سمت مخاصمه این مطلب را بطور شفاف اعلام کرده است، اصولاً چرا بسیج که عمدتاً از نفرات خارجی در آن استفاده می شود ایجاد شده است و چرا انصار حزب الله که عمدتاً یک ارگان غیر دولتی ولی نظامی می باشد برای سرکوب و فشار بر روی مسائل داخلی بکار گرفته می شوند.

شاید دکتر همایون اولین کسی است که نقش مجتبی در این وقایع را یاد آوری می کند. منابع دیگری که با سیستم جهانی اطلاعات در ارتباطند در باره مجتبی در سلسله وراثت ملایان درگزارشی در سال ۲۰۰۴ هنگامیه که یک منبع نزدیک به پادشاه سعودی عبد الله بن عبد العزیز السعود خبری را به الشرق اواسط درز میداد مجتبی را به یک طرح قتل چند تن از ماموران سیا در سال ۲۰۰۴ که در پایتخت آذربایجان درباکو بودند وصل می کند. مجتبی درپی آن حرکت بین رهبر مذهبی و سنی ها و گروه های جهادیهست از جمله القاعده که تا آن زمان از جمله مسئولیت های سپاه پاسداران القدس بوده در ارتباط می باشد، که تا مدتی زیر نظر احمد وحیدی و بعدها از سوی قاسم سلیمانی اداره می شده است. وقتی سلیمانی توجهش به سوی عملیات ضد انتلافی عراق در سال ۲۰۰۴ معطوف شد مجتبی ظاهراً کنترل این بخش را در

ناحیه غیرعراقی جهادست ها به عهده گرفته است آن چیزی که دکتر همایون شرح میدهد نقش عمده و اساسی این «طناب سردرگم» در مورد انتخابات ۲۰۰۹ را یاد آور می شود.

همچنین بسیار شایان توجه بود که تمام خیمه شب بازی و دروغپردازی این انتخابات ۲۰۰۹ بی همتا نبود. مستنداتی نشان می دهد درکنار خبرهای رسیده از درون رهبری رژیم مذهبی تشابه فاحشی با انتخابات پس از سال ۱۹۷۹ که بدنبال انقلاب انجام شد دارد، طوری طراحی شده بود که بازده آن با رای هانی که ریخته شده بود ارتباطی نداشت. اگر چنین بود در آنصورت این تحولات سال ۲۰۰۹ می توانست رویه جداگانه ای داشته باشد.

دکتر همایون در این یادآوری خود ادامه می دهد؛ «تارخ نشان داده است که کودتا ها بر علیه رژیم حاکم رخ می دهد ولی در اینجا، ما کودتائی را شاهد هستیم که بطور مستقیم بر علیه خواست مردم انجام شده است.» نزدیک به ۵۰۰ نفر خبرنگار از رسانه های بین المللی در تهران شاهد یک حقه بازی از سوی رژیم در انتخاباتی بودند که نتیجه آن از پیش ساخته و پرداخته شده بود. سه روز پیش از انتخابات تلفن های همراه و سیستم های مخابراتی و ارتباطی قطع شده بود و هنوز هم دسترسی اوپوزیسیون به خبرها قطع شده است. از سوی موسوی گفته شده است که مردم ایران اورا «پلی از جمهوری اسلامی به یک ایران سکولار» می بینند و او در پی آمد این گفته اضافه کرده که مردم ایران هرگز عقب نشینی نخواهند کرد تا زمانی رژیمی که مرتبا با خشونت به عقب فشار می دهد موجود است. ایشان حتا یاد آوری میکنند احتمالا موسوی «همانند یلتسین» یک چهره در راه تحول است. مردم ایران هرگز کشتار فرزندان، پسران و دخترانی را که به دستان یک رهبری اسلامی غیر قانونی بقتل رسیده اند را فراموش نخواهد کرد. مردم ایران به این تلاش خود ادامه خواهند داد و این مقاومت و پایداری ادامه خواهد داشت و همچنان عرق ریزان، اشک ریزان درخون خویش غلطیده و ادامه خواهند داد تا جاییکه این نسل آخرین نسلی باشد که این خشونت و ستمگری مستبدانه را می چشند، بلکه نسل بعدی نسل نخستی باشد که در این سه دهه گذشته در یک ایران آزاد دنیا خواهد آمد.»

در مورد عکس العمل های پرزیدنت اوباما، دکتر همایون تاکید کرد که واشینگتن و تمامی جهان آزاد بایستی همراه مردم ایران بایستند. «این برآستی بیان کننده رهبری اوباما خواهد بود. اگر او اعلام می کند و پوزش می خواهد چون فکر می کند ایالات متحده در سال ۱۹۵۳ در کودتای ضد مصدق شرکت کرده بوده، همانطور که در قاهره به باور خود به آزادی خواهی مردم ایران اشاره میکرد چگونه است که همزمان یک رژیم زیاده خواه و خشونتگر را به رسمیت می شناسد و با آن رژیم به مذاکره می نشیند رژیمی که رای مردم امروز ایران را دزدیده است؟؟ این کار هرگز نمی تواند موجب بخشش گناه او در مورد ۱۹۵۳ باشد، اما قصور و واماندگی از پشتیبانی آزادی خواهی مردم ایران در نیم قرن گذشته نمی تواند مورد بحث باشد چرا که همان تجربه غلط را ۵۰ سال پس از آن دوباره تکرار میکند.» او اضافه می کند «ایران آبیستن حوادث غیر منتظره ای است. امروز اراده مردم ایران اراده اهورامزدا است و حتا به بخش کوچکی از اراده پرزیدنت اوباما مرتبط نیست که چطور با اوضاع حاضر برخورد بشود. پرزیدنت اوباما خواستار این شده است که رژیم ایران مشت گره کرده خود را شل کند و دست یاری مدیران خودش را به سوی مردم دراز کند. من از ایشان می خواهم امروز به زندانبانان زندانیانی که در اسارت جمهوری اسلامی هستند گوش ندهند بلکه بجای آن به التجائ زندانیانی گوش فرا دهید که به شما نگاه می کنند، به آمریکا نگاه می کنند. به غرب و دستان یاری دهنده آنان در حالیکه سست شده اند و مشتاقانه به سمت شما می آیند. آقای رئیس جمهور برای رساندن دست یاری، عقب بنشینید گذشته را دریابید و فقط بصورت خیلی ساده بگویند: «ما درکنار شما ایستاده ایم.»

دکتر همایون اضافه می کند: «رهبر مذهبی و پرزیدنت احمدی نژاد ادراکشان از این انتخابات را نشان دادند و در پی آن فشاری به اوپوزیسیون گذاشتند که نقطه چرخشی آن همانند صدور انقلاب اسلامی خمینی است و من با تجزیه و تحلیل عمده آنان موافقت دارم که در این هنگامه تاریخی یک صدور تاریخی مهم است ولی شاید به یک دلیل عمده دیگری.»

وینستون چرچیل جلد چهارم از شش جلد کتاب تاریخ جنگ جهانی دوم خود را «لولای سرنوشت» گذاشته است در این کتاب چرچیل شرح می دهد چگونه جنگ العلمین نقطه پایانی جنگ جهانگیر را درپانز ۱۹۴۲ رقم زد. در پی آن برخورد جدی، چرچیل می نویسد: «درواقع چرخش یک لولا، سرنوشت را بنا نهاد. شاید تقریبا بتوان گفت: «پیش از العلمین ما هرگز پیروزی را نمی دیدیم. پس از العلمین هرگز ما شکستی نخوردیم.» برای ایرانیان، اگر پرزیدنت اوباما، ایالات متحده و دنیای آزاد درکنار ما به ایستد انتخابات ۱۲ جولای ۲۰۰۹، هنگامه ای که رژیم امیدوار است بتواند امپراتوری اسلامی خود را غسل تعمید بدهد درواقع برخلاف خواست آنها به چیز دیگری مبدل خواهد شد. شاید بتواند

همانند العلمین مردم ایران بحساب بیاید. روزی که مردم ایران ببینید دنیای آزاد در پشت او ایستاده است و از بالای پشت بام ها مرگ بر دیکتاتور فریاد کشیده می شود و در حقیقت همانطور که در همین لحظه مردم از تهران تا تبریز همین را فریاد می کنند. به آن معنی که در فردهای آینده بالاخره ایرانیان بتوانند بقول یک قهرمان آزادیخواه آمریکایی فریاد بزنند «آزادی به هر قیمت؛ آزادی به هر قیمت انشا الله آزادی به هر قیمت» به انگلیسی: بالاخره آزادی، بالاخره آزادی، سپاس خدایا بالاخره آزادی»^۱

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Former top Iran official cites fissures in regime, calls on Obama to stand with the people

By Jason Fuchs

A Washington-based leader of Iran's exiled nationalist opposition has reported significant dissent at high levels in Iran's security and [military](#)

agencies and issued a call for the Iranian people to rise up against the administration of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the leadership of "Supreme Leader" "Ayatollah" Ali Khamenei.

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Dr. Assad Homayoun told [WorldTribune.com](#) that reports he had received from a variety of senior military and intelligence sources inside the Tehran leadership structure indicated:

- A significant trend by the [Armed Forces](#) to make it clear that they were opposed to the Ahmadinejad Administration's suppression of the Iranian civil populace;
- A refusal by the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC: Pasdaran), and its intelligence wing, and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) [Vezarat-e Ettela'at va Amniat-e Keshvar (VEVAK)], to participate in the suppression of the Iranian population; and
- A deliberate decision by "Supreme Leader" Ali Khamenei to stay with support for Ahmadinejad, despite the potential threat which Ahmadinejad may pose to the current clerical leadership itself, both as a result of the unrest he had unleashed and because of Ahmadinejad's loyalty to his own religious patron, Ayatollah Mohammed Taqi Mesbah-Yazdi, in Qom. It has been suggested for some time that Ahmadinejad had planned to see Mesbah-Yazdi eventually become "Supreme Leader".

^۱ - این شعار مارتین لوتر کینگ در مبارزات سیاهان در آمریکا بوده است

In an interview with the private intelligence report, Defense & Foreign Affairs, Homayoun said it was time for President Barack Obama to take "daring action" and "stand unequivocally with the Iranian people as they struggle to end the Islamic Republic and recapture their freedom".

Homayoun is President of the Azadegan Foundation, an Iranian nationalist group, and he remains one of the few Iranian opposition leaders untainted by the financial backing of foreign intelligence services.

Following the contested Iranian presidential [election](#) of June 12, which saw incumbent President Ahmadinejad re-elected with what the Iranian Interior Ministry declared to be a 63.62 percent share of the popular vote, demonstrations erupted in Tehran and throughout Iran's major metropolitan areas in support of the candidacy of former Prime Minister Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khameneh. Mousavi continued to maintain that [election results](#) had been falsified by supporters of the Ahmadinejad Administration and, as of June 15, although Iran's Supreme Leader "Ayatollah" Khamene'i had promised to investigate Mousavi's claims, anti-government demonstrations continued throughout the country. While the incumbent Ahmadinejad [Government](#) had "requested" the evacuation of all foreign journalists effective immediately, reports continued to trickle out of an increasingly violent and comprehensive crackdown against supporters of Mousavi in particular and perceived anti-regime elements in general. This included the arrest of some 150 political activists over the weekend of June 13-14, including the arrest of former Deputy Interior Minister Mostafa Tajzadeh, coupled with reportedly brutal suppression of street demonstrations, specifically on university campuses.

Reports filtering out of Iran via social networking sites like Twitter and Facebook indicated that, by the night of June 16, as many as 30 students and others had been killed in raids on dormitories and other sites in Tehran and Shiraz and that as many as 100 students were now "missing" as a result of those operations, undertaken — it was understood — by members of the irregular militias of the Basij and Ansar HizbAllah. Early Monday, June 15, further reports began to filter out via the Twitter page of an individual claiming to be a "government worker" in north-west Tehran, claiming that police forces were now targeting government officials. At 02.00 hrs local time, the individual, using the name Hadmid Masoudad, reported on an incident occurring outside his home, writing: "A situation is starting outside of my house!" He then wrote two minutes later: "The police are trying to take government employees out of their homes and arrest them." And, as of the publication of this report, that was Masoudad's last post.

Homayoun, a former senior Iranian diplomat currently residing in exile in the United States, was in charge of political affairs at the Iranian Embassy in Washington DC for 12 years and, just before the 1979 revolution, was Minister and Chargé of the Embassy.

Homayoun, who is in daily contact with sources inside the Islamic Republic, described the election in Iran as "to some extent, similar to an election in the West, but with one rather significant difference: the loser will be declared the winner as part of a coup engineered in broad daylight by upper echelons of the military/clerical regime, specifically 'Ayatollah' Khamenei working with President Ahmadinejad and supported by Pasdaran and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) with, as I understand it, much of the actual machinations being managed by the Supreme Leader's son, Mojtaba Khamenei."

One factor, however, was that it now appeared that Ahmadinejad's control of the Pasdaran and MOIS may not be anything like as firm as it had been, particularly in light of the current refusal of both bodies to participate willingly in the crackdown on Iranian citizens. Both bodies had made this fairly clear in the past, which was why the Basij was created, using substantially foreign fighters, and why Ansar HizbAllah, an essentially non-governmental militia, was also being used for internal suppression.

Homayoun was perhaps the first to highlight the role of Mojtaba in recent events.

It was also significant to note that the staging, or falsification, of the 2009 election was not unique. Evidence, along with reports from sources inside the clerical leadership, have indicated that literally every election since the 1979 revolution had been stage-managed and that outcomes had nothing to do with the voting. It would, then, have been a significant transformation if the 2009 election had been different.

Homayoun went on to note, "Historically, a coup occurs against the ruling regime, but here, we are seeing a coup d'état launched directly against the will of the people. Some 500 correspondents of the international press in Tehran have attested to the manipulation by the regime of the election and the manufacturing of the results. Three days prior to the election, mobile phones and communication systems were taken down and now opposition access to the media has been denied." Of Mousavi, he explained that the Iranian people appeared to now view him as "a bridge from the Islamic Republic to a secular Iran" and he further stressed that the Iranian people would not back down even in the face of the regime's violent pushback, even though he cautioned against seeing Mousavi as anything like a "Yeltsin-like transitional figure".

"The Iranian people will never forget the murder of its sons and daughters at the hands of a demonstrably illegitimate Islamist leadership. The people of Iran will continue this struggle, will continue to resist, will continue to shed their sweat, their tears, their very blood so that this generation of Iranians may be the last to know the taste of tyranny, so that the next generation will be the first in three decades to be born into a free Iran."

As for the reaction of President Obama, Homayoun reiterated that Washington and the entire free world must stand with the Iranian people. "This will be a real test of Obama's statesmanship. If he admits to and apologizes for the U.S. involvement in the 1953 anti-Mossadegh coup as he did in Cairo because he believed it denied the Iranian people their freedom, how could he then negotiate and legitimize a totalitarian regime which stole the vote of the Iranian people today? To do so would not be to absolve the sins of 1953, but rather to compound them. Failure to stand for the freedom of the Iranian people a half century ago is not an argument for repeating the same mistake 50-some years later."

"Iran is pregnant with unprecedented events," Homayoun continued. "Today the will of the people is the will of God and it depends in no small part on President Obama how to deal with the current situation. President Obama has called for the Iranian regime to unclench its fist and grasp his Administration's outstretched hand. I ask him today to listen not to the wardens of the jail that is the Islamic Republic, but instead to its hopeful prisoners who look to you, to America,

to the West with its hand outstretched, unclenched and desperate for you, Mr President, to reach out, grasp back, and simply say, 'We stand with you.'"

Homayoun added: "The Supreme Leader and President Ahmadinejad perceive this election and the subsequent suppression of the opposition as a key turning point in the export of Khomeini's Islamic Revolution. I agree with their general analysis of this moment's historical import, but for perhaps different reasons."

"Winston Churchill titled the fourth book in his six-volume history of World War II 'The Hinge of Fate'. In it, Churchill detailed what he termed the critical tipping point years of that global conflict ending with the Battle of El Alamein in the Autumn of 1942. Of that decisive encounter, Churchill wrote: 'It marked in fact the turning of the Hinge of Fate. It may almost be said: "Before El Alamein we never had a victory. After El Alamein we never had a defeat."' For the Iranian people, if President Obama, the United States and the free world stand with us, the election of July 12, 2009 — that moment that the regime hoped would mark a watershed for its Islamist empire — will instead stand for something very different. Perhaps it will stand for the Iranian people's El Alamein, the day the people of Iran, with the free world behind them, shout from the roof-tops, marg bar dictator, as they do literally this very moment from Tehran to Tabriz. Which means that one of these tomorrows will finally be the day that an Iranian can declare, to paraphrase an American civil rights hero, 'Azadi be har ghaimat, azadi be har ghaimat, insh'Allah, azadi be har ghaimat.'"

In English, roughly: Free at last, free at last, thank God Almighty, free at last.

Jason Fuchs writes for Global Information System, published by the International Strategic Studies Association.