

RELEASE IN PART
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From: sbwhoeop [redacted]
Sent: Sunday, June 21, 2009 11:40 AM
To: H
Subject: Hillary... few things. Sid

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Dear Hillary,

Hope you are resting comfortably. Please take this as an excuse to get much needed rest. Lots of people have expressed best wishes for you to me--Sean Wilentz, Joe Conason, Gene Lyons, etc--so if they haven't contacted you because you're behind a wall you should know that many, many people are thinking about you now.

I spoke this morning to Gary Sick, who, you recall, was senior person on NSC during the Iran hostage crisis, and is now at Columbia. He has one of the best intelligence networks on Iran, 1,500 people, experts with extensive contacts, and many Iranians, deeply embedded in the unfolding events, [redacted]

[redacted] Gary tells me that Mousavi has evolved from a mild-mannered reformer to directly challenging the regime. Nobody, he says, knows where this will go, certainly not the Iranians. Khamenei has exposed himself and lost his aura of mystification, plunging into the arena as a political player. Mousavi has issued a new revolutionary manifesto, just translated; I enclose below Sick's report and analysis on it. This poses, Sick says, a new challenge to Khamenei. Does he let it stand? Does he answer it? Sick also says US diplomacy in fact can't accomplish anything with the regime until the crisis completely works its way out, which could take years. He points out that the first mass demonstrations against the Shah occurred a full year before his overthrow. He adds that the one thing the regime has learned from the Shah is not to be equivocal toward demonstrations.

Two ideas, who knows, but here they are: 1. Though the regime uses Western protests to consolidate control, some of them contribute to its deep crisis of legitimacy. Sick says Obama's statement, for example, was good. He also cites a statement from Ban Ki Moon. If there would be a UN action, shouldn't it focus on the human rights/violence aspect? A statement and/or resolution urging the regime to stop illegitimate violence of paramilitary militias? US shouldn't initiate. 2. Establish linkage in negotiations with Russians on Start between their objections to missile defense outposts in Poland and Czech Republic (especially if we plan to give them up) with Russian arms sales to Iran.

Get well. See Sick analysis below.

Sid

 Mousavi's New Revolutionary Manifesto
 by Gary Sick
 June 21, 2009 | 10:51am

 Alfred, Sipa / AP Photo The Iranian protest movement reached a tipping point today, writes Gary Sick, the key White House official during the 1979 hostage crisis, and what has emerged is nothing short of a platform for a true Islamic democracy.

Plus, read more insight on Iran's election from other Daily Beast writers.

Today, Mir Hossein Mousavi, the presidential candidate who has come to represent the democratic aspirations of the Iranian people, issued a formal statement.

Although he denounces the "lies and fraud" of the leadership, particularly in the recent election, he views the fraudulent election as only as the symptom of something far more serious. He describes a revolution gone wrong, a revolution that was originally based on attention to the voice of the people but has resulted in "forcing an unwanted government on the nation."

It is apparent from this statement that Mousavi's movement—and Mousavi himself—have evolved enormously in the past week.

This moment is "a turning point," he says, and he defines the movement that is forming around him as having a "historical mission" to accomplish nothing less than "renewing the life of the nation" according to its own ideals.

He acknowledges, interestingly, that his own voice at the beginning was less "eloquent" than he would have wished and that the people were ahead of him in turning the movement green. But now he accepts the "burden of duty put on our shoulders by the destiny of generations and ages."

He denounces both extremes of the political spectrum: on one hand those who believe that "Islamic government is the same as Tyranny of the Rightful;" and on the other, those who "consider religion and Islam to be blockers for realization of republicanism," i.e. those who believe that democracy is incompatible with Islam.

Mousavi says his call for annulment of the election and a revote, supervised by an impartial national body, "is a given right." The objective is nothing less than "to achieve a new type of political life in the country."

That is truly a revolutionary statement. He says he will stand by the side of all those seeking "new solutions" in a non-violent way. He accepts the principles and the institutions of the Islamic Republic, including the Revolutionary Guard and the *basij*, but denounces "deviations and deceptions." He demands reform "that returns us to the pure principles of the Islamic Revolution."

He calls for freedom of expression in all its forms, and says that if the government permits people to express their views freely, "there won't be a need for the presence of military and regulatory forces in the streets."

It is apparent from this statement that Mousavi's movement—and Mousavi himself—have evolved enormously in the past week. The candidate started as a mild-mannered reformer. After the searing events of the past several days, he has dared to preach a counter sermon to Khamene'i's lecture on Islamic government. Although he never mentions the Leader by name, there is no overlooking the direct contradiction of his arguments. This open opposition to the Leader by a political figure is unprecedented.

Mousavi has in fact issued a manifesto for a new vision of the Islamic Republic. The repression and disdain of the government has brought the opposition to a place they probably never dreamed of going. And no one knows where any of the parties are likely to go next.

But for outside observers, it is like standing on the edge of a glacier and feeling the ice begin to crack under your feet.

Gary Sick served on the National Security Council staff under Presidents Ford, Carter and Reagan. He was the principal White House aide for Iran during the Iranian Revolution and the hostage crisis and is the author of two books on U.S.-Iranian relations. Mr. Sick is a captain (ret.) in the U.S. Navy, with service in the Persian Gulf, North Africa and the Mediterranean. He was the deputy director for International Affairs at the Ford Foundation from 1982 to 1987, where he was responsible for programs relating to U.S. foreign policy. Mr. Sick has a Ph.D. in political science from Columbia University, where he is Senior Research Scholar, adjunct professor of international affairs and former director of the Middle East Institute (2000-2003). He is the executive director of Gulf/2000, an international research project on political, economic and security developments in the Persian Gulf, being conducted at Columbia University with support from a number of major foundations. He is co-editor of four books on the Persian Gulf published by the Gulf/2000 project and Palgrave (formerly St Martin's) Press in New York. Mr. Sick is a member (emeritus) of the board of Human Rights Watch in New York and founding chairman of its Middle East and North Africa advisory committee.



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