

The following is a translation of the VOA Persian program "Roundtable," which was broadcast via satellite on August 7, 2007 at 1730 UTC.

TRANSLATION BEGINS HERE

[Music clip]

[Host Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Good evening. Greetings to all of you from Washington, Voice of America, dear friends of Roundtable with You.

The fifth of August 1991, Dr. Shapour Bakhtiar, the last Prime Minister before the revolution and the leader of the opposition National Resistance Movement, was tragically murdered in his home in Paris. He was murdered in his home, supposedly under complete police protection, by agents who found their way into his private quarters through deception and treachery. A job that the Lebanese terrorist Anis Naccache had failed to do.

On August 6, 1992, Fereydoun Farrokhzad, an artist who spent his time on stage during his years in exile fighting against a regime he said robbed him of his life, his years in exile, was very tragically murdered following another instance of deception and treachery by agents said to have come from Iran.

However, the murder of Shapour Bakhtiar and the murder of Fereydoun Farrokhzad were neither the first nor the last among a series of many murders that took place outside Iran. In particular, from 1991 to 1996, the number of political murders of famous or nameless individuals experienced an amazing increase. At the same time it created fear in the hearts of all Iranians. It brought up the question of how these countries in which the murders occurred, most of which are developed countries, allowed such cleansing of the opposition to happen in their countries. And even in cases such as Anis Naccache's unsuccessful attempt on Shapour Bakhtiar's life, they allowed Anis Naccache, who had killed a woman and a police officer in his terrorist attack, to leave France and go to Iran.

Tonight, at this roundtable and on the anniversary of Dr. Shapour Bakhtiar's and Fereydoun Farrokhzad's murders, we will hear the story of these numerous political murders from Dr. Alireza Nourizadeh. He has

researched and written about these murders for many years. Hello [dear] Dr. Nourizadeh, can you hear me?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Greetings to you Mr. Baharlou, and to the viewers of Voice of America and our listeners around the world.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Dr. Alireza Nourizadeh, after the first assassinations during Mr. Khomeini's time, meaning during the early years of the revolution, such as the assassinations of Shahriar Shafiq, General Oveissi, Mr. Tabatabai, Fazeli, the assassinations had stopped for a while. However, later, in the 1990s the assassinations started again with full force in amazing and unbelievably large numbers. What were the reasons for this pause and how did it start again?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Look, Mr. Baharlou, at the beginning of the revolution, Mr. Khalkhali named several former regime officials as deserving to be killed and he even said he would provide rewards for such murders. Among them were the late Shah, his wife, and his children. They were all on a list. I remember when he [the Shah] was in Mexico, there was talk of an assassination plot by Carlos and that they had promised Carlos five million dollars.

These were in fact part of the excitement at the beginning of the revolution. The execution of the verdicts issued by Mr. Khalkhali and one or two other religious judges, in fact, were in the hands of individuals who were told to kill these people wherever they saw them. Therefore, these cases were given to individuals who were revolutionary, they were students, who had witnessed the revolutionary zeal and the atmosphere of the time and possibly participated in a couple of executions. Now they were trying to see if they could find a member of the opposition and annihilate him.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

But, Mr. Nourizadeh, excuse me. I just wanted to go over this first part about the early murders where there were few traces of the regime agents themselves. They were mostly people from Lebanon and I don't know what other places assigned to these tasks. It seemed that their agents were not familiar with the environment abroad at the beginning. Was this the case?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

No, look, aside from not having familiarity, there were many zealous revolutionary individuals wanting to participate in these acts in support of the revolution. First, some individuals such as Anis Naccache or certain Palestinians had come to Iran. Considering that for example, these people could easily travel to France with their Lebanese passports, so they took on the responsibility for [killing] the late Dr. Bakhtiar. Meaning each one of them did this in whatever area their hands were free and could commit such acts.

I'll give you an example. The murder of the late Tabatabai in the US. When the representative of their organization there...later of course Saeed Emami admitted he even had a role in recruiting this Salaheddin. In any case, instead of revealing themselves, these individuals would find a person who either would be mentally prepared, or was willing to sacrifice for the country or was some poor soul who would commit this act for money.

Therefore, as you say, you are right, there was no need for their agents to put themselves in danger and commit these murders. Although some of them did try, meaning they were provided with certain means. An example is in relation to the assassination of Dr. Bakhtiar where the people who were sent ran into difficulties so they returned and did not commit this act. Therefore, I want to say they did these things.

However, there are two points. One, the Intelligence Ministry was not established yet. As you know, the bill for the Intelligence Ministry was passed in the Majlis three years after the revolution and then it was established. Therefore, the Intelligence Ministry did not exist. The intelligence administration under the Prime Ministry office mostly attended to internal issues. The Revolutionary Guards Corps' intelligence unit was thinking about how best to face those groups who had taken up arms against the regime. As you know, when 30th Tir [July 21] happened in Iran, all of their fights were domestic.

Therefore, all of the organizations fighting there were fighting domestic opposition. They did not pay much attention to things abroad. Then the Iran-Iraq war happened. Naturally, most of their attention was taken over by the war. Intelligence and counter-intelligence operations focused on the war and war-related issues. I'll give you some examples. Two or three of

the pilots had taken planes from Iran to Iraq or other Arab countries. The Iranian military's *Rokn* [(Second) Column] branch found these people abroad and murdered them, because the issue was related directly to the war, to prevent this from happening again. Therefore, at that time they were busy with these issues.

When we get to the post-Khomeini period, we are dealing with a group whose leadership has neither Khomeini's charisma nor his authority, nor is it accepted from the standpoint of religion and theology. Therefore, it is unstable. It is in a situation...you know, Mr. Khamenei from the very first day brings two people from the Intelligence Ministry and appoints them as officials in his office. The entire office becomes Intelligence with Mr. Mohammadi-Golpayegani and Mr. Asghar Hejazi. The entire administration of Mr. Khamenei becomes Intelligence. The Ministry of Intelligence gains amazing power. After the formation of the ministry, during Mr. Reyshahri's time, again focusing on domestic issues was the main issue. They did not pay much attention to abroad.

As I said, the country was involved in a war. Mr. Khomeini still had his heavy presence on the stage. Now, Mr. Khomeini has left the stage, Mr. Khamenei has become the Leader and Mr. Rafsanjani is the President. They have an Intelligence Minister named Mr. Fallahian. This Intelligence Minister is much more prepared for violence, killing, and issuing death sentences compared to his master, Reyshahri, whose deputy and interim position he held for a while. That is why they start making plans and calculations. They say domestic society no longer has Khomeini who was able to round them up with a message or call. Mr. Khamenei's situation is unstable. We did not win the war; our position on the war front is not good; the US has animosity toward us. They look at all of these circumstances and the atmosphere and see their situation as unstable. Therefore they say we must do what it takes not to give the opposition a break. We should do something to annihilate all prominent opposition figures one by one, so that neither can the people rely on them nor will foreign powers see a way to rely on them.

In the midst of this, Saddam's war, meaning Saddam's attack on Kuwait, provides them with a golden opportunity. What does that mean? It means when Saddam goes into Kuwait, the entire world is concerned with Iraq and Kuwait. The entire world's attention is focused there. Since the Islamic Republic is not cooperating with Iraq – Saddam wrote a letter to Rafsanjani

asking, "Let's cooperate together and fight against the US." However, they cleverly manage to bring in Iraqi planes while pushing Saddam toward a confrontation with the US without getting involved themselves.

Then they say now we have a golden opportunity. We have to get rid of our opposition and the world will not say anything to us because they are involved in the Iraq war. This is why you see the majority of murders taking place within the time frame of Saddam's attack on Kuwait and the subsequent two years. Within that time frame that you mentioned yourself, they come and naturally first go after the individual who from their point of view is the biggest threat. The individual who is an obvious alternative. After failing to appreciate him within those 37 days, the Iranian people had begun to realize who Shapour Bakhtiar was. Dr. Bakhtiar is not in a good situation. He does not have financial means, he is even selling his home. However, he wants to keep the candle of the resistance movement burning. What shall we do? We have to annihilate him. But if we just take him out, Mr. Abdorrahman Boroumand will take his place and follow his path. So we have to hit Boroumand first.

This is all planned out. All of the documentation I have in my hand and used in my books indicates this mentality. The Saeed Emami or Fallahian mentality, which says we must first hit Boroumand. When they hit Boroumand, it breaks Bakhtiar's back. Then it is Bakhtiar's turn. With careful planning through someone who is like a son to Bakhtiar, Farydoun Bouyerahmadi...in fact, this is the person that opens the way for the assassins. A man Bakhtiar loved like a son and helped. They go through him, use his weaknesses, give him money, buy him out. He has other issues, his wife is in Iran, etc. They prepare him.

Now Mr. Baharlou I will stop so you can ask your questions but would like to make a point first. During the battle of Faw, Iran succeeded in a military operation, a masterpiece of military operations, to take the Faw peninsula from the Iraqis, even though they did not have the political merit to use this issue and keep the peninsula. They send 200 individuals known as the "Iron Fist Forces" to North Korea for marshal arts training, meaning training for sports such as Kung Fu and Karate, a variety of sports that exist in the East, East Asia, China, Japan, and Korea. They used some of these forces in the battle of Faw. They got off the boats and swam and many of them swam to the shores and quietly killed Iraqi defense forces, breaking their necks or cutting their throats. They were able to quickly gain a

foothold for the naval and air-ground forces to land on the island. These individuals were unemployed after the war. A number of them were absorbed into the Intelligence Ministry and the Revolutionary Guards Corps intelligence. They used these individuals in the murder of the late Dr. Bakhtiar, and a number of other opposition officials and activists.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Now, after the dust settled and the trials took place and the journalists wrote about it, what actually happened? How were they able to murder the late Dr. Bakhtiar in that gruesome manner in his own home?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Look my dear friend, as I said, Dr. Bakhtiar was the symbol of resistance even though he did not have any financial means and many of the people who worked at his newspaper and radio program had left and only a few of those dedicated to him had remained. Either monarchist or republican forces, domestic forces in Iran, all had begun to appreciate him. They had just realized what Mr. Sanjabi had done and what Bakhtiar had done. That is why there was an increase in Bakhtiar's following. And Mr. Bouyerahmadi was continuously telling Bakhtiar that a couple of men who have high ranks in the Revolutionary Guards Corps and security forces love you and would want to come and see you. Although, and this is very interesting, a number of Dr. Bakhtiar's friends including the late Dr. Boroumand, while he was alive, prevented this, and whenever Mr. Bakhtiar was supposed to meet anyone, they would run all kinds of checks. But now Boroumand was no longer around, and others who would control for such things were not around either. His friends around him mostly trusted Mr. Bouyerahmadi, except a couple of them who had never trusted him. In any case, he said two people have come and want to meet with you.

What is amazing is this. Mr. Baharlou, I'm going to give an example. When I would go to meet with Dr. Bakhtiar, which I did repeatedly, even though Ms. Kalantari, his office administrator knew me, the people in his office knew me, the doctor himself knew me... They would bring me to his house in their own car. They would take my passport at the door. They would thoroughly search me. In fact, below Dr. Bakhtiar's home was almost like a small checkpoint. There were always five or six policemen there. They would inspect me thoroughly. We would enter the basement through the yard, and they would search us. Then they would ring a bell and Mr. Soroush Katibeh who was there and took care of the doctor and

was always in his house, Soroush would always come down and when he would inform them that he recognizes us, they would take us upstairs.

After our meeting with Dr. Bakhtiar had ended, Soroush would come down with us. He would wait for us to take our passports from the police, and when we would say good-bye and leave. Soroush would close the door and go back upstairs. This was a tradition I saw throughout the many years I went there. For example, the first time I went there, Dr. Bakhtiar was at number 17 Russville Avenue after the revolution and leaving Iran in 1979. This was the place where Anis Naccache later attempted to assassinate him. It was very easy to access him there, meaning if Amir Reza Bakhtiar who was there had not put the chain on the door where he hurt his own finger, Anis Naccache would have easily entered. However, the other place Dr. Bakhtiar was living outside Paris was not accessible at all.

Now, how is it possible? You, Mr. Baharlou, pointed out, how is it possible that these European countries had a role? How is it possible? First, the night Mr. Mitterrand announces he is going to Iran in the near future; exactly a few days after, this incident happens. Two people accompany Soroush Katibeh there. That's right. The policemen knew Soroush Katibeh. He would always come and go, but they call. [Corrects himself] Excuse me, Mr. Bouyerahmadi, sorry. The two men accompany Mr. Bouyerahmadi, the police knew Mr. Bouyerahmadi, but still the police call for Mr. Katibeh to come down to allow Mr. Bouyerahmadi in. Therefore, it is strange that this time Mr. Bouyerahmadi goes with these two individuals. The door opens from this side and they enter the house. This is one issue. Then they go up, according to the scene that was later studied and the report Judge Bruguiere submitted and the words of Dr. Bakhtiar's child. It was unbelievable how suddenly his child, Giv, who was in the security division of the French police, and was investigating his father's death, suddenly that tall young man falls silent and dies. I cannot believe it. Dr. Bakhtiar's daughter, France, fell ill with heart disease after her father's death, but his son's case was very strange.

Then they go inside, according to the evidence. The two sit to talk to the doctor. In one moment, Mr. Vakili-Rad, one of the murderers, who was among those individuals who were in the battle of Faw and in Korea, strikes Dr. Bakhtiar with the edge of his hand on the neck and tears his spinal cord and breaks his neck. Mr. Fereidoun Bouyerahmadi runs in the kitchen and

shouts “Mr. Soroush! Dr. Bakhtiar has fallen ill.” This is according to Judge Bruguiere’s report, the confessions, and the investigation of the crime scene. When Mr. Katibeh runs out to see what had happened to the doctor, Azadi attacks him with a knife, and Mr. Bouyerahmadi helps... Soroush Katibeh who was like a friend and a brother to him... helps to kill him with several knife stabs. One knife even breaks inside his body. They used the kitchen knife; because they were searched, they did not bring a knife with them. Now, they have killed Soroush with the kitchen knife. They sit on Dr. Bakhtiar’s chest and cut his throat. Then they cut his two elbows. Now, the doctor has already died with the first strike. Then they take off his watch, his Rolex watch, as booty. You know they are Islamic fighters and come to take booty as well. They take it as booty.

Now, Mr. Baharlou, you think, they come downstairs; their clothes are bloody, the raincoat he is wearing is bloody. They come down; the police don’t look at them at all. Mr. Bouyerahmadi goes and picks up their passports and they leave. This is really amazing. Judge Bruguiere himself has placed a question mark here. Why do the French police allow them to leave the house so easily? And the police who checked the guests as they came and left did not bother at all. The doctor’s lights were on for 24 hours, the police do not even ask “What are you doing?” His son gets worried when he calls and notices the line is busy, comes to the house and asks them if they know anything. It turns out they have not had anything to do with upstairs for 30 hours. Why? How is it possible for these people who were checking every minute, to see the lights coming from the rooms and say nothing? These questions all remained unanswered, and this is how they murdered this dear person along with Soroush Katibeh.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Now, we come to a year later, a year and a day later, they target an Iranian artist, Fereydoun Farrokhzad. Why did they select Fereydoun Farrokhzad among all of the artists who came abroad? Why do they select him and what is his story?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

First, look, here when you were mentioning previous assassinations, you referred to the late Bijan Fazeli. Well, you know Bijan Fazeli is the son of Reza Fazeli, actor, director. An artist. Reza produced two tapes in which for the first time clerics sang and danced and each were a symbol of one of the authorities. When they committed that murder, they, in effect, ended

the use of video. Afterward no one dared to produce a video against the Islamic Republic, meaning their choice in their own view was an effective choice.

Fereydoun Farrokhzad was a target for a long time. They wanted to kill him for a long time because he was a brave man. When he went on stage, he would speak without fear. He would attack Mr. Khomeini. Then, when the pilot Mohammadi took a plane to Iraq...; the pilot Mohammadi was the brother of Saeed Mohammadi, a singer Fereydoun had discovered, and at the same time he was a composer and they worked together. When the pilot Mohammadi who was Rafsanjani's pilot took the plane to Iraq, then Mr. Mohammadi and Farrokhzad went to Iraq and subsequently Farrokhzad started a campaign to free minor children in Iraqi captivity. And I don't know, Mr. Baharlou, you spoke to him. He was weeping about what Iraqis do to these children that the regime tricks and sends to the frontline and the kids have all got illness and gone mad. Anyway, he was very distraught and formed a charity and helped many of these kids and tried to get them out. Well, the regime was upset, and we saw they murdered the pilot Mohammadi.

Therefore, Farrokhzad, who was acting like that on the stage and was politically active, was on the verge of being killed. But they were somehow unable to reach him until Farrokhzad himself... what did he do? Farrokhzad's mother, whom he loved dearly, fell ill. And the hope to see his mother was in Farrokhzad's heart and he had mentioned this in all of his interviews. He had done an interview with Mr. Ghadimi at the time and referred to this. He passionately wanted to see his mother. In the midst of this, when he makes these comments here and there, apparently they hear of it. Someone contacts him to say you don't have any problems, you can come to Iran, and we will prepare the grounds for you.

You can get your passport. And these discussions continue. Even a couple of meetings take place. But they ask him, who was working at Radio Derafsh Kaviani at the time, to provide the grounds for them to meet Mr. Manouchehr Ganji. Farrokhzad comes and tells Dr. Ganji that this has happened, they have contacted me and they have now asked me to arrange the grounds for a meeting with you. Mr. Ganji knows what is going on and informs the authorities of their plan, and it is announced on the radio that the regime has deployed an assassination team. This apparently frustrates them very much.

You see, during the chain murders incidents when news leaked at two points, Mr. Akbar Ganji, author, who is currently in the US, refers to this where Mostafa Kazemi is quoted as saying when they go to talk to Mr. Fallahian about Mr. Farrokhzad's murder, Mr. Fallahian expresses regret: "Oh no, he was supposed to come and we did not have any problems with him." This is when Fallahian knows he has issued the order to kill Farrokhzad, yet lies to Mostafa Kazemi. Why? Because his team of assassins was not connected to Mostafa Kazemi, they were a team that took their orders directly from Fallahian himself. Their leader, Mr. Akbar Khoshkoush, is a person who knifed and decapitated a number of people during the chain murders.

These two people come into the Bonn railroad station accompanied with an individual Farrokhzad knew and who was in prison for a while. They call Farrokhzad and say they are in Bonn. Farrokhzad goes to greet them as two people who have missed him and have come and want to help arrange things for him. They stop to buy watermelon and food on the way and go to Farrokhzad's apartment. However, once they get there, they say tie up your dog, we pray and from a religious point it bothers us. They go tie the dog in the bathroom. They knew how faithful this dog was, as many animals are more faithful than humans. In fact, it was this dog making so much noise until the morning that forced the neighbors to call the police. They had pulled a bag over Farrokhzad's head – they were giant men – and attacked him with a knife. Farrokhzad had resisted too, it was not that he gave in easily. Later police reported that he had put up fierce resistance. This is how they murdered this valuable artist.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Among all these individuals murdered – they killed, I don't know, there were a few hundred – how many of the killers were caught and how many of them have left a trail and have been identified?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

You see, for example, in the murder of the late Qassemlou in Vienna, which was right after Khomeini's death and talks were taking place with Dr. Rasoul, representing Mr. Talabani. He comes in the middle, he was from the Homeland Union Party, and the late Qassemlou along with his assistant Kak-Abbas Ghaderi were having discussions. There, the murderers were identified. For example, there was Sahraroudi – Jafari, later General Jafari.

The Austrian government knew them. They knew the people who escaped and went to the Iranian embassy. They knew the person who got shot there and was captured. They knew Mr. Ahmadinejad who went to Austria with a diplomatic passport and was one of the supervisors of the operation. They were all identified; and later on when Ahmadinejad was elected, the Austrian government prevented the journalist who knew this and wanted to report it from coming to testify. This issue exists.

Or, for example, regarding the murder of Dr. Sadegh Sharafkandi, the late Dehkordi, Ardalan, and their friends who were murdered in Mykonos Restaurant, Kazem Darabi was the team leader. A person recognized by the German police. They knew who he was. The Lebanese individuals who participated in this operation some of whom were arrested were also identified. In any case they were recognized people.

In Dr. Bakhtiar's murder – they still haven't found Dr. Boroumand's assassin – in Dr. Bakhtiar's murder, well, Farydoun Bouyerahmadi was identified. There were Vakili-Rad and Azadi. One was able to escape, meaning Bouyerahmadi escaped successfully. Of these two, one escaped and one was captured, whom Judge Bruguiere put on trial and sentenced to a lengthy prison term. However, he has been freed. Similarly, Jayhooni in the murder of Reza Mazlouman. He was also jailed and later died in prison. Also, Hendizadeh, Khomeini's nephew, who was the radio-television representative that went back to Iran and later came to France with his wife and five children. He gave the French first-hand information, but since he himself was the agent who issued visas for Dr. Bakhtiar's assassins, he was jailed for a while. Therefore, he was also involved in this incident as well.

The agents in some of the murders are identified. For example, the murder of Colonel Baye-Ahmadi. They knew who this individual was, because, for example, he had even gone to Cairo and participated in annual remembrance for the late Shah. These were some these individuals. Or the individual who kidnapped pilot captain Hamid Nemati-Aboufazi. He made friends with him and took him to Cyprus and from there kidnapped him back to Iran. His family knew they had kidnapped their son but had no evidence. However, Reyshahri confessed to kidnapping him in his autobiography. Some of them are known and identified. But for example, they do not know who exactly killed Dr. Kazem Rajavi. They do not know exactly who killed the late Dr. Naghdi who was [also] a member of the

Resistance Council. They do not know certain individuals. They can only guess. However, in some cases the individuals have been identified. They knew who the individuals were who committed these crimes. In the case of Dr. Cyrus Elahi, they possibly used a Moroccan to murder him. A non-Iranian.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Now, there were well-known victims and ordinary victims. What was the motivation for killing less-known victims?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Look, they were not famous in our view. But from the view of the Islamic Republic they were effective individuals. For example, there was a Mr. Chitgar whom they annihilated. He was an important person for the leftist group he belonged to. Or the other person who was a Kurd and was an important person for his leftist Kurdish group and went to Cyprus to visit his mother and they killed him. For example, you know about General Oveissi. They released his brother from prison.

Together with his mother they were going to visit the General. They sent two agents with the family. They went with the mother to France and found the General. Regarding Baye-Ahmadi, Captain Baye-Ahmadi, who was a really and strangely active man in his work, there were three or four of these kids who were anti-intelligence officers or Special Forces and were amazing in Dr. Bakhtiar's or Dr. Ganji's administration and had effective roles. The person who killed him first contacted them as a devotee and fan of their cause saying he was a powerful person in the intelligence organization.

Then this person freed certain individuals from prison, meaning you see what kind of plot they laid down. He gained their trust so well that they became prepared to meet with them. This is how they arranged to meet in a hotel in Dubai, and he was murdered in the hotel. The same thing in Turkey. There were individuals who were military men, supporting Dr. Bakhtiar. They trapped them the same way and killed them.

With regard to political people, they acted according to plans. The murder of the Kurdish Democratic Party leaders in Berlin was a very detailed and well-planned plot. You just imagine, as our dear friend Mehdi Khomeini-Tehrani has said, who could have believed that the leader of Iran's most

important active party, who the regime is afraid of as well, with a number of commanders and a few political activists in Berlin, would go and sit in a cheap Kabob restaurant in a street corner at night in Berlin? No one can imagine that. They could at least go to a hotel or restaurant. See, because the kabob restaurant owner contacts a couple of them and tells them things they find attractive. He tells them this place is pleasant, feels like home, and it is better than any other place. He presents himself as interested in political issues and lays the trap for them. That is how they really worked for many months, studied and planned for some of these murders.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Now, as part of their propaganda against the opposition, you and I have seen, the opposition itself is beginning to believe it, and people abroad are also starting to believe it. They sarcastically say the opposition really didn't do anything in 28 years. But if one really takes a look at the opposition whose people were victimized and annihilated, in any case, one cannot say they didn't do anything. In fact, they have killed all of these people. I want to see in fact in the murders abroad, how much of the opposition remained and how much of the active opposition was annihilated.

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

First, you asked a good question. Look, if you remember, Mr. Baharlou, Paris was the opposition capital. It was the center for opposition. Newspapers were issued there. Opposition radios had a main office in Paris. At one time, there was the late Dr. Amini; there was the late Admiral Madani; Mr. Hassan Nazih, may he live long; Mr. Bani-Sadr is naturally there; the National Council of Resistance had an operation there and Mr. Rajavi who, in addition to the organization in Iraq, Mujahedins had an extended operation.

There were Dr. Bakhtiar and Dr. Ganji. Dr. Bakhtiar had a radio and Dr. Ganji had a radio there too. With Dr. Bakhtiar's assassination, first Dr. Boroumand and then Dr. Bakhtiar, the opposition was practically removed from Paris. Dr. Madani left for the US after a failed assassination attempt on his life and passed away there. Mr. Hassan Nazih is among those who have remained. He is there but what can he do alone? Mr. Bani-Sadr again is somehow alone and isolated. He cannot come out. He even can't go to a relative's house because of security concerns. They have to inform them, etc. In any case, Mr. Bani-Sadr has not lived a normal life in these twenty-some years. He is there also. And as for others, some are there

and some have passed away and are gone. Therefore, with the murder of Dr. Bakhtiar, the regime changed the atmosphere of Paris as being the opposition capital. This is first.

Second, the other opposition groups were stricken with fear for a while. This fear was with many of them. You saw the opposition groups shrink gradually. They hid; many figures stepped aside; many got older and were no longer able to be active. Some even quietly returned to Iran. You saw Colonel Moghadam, the brother of Rahmatollah Moghadam, who committed suicide the night he was going to Iran because he had to go back to Iran. He left a letter saying that he could not tolerate going back to Iran because he was with the opposition, and he killed himself. However, some quietly went back to Iran. Even some famous figures that very quietly went back are living in Iran. Therefore, the regime reached its goal to a certain extent.

However, the Islamic Republic regime never imagined that after these murders and having pushed aside some of the figures and symbols of opposition, the opposition would prove once again that it is not a force that stops producing. The July 9th student movement created a new wave of opposition abroad. Today, the wave of student opposition inside and outside Iran represents the new opposition that is familiar with the regime's methods. They do not easily fall into traps or let themselves be deceived. They exist in Europe, the US, and even inside Iran.

Today Mr. Ezhei, the Intelligence Minister, made several comments and talked about three types of insurgency. One of them he referred to in particular: that is me and you and media like us who by showing the regime or the Majlis in a bad light trying to overthrow the regime. Another one, he said, is Mr. Dick Cheney, who is also trying with the help of the media to overthrow the regime by creating dissent among regime officials. He said the third one is among themselves and those who want to take over the Majlis, and he was referring to the reformists.

Therefore, if Mr. Ezhei is honest and being truthful and his interpretation is an indication of the regime's fears, one must say good for the opposition that despite all of these problems, the regime fears it so much that it claims the opposition is planning an insurgency. And, if Mr. Ezhei is lying and is pretending, one should say bravo to the opposition again because it has so much presence and is supported by the public so much that in order to

explain the reason for all the arrests and putting people in jail and suppressing them, Mr. Ezhei has to resort to saying it is the work of the opposition and they are trying to overthrow us and we have to take these actions.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Mr. Nourizadeh, let us allow our viewers to participate in this discussion. We'll announce our phone number as well as our email address. Go ahead.

[Announcer]

Contact the "Roundtable with You" program and participate in our discussion. Our telephone number is 202-619-3062. Our email is roundtable@voanews.com, and our website is www.voanews.com/persian.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Yes, first an email from a friend called Free Iran. It says, "I wanted to make an important point. A person who continuously calls and derails the discussion is a person called Fardin who with the help of Iran's central communication office calls you and most other radio and television stations and succeeds almost every time in reaching his goal." And then it asks, "Why don't you pay attention to him?"

Yes, allow me to say, in another email, it asks you if Mykonos was the final point of these political murders. And second, they ask if people were starting to smell a rat or the regime thought they had no more opposition left?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

No, my dear friend. You see, again according to the evidence at hand, there were other people on that list who had to be assassinated. The regime had extended plans. Mykonos, why did this incident happen? First, look, in this major crime, people like Dr. Sharafkandi and his comrades are murdered, and then as the Intelligence Minister, Fallahian by invitation of Mr. Schmidbauer who is the head of the Chancellor's [intelligence] office, like our Prime Ministry's intelligence office, comes to Germany. It is interesting that he brings a woman with him on this trip that from the point of religious ethics is not related to him, and the German government receives him.

Mr. Fallahian comes and haggles with the Germans to let go of the issue. These people have been killed; don't mind us and we'll have so many contracts for you. He even proposes a five billion dollar, or five billion Mark contract, I don't know what the currency was at the time, it was Mark at the time; he makes that proposal. This means Mr. Fallahian gets a carte blanche from the leadership of the Islamic Republic to go make any necessary promises so no one smells a rat, because they were very worried.

They were frightened that the Lebanese would open their mouths and give them away and they did not have much confidence in Kazem Darabi, and he had a bad rap with the German police as well. The Germans would cooperate. It was that honorable judge and the efforts of those like Parviz Dastmalchi who, thank God, were there but didn't get shot even though they thought they had shot them. There were those who were there and testified. The investigations the honorable judge and prosecutor conducted. These acts prevented the collusion.

The trial took place. In the midst of all this another important role was played by Mr. Abolghasem Mesbahi who appeared in court as Witness C. Who was this gentleman? This gentleman was one of the intelligence advisors for senior regime officials including Mr. Rafsanjani. When he testified as Witness C... There were other witnesses in the court as well. One was Witness C and another was Witness D. This Witness C, it is very interesting, he spoke to me as well and warned me. I mean he was one of the people who saved my life one time and I really should have thanked him for that. This gentleman came and revealed the existence of a committee that made the first series of decisions with regard to important murders, murders of famous individuals. It would then inform the executive branch of its decisions.

He mentioned that the leader of the Islamic Republic, Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani, Mr. Velayati, Foreign Minister, and Fallahian, Intelligence Minister, were members of this committee. Now, refuting his words, the regime said this man is a swindler and an imposter. They started to destroy his character and reduce his credibility and importance. He presented a film in court that showed his trip to Georgia accompanying Mr. Rafsanjani. He was sitting next to Mr. Rafsanjani and sometimes they whispered to each other. This way he proved what he said was based on information. Of course, he also provided other information that was not

brought up in the court. He was in England and sheltered by the British government and appeared in court several times. He had talked to Mr. Bani-Sadr and Mr. Bani-Sadr came to the court later and testified, and that testimony was very important in convicting the regime. Other figures came and testified there. These testimonies were very effective because they changed the atmosphere and the German court issued a verdict that today hangs over Mr. Fallahian's head.

As a criminal, Mr. Fallahian today must be arrested by the international police, the Interpol. And in order to describe how frightened he is: when he went to Saudi Arabia, to Mecca, under an assumed name, we found out and I wrote an article in *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* and said this person who is wanted by the Interpol has arrived in Saudi Arabia under an assumed name. The Saudis, in order to avoid any problems, expelled him from Saudi Arabia. This means he is now a wanted man. He will be arrested wherever he goes. They should legally arrest him.

About the three other individuals, the court has not issued a verdict but their names are there anyway. If some day the operations of the Islamic Republic's senior officials are reviewed, the Mykonos case is one of the thickest, most documented, and most important cases that will be brought up in any court.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Allow us to get to a phone call from Kermanshah. Kermanshah, please go ahead.

[Caller from Kermanshah]

Greetings to you Mr. Baharlou and the dear guest on your program. Hello!

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Yes [dear], go ahead.

[Caller from Kermanshah]

Mr. Nourizadeh, in my opinion, the possibility of Dr. Bakhtiar being assassinated based on the Islamic regime's plans is very weak. This is because the Iranian regime at the time was not solid enough to be able to do such things. However, Mr. Bakhtiar certainly had many enemies who were government officials in the previous regime and Mr. Bakhtiar had

emptied their bank accounts in a business venture and they had a strong motivation to commit this act. Thank you.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]
Yes...

[Alireza Nourizadeh]
It is very interesting...exactly...

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]
....yes, go ahead...

[Alireza Nourizadeh]
...it is exactly, Mr. Baharlou, exactly the words of the regime's intelligence administration. Every time they assassinated someone abroad they would come and say "internal disagreements." For example, the late Dr. Qassemloo, they would say "internal disagreements." They did not have internal disagreements. Or for Sharafkandi, it was the same. For Dr. Bakhtiar's case, they did not have the nerve, like this gentleman, to say such a thing.

First, Dr. Bakhtiar did not have any financial issues with officials of the former regime or any problems. Next, human beings who have financial disagreements are not brought with the supreme jurisprudence mentality to decapitate each other's heads. It is not done this way. They would at least file a complaint against each other in court. The regime's agents came. Mr. Azadi and Vakili-Rad were known members of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, the Quds Force. Mr. Farydoun Bouyerahmadi was an agent whose name will be recorded in history as a man who betrayed his master that way. And other people like Hendizadeh and others whom this brave judge, Judge Bruguiere, arrested or named or interrogated, are all signs that they had done this. It was completely evident. There is no reason for you to defend the regime.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]
Yes, now, incidentally, another question a viewer asks is what happened to Anis Naccache. Farshid writes: "What happened to Anis Naccache?" Now, let's see what happened to him and was Anis Naccache a member of opposition groups who wanted to kill Dr. Bakhtiar as well?

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Mr. Anis Naccache...Mr. Anis Naccache was a Marxist in southern Lebanon, a Marxist extremist and was also in contact with Palestinian groups. With extremist groups like the Palestine Liberation Front, George Habash's group, etc. Then, he didn't even accept those groups and went toward more radical groups, meaning he joined Qaysar Qobeh and groups that really wanted to tear the world apart. He joined them. When the Islamic revolution happened in Iran, he saw that money and possibilities were there. He gradually became Islamic and gradually remembered that he was a Muslim. He would go visit southern Lebanon and some of the people who had come from Iran. He got to know them and traveled to Iran a couple of times. When he went to Iran he noticed the main issue for them was Dr. Shapour Bakhtiar. They wanted to annihilate him at any cost.

They had plans and they were looking for people to do this for them. They told him so as well. They said if you do this, we'll give you anything you want, and they truly kept their word, even though instead of Dr. Bakhtiar, Anis Naccache killed a French woman and a policeman. He took his team and even made an appointment with Dr. Bakhtiar as a reporter. He got papers from Lebanon's *Al-Hawadeth* newspaper and a few other newspapers as a journalist, saying I want to have a special interview with Bakhtiar. He made an appointment and planned to come to see Dr. Bakhtiar. The late Amir Reza who was in Dr. Bakhtiar's house, put the door chain on, got suspicious, and that incident happened.

Anis Naccache was in a French prison for a few years. Then in one of these exchanges where the Islamic Republic ordered its Lebanese agents to free a French hostage, the French released Anis Naccache. He first went to Iran. There, he opened an office in Argentine Square and was doing trade. He stills keeps a branch of it in Iran. In any case, he was benefiting from all possibilities of life there. They gave him an apartment, a lot of money, then he returned to Lebanon and started a research center. Now, Mr. Anis Naccache, with a tie and very chic, comes on the Islamic Republic's Al-Alam television, Hezbollah's Al-Menar television, and at times on Al-Jazeera, and as an expert and researcher talks about US strategy, Islamic Republic strategy, and the confrontation of civilizations. He was a terrorist with a good ending. He wasn't like Carlos who was jailed eventually and rotted there. With the blessings of the Iranian nation's dollars, he had a good ending.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Yes, we have a call from Tehran. Tehran, please go ahead.

[Caller from Tehran]

Mr. Baharlou, hello, good evening to you.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Go ahead.

[Caller from Tehran]

Of course, good day to you...hello....Mr. Baharlou, good day to you. I have two questions for Mr. Nourizadeh. When they say the US has so much power, why don't they trace the calls... [call disconnected]

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Well, I don't know if American telephones are powerful or not...perhaps he was trying to ask...

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

He must have been asking about the Islamic regime officials' calls. Yes my dear, the Islamic Republic's calls are traced as well. There are centers in Dubai to trace the Islamic Republic's calls.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Well, Reza from Tehran says, "Ask Dr. Nourizadeh, if possible, to explain Parviz Yahaghi's murder. Who was involved in this murder and what was the motivation for this murder?"

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

My dear Reza, I don't have sufficient information. I can't comment on an incident I don't have detailed information about. They sent me some information including that when they took the body of the late Parviz Yahaghi to be washed, they saw evidence of wounds and strikes on his body. The manner of his works being lost is suspicious. And he was not on his deathbed, especially after the treatment he received in Germany. An individual had got close to him and later it was found out he was affiliated with the Intelligence Ministry. In a way they did the same thing they did to the late Farrokhzad. That is why all evidence indicates his death was not a natural death. However, I cannot put my finger on a specific thing, and I do not have evidence and reason like the other cases

where I would point them out, and I had evidence and reason. However, certainly, Parviz Yahaghi did not die naturally.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Dr. Nourizadeh, in the short time we have left we did not get a chance to talk about internal murders. However, for a minute or so if you could talk about how the internal opposition was annihilated or is being annihilated. Please talk about that also for about one minute.

[Alireza Nourizadeh]

Yes, Mr. Baharlou, I believe we should hopefully dedicate one day to that issue, because it is a very important issue, meaning it is much more complex compared to these events and the manner of executing it with each individual. They killed the late Saidi-Sirjani with potassium suppositories. They killed Ahmad Miralai with poison and left a bottle of liquor next to him. They stabbed the Forouhars in the chest. They broke Mokhtari's neck. They broke Pouyandeh's neck. These all vary, but I want to make only one point. When you look at the history of regimes that are introduced as oppressors, even Stalin who killed so many people, each one of these had certain regulations, even when the guy went to kill [unclear] he took an ax and killed him. But about these individuals who are involved in these murders, some enjoy these murders. There are cases like the murder of the late Saidi-Sirjani, they clap and dance from his screams and pain, based on their own confessions. This is when one says we do not know what kind of people we are dealing with.

[Ahmad Reza Baharlou]

Dr. Nourizadeh, I am very grateful for your presence in this program, and for analyzing this unpleasant part of history and all heard it. Anyway, allow me to say good-bye to you right here and we go to Voice of America's other studio to continue with Voice of America's other programs, and Late Edition starts in a few seconds...

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