



The AMEJA Iran Guide:

The Candidates, The Power Brokers, The Security Forces, The Prisoners

In the wake of the protests and political turmoil caused by Iran's recent elections, the potential for confusion grows. The Arab and Middle Eastern Journalists' Association has produced a media guide for journalists covering the region that provides profiles of the candidates, the power brokers, those in the security forces and those arrested, as well as key moments in the lead up to the explosion of protest.

AMEJA is a US-based non-profit organization for journalists of Middle Eastern heritage established in 2005 with members all over the world. The network exists to promote accurate coverage of the Middle East and its peoples and facilitate contact between journalists and reliable sources.

Our members work across all media for the biggest names in the business and have found this network invaluable, whether it be working from their newsroom or on assignment in the some of the most troubled parts of the world.

We would like to offer you our expertise. You can learn more about us at www.ameja.org.

Sincere regards on behalf of the executive board,

Walid el-Gabry
President

Key Figures

Note: Political alliances and labels such as "Reformer," "Hardliner," "Conservative," always shifting, and always relative. The labels used here are only designed to provide comparisons between the current, perceived positions of the different actors.

Name	Ayatollah Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (Bahramani)
Title	Former President; Current head of the Expediency Council and the head of the Assembly of Experts
Political Alliances	Pragmatic conservative; a de-facto reformist and a supporter of Mousavi. However, statements he has made indicate that his support for Mousavi is secondary to the stability of the system. Rafsanjani is widely considered a power broker within the system and seen as the man behind appointment of Khamenei to Supreme Leader.
Key Facts	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Opposed the Shah and was jailed. Survived assassination attempt in 1979 attributed to the Forghan Group.2. Former student of Ayatollah Khomeini, and very close to him until his demise in 1989.3. Two-term president, 1989-1997. Ran again in 2005 and lost to Ahmedinejad.4. Rafsanjani was a key Iranian player in the Reagan administration's Iran-Contra scandal,5. Even before Ahmedinejad raised them, there were rumors of corruption swirling around Rafsanjai and his family. They were accused of corruption by Ahmedinejad during the presidential debates that preceded the June elections.6. Members of Rafsanjani's family, including his daughter, were detained and released following post-election protests.

Name	Ayatollah Ali Hoseini Khamenei
Title	Supreme Leader (Vali e Faqih)
Political Alliances	Although officially neutral, he is currently allied with the conservatives and increasingly the hard-liners

Key Facts	<ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Opposed the Shah and was jailed briefly2. Barely survived assassination attempt in June of 1981, credited to Mujahadeen Khalq Organization (MKO) and lost the use of his right arm permanently. Khamenei was the Friday prayer leader for Tehran at the time.3. Two-term president, 1981-19894. Supreme Leader since 1989. His selection was controversial since Khamenei was not an ayatollah at the time. Was elevated to Grand Ayatollah in 1994, though some clerics have never accepted this promotion.
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Name **Mir-Hossein Mousavi Khamene**
Title Former Prime Minister; member of the Expediency Council
Political Alliances Seen as Independent, but supported by the reformist camp.

- Key Facts**
1. Opposed the Shah. He is said to be a follower of Dr. Ali Shariati, known as the theoretician of the Islamic Revolution of 1979.
 2. Prime minister, 1981-1989, during the years of war with Iraq, strongly supported by Ayatollah Khomeini
 3. Out of politics for 20 years, but advisor to Mohammad Khatami when he was the president.
 4. His wife, Zahra Rahnavard, is a high-profile feminist activist and the former dean of Al Zahra University.

Name **Hojatoeslam Mahdi Karroubi**
Title Secretary General, National Trust Party (Etemad Melli)
Political Alliances Started as a radical member of parliament during Rafsanjani's presidency but slowly moved to the reformist camp and is now supported by the more staunch reformists.

- Key Facts**
1. A student of Ayatollah Khomeini who opposed the Shah and was jailed. Shortly after the 1979 revolution, Karroubi was appointed by Khomeini to head two powerful, rich organizations, the Imam Khomeini Relief Committee and the Martyr's Foundation.
 2. Speaker of the 3rd and 6th Majles
 3. Presidential candidate in 2005 and 2009; claimed that Mojtaba Khamenei, the eldest son of the Supreme Leader, cheated him of advancing to the second round of the 2005 election.
 4. Resigned from all government positions after the 2005 election and had a bitter exchange of public letters with Khamenei.

Name **Mohsen Rezaee**
Title **Secretary of the Expediency Council**
Political Alliances Conservative, considered allied with a part of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) that is unhappy with President Ahmedinejad.

- Key Facts**
1. Top Commander of the IRGC, 1981-1997 during the years of Iran-Iraq war.
 2. Ph.D. in economics.
 3. Interpol has issued an arrest warrant for Rezaee for his alleged involvement in bombing of a Jewish center in Argentina.
 4. Is often credited with transforming IRGC from a single task military organization to an economic and intelligence powerhouse.

Name **Mohammad Ali Jafari**
Title Major General, Top Commander, IRGC
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. A pioneer of asymmetric warfare, adopted by Iran against Iraq, and used by Hezbollah in 2006 in its war with Israel. Known in the Pentagon as Iran's General Petraeus; fought in Iran-Iraq war
2. Has a Masters degree in architecture
3. Has been warning about a "velvet revolution" in Iran for several years
4. Restructured IRGC, making the Basij militia one of the five IRGC forces under direct control of Chief Commander of Revolutionary Guard.

Name **Yadollah Javani**
Title Brigadier General; head of the IRGC political directorate
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. Fought in Iran-Iraq war.
2. Shortly before the 2009 elections, warned that attempts at a "velvet revolution" would be "nipped in the bud," threatened Mousavi and Karroubi.
3. Writes for *Sobh-e Sadegh* (True Dawn), IRGC's weekly paper distributed in the armed forces.

Name **Hossein Ta'eb**
Title Brigadier General, Commander of the Basij Militia, a paramilitary group controlled by the IRGC
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. Seminary student of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei
2. Joined the IRGC in 1982
3. Teaches at Imam Hossein University (an IRGC Institution).

Name **Sadegh Mahsouli**
Title Interior Minister (runs elections)
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. Close aid and friend of President Ahmedinejad.
2. A former officer in IRGC who fought in the Iran-Iraq war, Mahsouli is known as the "billionaire minister," for his wealth.

Name **Kamran Daneshjou**
Title Deputy of Interior Minister Mahsouli; headed election headquarters.
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. A former officer of the IRGC who fought in the Iran-Iraq war.
2. Former Governor-General of Tehran province.

Name **Ali Reza Afshar**
Title Former Deputy for Political Affairs, Interior Minister
Political Alliances Hard-liner

Key Facts

1. A commander of the IRGC during the Iran-Iraq war.
2. Supervised the parliamentary elections of 2008. Was replaced with Kamran Daneshjou after apparent differences with President Ahmedinejad.
3. Former spokesman of the armed forces.
4. Former Basij commander.

Name **Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati**
Title Secretary General of the Guardian Council
Political Alliances Ultra-conservative/hard-liner

Key Facts

1. An important supporter of President Ahmedinejad
2. Has been Secretary General of the Guardian Council for 25 years
3. Fierce opponent of the reformists
4. One of the founders of Haghani School, which teaches a radicalized version of Islam
5. Member of the Assembly of Experts. Competed with Rafsanjani to become the head of the Assembly and lost.

Name **Ali Ardeshir Larijani**
Title Speaker of Parliament/Majlis
Political Alliances Conservative. Not favored by Ahmedinejad, yet has managed to use his clout with the supreme leader and a wide group of influential ayatollahs to become head of the currently conservative Majlis. He and his brothers, who hold important government positions are said to have great influence in Khamenei's circle.

Key Facts

1. Former head of Iran's nuclear negotiation team, president of IRIB, Iran's state Radio & TV and secretary of the Supreme National Security Council.
2. Born in Najaf to Ayatollah Hashem Amoli, he has a large family network that includes brothers Sadegh Larijani (a

clerical member of the Guardian Council), Mohammad Javad Larijani (a conservative theoretician/ strategist), Bagher Larijani (chancellor of Tehran University of Medical Sciences), and Fazel Larijani (Iran's cultural attaché in Ottawa). He is also the son-in-law of Ayatollah Morteza Motahhari, considered the "Revolution's teacher."

- 3 Holds B.Sc. in Computer Science and Mathematics from Sharif University of Technology and a Ph.D. in Western philosophy from Tehran University.
- 4 Lost in first round of 2005 presidential elections then won a Majlis seat from Qom in 2008

Name
Title

Hojatoleslam Ali Akbar Nategh Nouri

Former Speaker of the Majlis, Head of the Supreme Leader's Office for Inspection of the Government, Interior Minister from 1981-85. Speaker of the 4th and 5th Majlis. Conservative. Very close to Khamenei. Has shifted as a hard-liner to a more moderate position and critical of Ahmedinejad's government.

Political Alliances

Key Facts

1. Ran a losing bid for the presidency against Khatami in 1997.
2. Has been attacked by Ahmedinejad as one of the corrupt politicians alongside Rafsanjani, during the election debates.
3. Is credited as an early founder of the Ministry of Intelligence.

Name
Title

Ayatollah Mohammad-Taqi Mesbah-Yazdi

Head of Imam Khomeini religious school in Qom
Far Right, hard-liner

Political Alliances

Key Facts

Called the spiritual guide to President Ahmedinejad and many other hardliners. Speaks regularly for IIRCG and Basij commanders.
Has called for an Islamist state and disagrees with the idea of a Republic.
Member of Assembly of Experts, and is seen as jockeying to be next supreme leader.
One of the founders of Haghani School, which teaches a radicalized version of Islam.

Name

Saeed Mortazavi

Title

Tehran's Prosecutor General

Political Alliances

A hard-liner.

Key Facts

1. Former interrogation officer and prosecutor at various prisons including Evin, he has arrested many of the reformist leaders and intellectuals and journalists.
2. Iranians call him the "butcher of the press" for closing newspapers and prosecuting journalists.
3. Iranian Parliament issued a report accusing Mortazavi of trying to cover up Canadian-Iranian journalist Zahra Kazemi's death in 2003.

Name**Mohammed Khatami****Title**

Former President of Iran (1997-2005)

Political Alliances

Reformer

Key Facts

1. BA in western philosophy from Isfahan University; studied for Masters in Education at Tehran University, completed highest level of Islamic science study (ijtihad) in Qom.
2. Representative in Parliament, 1980-82; Minister of Culture and Islamic Guidance 1982-86; 1989-92 during Rafsanjani's presidency, resigned due to hardliners' pressures; Head of National Library of Iran, 1992-97.
3. Elected president in May 1997 with 70 percent of the vote. Re-elected in June 2001.
4. Pursued liberal policies including greater freedom of expression and economic liberalization,
5. Established a conciliatory tone in foreign policy. Rebuffed notions of clash of civilizations and initiated what he called a "dialogue among civilizations."
6. Frequent clashes with "conservative" forces in the country. Unable to institute reforms because of vetoes by the Guardian Council.
7. After end of presidential term in 2005, inaugurated an office of "International Center of Dialogue Among Civilizations"
8. At urging of some reformers, announces candidacy for President of Iran, February, 2009.
9. Withdraws from presidential campaign to endorse Mir-Hossein Mousavi.

Name

Grand Ayatollah Hossein Ali Montazeri

Title

Political Alliances

Reformer

Key Facts

1. Born 1922. Studied theology in Isfahan, then in Qom under Ayatollah Khomeini, became a teacher of theology.
2. Became active in anti-shah circles beginning in 1963. Imprisoned by Shah from 1974-78.
3. Author of *Dirasat fi Vilayah al-Faqih*, advocating rule by Islamic jurists.
4. Helped institute dominant role of religious jurists in governance of Iran. Served on Assembly of Experts (Majles e Khobregan) that codified this position.
5. Very close to Ayatollah Khomeini. In 1985, was designated his successor as Supreme Leader by Assembly of Experts.
6. Started having disputes with Khomeini and conservatives in 1987. Important allies arrested and executed.
7. Became more critical of regime and Khomeini, decrying mass executions in March, 1989.
8. Khomeini denounces Montazeri and announces Montazeri's resignation in 1989. Montazeri does not protest.
9. Ali Khamenei selected as Supreme Leader, despite being of lower rank than Montazeri. Montazeri supporters question decision. Revolutionary Guards detain and humiliate (? how?) Montazeri.
10. Montazeri put under house arrest following a speech criticizing Khamenei, Oct, 1997-2003.
11. Montazeri criticizes Ahmedinejad for nuclear and economic policies, January, 2007. Also, expressed support for religious minorities.
12. June 16, 2009, criticizes disputed re-election of Ahmedinejad.

Iran's Power Structure

POSITION

SUPREME LEADER

ASSEMBLY OF EXPERTS

GUARDIAN COUNCIL

EXPEDIANCY COUNCIL

PRESIDENT

MAJLIS OR PARLIAMENT

CABINET, MINISTERS, GOVERNORS,
LEADERS' SECURITY COUNCIL, FRIDAY
PRAYER LEADERS, LEADER PROVINCIAL
REPRESENTATIVES, ETC...

STRUCTURE OF FORCE

ARMY

PASDARAN OR IRGC

FEDERAL POLICE

LOCAL POLICE

BASIJ

- Militia arm and one of the IRGC's five forces (Ground, Navy, Air, Quds and Basij forces), in charge of interior security; has around 200,000 members and bases in all mosques, universities and governmental organizations
- Involved in intelligence gathering, law enforcement, suppression of opposition gatherings and protests
- Members usually do not wear uniforms and are plain-clothes

ANSAR HEZBOLAH

- Accused of being involved in the harassment, beating and killing of post-election protesters
- The pressure group formed by former volunteers who fought in Iran-Iraq war
- No clear line between Ansar Hezbollah and Basij. All Ansar members are employed by Basij and IRGC
- Has a history of attacking reformist meetings and suppression of opposition gatherings and protests
- Most of them joined NOPO forces (a security force under the supreme leader's command). There is not enough public information about NOPO

DIASPORA GROUPS

WHAT THEY HAVE TO GAIN/LOSE:

GROUP: **The Monarchists**

LEADER: Lack a single leader, though many see Reza Cyrus Pahlavi, elder son of the late Shah, as the natural successor to the family dynasty that was ousted in 1979.

TO GAIN: Some want a return to the exact conditions under Shah's rule. Others describe themselves as constitutional monarchists and see a more indirect and symbolic role for the future king. Almost all are united by a desire to return to positions of wealth or power, disrupted by the 1979 revolution.

TO LOSE: Any success in transforming the current regime into a more popular, stable, and responsive system will undermine the pro-monarchist argument that a return to old order is the best option.

GROUP: **Mojahedin Khalq Organization (MKO), which goes by several other names: People's Mojahedin of Iran (PMOI); National Council of Resistance (NCR); National Liberation Army of Iran (NLA); Moslim Iranian Student Society (MISS), as well as at least 24 other organizational names.**

LEADER: Massoud Rajavi (Location Unknown) and Maryam Rajavi (Paris)

TO GAIN: Thousands of members and supporters were jailed, tortured and executed during the '80s and '90s and years of existence in exile. A common view shared by many Iranians is that PMOI sided with Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq war, which has eroded its once large base of support. Peculiar decisions at the leadership level, and the zealous devotion of members has brought charges that it has become a cult. The organization fiercely defends its practices as necessary steps to guarantee freedom of the country.

TO LOSE: Ashraf Base, a "city" 60 kilometers north of Baghdad that is home to about 3,800 members of the organization's former army. They were disarmed by the US Army after the fall of Saddam Hussein in exchange for protection. The Iraqi government has made it clear it wants members of the MKO to leave the country.

THE ARRESTED

(an incomplete list of those detained after the June 12 election):

Dr. Mohsen Aminzadeh

Deputy Foreign Minister in the Khatami Administration
Member of the Central Committee of the Islamic Revolution Mojahedin Organization (IRMO), one of the two leading reformist parties; a major leader of the Mousavi campaign.

Dr. Saeed Hajjarian

Leading reformist strategist; advisor to Mohammad Khatami during his administration, Member of the Central Committee of Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF), the largest political party in Iran. Deputy Minister of Intelligence in the 1980s; injured in an assassination attempt on his life in 2000 (never fully recovered).

Behzad Nabavi

Leading reformist strategist and member of the Central Committee of IRMO; Deputy Speaker of the 6th Majlis; chief negotiator with the United States that led to the release of the hostages in 1981; minister in the Mousavi and Rafsanjani administrations in the 1980s.

Mohammad Tavassoli

Leading member of the Freedom Movement, a reformist/centrist political party founded by Mahdi Bazargan, the first prime minister after the 1979 Revolution.

Mostafa Tajzadeh

Deputy Interior Minister in the Khatami administration who supervised the elections for the first city councils and the 6th Majlis, and was praised for its even-handedness and transparency; Member of the Central Committees of both IIPF and IRMO; outspoken critic of the hard-liners.

Dr. Abdollah Ramezanzadeh

Deputy Secretary General of the IIPF; government spokesman during the Khatami administration.

Mohammad Ali Abtahi

Vice President to Mr. Khatami; a principal advisor to Mehdi Karroubi (the second reformist candidate) in the 2009 presidential election; popular reformist cleric who writes in his own site, www.webneveshteha.com and leading member of the Association of the Combatant Clerics, the reformist leftist clerical organization.

Dr. Ebrahimi Yazdi

Secretary General of Iran Freedom Movement (see above); Foreign Minister in the Bazargan Government after the Revolution; leading aid to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

Dr. Mohsen Mirdamadi

Secretary General of the IIPF; Chairman of the 6th Majles' Committee on National Security; one of the three principal leaders of the students who took over the US Embassy in 1979.

Mohammad Atrianfar

Journalist, senior member of the **Executives of Construction Party** (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi), and a political advisor to Hashemi Rafsanjani; published some of the most popular reformist newspapers, such as Shargh and Hammihan; supported Mousavi in the election and acted as his advisor.

Mohammad Ghoochani

A famous journalist and editor-in-chief for some of the most important reformist papers, such as Shargh, Hammihan and Shahrvand Emrooz; supported Karroubi in the election and acted as his advisor.

Mohsen Safaei-Farahani

Member of the Central Committee of Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF) and a supporter of Mousavi; accused of corruption by Ahmedinejad during an election debate and thus decided to file a lawsuit against him.

Hedayatollah Aghaei

Senior member of the Executives of Construction Party (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi) and supporter of Mousavi.

Davoud Soleimani

Member of the Central Committee of Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF), former member of parliament from Tehran and a supporter of Mousavi.

Ali Tajernia

Member of the Central Committee of Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF), former member of parliament from Mashad and a supporter of Mousavi.

Issa Saharkhiz

Journalist, political activist and supporter of Mousavi.

Jahanbakhsh Jankhani

Member of the Executives of Construction Party (Kargozaran-e Sazandegi) and former spokesperson of Interior Ministry during Khatami presidency; was a member of Mousavi's election campaign committee during the election.

Ahmad Zeydabadi

Famous journalist and member of Melli Mazhabi (National-Religious) group; supported Karroubi in the election and was active in his campaign.

Saeid Leilaz

Prominent economist and journalist; supporter of Mousavi.

Rajabali Mazrouiee

Member of the Central Committee of Islamic Iran Participation Front (IIPF) and head of the Journalists Association; supporter of Mousavi.

Dr. Qorban Behzadinejad

Director of Mir-Houssein Mousavi's campaign.

Abdolfatah Soltani

Human rights lawyer and one of the founding members of the Human Rights Defenders Center as well as a member of Executive Board of the Bar Association.

Kuroush Zaeem

Senior member of the Central Council of the Iran National Front.

Abdolah Momeni

Former student activist and leader; member of the central council of the Advar organization and its spokesperson.

Shahabobdin Tabatabaiee

Head of the Youth Supporters of the Mousavi Campaign.

Mohammadreza Jalaiepour

Student in Oxford University and website manager of the youth branch of the Iran Participation Front; supporter of Mousavi.

Karim Arghandehpour

Blogger (www.futurama.ir) and reporter for pro-reform newspaper Salam; supporter of Mousavi.

Kayvan Samimi Behbahani

Editor in chief of the closed monthly Nameh and human rights activist.

Zhila Baniyaghoub

Journalist and editor in charge of the Iranian Women's Center website; supporter of Mousavi.

Bahman Ahmadi Amoui

Journalist and supporter of Mousavi.

Abdolreza Tajik

Journalist, political activist and member of Melli Mazhabi (National Religious) group.

Mahsa Amirabadi

Journalist and reporter for Etemad Melli daily, Karroubi's newspaper.

Hoda Saber

Prominent member of National Religious Activists (Melli Mazhabi) group.

Reza Alijani

Prominent member of National Religious Activists (Melli Mazhabi) group.

Kambiz Norouzi

Reformist journalist and lawyer, senior member of Iranian Journalists Association.

Emad Bahavar

Member of Iran Freedom Movement (Nehzarte Azadi). Member of Mousavi's campaign committee.

Saeid Shirkavand

Senior member of Islamic Participation Front and deputy economy minister during Khatami's presidency; supporter of Mousavi.

Others:

- Sommaye Tohidlou, a sociologist, political activist and blogger; supporter of Mousavi.
- Hossein Zaman, a well-known pop singer whose works have been banned from State controlled Radio and Television because of his support for the reformist movement.
- Javad Emam, a member of Tehran branch of the Islamic Revolutionary Political Organization.
- Hojat Esmaili, a member of the Mojahedin of the Islamic Revolutionary Political Organization.
- Baghier Oskouiee, leading official in Karroubi's campaign, was arrested on 16 June.
- Saeed Shirkvand, member of Central Council of Iran Participation Front and former Deputy of Treasury in Khatami's cabinet.
- Hamed Iranshahi, member of the Central Council of Advar organization, was arrested on June 16.

- Musa Saket, a member of the Advar Tahkim Vahdat and in charge of the campaign seeking supporters of Karroubi, was arrested on 18 June.
- Ebrahim Khoshchereh, a political activist in Lahijan and member of National Religious Activists, was arrested on 21 June.
- Khoshchereh, son of Ebrahim Khoshchereh, was arrested in Lahijan on 21 June.
- Mohsen Bastani, member of the Islamic Revolutionary Political Organization in Isfahan.
- Mehrdad Balafkan, member of the Islamic Revolutionary Political Organization in Isfahan.
- Ali Pourkhayri, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Shahin Nourbakhsh, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Ali Taghipour, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Mohammad Shokuhi, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Ashkan Mojaleli, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Maysam Varahchereh, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Mahdian Minavi, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Farhad Nasrollahpour, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Amir Ariazand, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Adel Dehdashti, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Mahmoud Ebrahimi, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Bahram Kardan, member of the Iran Participation Front
- Saeed Nourmohammadi, member of the Iran Participation Front.
- Ahmad Afjeiee, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Emad Bahavand, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Mojtaba Khandan, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Saeed Zeraatkar, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Rouholah Sahraee, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Ali Mehrdad, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Mohammad Reza Ahmadiania, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran.
- Reza Arjaini, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Jalal Bahrami, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Sadegh Rasouli, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Ahad Rezaiee, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Bagher Fathali Baygi, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Mansour Vafa, member of the Freedom Movement of Iran in Zanjan.
- Ali Mohaghar, a member of the Kargozaran Sazandegi party.
- Ali Waghfi, member of Mousavi's Campaign in Tehran.
- Hamzeh Ghalebi, member of Mousavi's Campaign in Tehran.
- Saeed (Hassan) Nikkhah, member of Mousavi's Campaign in Tehran.
- Hesam Nasiri, member of Mousavi's Campaign in Tehran.
- Ehsan Bagheri, member of Mousavi's Campaign in Tehran.
- Rouholah Shahsavar, member of Mousavi Campaign in Khorasan.
- Mohsen Rouzbehan, member of Mousavi Campaign in Khorasan.
- Kaveh Servati, member of Mousavi Campaign, was arrested on 20 June.
- Maryam Ameri, member of Karroubi's Campaign.
- Naseh Faridi, member of Karroubi's Campaign.
- Morteza Khani, member of Karroubi's Campaign.
- Bagher Oskouiee, member of Karroubi's Campaign.
- Siamand Ghiyasi, member of Karroubi's Campaign in Kermanshah.
- Mohammad Jafari, member of Karroubi's Campaign in Kermanshah.
- Dr. Jalil Sharabianlu, a prominent MD and surgeon in Tabriz.
- Dr Ghafar Farzadi, in Tabriz.
- Majid Jabari, in Tabriz.
- Rahim Yawari, in Tabriz.
- Abbas Pourazhari, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Laya Farzadi, in Tabriz.

- Shabeti, in Tabriz.
- Shamlu, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Ghafarzadeh, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Soltaniazad, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Panahi, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Seyflou, in Tabriz.
- Dr. Dadizadeh, in Tabriz.
- Mehdi Yarbahrami, in Tabriz.
- Mansour Ghafari, in Tabriz.
- Hojatollah Amiri, in Tabriz.
- Amir Hossein Jahani, in Tabriz.
- Rhdah Rahimipour, in Tabriz.
- Mehdi Khodadadi, in Tabriz.
- Payam Haydar Ghazvini, student in Gazvin.
- Nasim Riahi, student in Gazvin.
- Mojtaba Rajabi, student in Gazvin.
- Atar Rashidi, student in Gazvin.
- Mojtaba Pourmohsen, journalist and Radio Zamaneh's representative in Rasht, was arrested on 15 June.
- Mahsa Amraiee, journalist, was arrested on 14 June.
- Behzad Bashou, cartoonist, was arrested on 14 June.
- Sayed Khalil Mirashrafi, TV producer was arrested on 14 June.
- Rohollah Shahsavari, journalist was arrested in Mashhad, was arrested on 17 June.
- Mashallah Haydarzadeh, journalist in Boushehr, was arrested on 14 June.
- Amanollah Shojaiee, journalist in Bushehr, was arrested on 14 June.
- Shiva Nazarahari, journalist and member of the *Reporters of Human Rights Committee*, arrested on 13 June.
- Alireza Beheshti Shirazi, editor in charge of banned daily *Kalameh* and the website *Kalameh Sabz*, former director of the Iran Participation Front, was arrested on 23 June during the attack on newspaper property. Beheshti's son, Sadra, was arrested while he was visiting his father.
- Hassan Maadikhah, director of the Zareh Publication.
- Mostafa Ghavanloo Ghajar, was arrested on 22 June.
- Fariborz Soroush, arrested in Karaj.

University professors:

- Dr. Ardeshir Amirarjomand, chair of UNESCO's Democracy and Human Rights Program at Shahid Beheshti University.
- Hossein Reisian, university professor at International Emamkhomeini University in Ghazvin, was arrested on June 21.
- Fazli, university professor at International Emamkhomeini University in Ghazvin.
- Imani, university professor at International Emamkhomeini University in Ghazvin.
- Alborzi, university professor at International Emamkhomeini University in Ghazvin.
- Darvish, university professor at International Emamkhomeini University in Ghazvin.
- Izadi, professor of Bualisina University in Hamedan, was arrested on June 16.
- Majzoubi, professor at Bualisina University in Hamedan, was arrested June 13.

Timeline:

- Early March 2009** Mir-Hossein Mousavi announces his candidacy. Mohammad Khatami withdraws from the election. Mehdi Karroubi, the second reformist candidate, had already been nominated as a candidate by his National Trust Party several months earlier. Mohsen Rezaee, former commander of the IRGC and a conservative, declares his candidacy soon after.
- April 23** Mohsen Rezaee enters presidential race.
- May 12** The Guardian Council announces that four candidates were approved to run, and the campaigns began in earnest.
- May 20** The first huge rally in support of a reformist Mousavi.
- June 3** First one-on-one presidential debate between Rezaee and Karroubi.
- June 4** Debate between Mr. Mousavi and President Ahmedinejad. Ahmedinejad accuses Mousavi of being a puppet of Rafsanjani. Televised live, these debates are the first in Iran in which candidates raise issues like financial corruption of the elite. Ahmedinejad accuses Mousavi and Karroubi of dishonesty.
- June 5** Debate between Rezaee and Mousavi.
- June 6** Debate between President Ahmedinejad and Karroubi, similar to one between Ahmedinejad and Mousavi.
- June 7** Debate between Karroubi and Mousavi.
- June 8** Debate between President Ahmedinejad and Rezaee. There is rumor of a letter from employees of the Interior Ministry that claims a conservative ayatollah instructed people to do what it takes to re-elect Ahmedinejad. The unauthenticated letter was widely published before the election and said, "It is forbidden (HARAM) to vote for someone who, if elected, would undermine our Islamic values in Lebanon, Palestine, Venezuela and other countries. We should not vote for him and you should enlighten people not to vote for him. And it is upon you election officials (to do anything you can)." <http://www.mowj.ir/ShowNews.php?7217>
- June 9** Letter from Hashemi Rafsanjani to the Supreme Leader alerts him to the possibility of fraud, and complains about President Ahmedinejad's accusations against Rafsanjani and his family.
- June 10** Brigadier General Yadollah Javani, the director of the IRGC's political directorate, declares "green revolution" would be crushed.
- June 12** Election Day. 85 percent participation reported
- June 13** President Ahmedinejad is declared the winner 12 hours after the polls closed. Demonstrations break out.

June 14 Ahmedinejad celebrates victory among supporters in Tehran. Protests continue in other parts of the city. Security forces and Basij attack Tehran University and Isfahan University dormitories during the night, beating and arresting students and killing an unknown number of them (Tahkim Vahdat student group claims eight).

June 15 Demonstrations in Tehran are estimated by some to number one million people. Large demonstrations reported in other parts of the country. Mousavi, Karroubi and Khatami are among the demonstrators. Seven people reported to be killed by Basij after the demonstrations.

June 16

Large, peaceful rallies continue in Tehran. Smaller demonstrations in Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabriz and Mashad.

June 17

Mousavi calls for three days of mourning for the dead, massive rally in Seven Tir Square.

June 18 Another large, peaceful rally in Tehran. Mousavi speaks for supporters in Toopkhaneh (Emam) Square, saying he'd fight until election is repeated.

June 19 In an address to the nation, Supreme Leader Khomeini rejects charges of fraud, and declares President Ahmedinejad winner of the election. He adds that further disturbances will not be tolerated and that "anyone who invites people into the streets is responsible for possible bloodshed."

June 20 Mousavi and Karroubi do not attend a scheduled meeting with the Guardian Council, responsible for overseeing which oversaw the election. They urge the Iranian people to demonstrate peacefully for their right to free elections. Demonstrators are met with military crackdown. Crowds are scattered, and there are reports of plain-clothes men with knives attacking demonstrators. Many are killed on this day, including Neda Agha Soltan, who has become an icon for demonstrators.

June 21 The demonstrations are smaller than the previous day, but clashes continue.

June 22 Demonstration at Seven Tir Square draws and estimated 2000-5000. They are met with violence.

June 28

Rafsanjani makes statements that appear to backtrack from his oppositional stance, deferring to the authority of Supreme Leader Khamenei.

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SUGGESTED READINGS

Evand Abrahamian, ***A History of Modern Iran*** (Cambridge University Press, 2008).

A thorough and accessible overview of twentieth century Iranian history by a prominent historian.

Janet Afary, ***The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906-1911*** (Columbia University, 1996)

A leading study of Iran's "first revolution" that has inspired many of the political movements and aspirations of the last century.

Asef Bayat, ***Street Politics: Poor People's Movements in Iran*** (Columbia University 1997).

A unique study of the economic and political struggles of the urban poor prior, during, and since the 1979 revolution.

Malu Halasa and Maziar Bahari, ***Transit Tehran: Young Iran and Its Inspirations*** (Garnet Publishing, 2008).

A compilation of essays, photos, and art that celebrates a tradition of resistance through visual media that has inspired young Iranians since the revolution.

Ali Gheissari (editor), ***Contemporary Iran: Economy, Society, and Politics*** (Oxford University Press, 2009).

An edited volume bringing together a wide-array of studies documenting the complexities and dynamics of post-revolutionary Iran.

Charles Kurzman, ***The Unthinkable Revolution in Iran*** (Harvard University Press, 2005)

A systematic analysis of the 1979 revolution, which sheds light both on the origins and process of the Islamic revolution and mass political protest in general.

Roy Mottahadeh, ***Mantle of the Prophet: Religion and Politics in Iran*** (One World Publications, 2008)

Part biography and part history of the seminaries and Shia theology, this book traces how Shia Islam has shaped and been shaped by Iranian political history.

Marjane Satrapi, ***The Complete Persepolis*** (Pantheon, 2007).

A graphic novel/autobiography describing the revolution and its aftermath from the perspective of a young Tehrani girl.

Middle East Report

A quarterly journal (www.merip.org), provides regular coverage of Iranian politics, culture, and economics in print and online format. See the special Spring 2009 double issue on "the Islamic Revolution at 30" for essays on the Basij, Ahmedinejad's economic policies, rural Iran, and much more.