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European lawmakers, former US officials in Obama, Bush and Clinton Administrations call for a firm Iran policy

Comprehensive sanctions, delisting the PMOI in the US, protecting Ashraf residents



Brussels
January 25, 2011

From left in the first row: Tunne Kelam, Juan Garcés, Ruth Wedgwood, John Bolton, James Jones, Maryam Rajavi, Irene Khan, Alejo Vidal-Quadras, Bill Richardson, Struan Stevenson, Dell Dailey and Dirk Claes. Michael Mukasey is at the podium

Speakers at Brussels' international conference, January 25, Jointly chaired by Struan Stevenson and Paulo Casaca were as follows:

Struan Stevenson, President of European Parliament's Delegation for Relations with Iraq; **Sen. Dirk Claes**, Quaestor of Belgium Senate; **Alejo Vidal-Quadras**, Vice President of the European Parliament; **Maryam Rajavi**, President-elect of NCRI; **Michael Mukasey**, Former US Attorney General; **Gen. James Jones**, Former National Security Advisor to President Obama, Supreme Allied Commander Europe (2003-2006); **Bill Richardson**, Energy Secretary in the Clinton Administration, US Ambassador to the UN (1997-1998); **John Bolton**, US Ambassador to the UN (2005-2006); **Ambassador Dell Dailey**, Former Coordinator for Counterterrorism, US Department of State; **Irene Khan**, Secretary General of Amnesty International (2001-2009); **Prof. Ruth Wedgwood**, Chair of International Law and Diplomacy Johns Hopkins University; **Jan Zahradil**, Vice Chair of European Parliament Conservative and Reformist Group; **Dr. Juan Garcés**, Distinguished international and human rights lawyer; **Paulo Casaca**, Member of European Parliament until 2009

Conference in Washington, January 20, was chaired by Sen. Robert Torricelli and its distinguished speakers were:

Dr. Neil Livingstone, Chairman, CEO Executive Action, conference organizer; **Robert Torricelli**, Former Senator; **Michael Mukasey**; **Tom Ridge**, First US Homeland Security Secretary, Governor of Pennsylvania (1995-2001); **General Anthony Zinni**, Former Commander, US Central Command; **Bill Richardson**; **General James Jones**; **James Woolsey**, Director of Central Intelligence Agency (1993-1995); **Louis Freeh**, Director of US Federal Bureau of Investigation (1993-2001); **Mitchell Reiss**, Senior diplomat, former Director of Policy Planning, Department of State



Washington D.C.
January 20, 2011

Call for a new policy on Iran

After years of Western government's hope for a change of behavior of the clerical regime in Iran a new trend of abandoning such vain hope has begun. Policy makers are no longer searching for non-existent moderates within the religious fascism ruling Iran. The rising number of political executions in Iran and the regime's defiance of the international community demand a new policy on Iran.

In a series of international conferences held in Washington, Paris and Brussels, US Policy makers, Republicans and Democrats, who have for years been advocating different approaches to Iran, joined by their European colleagues, unanimously calling for a new policy on Iran, at the core of which is removing the People's Mojahedin Organisation of Iran from the US terror list to remove the obstacle from the movement in its efforts to bring democratic change to Iran.

This long waited recognition of the unique role of the Iranian opposition heralds the beginning of a new era.

The last of such conferences was held in Brussels where prominent US policy makers including General James Jones, National Security Advisor to President Obama until November 2010; Governor Bill Richardson, the presidential candidate and former US Secretary of Energy; Ambassador John Bolton, former US permanent representative to the UN; Michael Mukasey, US Attorney General until 2009 and Ambassador Dell Dailey, former State Department Counter-Terrorism Coordinator discussed the need for a new policy in support of the Iranian people.

In previous conferences, others, including Mayor Rudy Giuliani, Governor Tom Ridge, former Secretary of Homeland Security; James Woolsey, former Director of CIA; General Zinni, former CENTCOM Commander; Ambassador Mitchell Reiss, former Director of Policy Planning at the State Department, have strongly argued the need for a firm policy vis-à-vis the Iranian regime and in the words of Mayor Giuliani "enthusiastically" supporting the Iranian Resistance.

In short, a few points have been underlined during these conferences:

1. A soft approach vis-à-vis the Iranian regime is futile as was seen in the failure of Istanbul talks; a firm approach is needed for a proper policy;
2. Regime change by the Iranian people is the only solution. Therefore, the US must follow the European lead and immediately delist the PMOI which is the driving force for change in Iran.
3. Ashraf, where 3,400 members of the PMOI reside, is the symbol of resistance for change and the source of inspiration for Iranian people in their desire for democratic change. The rights of Ashraf residents must be safeguarded by the US and UN under the Fourth Geneva Convention. And the Iraqi government must be held accountable for its breaches of obligations under international law.



Dignitaries join Mrs. Rajavi to pay respect to those who fell for freedom of Iran



Struan Stevenson

The real hope of tens of millions of Iranians is the PMOI and that is why they are feared and loathed by Tehran. The mullahs believe they can handle the West, but they don't know how to deal with the PMOI

Excerpts from speech

Last week in the European Parliament in Strasbourg we had an urgency debate on the situation in Iran, with a particular focus on the vicious imprisonment of Nasrin Sotoudeh, the courageous human rights lawyer who has defended many of the innocent people who have been unjustly sentenced and executed by this fascist regime. Her outrageous sentence of 11 years imprisonment for doing her job is an insult to human justice.

We roundly condemned the fascists in Tehran in our debate. Indeed it is unusual now for a monthly plenary session of our parliament to pass without some sort of debate on Iran. In December, we achieved the adoption, by an absolute majority of the European Parliament (400 MEPs), of a written declaration demanding an end to the siege and oppression of the defenceless refugees in Camp Ashraf.

I said in the debate last week that it had been my intention to compare the Islamic Republic of Iran to Nazi Germany, but in fact, in many ways it is worse. The mullahs have hanged 88 people so far this year. Ten were hanged on one day last week, but first they were brutally flogged before being dragged to the gallows.

Anyone who tries to expose this evil, like Nasrin Sotoudeh, is immediately targeted. The mullahs have now taken to arresting, torturing and hanging the parents of refugees in Ashraf. Simply visiting your son or daughter is enough to guarantee a death sentence when you return to Iran, as we saw with the horrific judicial murder of Ali Saremi in late December. The mullahs are desperately trying to cling to power by using fear and brutality as their only viable control mechanism over an increasingly traumatised and volatile population.

In a pathetic attempt to appear dismissive, the criminal regime in Tehran describes the PMOI as a 'terrorist grouplet' as if they are a tiny and insignificant nuisance to be casually swatted like a mosquito. And yet this so-called 'grouplet', this irritating little mosquito, features on top of every agenda at every meeting between the mullahs and their neighbours in Iraq, or at every meeting with representatives from the EU and the US.

The truth is that they fear and loathe the PMOI in equal measure. They fear them because they are the only realistic opposition to their corrupt, fascist regime. The PMOI networks inside Iran were the ones who risked their lives to expose the regime's aggressive nuclear plans to the West. Every step the tyrants in Tehran take is monitored and reported to the outside world by the PMOI. That is why the mullahs' number one target is that iconic symbol of resistance to their regime – Camp Ashraf and its 3,400 courageous residents.

We know only too well the lengths Khamenei went to prevent the removal of the PMOI from the EU terrorist list. I know from my own personal experience how hysterical they became when we invited Mrs Rajavi to come to the European Parliament to address the ruling EPP Political Group.

At that time Javier Solana was our High Representative for Foreign Affairs and he was placing urgent calls to Angela Merkel, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, Nicolas Sarkozy, Silvio Berlusconi and Wolfgang Schäuble - the then

Chancellor of Austria and virtually all of the key leaders in Europe, stating openly that Tehran was threatening to pull the plug on the nuclear talks if we went ahead with our meeting with Mrs Rajavi.

I myself received ominous phone calls from people claiming to be senior officials in the Foreign Office in London, but who subsequently turned out to be MI6 intelligence officers. Strange that the exiled leader of this insignificant 'grouplet' should merit such hysteria in Tehran!

But we won those battles. We resisted the pressure. We invited Mrs Rajavi to the Parliament. We exposed the lies and distortions which had been used to justify the PMOI's listing on the British and EU terror blacklists and in successive



court cases we were victorious, finally forcing the British and the EU to remove the PMOI from their lists and to restore their reputation as valid campaigners for freedom and democracy. We exposed the wretched policy of appeasement which led to the terrorist listing in the first place and which to this day still pervades and poisons our strategy in dealing with the evil Iranian regime.

Now like a cornered rabid dog, snapping and biting at anything within range, the regime even claims that the uprising which followed Ahmadinejad's stolen re-election was the handiwork of the PMOI. They may describe the PMOI as a 'grouplet' but it is clearly a 'grouplet' that has awesome powers – a mosquito that has a deadly

sting - in the eyes of Tehran. But this should come as no surprise to those of us who have followed the progress of the mullahs since the overthrow of the Shah. Like the majority of Iranian citizens, we know that there is no realistic alternative inside the regime.

Mir Hossein Mousavi became the figurehead leader of the Green Movement as the default opposition to Ahmadinejad, after the blatantly swindled election fraud. But when it counted the most, the spineless extremist of the 1980s betrayed even his own supporters in order to save his own neck. Now, he is irrelevant when it comes to the opposition to the mullahs.

The real hope of tens of millions of Iranians is the PMOI and that is why they are feared and loathed by Tehran. The mullahs believe they can handle the West, but they don't know how to deal with the PMOI. They play games with the West, zig-zagging through a succession of talks, always playing for time, stretching out the West's obsession with dialogue at any price, while in the secret bunkers and caves of Iran, manic activity continues to produce their first viable nuclear warhead.

And we fall for it again and again. Baroness Ashton left Istanbul empty

Continued on page 16



Excerpts from Mrs. Rajavi's speech

This conference on the Iranian crisis is being held following yesterday morning's execution of two political prisoners by the religious fascism ruling Iran, which has shocked and saddened Iranians all over the world.

Jafar Kazemi and Mohammad Ali Haj Aghaie were heroic prisoners of conscience, each of whom underwent torture and persecution while in captivity.

In the past few days, they were taken to the gallows twice and asked to choose between execution and repentance. But, they remained faithful until their last breath to the ideal of the Iranian people's freedom.

In order to pay homage to their steadfastness and to soothe the pain of the Iranian people, let us stand and applaud for one minute in honor of their life and their struggle.

Yesterday's executions were a criminal act of vengeance against the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI/MEK), because the mullahs are enraged over the PMOI's role in the uprisings last year as well as the popularity which Ashraf enjoys among Iranians.

Yesterday, the friends of these heroes, including their family members in Camp Ashraf, held a memorial for them as did tens of thousands in Iran and across the world. Regrettably, the Iraqi police assaulted and opened fire on Ashraf residents to prevent the memorial in order to mollify the medieval regime in Iran.

The mullahs describe those executed as "mohareb" (waging war on God) because they had visited Ashraf and, with utmost bravery, supported the Resistance movement. If striving and struggling to achieve freedom and democracy is perceived as "Moharebeh," then we and the entire Iranian nation are Moharebs and proud of it.

Maryam Rajavi:

Owing to PMOI's adherence to a democratic and tolerant Islam, the Resistance is an effective antithesis to mullahs ruling under the banner of Islam

Today, the tide of change in North Africa and the Middle East and the yearning of the oppressed people for freedom again remind us of the reality that the days of the mullahs' regime are numbered.

You saw that in the uprisings last year, the Iranian people chanted a thousand times: "Down with the principle of velayat-e faqih [absolute clerical rule]." And they will no doubt make this a reality. As the Iranian Resistance's Leader Massoud Rajavi has said, "If Europe and the United States had not labeled the PMOI as terrorists, without a doubt there would have been no sign of the velayat-e faqih regime today."

For this reason, today, I appear before you as a messenger from the Iranian people and Resistance. And our message is this: Recognize the right of the Iranian people to change the regime.

The policy of appeasement, which guided the West's approach towards Iran in the past three decades, has failed in every test while having its theoretical foundations eroded.

It has now become crystal clear that:

- Stability and calm in Iraq, Lebanon or Afghanistan are to the detriment of the Iranian regime, which is why it will never support it;
- A firm stance towards the regime will not rally the Iranian people around it;
- And the regime has found it in its pragmatic interests to maintain its confrontational posture.

As a result;

It neither accepts incentive packages, nor cares for engagement, and nor does it agree to unconditional negotiations.

On the eve of the Second World War, the Nazi regime's foreign minister was asked: Do you want the border region of Poland, Danzig or the Danzig corridor? He replied, 'none, we want war.'

What the mullahs want is the bomb, dominating Iraq and enchainning the Iranian people.

Why? Because they realize they are on their last leg. Indeed, the era of illusions about the mullahs' regime has come to an end.

Crafting a correct policy toward the Iranian regime is no longer a search in the dark.

The lessons of history in the past 30 years have pointed to important realities about which observers from all political stripes share common ground.

First, the three-decade-old policy of attempting to change the Iranian regime's behavior has failed.

Second, the ruling regime is not only incapable of

reform, but its inherent weakness has rendered it unable to accept any compromise.

Third, this regime has emerged as the most immediate threat to global peace and security.

Fourth, this fundamentalist regime, as the most active state sponsor of terrorism, must not be allowed to obtain nuclear weapons.

Fifth, the regime's meddling in Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Afghanistan must end.

Sixth, silence and indifference vis-à-vis the violations of human rights in Iran must end.

Comprehensive sanctions, particularly oil sanctions must be imposed on this regime.

Seventh, the Iranian people have demonstrated that they want change in Iran and that they are

- 1. The three-decade-old policy of attempting to change the Iranian regime's behavior has failed.*
- 2. The ruling regime is not only incapable of reform, but its inherent weakness has rendered it unable to accept any compromise.*
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- 4. This fundamentalist regime, as the most active state sponsor of terrorism, must not be allowed to obtain nuclear weapons.*

worthy of freedom and prosperity as well as democracy. And they must achieve these goals.

We call on the world community to adopt a new policy based on these common grounds.

Religious dictatorship in Iran must end. This can be achieved neither through war nor appeasement.

The solution, rather, is the Third Option, namely democratic change by the Iranian people and the Resistance.

After outlining these common grounds, I would like to address an issue about which there are different and even contradictory views.

It involves the debate whether or not one should

negotiate with the mullahs' regime. Upon a serious examination of this matter, we would come to realize that the dispute is not really over negotiations per se, but about our understanding and assessment of the regime's fundamental nature.

No one should reject negotiations outright as a means of resolving international disputes.

Nevertheless, during seven years of talks involving the EU Troika and P5+1 countries, the mullahs never accepted the conditions for negotiations.

Consider the complete failure of the Istanbul talks. Even there, the mullahs revealed their brazen ambition for acquiring the bomb and the domination of Iraq. Obviously, such behavior is not the product of a miscalculation or naïveté.

It comes about because we are dealing with a medieval regime. It is because suppression, terrorism and warmongering are vital to the regime's existence.

Its defense mechanism consists of a confrontational approach.

So, when during negotiations, you ask the regime's representatives to abandon human rights abuses,

people but also peace in the region and in the world and you will register the worst political failure under your name.

We offer another option: Stand with the Iranian people.

The West's policy towards Iran in the past 30 years has systematically led to one mistake after another.

However, we have not come here to admonish the past. We have come to build the future.

So, let's consider what triggered these mistakes.

After a comprehensive analysis, we realize that two fundamental errors were the source of these miscalculations.

First, buying into the mullahs' pretensions that their repressive ways are a sign of power and popularity.

Second, to ignore the realistic solution to the Iranian problem, namely the Iranian people and Resistance. Undoubtedly, ignoring the Resistance has strengthened the illusion that the mullahs' regime cannot be changed.

For years, Western countries justified placating the mullahs by suggesting that there is no other alternative but this regime.

For years, both the United States and Europe justified their inaction vis-à-vis the regime by saying that they did not want to interfere in Iran's internal affairs.

Yet, through the terrorist label, they shackled the most important alternative in Iran and effectively interfered in Iran's affairs albeit in favor of the ruling regime.

For years, the West justified this label by asserting that it sought to moderate or contain the mullahs.

This major concession to the mullahs, like feeding a crocodile, has made them even greedier and more extremist. What is more, the outcome of pursuing a strategy of strengthening the moderates in the regime was Ahmadinejad.

By looking at the source of the dispute, we come to realize that the notions of buying into the regime's prowess and excluding the Resistance inside Iran has in essence been concocted by the regime itself.

If this movement lacks support and is irrelevant, then:

- Why have the mullahs made its terrorist designation the number one priority in their international diplomacy?
- Why have they been endlessly crying out since a year ago that the People's Mojahedin played a decisive role in the uprisings?
- Why are they so afraid of an unarmed and besieged Ashraf and relentlessly conspire against it?
- Why have they signed a bilateral agreement with the Iraqi government to suppress Ashraf?
- And why do they prosecute as Mohareb anyone who has visited Ashraf?

Here, too, the mullahs are not reacting blindly or irrationally. In their words and deeds, the mullahs have identified Ashraf as a symbol of Resistance. And this is the reality.

Ashraf embodies a correct strategy and policy: Persevering to change the regime in its totality instead of rapprochement with the ruling dictatorship.

The mullahs fear the Resistance because it has offered a political and cultural alternative with deep roots in Iranian society. This alternative has a 45-year history of struggle for freedom.

Owing to the fact that its main component, the PMOI, adheres to a democratic and tolerant Islam, this alternative is an effective antithesis to a regime which has created a terrorist dictatorship under the banner of Islam. The PMOI has challenged the mullahs' evil ideology by espousing an Islam characterized by its adherence to freedom and political and religious tolerance.

Fortunately, today, policy makers and parliamentarians from a wide array of political tendencies across the world have risen up in support of this solution.

I take this opportunity to urge the US Secretary of State to end this misguided legacy.

Undoubtedly, if law and justice are taken to be the yardsticks, this designation cannot be upheld. Indeed, as the Iranian Resistance's Leader Massoud Rajavi has said, "Where there is even a trace of law and an iota of freedom and conscience, let there be no doubt that we will triumph."

Accordingly, I call on Western governments, particularly the United States, to recognize the rights of the Iranian people to resist against the religious fascism ruling Iran. America's credibility is at stake.

We want the same rights for the Iranian people which have been enshrined in America's Declaration of Independence since almost 235 years ago: The right to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," and "whenever any form of government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government..."

We have never asked and will never ask the United States or any other country to send their young men and women to a war with the mullahs. We do, however, ask them to remove the obstacles they have placed on the path of change in Iran.

Delisting the PMOI, upholding the US obligations to protect Ashraf, taking urgent action to end the inhuman siege of the camp and abolishing the illegal committee to suppress Ashraf constitute the imperative steps to this end.

I call on all governments across the world to recognize the Iranian people's Resistance for regime change. And I urge the world community to rush to the aid of Ashraf.

5. The regime's meddling in Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine and Afghanistan must end.

6. Silence and indifference vis-à-vis the violations of human rights in Iran must end.

Comprehensive sanctions, particularly oil sanctions must be imposed on this regime.

7. The Iranian people have demonstrated that they want change in Iran and that they are worthy of freedom and prosperity as well as democracy. And they must achieve these goals.

terrorism or nuclear weapons, you are in effect asking them to destroy the pillars which keep them upright.

Basing our views on the experiences obtained in three decades of an all-out struggle against this regime, we have always told western countries that if you can force the regime to retreat, even a step or two, over its nuclear weapons program, export of terrorism or human rights, through negotiations, please go ahead and make a deal. If, however, you make concessions to the regime at the expense of the Iranian people and Resistance, you are in fact sacrificing not only the Iranian



Alejo Vidal-Quadras

We must support Mrs. Rajavi and the NCRI by means of diplomacy, communication, strategic advice and political backup and by making the life of the regime difficult in the international scene

Excerpts from speech

attending this conference. With her powerful leadership and tireless endurance she has during these past years brought to the attention of the vast majority of European lawmakers, public opinion and many European officials the grave mistakes that the West has committed regarding Iran. Her work has indeed also paved the way for the right policy. My colleagues and I are deeply proud to collaborate with her and with the people of the NCRI. We admire them for the heavy price they are paying in terms of lives and suffering in their struggle for a free and democratic Iran.

I believe that after the disappointing outcome of the Istanbul talks, there is no need to insist on what a waste of time is to negotiate with the Iranian regime and how wrong is the policy of appeasement. The subject I want to suggest for our discussion today is the best approach to the Iranian problem in the present circumstances and after the considerable experience we have gained since Ayatollah Khomeini went back to Iran in 1979. When there are several courses of action to solve a problem and all of them except one have proven a failure, it does not seem inappropriate to try it.

It is supposed that we humans progress through trial and error, but in case of the threat posed by the totalitarian regime of Teheran, it seems that the only conclusion Western Governments derive from their errors is to persist in the same mistakes in a complete ignorance of reality, which frankly does not look very productive. I was not born yesterday and life has told me that when someone does something that is neither logical nor morally correct nor consistent with his or her supposed main interests, it becomes very interesting to find an explanation for such strange behavior. Of course lack of intelligence could be one, but after ten years now working in close partnership with Mrs. Radjavi and our friends of the NCRI and having met and talked to many people at different levels of responsibility involved in the matter in Europe, in the US and even in Iraq, I would not discard other possibilities.

Going back to the central point, let me put things plainly in this way:

It is a great pleasure for me to meet once again in Brussels Mrs. Rajavi, President of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, together with my good friend and colleague Struan Stevenson and the rest of Members of the European Parliament

a) Appeasement does not work and it only provides the regime with the time to continue its promotion of terrorism all over the world and come closer to the nuclear weapon
b) Direct intervention in Iran is not financially affordable nor politically prudent
c) there exists a well-organized, powerful and committed opposition movement that gathers hundreds of thousands of Iranians in exile and many more inside the country, highly motivated, promoting a political program for Iran that any one of us could sign right now and blessed with a strong and inspiring leader who we know and who we fully trust. Based on these three clear facts, the optimal strategy stands out almost automatically: we must support Mrs. Rajavi and the NCRI as much as we can by means of diplomacy, communication, strategic advice and political backup and by making the life of the regime difficult in the international scene. If we agree in this picture, then two immediate and urgent priorities emerge:

- a) Appeasement does not work and it only provides the regime with the time to continue its promotion of terrorism all over the world and come closer to the nuclear weapon*
- b) Direct intervention in Iran is not financially affordable nor politically prudent*
- c) there exists a well-organized, powerful and committed opposition movement that gathers hundreds of thousands of Iranians in exile and many more inside the country*

The first is to protect Ashraf residents from being massacred and the second is to remove the PMOI from the US Department of State black list. We must concentrate our efforts in these two objectives in the short term because if Ashraf is lost, apart from the humanitarian catastrophe implied, an irreplaceable symbol of hope, courage and dignity would disappear and in a fight against the evil forces we face in Iran, symbols are essential to uplift the morals of the Iranian people. As for the black list, it is recommendable not to impose on one's allies to confront a merciful and criminal enemy with their hands tied to their back. These are simple and I hope that convincing messages I wanted to convey to you all this afternoon. We, Europeans and Americans, have always been, are and will be on the same boat committed to the same principles and values. And

this boat is the one that Khamenei and Ahmadinejad and their fanatic followers want to sink. Our friends of the NCRI have shed enough blood to make clear they deserve to be also onboard.

In my last visit to the NCRI headquarters in Anvers-sur-Oise I could speak by videoconference to a bright young man, Behrouz Kazemi, resident in Ashraf and he expressed to me his faith and that of his mates in the camp in our work to help them. I have known horrified yesterday that his father, a prisoner in the dungeons of the regime, has been executed.

This sacrifice and those of dozens of thousands of victims of the regime cannot be in vain. We have a duty and this duty is to bring Iran back to democracy and freedom. If we want to accomplish it effectively we need our friends of the NCRI as much as they need us. We must work hand into hand, back to back and heart with heart. And we cannot fail.

Michael Mukasey

We have at hand, if only we would recognize it, the means to help end the mullahs' grip on the Iranian people. The PMOI is that means.

Excerpts from speech

Militant Islamism threatens to destroy civilization as we know it and at the very center of that threat is the regime in control of Iran which represses its own people and threatens its neighbors and the world at large by pursuing a program to develop nuclear weapons that it has said repeatedly it will not hesitate to use.

Just days ago, the regime in Iran gave the world additional proof of what it is all about to go with the mountain of proof we already had. They executed Jaafar Kazemi, a 47 year old father of two, and Mohammad Ali Haj-Aghai, simply for visiting Camp Ashraf, where PMOI residents are holding out despite the efforts of Iran and its collaborators among the Iraqi authorities to drive the residents back to Iran or to destroy them all together. These men were not accused of taking any affirmative actions against the Iranian regime. They had gone there to visit their children and photograph what had happened there. A pious lawyer was not even given a copy of the file against them before this death sentence was passed.

We also saw on Saturday the completely unsurprising collapse of the P5+1 talks in Istanbul held for the purpose of trying to get the Iranian regime to abandon its nuclear weapons program rather than incur additional sanctions. The Iranian foreign minister actually started to walk out on Friday. But Catherine Ashton of the EU begged him to stay. So he came back for another day and then walked out.

You know sometimes I think that people in government and in the academy value subtlety for its own sake. After all it is easy to understand simple and direct things, but subtle things seem to provide a great attraction because it takes a subtle mind to understand them. Well there comes a time when we have to stop looking for subtle solutions like engagement and inducement and start to be aware of what is obvious. One thing that is obvious is that mullahs are not about to be sweet-talked into behaving. The second obvious thing is that we have at hand, if only we would recognize it, the means to help end the mullahs grip on the Iranian people. The PMOI is that means.

We speak of and recognize the dangers of Islamism but real change is nearly impossible from outside the Islamic world.

PMOI is a moderate Islamic organization committed to create a secular, democratic, nuclear-free Iran. And yet instead of help and encouragement for PMOI, the United States lists PMOI as a foreign terrorist organization and in doing that provides help and cover to the Iranian regime in carrying out executions, which Iran can then turn around and say we are executing terrorists even in the view of the United States.

The rationale at first was that this designation of the PMOI would help engage the regime in Iran. Sadly, the designation continued even during the administration that I served; in part, because it was feared that if the PMOI were delisted Iran would provide IEDs and other assistance to insurgents in Iraq, which of course it is doing anyway. There is an opportunity to change that dynamic immediately and dramatically by removing designation of the PMOI immediately.

This would have two effects. First it would tell current regime that we mean business and that we are prepared to take all necessary steps to bring pressure on the regime. This should be accompanied by making

available communications equipment that can be used by those seeking regime change. It would make up in part for our weak response in June when young Iranians were putting their lives on the line while all we did was to wring our hands.

It is clear that the Iranian regime believes that time is short, and it would like nothing better than to have

the residents of Camp Ashraf driven out before PMOI succeeds in being removed from a list that it should not have been on in the first place.

If the residents of Camp Ashraf are still there when the designation is removed, then the United States and the Iraqi government will have no

choice but to protect them. The designation gives those in the Iraqi government who want to curry favor with the Iranians their only excuse for not protecting the residents of Ashraf.

It is important not only that the designation be removed, but also that it be removed quickly, before Iran and those acting in its behalf can wear down the residents of Ashraf and force them to leave, or impose an even worse fate on them.

And of course, the continued designation of PMOI as a terrorist organization gives great comfort to the Iranian regime, by putting on the sidelines an organization that is potentially a grave threat to the regime. It also provides an added justification for the regime to execute PMOI members in Iran, and to insist that in doing so it is fighting terrorists.

Recently the state department has admitted that there is no further unclassified information to rely onto make this case and promised

to schedule a meeting to discuss further steps. The secretary has acknowledged that this is the first occasion the new administration has had to evaluate the designation of PMOI; this is an excellent opportunity for her to learn from the mistakes of the past and not to repeat them.

As you are aware, there is a growing consensus inside the United States and outside it to delist PMOI; an ever-increasing number of members of Congress supporting a resolution favoring that result shows the degree of consensus in the united states. It is a bipartisan consensus.

The Iranian regime has made clear that it wants the residents of camp Ashraf driven out before the designation is removed.

But in a sense this is about more than the case in the District of Columbia and more than PMOI. This is about the posture of the United States toward the Iranian regime.

We must make it clear in word and deed to the Iranian regime that we stand with those who stand for freedom and who demand regime change.

I think we ought to let organizations like PMOI decide what is best for them and not try to decide it for them.





General James Jones

The legitimate concerns of all people in camp Ashraf, and the Iraqi pledges to the United States for their safety and security, needs to be recognized and revitalized

Excerpts from speech

I would like to thank everyone here at the audience for your passion and your commitment to one of the world's biggest challenges and in many cases the courage and the sacrifice that many of you have made towards this tremendously worthwhile goal.

I think the reason that we are all here is to underscore the

threat to the global world order posed by the current Iranian government and its actions, and its threat to peace and stability in the world and not just the region, I mean the world, And to the human rights, the threat to human rights and opportunities for a better life that is rightly a privilege of all Iranians and those who are held hostages in Iranian jails today, including three innocent Americans and anyone who suffers under the Iranian tyranny.

The president of the United States, president Obama, as in my personal view, has articulated US aspirations and goal for how the United States hopes to interact with all other nations, and he did so in 2009 in, really, three major speeches.

Now the first obviously was his inaugural address on January 20 in 2009, the next one was in Cairo later that year and the third one was when he accepted the Nobel peace prize again still later. All three of these policy statements offered the opportunity for a new beginning based on human dignity, respect for other cultures, religious freedom and the rights of all men and women to be free.

The fourth presidential statement was also important and I think I should mention and reemphasize the importance of that statement. And I quote, President of the United States said affirmatively: "we will prevent Iran from becoming a nuclear weapons capable state". This one is today's basis of foreign American policy with regards to Iran's nuclear program and we are committed to the success of the journey and not only for our own national security but for the international security of the world.

This is not a backyard problem, Iran is not simply a local problem, it is not even a regional problem anymore, as was said several times before and I associate myself with that description. This is a global problem. And we must think about it and we must believe the following: a nuclear capable Iran is bad enough for the world to contemplate for many obvious reasons, but worse than that is that it will certainly trigger a nuclear arms race among the other countries in the region and still worse than that Iran could export, if it acquires the technology, that technology to terrorists and their subsidiaries, and when that happens the world as we know it will be changed so the moment is historic for all of us because that change will not be good.

What has been done today is not insignificant; allow me to mention a few things.

First the United States as a matter of policy has asserted its role of leadership on the need to reverse the proliferation of nuclear weapons and has successfully engaged with Russia to pass the start treaty ratification.

In December it has also led a very successful international conference designed to highlight the threat of the spread of nuclear weapons and clearly and patiently gave the Iranian government a chance to reveal its true intentions by its activities not just by its words.

Over the past two years we have engaged an overt and covert messaging to try to see whether the possibility of logic and reason could prevail. Every new nation's administration deserves an opportunity to test the global waters for a while and in the face of a little evidence that Iran has any intent to alter its nuclear weapon development program, the United States, both led and participated, in the world adopting the most far reaching sanctions perhaps ever imposed on a single nation. The significant participation of Russia, China and of course European Union, the full impact of these sanctions is being felt, the full impact will not be felt for some time to come.

Now, Iran's actions have thus far created probably some unintended consequences for them. And their continued miscalculations will result in the following: The first is a US, Russian and Chinese alignment, the lights of which no one could have forecast just a year ago or two years ago. In fact the Russians cancelled a sale of weapons of S-300 missiles to Iran, who would have thought that would be possible just a few short months ago.

Second the US, European and Arab solidarity on this particular issue has increased dramatically. In Iran, for reasons that only they could explain and no one else could accept, has just delivered major insult to Turkey in Istanbul. Turkey, the only major country, other than Brazil, to believe in the Iranian intensions in 2010, mistakenly so.

In short Iran is now more isolated than ever, but sadly, as the regime tries to survive, it's the Iranian people who suffer even more. In the last few days, three executions of men whose only crime was the passion to be free, to be

with their families and to visit their relatives in camp Ashraf.

The Iranian people are not alone in suffering in the hands of this regime. Going back to Khobar Towers, the support to Hamas and Hezbollah, attacks in Israel and elsewhere in the Middle East, many deaths of US and coalition forces in Iraq come as a result of Iranian technology and weapons. Hostages taking as a terror tactic continues today. The legitimate concerns of all people in camp Ashraf, and the Iraqi pledges to the United States for their safety and security, needs to be recognized and revitalized. It has been

said the time is running out for us with regard to Iran but let me suggest the time is running out for Iran's government as well.

The global community has sent its message. In Istanbul it was rejected by Iran, sanctions are but one of many ways to cause change in the Iranian behavior. Suffering of the Iranian people cannot continue. The US will continue to pay close attention and to engage on all aspects of this issue from Human Rights to achieving peaceful use of nuclear energy that is the legitimate right of all nations.

So this is the path to follow if we are to look at our children in the eyes, and our grandchildren who some day will surely ask us the question of what it was we stood for and what it was we did in 2011, when we had the opportunity to make the world a better and safer place. So let us work together so that we can give them the answer they deserve because here, and on this subject and with this government failure is most certainly not an option.

Iran is not simply a local problem, it is not even a regional problem anymore, as was said several times before and I associate myself with that description. This is a global problem...

Suffering of the Iranian people cannot continue. The US will continue to pay close attention and to engage on all aspects

Bill Richardson

It is obvious that those that have advocated negotiations, like myself, dialogue, diplomacy, now have to realistically look at the results of that policy

Excerpts from speech

My thanks to Mrs. Rajavi, all of the organizers of the event. I want to also pay tribute to the European leaders that are here.

I want to just list the areas and I think there are five, where I sense common agreement, at least from my perspective.

Number one: it does make sense to delist the MEK as being a terrorist organization. There is no link, there is no terrorist link, there is no capability, no intent, and I believe here America needs to follow the lead of the European Union and the European Parliament that has taken a sensible step, almost a year ago.

The second point that, I believe, unites all of us, is that Camp Ashraf. Obviously, we need to find a solution to avert a humanitarian crisis of Camp Ashraf. And that solution means security, more American security for the UN force that is there. Actually, American security because right now it seems that Iraq is not providing the necessary protection for the 3,400 human beings that are there. So that is another effort that I believe we can commonly agree.

Number three: I think we need to find ways to support the Iraqi opposition forces in Iran and outside of Iran. I think this has to be the new policy ingredient that a conference like this needs to evaluate and find new arenas, new policies. I don't think we've explored that enough.

It is obvious that when I visited with Mrs. Rajavi yesterday, she is a woman of vision, she's a woman of intellect, who speaks many languages, and cares deeply about her people and has a very good team surrounding, a very good team. Now, what does that mean in terms of a new policy? It means that what happened in Istanbul in the last few days provides an arena for new opportunities and new policies. It is obvious that those that have advocated negotiations, like myself, dialogue, diplomacy, now have to realistically look at the results of that policy.

And it is obvious in Istanbul that the Iranian government was not serious. They wouldn't accept a discussion on the fuel cycle or providing a fuel cycle for Iran that the European Union had presented. They refused to look at IAEA procedures to inspect some of the nuclear facilities in Iran, and they set preconditions of eliminating sanctions before we even talked. It was not a serious effort and I believe this means that new policies need to be looked at.

Now, in terms of other steps that we can take, obviously we need to condemn the executions that just took place, push for democratic change in Iran, and by the way I think we have to stand also with the Russian people, in light of the recent tragedy that they had, the Moscow airport.

So, where are you going to disagree with me? I believe that you have to continue diplomacy and dialogue. It doesn't mean continuing talks that have no success but it means not abandoning the negotiations that Europe and America and many other countries have participated in – whether the United Nations, whether in forums like Istanbul – it doesn't mean that you embrace them but it doesn't mean that you say okay, this is the end of these discussions. I don't believe that you take a military option off the table but I don't see that right now as being realistic.

The second issue is sanctions. I've heard very little talk about sanctions. I think that General Jones articulated them very well. This is the most comprehensive series of sanctions that has ever probably been placed on a country. And the sanctions have been strengthened in the last two years because of the strong participation of the European Union and the United States working together. I fail to think why sanctions might not eventually have an effect. One half of Iran's gasoline is imported. A large part of its

food stuffs are imported too. So I believe those sanctions need to be continued, strengthened, retooled, perhaps expand them, as Mrs. Rajavi elucidated in her discussion.

The new element that draws forth is: what are the most effective ways that the world, and America, and Europe, can support the Iranian opposition? What is the best way to make this happen? Is it technical support, is it political support? Obviously America needs to lead the way with the delinking of the MEK with the Camp Ashraf issue. But also, it means finding new means of communication, perhaps the Internet, perhaps through technology, perhaps through new forms of satellite technology, perhaps through new ways that movements flourish.

I will now conclude with Mrs. Rajavi at the end of our meeting, this is why I believe she is a good leader. She said Governor what's your advice? Well I'm going to give it to you because I believe listening and finding ways that we learn from each other is critically important.

And I'm going to give this advice mainly in the context of an American because it seems that a good part of the problem today, lies in American legislation, and American change of policy which I believe we need to advocate.

The first is: get the message out in America. Now I've been involved in foreign policy for a long time but it wasn't until two weeks ago that I learned of the situation with the MEK. The first time I'd

heard of Camp Ashraf and I am somebody that has been active in foreign policy. I was in New Mexico, I was dealing with these issues relating to the running of my State. So spreading the message in America is very important and I believe you have a very good team to make it happen.

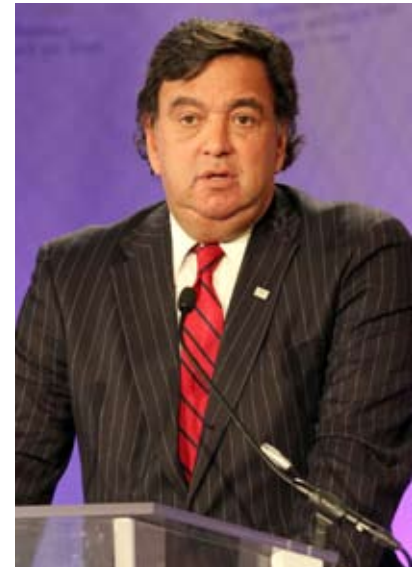
Number two: when approaching America, I think as the Judge pointed out, mistakes have been made on both sides. Be bipartisan, don't pick one political party over the other, although if you ask my advice I'll tell you which one is the better one, but I will not do that. But it's important that that support be bipartisan.

Number three: despite of that, I will say this. I think that the movement, the opposition, you in America, need to strengthen ties with the Democratic Party more than you have.

Number four: focus on Istanbul. I think that is the turning point. Talk about the importance of moving forward in light of the failure of the negotiations and the fact that Iran has not taken serious steps.

I mentioned this before. Find new ways of communicating, not just with the people of Iran but among yourselves. The fact that there are so many European leaders here, Iranian Europeans, Iranian Americans, that can find ways to communicate with each other effectively and communicate with those in Iran that want to hear your voice.

Number five: women and the young. I think that is the key, the fact that you focus on the oppression of women, and the standing of women in Iran is very important. The fact that you have a woman leader. And remember that the revolutions in this world have been mainly pushed by the young. Find a way to connect with those young people in Iran and all over the world.



We need to find a solution to avert a humanitarian crisis of Camp Ashraf and that solution means security, more American security for the UN force that is there



John Bolton

Tehran regime is a threat to international peace and security and the way that you deal with that kind of threat is to end that regime

Excerpts from speech

The declared and unequivocal policy of the USA should be the overthrow of the regime in Tehran.

The reason for that is that we are in a race with this regime on several critical fronts. One is their 20 year pursuit of nuclear weapons and the second is their support for international terrorism where this regime has in fact

become the world's central banker for terrorist activities.

It is clear and has been clear for some time; we didn't need Istanbul this weekend to explain it to us, that there is no way that the regime can be negotiated out of its nuclear weapons program.

The regime in Tehran wants nuclear weapons. The US and others don't want Iran to have nuclear weapons. What is the compromise, Iran gets a small number of nuclear weapons? There is no compromise on this point.

Negotiations are no different from any other kind of human activity. They have benefits and they have costs and if you engage in negotiations when the benefits outweigh the cost. That is simply not the case here.

Negotiations consume time. The most important thing that a world nuclear proliferators needs is time, time to overcome the complex scientific and technological obstacles to getting a nuclear weapons program and the regime in Tehran, for going on 8 years now, has taken the West to the cleaners and used that time as close as they are now to nuclear weapons.

Now many people believe that in the wake of the success of the Stuxnet virus that suddenly a large window of opportunity has opened which will be filled I have absolutely no doubt by people in the EU and the US looking for more excuses to negotiate.

The fact is that whatever delays the Stuxnet virus has accomplished in the regimes pursuit for nuclear weapons, they remain being extremely close to the capability. Even the IAEA publicly acknowledges Iran has enough low enriched uranium for nuclear weapons right now and the amount of work, the amount of energy consumed to enrich uranium to reactor grade is two thirds of the work needed to enrich it to weapons grade. So they are very close.

Moreover the idea that we have got a much longer time frame before the regime gets nuclear weapons ignores what else the regime is doing, which is expanding and hardening its nuclear infrastructure which makes it all the more difficult to root out at the appropriate time.

We are losing the race with Iran over nuclear weapons and it is fanciful to believe that sanctions, economic sanctions are going to materially slow down Iran's progress.

The most comprehensive set of economic sanctions were imposed after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Security Council resolution 661 which cut off essentially all contacts with Iraq other than humanitarian supplies.

Those sanctions utterly failed to achieve their objective of convincing Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait and the sanctions that have been imposed on Iran by the Security Council have had little or no effect other than an increment in the cost of various transactions that the Iranian regime needs to engage in.

The pursuit of their nuclear weapons objective remains largely unaffected. The economic turmoil that we see within Iran today is minimally caused by the sanctions, maximally caused by three decades of economic mismanagement.

So the idea that we have very much time left is a delusion that only puts all of us at greater risk. I think that is why the support for regime change in Iran is so critical, because that will directly affect the leadership and could well affect their policies.

It is not simply Iran's pursuit for nuclear weapons that should trouble us. Look at their support for terrorist activities in Iraq. Look at their support there for a regime there that will threaten once again the stability in the Middle East and beyond. Look at what Iran is doing in Lebanon.

We see the spread of Iran's support for international terrorism, having a detrimental effect all over the world.

So look at the policies that the government of Iran is pursuing. We can see the pursuit of nuclear weapons, the support for international terrorism and the repression of its own people.

All of this is going on while the West talks and talks and talks.

Now with respect to the MEK and the consideration that Secretary Clinton is currently giving to delisting, let's be clear. I think that the evidence is unequivocal that when the MEK was added to the list of foreign terrorist organisations under the Clinton administration, it was added under a very

strongly held view that so doing would make the rulers in Tehran more amenable to the policies that the Clinton administration wanted to pursue, more amenable to engagement.

If that was the calculation, it failed unambiguously. The same feelings underlie the decision of Secretary Rice in 2002, at the end of her tenure at the State Department to continue the listing of the MEK, representing the failed notion that this kind of step would make it easier to negotiate with the regime in the future.

I think that there was an important point in Secretary Rice's decision where she says expressly that the decision should be reviewed again in 2 years, that is to

say right now, because I think that was an indication that she felt, even then, even operating under the bias that a decision on the listing on the Foreign Terrorist Organisation list should be affected by other political factors. That the evidence was sufficiently ambiguous that revisiting it today would make sense.

I think it is clear beyond any argument that political factors should not influence either the decision to list an organisation as a Foreign Terrorist Organisation or to delist it. In the prosecutorial metaphor, you have to follow the facts wherever they lead.

If the facts show that there is neither the capacity nor intent to engage in terrorist activities, then the organisation should not be on the list. This is the decision we are waiting for from Secretary Clinton. I hope she takes the hint that Secretary Rice gave her to revisit this in an objective way, unlike the circumstances under which the listing was made in the first place and we will see what happens.

But most importantly I think that the view not just in the United States but in Europe as well has to be to understand the current regime in Tehran as a threat to international peace and security, not just in its region, but worldwide and the way that you deal with that kind of threat is to end that regime.

If the facts show that there is neither the capacity nor intent to engage in terrorist activities, then the organisation should not be on the list. This is the decision we are waiting for from Secretary Clinton

Dell Dailey

For Iraq and United States members of Ashraf and the PMOI are the best counterbalance to Iranian aggression

Excerpts from speech

It is a distinct pleasure to be here in Brussels engaging in a dialogue with such prominent public leaders on such an important international, regional and also distinctly United States of America issue.

A distinct pleasure for being here today, the committee of support for human rights in Iran a special thanks to you, the committee performs in valuable function by keeping international and regional attention on the challenges in camp Ashraf.

Such attention from my perspective covers two vitally important areas for the residents of the camp. It first continues to highlight the awful humanitarian conditions that exist there and it continues to focus on the importance of revoking the designation as a foreign terrorist organization for the PMOI.

Timing of this conference is flawless, right now the United States' Department of State in its continuing process is considering efforts whether to retain the PMOI designation for the foreign terrorist organization list. It is critically important to ensure all relevant information from this conference gets to the US government during these important, critical deciding moments. And yes the "conditions" have changed significantly at Ashraf and the Middle East to clearly justify the revocation.

Time is also important as ever before for 3400 residents; men, women and children located in Camp Ashraf and their future vulnerability. This vulnerability is a function of the United States and coalition members progressing in the normalization of relations with the new post Saddam Hussein nation of Iraq. But the increased irony of Iraq at the expense of members of camp Ashraf should not occur. The regional actors, United States, European Union and the UN need to maintain pressure on the government of Iraq to treat camp Ashraf members with dignity, care, restraint and respect. My first concern is humanitarian conditions in Ashraf, they are becoming abhorant and must be improved, the repeated incursions by Iraqi police have occurred on numerous dates. Some are on July 2009, October 2010, November 2010 and recently January 2011 all resulting in injuries or several in deaths.

More restraints have been put on occupants of the camp Ashraf for obtaining medical care. For example limiting specialist doctor care and being denied hospital access on its likely cases. Couple that with continuous blasting of propaganda into the camp from over 180 loudspeakers to create conditions that are physically unlivable. These humanitarian attacks need to be stopped and not repeated.

As Iraq must make its peace with Iran and becomes a newly democratically led member of the region, camp Ashraf should not be the prize that Iran wins. Iran shown hatred for the camp and its residents so recently as the hanging of a visitor to Ashraf and a photographer of the elections of (debaful of the elections) they were hung just 2 days ago in Iran. This persists. For Iraq and United States members of Ashraf and the PMOI are the best counterbalance to Iranian aggression.

As a global terrorist state, Iran is supporting terror in Afghanistan, all the Middle East and now rapidly becoming a nuclear threat and power. Iran must be met and stopped and the PMOI has the contacts, insights, cultural awareness and a proven past record of providing the United States and hence the world with previously unknown intelligence about Iran. This

effective and reliable source of information should be used to the maximum by nations threaten now and in future by Iran. No other internal or external organization has been this productive in obtaining information on Iran. We should not allow it to fall idle.

The use of the Iran opposition, the PMOI, is a powerful counterbalance to Iran as already been shown. Its (regime's) success in stopping the opposition is an important asset and target of Iran government.

So much so it continues to hunt ruthlessly inside Iran and possibly Iraq. Since United States remains militarily committed in Iraq and Afghanistan, it can do no further security operations in the region. Since the UN had adopted up to 3 security resolutions and applied economic sanctions with



limited success, Iran stands with impudence and defiance to the world; while making its nuclear capability match its deliverable capability. The PMOI and Iran opposition are the best instruments of power to get inside the Iran theocracy and undo them. No one expected an uprising in Tunisia and the people of Iran have a recent history of throwing off the rulers both in 1979 and almost recently in this past year. We should capitalize on this.

My second point is revocation of PMOI from the US foreign terrorist organization (FTO) list. United States has continued to retain PMOI on the FTO since its original inclusion numerous years ago. Many actions have occurred since then to require the United States to reevaluate this decision, our allies, both from the European Union and the United Kingdom have removed the PMOI from their comparable lists. This has been accomplished by thorough review of the facts, classified and unclassified, current indicators

and a history from 2001 until now. No terrorist activity, the United States should do the same.

Most unfortunately reports indicate that Iraqi government continues with the unacceptable raids into camp Ashraf because the United States has identified the occupants as terrorists and therefore can be treated the same. Although important and occasionally useful the United States foreign terrorist organization list (FTO) has been marred in ill-thought out foreign policy. Currently the PMOI is on the list while the Taliban remain off of the list.

We have had thousands of American and coalition troops killed by the Taliban since 9/11 but not one killed by PMOI. Why are they still on the list? Why would the United States allow the Taliban to remain off of the list while keeping the PMOI on the list? This is poor inconsistent foreign policy!

This is the gravest miscarriage for the use of foreign terrorist organizational

Continued on page 17



Irene Khan

People in Ashraf are being bombarded with I would say noise torture. So it's not just physically but also auditoria that the camp is under siege

Excerpts from speech

So let me begin by thanking the organizers for inviting me, giving me this opportunity to talk to you today. I am not going to ask you to overthrow any government, and I am not going to ask you to give me any applause in advance either. I am going to talk to you about Ashraf and I hope to bring a human and a human rights side to the problem of camp Ashraf.

A thorn in the side of the Iranian government, a pawn in the political bargaining between Teheran and Baghdad, a symbol of Iranian resistance. Those are three different ways in which Camp Ashraf and its residents have been described by commentators. Now in a game of chess the pawn can either be sacrificed because of its seeming low game value or it can become a force for tactical blocking and support. Now I am not a chess player actually, nor am I a politician so I leave it to others more qualified than myself to say what kind of a chess game is unfolding in that region.

My message is simple; people, women and men should not be used as political pawns. My purpose today in talking to you is to lay out the humanitarian scene and the human suffering in Ashraf. And see what the international community should do to stop it. Now, I haven't been to Camp Ashraf. I know some of you have. I also know some of you have family and friends there. So you know better than me what we are talking about. We are not talking about some great political plot. We are talking about 3400 or so human beings living behind barbed wire in a dusty landscape some of them have lived there almost a quarter of a century because of what they believe in, because of their struggle for freedom. A very large number of them are women. Life has not been easy for them. But never have they been so endangered, isolated, harassed, targeted and attacked as they are now. As we all know from 2003 when the coalition forces intervened in Iraq until the first of January 2009 the residents of camp Ashraf were designated by the US as protected persons under the Geneva Conventions. In January 2009 under agreements signed between the US and the governments of Iraq, the US handed over the security of the country to the Iraqis and along with it, also the control of Camp Ashraf. But the status of the residents in the Camp was left unclear. The Iraqi government has sent mixed signals about Camp Ashraf, in diplomatic circles it says it will respect an undertaking not to deport the residents of Ashraf and to treat them humanely. But in reality on the ground it has sought to create an untenable situation for the Camp residents. It has created a committee for the suppression of Ashraf

in the Prime Ministers office and some senior Iraqi officials have made no bones about their intent to close down Ashraf and to move the people elsewhere. Camp Ashraf is under siege, isolated from normal contact. Now from a human rights and a humanitarian perspective let me highlight three major concerns. First, the physical attacks on the residents. Now we all know what happened in July 2009 when there was a two day attack launched on the Camp which left 11 people dead, several hundred people injured and 36 people detained, beaten and tortured. According to reports, armed security guards used bulldozers to force themselves into the Camps in broad day light, they used water canons, batons, tear gas against unarmed residents on the other side. To this day, there has been no independent investigation of the incident, no accountability for the deaths. Now history and experience shows that impunity breeds more human rights violations and that is precisely what has happened here too. The Camp is under constant pressure, threats and attacks have continued. The most recent one was earlier this month on the 7th of January when 176 people were injured, including over 91 or so women.

Now where is that story on the human rights agenda, where is the call for accountability? Where is the taking of note of what has happened and is happening to civilians? These are civilians, this is a civilian population, no one disputes that, we don't see that.

Second is; concerns about the medical condition. Now a recent Amnesty International report set out the difficulties that people face when they seek medical assistance. The Camp is surrounded by Iraqi security forces. An Iraqi security committee which is responsible for all matters of the Camp decides about medical treatment. Committee members decide who can travel outside of the Camp and who will go with them. They control the influx of supplies to the Camp and for certain serious illnesses people have to seek treatment outside of the Camp in hospitals in Baghdad or elsewhere. Patients cannot attend their appointments because they are not allowed to take anyone with them, they are not even allowed to take an interpreter with them. The Iraqi government doesn't provide wheel chairs or special beds which patients sometimes need. So an already bad medical situation becomes worse, leaving many life threatening and chronic patients without treatment. Now if that wasn't bad enough, you have those megaphones you've heard about. Loud chant and slogans on 120 loudspeakers going on about for eleven

months. Imagine you have it for an hour imagine how you feel. And here people are being bombarded with I would say noise torture. So it's not just physically but also auditoria that the camp is under siege.

Psychological pressure is no better, is no less distressing than physical ill-treatment. But yet again that is an issue that doesn't make it to the news. Governor Richardson said there is a lot that we do not know about Ashraf. Perhaps there is a lot that we do not want to know about Ashraf because it may make us come face to face with our own judgments and decisions, some tough decisions.

The Iraqi government cannot escape its international obligations, regardless of whether or not, it recognizes any status for the residents of Ashraf.

The most important attribute of sovereignty, is the responsibility to protect people on its territory, the Iraqi government must not be allowed to escape that responsibility and the international community must hold the Iraqi government to account.

International involvement and in particular international presence is a critical factor in ensuring protection to populations at risk.

Now the third concern is the risk of forced eviction or even expulsion and a risk that continues to grow as the Maleki government reaches out to the Iranian regime. Now in case there is any doubt in any one's mind as to what might happen if people from Ashraf camp were to be returned forcibly to Iran. The regime in Teheran sent us a brutal message only yesterday by executing Jafar Kazemi and Mohammad Ali Haj Aghai. Now what was their crime? Chanting slogans supporting PMOI, photographing post-election protests, distributing them on the internet? And yes one of them had a son in Ashraf. In late December Ali Saremi as you know was hanged without notice. He had visited his son in Ashraf. He was accused of membership of PMOI. Four others including a woman are on death row for the same reason. All their trials were unfair. International organizations as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch have acknowledged that and have also acknowledged reports of torture and ill treatment. These days are dark days for human rights in Iran. Executions are being carried out on an amazing speed. Since the beginning of the year Iran has executed at least 49 persons. And I may have underestimated, I may have undercounted that number. Iran executes more people per capita than any other country in the world. And in absolute numbers it is second only to China. Even as protests have gathered speed outside Iran the regime has cracked down in vengeance. A noted filmmaker has been sentenced to a long term in prison.

Journalists have been attacked. Women activists have been incarcerated for demanding equality. Now here I want to acknowledge the courage of Iranian women in their quest for freedom and equality and I think we should all acknowledge that. Now the seriousness of the situation in Iran was such that the United Nations General Assembly in a most unprecedented manner actually adopted a resolution expressing its concern about the appalling state of human rights in Iran. It mentions torture, violations against women, oppression of ethnic and religious minorities and lack of accountability of human rights violations that followed the post 2009 presidential elections. Now you might say that is another General Assembly resolution. Yet another paper. But I would ask you to note that we are talking about the United Nations General Assembly where the majority of governments come from developing world. This is not the West criticizing Iran, this is the world criticizing Iran. And there is a shift there and we need to take that shift into account.

Tunisia has been mentioned several times and here we again see a growing realization that human rights matter that what is happening in Iran, the human rights situation inside Iran matters, globally, not just to the Iranian people. So I would take that as a positive sign and one on which to build support. Public opinion matters, you matter.

Now coming back to Ashraf, the residents of Ashraf were designated by the US as protected persons under the Geneva Conventions, and there is now some debate as to whether or not that status has lapsed. But whichever way you argue the law, whichever position you take, international law makes it very clear that no one can be returned to a place where he is likely to be tortured, no one can be ill treated, civilians must be treated with humanity, dignity and respect for their rights. That places a clear obligation on the Iraqi government to protect the rights of the residents of Ashraf from any danger and to ensure their humane treatment. Furthermore, Iraq is a state party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which places upon governments the obligation to protect human rights, the obligation not to torture, to treat well, not to expel, deport someone forcibly to a place where they may face torture, inhumane or degrading treatment or punishment.

The Iraqi government cannot escape that obligation, regardless of whether or not, it recognizes any status for the residents of Ashraf.

The most important attribute of sovereignty, is the responsibility to protect people on its territory, the Iraqi government must not be allowed to escape that responsibility and the international community must hold the Iraqi government to account.

Pressure and accountability are the tools that the human rights system uses to hold governments to their obligations, those tools have to be now applied to the Iraqi government and I don't believe the international human rights system is doing that enough in the case of Ashraf. They need to wake up to their responsibilities in that respect.

Now there is no confidence among the Ashraf residents that the Iraqi authorities would protect them or assist them. On the contrary, there is fear

that the opposite is happening. Of course the behaviour of the Iraqi authorities gives substance to those fears and so what is the role of the international community. As a former UN refugee official and a current human rights practitioner I know from my own experience on the ground that international involvement and in particular international presence is a critical factor in ensuring protection to populations at risk. I

have seen in many volatile situations the value that the United Nations or the international Red Cross brings both in protecting civilians and also in creating an environment of trust and confidence in which tensions between the population and the host country can be reduced. I was told that the UNAMI, the UN operation in Iraq only visits Ashraf from time to time because it does not feel that it has sufficient security to be there all the time. Imagine what the residents must feel if the UN doesn't feel safe enough to be there. So I think the presence will go a long way. Regular presence will go a long way, regular monitoring will go a long way in providing protection to the people of Ashraf. But there is now incumbent on UN member states and in particular on Iraq and on the United States to make it possible for the UN to establish their presence in Ashraf. To be there...this is precisely the kind of situation where cooperation between the multilateral human rights system and member states like the US can help to defuse tensions, depoliticize the situation and

ensure that all sides recognize that this is first and foremost a humanitarian problem that requires a humanitarian solution.

Now what should the European Union do, what should the United States do. I think we have heard from Americans and Europeans about that so I won't talk about that I am neither American or European. But what I do want to stress here is the importance of keeping the focus on accountability and

respect for human rights.

This is a highly charged region. In the bigger picture of global politics, strategic issues like nuclear weapons, Ashraf may seem too small, human rights may seem a secondary issue. Too often we have seen in recent past our human rights are brushed to one side because of security concerns. Just think of Iraq. The issue there was weapons of mass destruction, today the situation, the key issue on the ground, is human rights of the people of Iraq. And so I would beg all of you to not lose sight of what is happening here, yes, nuclear weapons, Iran is a threat, all that is true, but what do the people of Iran want? Let's not instrumentalise the human rights of the people of Iran, they have a right to their freedom, they have a right to struggle for their freedom, they have a right to enjoy their freedom and we have an obligation to support them in their struggle for rights and that is what Ashraf is all about. It is about focusing about the human rights of the people, it is about focusing about the dignity of the Iranian people and that is what we should begin with and that is where we should aim for.

These days are dark days for human rights in Iran. Executions are being carried out on an amazing speed. The human rights situation inside Iran matters, globally, not just to the Iranian people

Women activists have been incarcerated for demanding equality. I want to acknowledge the courage of Iranian women in their quest for freedom and equality and I think we should all acknowledge that



Ruth Wedgwood

To leave Ashraf residents to hang would be something that would make a mockery of the protection that was given to them in 2004

Excerpts from speech

I think it's crucial that this issue of the democratic opposition in Iran and the survival of the residents of camp Ashraf be a bipartisan issue.

I have to say what Stuxnet virus is to atomic weapons; Camp Ashraf is to the regime in Teheran. It is the chrysalis, it is the incubus I think of its

ultimate destruction. And there is no other reason or way to account for the fear that Tehran seems to have of 2400 people who happen to live in a camp in Iraq, other than that they see the potential themselves, that the kind of almost martyrdom that has been imposed upon those people is in fact the test of the resilience of the Iranian democratic opposition. So I think Teheran is its own worst enemy in having impelled the Iraqis to attack camp Ashraf over and over again.

Now the status of the people at Ashraf has been made the subject of some technical discussions. I very much endorse what Irene Khan said, that quite apart from the fact that the US recognized their status as protected persons under the Geneva Convention, and these are the Conventions that the Obama administration has pledged to observe.

But even and above that of non-refoulement, you can never return someone to a condition of mistreatment and torture. So the threat by the Iraqi government to send them into a prison in the desert is something that certainly would wholly violate non-refoulement and if they were returned to Iran one should have no doubt about the fate of the inhabitants of Ashraf, they would all be hanged.

So the demand for their protection is certainly well founded in law as well as in morals. We in the US didn't fight the Iraqi war in order to install a pro Iranian regime that would surrender the democratic opposition in Iran.

I also do think, I served on US Defence Policy Board during a good part of my career from about 2003 to 2009 and we had a valued and honoured association with the American military in doing that and certainly my view of the honour embedded in American military service is of a calibre, that it would not be consistent to surrender people that we pledged to protect and the American military above all else honours the Geneva Conventions. Again, to leave the Ashraf residents to hang would be something that would make a mockery of the protection that was given to them in 2004.

Now I very much agree with Irene Khan that the UN should be more vocal. I am not aware that the High Commissioner for Human Rights has yet spoken out. The Head of the UN Mission for Iraq, Mr Ad Melkert has made statements that I would consider at best tepid. As he said, "those loudspeakers serve no reasonable purpose and we have said from the very outset asked the Iraqi government to make sure that the loudspeakers be removed. When challenges arise of course we do not hide our concern if there is reason to do so."

That is not the kind of blunt table talk that you need to strike fear into a regime. I know diplomacy has its own syntax, but just as there was criticism

of the US for not sending the message clearly enough to Saddam Hussein when he invaded Kuwait, so too the language even at the UN needs to be much blunter.

UNAMI needs a presence in the Camp 24/7. There needs to be the presence of an American military outpost, restoring Camp Grizzly in the Camp, so there is some kind of deterrent to the hooliganism that we have recently seen.

One thing that the Iranian regime seems to be not sufficiently apprised of is the fact that many of the people who live in Camp Ashraf are dual citizens. When you attack a Swedish Iranian or an American Iranian or a European Iranian, you are attacking citizens not only of Iran, but of those countries. It used to be called an act of war actually.

The kind of solidarity that Europe has shown is required by the fact not only of the morals of the issue, but of the fact that many of these citizens in Camp Ashraf are also dual citizens of the West who deserve the support of the West. So this is a homeboy issue, a home issue, as well as any kind of more generous care and protection.

I agree with Madam Rajavi that the issue belongs to be on the agenda of the UN Security Council. It is true that the group of 77 at the UN often tends to defer one to the other to bury each other's dirty linen. But this is an issue

that even the group of 77 which is actually a group of 132 countries of the South must insist be put on the Security Council agenda, not only on the agenda of the General Assembly.

One thing I think the European can do, is to police the economic sanctions, the gasoline sanctions have had some effect, but we also know very well from the oil for food history in Iraq that it is quite simple to avoid sanction by trans shipping your one extra port by changing the flag on a ship, by having a cut out company in the Cayman. It is incumbent upon every European government to make sure that the economic sanctions against the Iranian regime have force and power and bite and that requires the investigative efforts of police agencies, customs agencies, parliamentary investigative agencies. Sanctions do not self-enforce, they have to be

enforced by an act of political will.

I agree with Governor Richardson that one should build on diplomatic measures, but I do think that the old favourite aphorism of Washington has some cogency here. It is the old joke about baseball, that diplomacy without the possibility of coercion is like baseball without a bat and unless you have got a bat to hit the ball, aint nothing gonna happen.

So I do think whether or not one is in favour of regime change by heretic means there has to be a message that the patience of the West is not forever. That the Iranians can not dig themselves out with China or with India or with new markets in the East and that this will be made an effective strangling hold on the regime.

I do not think that I myself would ever have the courage to be a human rights activist on the ground, the way thousands of people in Iran are. I am not that physically brave. Sometimes in academia I was brave, because you were not allowed to dissent in academia, but physically I am not brave enough and therefore my invisible hat is off to the thousands and thousands of Iranian citizens who have the courage to brave torture and jail and death for the sake of democracy.

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Juan Garcès

What is raging in Ashraf is an experiment of mental torture that is not less than physical torture

Excerpts from speech

Very clearly, the conference got your attention during many hours. Very important things were said. They covered international order and suffering of Iranian people in particular the residents of Ashraf. I would like to add to all that was said, something which is pretty interesting to me to mention to the US State Department when it has to decide on removal of PMOI from the list of the terrorist organizations. What is raging in Ashraf, and I try to follow it day to day, is an experiment of mental torture. We have distinguished Americans here. I wish to remind them that mental torture is not less than physical torture.

I want to point out a well-known case, that of the American Senator McCain who was once asked to answer a question. He knows what he is speaking about since he was tortured in Vietnam. The question was: If ever you must choose one day between physical torture and mental torture, what would you choose? McCain immediately answered: I will choose physical torture. This is to say to what point mental torture is horrible.

And I knew the facts of what is happening in Ashraf. I know what is going on. It is an experiment of destructing personality; which is the goal of torture. But what is important to remember is that the reaction to this torture, this suffering, has not been to answer with violence. Ashraf residents are provoked on daily bases, day and night. It would be normal for humans to burst and resort to violence after all this. Some people may know this, particularly those who are not in Iraq. Generally, nobody resorted to violence to face this torture. On the other hand they asked what law could do to relieve, to solve and put an end to this suffering.

The answer, that we have to keep in mind is that if law is not accompanied by a legitimate force, it is impotent. Applying force, without legitimacy that should be practical, leads to despotism and tyranny. It is thus necessary to mix two dimensions that of law and that of coercion to be articulated and in support of law. This is what you are trying to do.

I am very pleased to tell you that you've been heard in a first court, but it should not be the only court, since what you're asking for is the international law, an obligation that was freely assumed by all the states which signed the Geneva Convention or the convention against torture. And they are the majority of the countries of the world. What is required of the countries is to put in practice these obligations they freely chose. And since these two conventions, particularly the convention of Geneva, planned jurisdiction for all signatory States, and that other courts of justice join the Spanish court to require the respect of these

engagements and if this respect is not applied, to ask for responsibilities.

This is what we started to do in Spain, by summoning the Iraqi general who led the attack on Ashraf in July 2009. He has been summoned to the court for March 8 to defend himself on charges

pressed against him. Other courts should follow very soon. We are talking about international law. International law would be of a better use if law was serving states' commitments and behind it, the goal in which the international law wants to reach. I must tell you, and you know it but I remind it, that independence of the



court of justice must be a respected mean everywhere. And it is the judiciary's seriousness that is at stake. As far as we are concerned, I believe that you will understand and you will respect the court of justice's neutrality and independence, just as the timing of this court of justice which is different from the political timing. But it should be done.

We do not have an international court with the possibility of acting on Iraq; Iraq is not a signatory of the Rome Treaty. Consequently if we speak about responsibility in a court of justice for the very serious violations of the international law which take place at this moment in Ashraf, it is necessary to look towards national courts, since there is no other.

A first step was taken and I and others will help you, so that

others can follow. We will offer to the human rights community, particularly institutions linked to the United Nations, the opportunity of suiting what they are doing, reports, considerations, to what occurs in Iraq and particularly in Ashraf, to fit them to the action of international law.

We also will take initiatives to offer this possibility to other countries under the rule of law. They will have an opportunity of doing so. We will see their response. We hope and wish they follow the first steps and the step that was taken in Spain that should not in any way be the last. Because and I will conclude by saying: if these things were done and the results successively were similar to each other, one could measure to what point Mr. Rajavi's words that I have heard a few minutes ago, are right and I totally agree: as long as there will be a little bit of law and a drop of blood for freedom, the outcome will be positive.



Jan Zahradil

Appeasement leads us nowhere when fighting so called forces of evil

Excerpts from speech

Thank you very much, let me greet all of you, as it has already been said, I

am coming from a small country in Central Europe, slightly over 10 million of inhabitants. But a country which has had an experience with what is called a policy of appeasement. And it was very bitter and sad experience I have to say, which some of you might know about. This was before the World War II when my country then was the facto sold to a Nazi Germany by those who wanted to appease the forces of evil rather than to fight them. But later on, they had to fight them anyway.

So I think that what's going on here is nothing new, and we all know very well these situations, we have experienced similar situations in the past many times, and we all know that appeasement leads us nowhere when fighting so called forces of evil.

And therefore I am very proud, that this was my country, Czeck Republic's EU presidency, which in fact contributed to a final removal of the PMOI from the blacklist of the European Union at the beginning of 2009.

I am also very grateful, I mean personally grateful that I had a very unique opportunity to participate in this process. We all know that there is still a long way ahead of us and probably a painful way and uneasy way, but there is no way out and there is no way back. So let me wish all of you, and all of us, good luck, a lot of courage, and the light at the end of the tunnel finally which is to come as always.



Paulo Casaca

We have to protect PMOI members in Ashraf, we have to protect them against the ongoing torture and we have to do it right now

Excerpts from speech

We are going to end one of the most extraordinary conferences where I had the opportunity of participating. Because the level of the speakers, their pasts, their credentials, their wisdom, obviously made of Ashraf, made of the need to change dramatically the situation and the attitude towards the Iranian resistance made it a mainstream phenomena. I think that all of us, we can agree, I know that there are still some disagreements on how can we proceed, but let's go right now on what we are absolutely convinced of; we have to get out the PMOI of the terrorist list also in the United States. We have to protect PMOI members in Ashraf, we have to protect them against these ongoing torture and we have to do it right now, and we must say it, and we must force the international public opinion to this effect as soon as possible. And last but not least we are absolutely certain that one way or the other freedom, democracy and the respect of the human will win in Iran, and we will certainly be there to celebrate this day.

Struan Stevenson

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handed last weekend. If we go on playing for time we will end up paying for time and we will pay dearly. A nuclear armed Iran will be a global threat.

While the West continues to play these silly games, Iran spreads its evil influence across the Middle East. We handed Iraq to the mullahs on a silver platter. Now thousands of trained agents of the Iranian regime have infiltrated every strata of Iraqi society. It is the same in Lebanon.

Iran no longer hesitates to state publicly that its forward defence line now passes through "Lebanon and Palestine." In practice, the Lebanese-Israeli border is in fact Israel's border with Iran.

For Iran, Hezbollah serves as a live and successful model for revolutions, one which is reflected in other organisations such as Hamas, Islamic Jihad and other Palestinian terror organisations, as well as extreme Shiite organisations inside Iraq, trained by Lebanese Hezbollah. Hezbollah is nourished by the growing strength and power of Iran and draws upon its successes. Both parties recognise that the fall of one also signifies the demise of the other.

We must stop this ludicrous game of 'hide and seek', abandon the failed policy of appeasement and confront the mullahs before they gain hegemony in the Middle East. And that doesn't mean armed invasion. It means backing the main opposition in overthrowing the fascist dictatorship. It means taking the PMOI and the NCRI off the US terror list. It means recognising the

symbolic importance of and providing protection for the brave residents of Camp Ashraf.

It means stop talking to the despots and start listening to the people. Back the Iranian masses in their efforts to overthrow this brutal and corrupt tyranny. Back the PMOI in their efforts to bring democracy, freedom, women's rights and human rights to Iran. Back Mrs Rajavi in her campaign to clear Iran of nuclear weapons and free her people from the constant fear of torture and the death penalty

252 years ago today – 25th January - our great Scottish poet Robert Burns was born. Burns hated tyranny in all its forms. Let me read you the final two short verses from his famous poem of praise for King Robert the Bruce of Scotland. I think it can serve as our battle cry today:

**By Oppression's woes and pains!
By your sons in servile chains!
We will drain our dearest veins,**

**But they shall be free!
Lay the proud Usurpers low!
Tyrants fall in every foe!
LIBERTY'S in every blow!
Let us Do – or Die!!!**

Sen. Robert Torricelli

I call upon Secretary Clinton, who I consider a dear friend and one of the finest leaders in the history of our country to do what she knows is right. End the policy and end it now

Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

Many of you may be new to Washington; you may have not attended similar events in the past. I have spent most of my adult life in such forums in this town. I can remember no occasion in which distinguished people from various pursuits and professional service have come together in one room with remarkably similar views. I hesitate to add the numbers but I would suspect that there is assembled on this stage more than two hundred years of experience in law enforcement, anti terrorist activities, military service and American Foreign policy, A distinguished set of careers. No one on this podium needs me to represent or characterize their views, I speak only for myself. But I think several things are unmistakable.

We can differ on how we believe American policy should respond to the ongoing threat of Iran possessing nuclear weapons. But it appears to me as I listen to every speaker, one thought was common. The discussions in Turkey must be more than another meaningless milestone in root to nuclear weapons held by the government in Tehran. Second, the listing of MEK, as a terrorist organization by the United States government is wrong. It is wrong as a matter of law. It is contrary to the facts. It is interfering with the rights of American citizens to be heard and it is contrary to American Foreign policy. It's having groups of patriot Iranian citizens

from around the world organized as is their right and their responsibility to bring to the country of their ancestor's birth, a responsible government.

I call upon Secretary Clinton, who I consider a dear friend and one of the finest leaders in the history of our country to do what she knows is right. End the policy and end it now.

As it has been difficult to be part of the resistance to the Iranian government, made dangerous by the actions in Tehran and complicated by policies of the United States government. One day you will look upon your children and your grand children with pride and say, when all the world looked the other way and even the United States government made it difficult to stand up against tyrants in Tehran, your family was there and stood firm. You will be proud; you were here today and were part of this event.



Ruth Wedgwood

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It is sometimes true that regimes are very bad at detecting the boiling point. I do not think that Ben Ali of Tunisia realized he was in quite so much trouble when it all burgeoned off in the street, in the Face book revolution. We had the colour revolutions and now we have the Face book revolution and the ability of people to communicate with each other through quick and easy channels means that it is much easier to mobilize in the street and to even whoo the armed forces and whoo the police and even undermine who they are and to whom they owe their loyalty.

Finally I would just like to say that I very much agree with John Bolton that this is not just any tyrannical regime, it has enormous strategic consequences for the world. When I was on the Defence Policy Board, from non classified sources it was very much apparent that the rogue regimes were all cooperating with each other in the sharing of technology, in the sharing of intelligence whether it was AQ Khan In Pakistan or the nuclear folks in North Korea or the nuclear folks in Iran. This has everything to do with the ability of Lebanon to survive, to bring Syria back into the Western camp and to try and make peace in Palestine. None of that will succeed until the viral infection of the Iranian regime is somehow eradicated. So seeing as I am always looking to have lunch with Bill Richardson I would ask him to come and see the NY Times editorial board with me, the Washington Post editorial board with me, the McNeill Neyer news hour.

My worry is that in the US this has remained a nitch issue. It is true that the terrorist designation scares people away. It scared me away even though I am good friends with Steve Schneebaum who is your lawyer, for fear that I would somehow be infected by some allegation of disloyalty or recklessness and I do think having people of such stature on the panel today, mainstreaming this issue in American politics is key. Very few people are scared to be seen with Jim Jones or anyone else on this panel. But the American press has not caught onto that yet and I very much think that this needs to be brought home more generally in the American public.

Dell Daily

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list. It brings a great discredit upon the United States for our most important resources, our people and our friends and it gives protection to the foreign leadership that has been sworn to kill us. It is appropriate for the Secretary of States to fix this gross embarrassment and obviously painful error as soon as possible.

In addition to the European Union and UK removing the PMOI from the list, numerous US congressmen and senators have expressed their support for the revocation. 113 signed House resolution 1431 for such removal. The Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Terrorism has encouraged the removal. With the new Congress seated and ready to fix problems, this also should be fixed immediately and cooperatively through our legislators our executive action.

Finally and most importantly, the conditions in which the list "have changed significantly" do want revocation. Those conditions are very clear, the rising power of Iran. If ever there was a time to reconsider it is now. All of our tools of persuasion of cohering Iran have failed. Iran has a fear of PMOI due its popularity and secular nature, they have the fear of PMOI its encouragement of free elections and rule of law, Iran has the fear of PMOI due to freedom of religion and no nuclear weapon or weapons of mass destruction, Iran has the fear of the PMOI due to freedom of speech and press. Right now Iran fears the PMOI.

Is Iran a possible Tunisia? With the PMOI riding to power through a democratic change in Iran? Let us hope so!

In closing, it is with great irony and embarrassment, and internationally confusing that United States and Iran are of equal mind and on the same team as keeping the PMOI on the foreign terrorist organization. We must revoke them from the terrorist designation list.



Tom Ridge

Delist the MEK and let them take the voices of freedom to the street and do what they need to do to bring freedom and democracy in the kind of Iran that would live in harmony and peaceful coexistence with its neighbors and the world

Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

We are looking for policy objectives and outcomes that we would like to be shared by both sides of aisle and I guess it's a very important and very visible statement that these Republicans and these Democrats having worked for Republican and Democrat administrations

feel unanimously that the designation of MEK should be lifted and should be lifted now. I've said this before but I'll keep saying it until the designation is lifted. Time is not our ally in our collective efforts to prevent the tyrannical regime in Teheran from becoming a nuclear power. As a matter of fact, time is running out. We need to understand that.

It was interesting when the parties met in December and they agreed to meet in December knowing full well that when the representatives from the Iranian government appeared they were not inclined to discuss their nuclear intentions. One does wonder why everybody bothered showing up because the only thing they agreed to do at that time was they agreed to convene again.

The western world presently faces no greater threat than from Iran, and I have a unique perspective as some of my colleagues do but that is certainly my opinion. It's absolutely fascinating to me that when we talk about Iran in this discussion we don't understand that when we talk about Iran we're talking about Hamas, Hezbollah, the militants they're supporting in Afghanistan and in Iraq, al-Qaeda, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. You've got Iran and all these surrogates and the only thing that MEK has asked of us is to delist us, give us the same opportunity in a very controlled and repressive society which is using the MEK designation to continue to imprison, oppress, imprison, torture and often murder. Just lift the designation. That's all we're asking.

As we take a look at the rest of the world trying to deal with Iran through discussions and negotiations does anyone think that they have stopped for a minute, paused for a second in their accelerated attempt to achieve nuclear weapon capability? Does anyone doubt for a moment given the fact that they've ignored with great impunity UN resolutions after UN resolutions. How many resolutions does it take before the UN finally decides that we're not being terribly effective and we have not been able to influence policy? It's a real challenge not only for the United States but the rest of the world.

Every year Ahmadinejad appears before the UN, he comes to the United States and is able to express in a venomous way, rhetorical way, whatever he feels like. That same opportunity to express personal feelings is lost to the MEK and the Iranian opposition. What I think is another irony is Maryam Rajavi. She would love to come to the United States. An inconsistency in policy that's pretty difficult to understand. That's why the designation needs to be lifted.

I think it would have a profound impact on the negotiations that are scheduled if the designation was lifted before the other countries met with the Iranian delegation. That would be a significant change in policy and send an entirely different signal to the regime.

Interesting what happened in Tunisia, isn't it? People took to the streets quite quickly, the administration responded and in a very positive and supportive way of those voices of democracy, voices of change. The administration applauded the move, the effort to bring democracy and freedom to Tunisia. They were fairly mute after the fraudulent elections in Iran. I don't quite understand the inconsistency in the policy.

When we talk about Iran we're talking about Hamas, Hezbollah, the militants they're supporting in Afghanistan and in Iraq, al-Qaeda, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. You've got Iran and all these surrogates and the only thing that MEK has asked of us is to delist us

As we say time and time again both publicly and privately the resistance and the MEK are not looking for money, they are not looking for arms. They just want the freedom to speak. They want to be delisted and take action into their own hands. We need to

do that for them because time is running out.

I would say this and I hope everyone listening in this administration but the western world as well, a nuclear Iran would surely signal a failure of western diplomacy or more tragically failure of western will. One would think that more than any other part of the world, the west understands the tragic unthinkable consequences of appeasement. It just seems to me all MEK is asking us to do is delist us. The EU has looked at this designation and said no. The UK has looked at the decision nation and said no, it's inappropriate. Our courts have looked at the designation and said no, it's inappropriate.

The strategy hasn't worked. Listing them (PMOI) in 1997 as a goodwill gesture has not affected a single change in their (regime's) approach, it has not de-accelerated or removed them, or interrupted their intentions to be a nuclear power, and it certainly has had no impact, if you take a look around the world, particularly in that region, on

the MEK are not looking for money, they are not looking for arms. They just want the freedom to speak. They want to be delisted and take action into their own hands. We need to do that for them because time is running out

getting them to withdraw their support for Hamas, Hezbollah, and all those other challenges not only to the United States but the Western world, around the globe. So we say to all those in the State Department involved in making the decision in this Administration: It's about time.

Delist the MEK and let them take the voices of freedom to the street and do what they need to do to bring freedom and democracy in the kind of Iran that would live in harmony and peaceful coexistence with its neighbors and the world.

James Woolsey

One thing we should no longer do and in this I join the others on this panel is to keep the MEK listed as a terrorist organization



Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

History doesn't repeat itself but sometimes it does rhyme. There's an interesting partial rhyme that I want to share with you by describing another regime other than the current regime in Iran. It's the one that took place in January of 1933 in Germany. The principal figure, Adolph Hitler, had written in the 1920s in Mein Kampf of what his objectives were: To rule Germany, to kill the Jews and to conquer Europe...

Ahmadinejad and the Iranian regime today have some of the same characteristics that the Nazis did in the 1930's...

If you are enriching uranium as is your right you are supposed to stop at five percent enriched which is what you use as fuel for your nuclear power plant but once you are at five percent you are not five percent of the way or so, you are about 70 percent of the way to having done the work you need to do in order to be able to enrich to 90 percent which is what you need for a nuclear weapon...

So the claims that Iran makes in the course of its undertaking are quite parallel to the peaceful assurances that Hitler was giving in the 1930s. It is amazing to me the degree to which sensible people in different parts of the world have fallen prey to that nonsense time and time and time again over the course of the last number of years...

One thing we should no longer do and in this I join the others on this panel is to keep the MEK listed as a terrorist organization. In 22 years of practicing law I read a lot of legal decisions and I recently read the Circuit Court's decision in the case involving the MEK versus the State Department and my experience and I think that of most lawyers who are interested in international matters is that courts ordinarily give a great deal of deference to the executive branch with respect to the conduct of foreign policy. This eloquently and well written decision of last July by the D.C. Circuit effectively says quite bluntly, although it doesn't use particular analogy, what the Department of State has done is what the red queen does in Alice in Wonderland when she is asked if first we're going to have the trial and the verdict and then the execution she says no, execution first, then trial...

We need to incorporate that move together with a vigorous effort to work with those who want a decent Iran outside the country and inside the country. We need to help tie them together.

General Anthony Zinni

We need a policy that reaches out to the Iranian community outside Iran and work with them as greatest conduit and connection, to those inside Iran that try to fight for their freedom and for their rights

Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

I think what you are going to hear up here is a continuous set of comments much like you heard already, i.e. remove the MEK from this list of Terrorists.

14 years ago, 1997, we began to believe that by election of President Khatami things may change. He was a grandfatherly looking individual. There seemed they may be opening an opportunity.

It is clear that this regime in Iran always sought the hegemony in the region to be dominant in that region. And the activities of their intelligence services, the MOIS, the threats they've made, the support as was mentioned by other groups in the region, clearly are terrorist groups, continues unabated, even today. I am shocked and surprised they still chase the solution that there can be a meaningful dialogue with the regime that has been described even by the Secretary of State as not only religious fanatics but the criminal activities of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards. It is becoming a corrupt military regime. It is now the oppressive military regime, co-mingled with the religious fanaticism. I can't imagine anything worse.

We had an opportunity and we just had one, this opposition was in the street and we miss it. We put mute button on. What is amazing in this opposition is that it is not singular, it is not only political, it goes around the entire spectrum of the Iranian society. It represents every aspect of the society that feels the pressure of this regime. So we have a broad based opposition movement, which usually means they're most successful, because the entire society is displeased with the oppression they face. The opportunity was there and still is there to bring light to this movement.

We have got to change our policy and our attitudes towards the opposition. The Diaspora community, those who are outside of Iran, many of you in this audience, you are credible, you are connected, you are respected. And I am amazed we have not reached out even given a tenth of support and credibility we gave to those in Iraq.

We were fooled, we had that illusion there could be that dialogue. We chased that illusion and it didn't work. I don't believe this regime is that afraid of international pressures and sanctions. I think it begins internally. They fear the opposition more than anything else. More than what we could bring from international perspective.

Secondly they fear regional co-operation that isolate them. I don't know any leader of the region does not see Iran as the biggest threat in the region. They not say so publicly, but they certainly say privately, and some do say publicly. They feel threatened. They see the weakness sometimes in the western approach.

I think we have to be very careful for several things. One is the sanctions if ever get implemented do not hurt the people. Do not in any way curtail the ability of the opposition to communicate to organize and structure themselves in a right way. I think we need a policy that reaches out to the Iranian community outside Iran and work with them as greatest conduit and connection, to those inside Iran that try to fight for their freedom and for their rights. There are many measures in the region that could be taken before we start talking about military action. I don't think you have to take that option off the table. That is a last resort. And that is something we want to avoid. I believe there has to be a fresh look to our policy.

You have presented an opportunity. You have offered the opposition. No one is asking for money or military support and guns. They're asking for a hand to be reached out. You should work with this community. Working within the region to make sure we bring about change. I think if we can take anything away from this conference, it should be the importance of stressing of the new policy. Examine those middle areas. Resisting and reaching out the opposition giving them legitimacy, credibility, and giving them an international and world stage where they can demonstrate the pressure they tolerate.



Mitchell Reiss

There is still no reason to be shy about doing more to support the Iranian opposition. A good first step would be delisting the PMOI

Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

I'm honored to be on the same panel with such outstanding public servants. I've just returned this past weekend from a tour across the Middle East, starting in the UAE, spending three days in Afghanistan, on to Jordan and finishing up with two and a half days in Israel.

During the trip I met with a number of senior political leaders and military officials. At every meeting at the top of the agenda was Iran, the threat it poses to stability in the region, its support for terrorism and what might be done to halt its newer leak weapons program.

These days most of the attention is on Iran in the region and the media focuses on its nuclear weapons ambitions and rightly so.

There is absolutely no disagreement and no dispute over the fact that Iran is keeping open its nuclear weapons option by continuing to develop various technical capabilities that each day bring it closer to being able to produce nuclear weapons should it decide to do so.

My discussions in Jordan and Israel also focused on Iran's effort to destabilize governments friendly to the West through its proxies, particularly Hezbollah and Hamas. This came as no surprise. We know that Hezbollah is the largest recipient of Iranian financial aid, training and weaponry and that Iran's senior leadership has cited Hezbollah as a model for other militant groups.

Iran also provides training, weapons and money to Hamas to support its armed resistance to Israel and its implacable opposition to any Israeli Palestinian peace negotiations. We all know about the successful efforts last week by Hezbollah to collapse the Saad Hariri's government in Lebanon over the UN investigation into his father's assassination.

In addition to Iran's nuclear weapons program and its support for terrorism a third topic that arose on the trip was the nature of the Islamic Republic itself. Frankly, less attention is paid to this topic these days.

It seems that international attention crested a few years ago with the green movement when it seemed possible the democratic forces inside Iran might actually topple the regime or at least fundamentally change the relationship between God, the state and the people.

We all know what happened. The response of the Iranian government to this political challenge was to conduct massive voter fraud in the June 2009 election. In response the people poured out into the streets in large scale demonstrations.

Conservative hardliners reacted by cracking down on protesters and regime opponents. Supreme Leader Khamenei and President Ahmadinejad

and their hard line conservative allies then moved to consolidate their power even more.

By early 2010 the green movement had lost momentum and it appeared that the opposition had missed its moment. Let me quote from a CIA report from last year that described the Iranian regime in the following terms at this moment.

Strengthen conservative control will limit opportunities for reformers to participate in politics or organizing opposition. The regime will work to marginalize opposition leaks, disrupt organized dissent and use force to put down unrest.

That was last year. What about this year? Has anything changed? Will the international economic sanctions galvanize the people to opposing the regime, has the opposition regrouped and reorganized? Is the green movement an effective force for challenging Ahmadinejad? The answer I received from US officials across the region last week was no.

International sanctions and pressure have aggravated Iran's economic woes by disrupting and increasing the cost of doing international business, slowing some projects and programs

The United States needs to target its criticism at Iranian leaders and policies and not at the Iranian nation

and contributing to Iran's economic slowdown but their assessment is that even stricter economic sanctions by themselves will not bring down the government.

Iran's economy has been hurt by the sanctions, soft oil prices and longstanding policies that discourage the private sector and foreign investment but the assessment is that the economy is not in crisis or at least not yet. Iran retains foreign currency reserves to hedge a moderate fall in world oil prices.

Teheran has also reverted to doing business with small non-western banks and dealing in non-US currencies for many transactions. They are trying to insulate the poorest and lowest classes from the budget cuts and removal of state subsidies. Even if there is rising political disaffection among the people the assessment is that this will not bring down this government.

The students and opposition political class are seen as disorganized and not strong enough to mobilize, take their protest to the street and challenge the government. That's a pretty discouraging assessment but is it accurate?

Let me offer up an alternative assessment. Let's start with an uncomfortable fact, the fact that



no one in the US government or across the Arab world predicted what we have just seen occur in Tunisia, no one.

A useful starting point when we look at Iran and that we need a huge dose of humility at how poor we are at predicting popular uprising, as Yogi Berra once said: Prediction is very hard, especially about the future.

So I think it is entirely possible that the US view is wrong and that we may see a resurgence of the opposition movement in the coming years, maybe even sooner. What we witnessed in 2008, 2009 may be only the first phase of this opposition, not the final phase. None of the key issues from the June 2009 election have been resolved, not the best economic model for Iran, not the Islamic nature of the regime and the proper role for religious authority and not even the outcome of the election itself. All

of these issues continue to fester. It's also worth noting that Iran still has an educated and restless middle class. Iran has millions of young people.

Approximately 70 percent of the population is under the age of 30 years old. These young people have access to the internet daily. This is not a society that wants to be associated with a regime that stones women to death. If there have going to be another wave of protests what might be the trigger?

My view is that there won't be any single event that prompts the opposition into action but rather the slow accumulation of hardships, indignities, insults and humiliations, economic hard times combined with food scarcity, rising inflation and rising unemployment and underemployment may lead initially to sporadic protests.

We may start to see these as soon as this summer when university students are out of school and temperatures start to rise or it may be that the tipping point will be if or when the regime announces there will be no more parliamentary or presidential elections. The point here is that we can't know for sure but it would be mistaken to think that the status quo will hold forever.





Finally is there anything the United States can do to assist the opposition? Let me offer a few ideas. The Obama administration should continue to tighten the economic noose around this regime and all other governments to do the same. Last week the Secretary of State announced the sanctions were having an impact on Iran's economic behavior.

The administration needs to continue and intensify these efforts. Second, the United States needs to target its criticism at Iranian leaders and policies and not at the Iranian nation. What I have in mind here is calibrating our official statements so that they do not inflame Iranian nationalism or allow Ahmadinejad to exploit our statements to solidify his own power.

Efforts to expose corruption at the highest levels would be an example of what I have in mind but more broadly the Obama administration needs to talk up and take up the banner of human rights and democracy and at the very least give greater rhetorical support to the opposition movement. Substantive support for the opposition would also be welcome.

In the past the Obama administration appeared reluctant to support Iranian opposition movements for fear that -- (indiscernible) having spent a lot part of my career in association with some bad actors supporting the opposition would give any American negotiator more leverage, not less leverage at the negotiating table.

Whether or not you believe that we have one year, two years, three years or more before Iran will be in a position to acquire nuclear weapons, there is still to no reason to be shy about doing more to support the Iranian opposition. A good first step would be delisting the MEK.

Third, we need to promote free access to the internet and the free flow of information from outside Iran and especially within Iran and I'm talking about Twitter, Face Book, My Space and all the other technologies that were mentioned earlier. Also the impact that these technologies can have when they are aligned with the forces of freedom.

My sense is that many Iranians want to be part of the international community, they want to be integrated more closely into the economic dynamism of the region and want to become full members of the 21st century. We need to do more to help them.

Louis Freeh

We are moving very rapidly to that demarcation and to that critical point and our goal, our hope is that it ends in a peaceful but successful and sustained way, that this regime is undermined and is defeated

Excerpts from speech - Washington, January 20

I was appointed by two presidents, one a Democrat and one a Republican and many of my colleagues have served in both administrations of Republicans and Democrats.

What I wanted to do is to give you a case study which is a case which is how almost ten years old, Khobar Towers bombing, but which has great relevance to many of the subjects we've discussed here today.

The last time I spoke about the Khobar case in Washington, D.C. I was actually testifying in a trial. This was a particularly interesting trial because we were asked by the State Department and the Justice Department to please not testify. It was a little bit of an unusual request.

In 1996 when Khobar Towers was attacked it was attacked by a group of Saudi Hezbollah members and that was discovered fairly shortly after the events because the host country, the kingdom of Saudi Arabia had detained and arrested several of the actors who said yes, we were recruited by the IRGC (Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps), we were trained in the Bekaa, we got our passports at the Iranian embassy in Damascus and we got \$100,000 in cash from General Sharifi in the IRGC.

This took a long time to get sorted out but although it was evidence of a crime it was also very substantial proof that the attack in June of 1996 was an attack by the government of Iran against the United States of America.

This was the period as some of my colleagues have noted where the rapprochement and the new moderate government appeared to be taking place, government under which all these nuclear reactors were built. So I recall getting a phone call one morning from the Secretary of State and she said the Iranians are complaining because your FBI agents are fingerprinting them when they come into the United States. I said of course, we've been doing that for a long period of time because as you know, Madam Secretary, the MOIS agents sometimes come in with the wrestling team, usually the guy who is a little bit unfit but he's the MOIS agent and that's why we fingerprint him. You have to stop because they are very upset. This was the mood, this was the policy, not an incorrect one perhaps because I agree with my colleagues that the opportunity for discussion and compromise and diplomacy is very important but we never got there during this period of time. It was an ineffective policy.

The permission that we finally received by the Saudi government to interview the detainees was really the result of us using channels outside of the government and outside of the administration because we could not get any assistance within the administration with respect to making the request and the reason was simple. They did not want to confront the fact and the reality that the Iranian government had murdered 19 Americans and blown up Khobar Towers. As investigators we accepted that. That's a foreign policy matter which goes way beyond our jurisdiction and our pay grade.

This is a historical (unclear) of that policy which in many respects continues today (unclear) a new administration with regard to the MEK listing, with regard to Camp Ashraf and with regard to this lack of clarity and lack of purpose in terms of achieving very basic objectives here.

After we finally got access to the detainees, we interviewed them and they laid out in very good detail in an evidentiary fashion exactly what had happened and we felt we had at that point proof to indict a number of people under our extraterritorial antiterrorism laws for the murder of 19 Americans. We got all this information together. The AGNI went to see the National Security Advisor of the United States and when I told him what we had it was a very interesting and unforgettable reaction. He looked at me and said who knows about this? All of us here in Washington get asked a lot of questions.

For me that was the strangest question that I got in the nine years that I was here. Who knows about this? I said, you know about it now, I know about it, the Attorney General of the United States and probably a couple of hundred FBI agents. The reaction was one of regret and one of disappointment, not because people had been murdered and couldn't be brought to trial, but because they were members of the IRGC. The sanctions (on Iran) are not going to be perfect. I don't know whether the subsidies away from the gas and the food prices are because of the sanctions and they will certainly impact adversely on the Iranian people. There is no perfect solution, there is no one solution. It's going to be a combination of all these things but I think we are moving very rapidly to that demarcation and to that critical point and our goal, our hope is that it ends in a peaceful but successful and sustained way, that this regime is undermined and is defeated but by the means I think that everyone here has talked about.



A majority in the Belgian Senate urges US remove PMOI from blacklist, guarantee protection of Ashraf



Senator Dirk Claes presenting the statement signed by Belgian senators to Mrs. Maryam Rajavi

Sen. Dirk Claes

We senators have called on our government to press on the US government to follow the example of Europe and remove PMOI from the blacklist. We also strongly have called on the UN to take responsibility of Ashraf

Some years ago when we begun challenging the blacklisting of the PMOI, in Belgium and in Europe, we were very few. We had a hard job, both in national parliaments and certainly in the European parliament. I remember Mr. Stevenson Mr. Casaca and Mr. Quadras were the three senior and brave politicians who worked so hard in the European Parliament, thanks for all your work.

We, in Belgium, passed several resolutions, in both Houses, in the Chamber and the Senate, calling for the removal of the PMOI from the terrorist lists. And finally after the Iranian Resistance under the excellent leadership of Mrs. Rajavi, in several court decisions in Britain and Europe the name of the PMOI was removed from all the blacklists in Europe in 2009.

Now after those hard days we see that the international support for our campaign is worldwide and is growing day by day. In Belgium we have recently obtained the support of the majority of the senators from all political parties for Ashraf and the PMOI and the third option of Mrs. Rajavi. So it's my great pleasure to present the support of the Belgian senators to Mrs. Rajavi.



Senate of Belgium,

Whereas 3,500 members of parliament on both sides of the Atlantic have signed a declaration in support of the residents of Camp Ashraf, Iraq, underscoring the imperative of providing and guaranteeing the residents' protection by the forces of the United Nations and the United States, while expressing support for the Third Option as proposed by the President-elect of the National Council of Resistance of Iran, Mrs. Maryam Rajavi;

Whereas the European Parliament passed a resolution on April 24, 2009 resolution on Camp Ashraf, where 3,400 Iranian dissidents, including 1,000 women, reside in Iraq as protected persons under the Fourth Geneva Convention;

Whereas, the Iranian opposition People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI/MEK) was removed from blacklists in the United Kingdom and the European Union in 2008 and 2009, respectively, following a series of court rulings;

- A. Since relatives of Camp Ashraf residents have been sentenced to death by the Iranian regime after visiting the camp;
- B. Since the Iraqi government has continued its inhumane siege on Ashraf, which began in early 2009 and has created a serious risk for the perpetration of a massacre against the residents;
- C. Since restrictions are imposed against Ashraf by using the pretext of the PMOI's listing in the US;
- D. Since in its July 2010 ruling in favor of the PMOI, the US Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia ordered the State Department to review its decision to blacklist the organization;

1. We call on the government of Belgium to:

- Urge the US government to remove the PMOI from its blacklist;
- Urge the US to guarantee Ashraf's protection and call on the UN to establish a monitoring team in the camp;

2. We call on the UN Secretary General and the United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq (UNAMI) to reaffirm the legal status of Ashraf residents as protected persons under the Fourth Geneva Convention, while prohibiting any forcible displacement of the residents inside Iraq or the perpetration of violence against them.

Two PMOI affiliated political prisoners hanged



Mohammad Ali Haj-Aghaei, 52

Iranian regime's state-run news agency, Jan 24:

They were charged with visiting Camp Ashraf, involvement in activities in support of PMOI including putting up the messages of PMOI's leader, taking films from graffiti on the walls in support of PMOI and from protest gatherings, collecting funds and publicity activities in support of the group, putting up pictures for PMOI



Jaafar Kazemi, 47

Jaafar Kazemi, 47, a political prisoner for 11 years, was in prison from 1982 to 1991 and he was again arrested in August 2009 and held in solitary confinement of Ward 209 of Evin prison. He was subjected to variety of tortures and pressures for a year and a half. The regime's henchmen put him under pressure to take part in revolting stage managed shows and kangaroo trials to give force confessions, but they failed. Finally they sentenced him to death with an empty file. Kazemi's main "crime", as described by the regime's prosecutor, was to visit Ashraf and meet with his son, Behrouz, who is currently in Ashraf.

Mohammad Ali Haj-Aqai, 52, spent 7 years in prisons of the regime. He was in jail from 1983 to 1988 and in December 2009, during Ashura uprising, he was rearrested and sentenced to death as 'mohareb' (enemy of God) for visiting Ashraf and participating in demonstrations.

Mohammad Ali Haj-Aqai who was being sought for arrest by the Iranian regime sought refuge at Camp Ashraf in Iraq in January 2009. At the

same time US forces transferred control of Ashraf to Iraqi forces and the Iraqi committee in charge of suppressing Ashraf at Iraq's prime ministry forced Haj-Aqai to return to Iran. This issue was brought up many times by representatives of Ashraf in meetings with Iraqi and US force commanders in a period of 3 months leading up to Haj-Aqai's return. Ashraf representatives informed Colonel Jones, then commander of US forces and Lt-Colonel Amir Abdul-Latif, then Iraqi commander, that Haj-Aqai and three other persons that had come to Ashraf recently from Iran would be arrested and executed if forced to return.

Despite all the warnings, Iraqi forces, on orders from the Iraqi committee in charge of suppressing Ashraf at Iraq's prime ministry, in clear violation of international covenants on refugees and humanitarian law, forced Haj-Aqai and three other persons to leave Ashraf and return to Iran on April 25, 2009 on grounds that they do not have any past record of presence in Ashraf.

Amnesty International strongly condemns executions

24 January 2011

Excerpts

Amnesty International has condemned the executions of two political activists who were arrested in September 2009 during mass protests following Iran's disputed presidential election..

Ja'far Kazemi and Mohammad Ali Haj Aghaei are reported to have been hanged this morning at Tehran's Evin Prison. Both men had been convicted of moharebeh (enmity against God), "propaganda against the system" and having contacts with a banned opposition group, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI).

"We are appalled by the executions of Ja'far Kazemi and Mohammad Ali Haj Aghaei, as we are appalled by the continuing use in Iran of this most cruel and extreme penalty," said Malcolm Smart, Amnesty International's director for the Middle East and North Africa.

According to some reports, Ja'far Kazemi was tortured for months by his interrogators at Evin Prison to force him to make a televised "confession" but he refused to do so.

Before they were arrested both men had visited members of their families who live in Camp Ashraf in Iraq, where some 3,400 members and supporters of the PMOI live in exile. Ja'far Kazemi's son lives at the Camp, which is located some 60km north of Baghdad.

For months, the residents of Camp Ashraf have been subject to constant harassment, pressure and siege like conditions by the Iraqi authorities, who wish them to leave Iraq. They would be at very serious risk if forced to return to Iran.



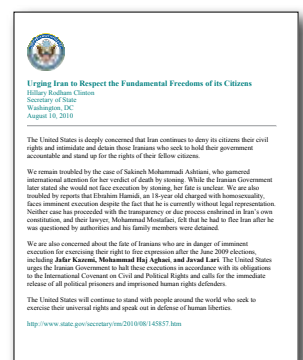
British Foreign Office Minister for the Middle East condemns executions in Iran



"I condemn today's execution in Iran of Jafar Kazemi and Mohammad Ali Haj-Aghaie. They were arrested during the unrest that followed the 2009 election and I am particularly concerned by reports that they were executed for political offences."

Secretary Clinton concerned

On August 10, 2010, Secretary Clinton issued a statement stressing, "We are also concerned about the fate of Iranians who are in danger of imminent execution for exercising their right to free expression after the June 2009 elections, including Jafar Kazemi, Mohammad Haj Aghaei, and Javad Lari. The United States urges the Iranian Government to halt these executions."



Highlights of remarks by dignitaries attending Washington and Brussels conferences

Struan Stevenson:

"The mullahs believe they can handle the West but they don't know how to deal with the PMOI. That's why the mullahs' number one target is that iconic symbol of resistance, Camp Ashraf and its 3,400 courageous residents."

Sen. Dirk Claes (quoting Belgian Senate declaration):

"We call on UN Secretary General and UNAMI to reaffirm the legal status of Ashraf residents as protected persons under the Fourth Geneva Convention."

Alejo Vidal-Quadras:

"There exists a well organized, powerful and committed opposition movement inside the country. Highly motivated and promoting a political program for Iran that any of us would sign right now, and blessed with a strong and inspiring leader who we know and who we fully trust... We must support Maryam Rajavi and the NCRI."

Michael Mukasey:

"PMOI is a moderate Islamic organization committed to create a secular, democratic, nuclear-free Iran. And yet instead of help and encouragement for PMOI, the United States lists PMOI as a foreign terrorist organization and in doing that provides help and cover to the Iranian regime in carrying out executions. It is important to remove designation quickly before Iran can wear down Ashraf residents."

General James Jones:

"Three men were execution whose only crime was the passion to be free, to be with their families and to visit their relatives in Ashraf... The legitimate concern for all people in Camp Ashraf, and the Iraqi pledges to the United States for their safety and security, needs to be recognized and revitalized."

Bill Richardson:

"It does make sense to delist the PMOI as being a terrorist organization. We need to find a solution to avert a humanitarian crisis of Camp Ashraf."

John Bolton:

"The declared and unequivocal policy of the USA should be the overthrow of the regime in Tehran. The evidence is unequivocal that when the PMOI was added to the list of foreign terrorist organisations, it was added under a very strongly held view that so doing would make the rulers in Tehran more amenable to the policies that the Clinton administration wanted to pursue, more amenable to engagement. If that was the calculation, it failed unambiguously."

Dell Dailey:

"My first concern is humanitarian conditions in Ashraf. Iraqi government continues the raids into Camp Ashraf because the US has identified the occupants as terrorists. This is poor inconsistent foreign policy! It is appropriate for the secretary of states to fix this gross embarrassment and obviously painful error as soon as possible."

Paulo Casaca:

"We have to get the PMOI off the terrorist list also in the US We have to protect PMOI members in Ashraf. we have to protect them against these ongoing torture and we have to do it right now."

Irene Khan:

"The Camp is under constant pressure, threats and attacks have continued... It is now incumbent on UN member States in particular on Iraq and the US to make it possible for the UN to establish a presence there and be there. The Iraqi Government must be held accountable to its treatment of the residents."

Ruth Wedgwood:

"The demand for Ashraf residents' protection is certainly well founded in law as well as in morals. The UN should be more vocal. UNAMI needs a presence in the Camp 24/7. There needs to be the presence of an American military outpost."

Jan Zahradil:

"Before the World War II my country then was in fact sold to the Nazi Germany by those who wanted to appease the forces of evil rather than to fight them... We have experienced similar situations in the past many times, and we all know that appeasement leads us nowhere when fighting so called forces of evil."

Juan Garcés:

"What is tormenting for the residents of Ashraf is the psychological torture imposed on them right now. Ashraf residents have not in return retaliated in violence but depend on Law to give them protection."

Tom Ridge:

"The resistance and the PMOI are not looking for money, they are not looking for arms. They just want the freedom to speak. Delist the MEK and let them take the voices of freedom to the street."

Louis Freeh:

"This is an anecdotal but historical confusion of that policy which in many respects continues today through a new administration with regard to the PMOI listing, with regard to Camp Ashraf."

James Woolsey:

"We should no longer keep the PMOI listed as a terrorist organization... the D.C. Circuit Court's decision in the case involving the PMOI versus the State Department.. effectively says what the Department of State has done is what the Red Queen does in Alice in Wonderland when she is asked if first we're going to have the trial and the verdict and then the execution she says no, execution first, then trial."

General Anthony Zinni:

"What you are going to hear is the need to remove the MEK from this list of terrorist. This regime is not that afraid of international pressures and sanctions. They fear the opposition more than anything else."

Mitchell Reiss:

"Having spent a large part of my career in negotiations with some pretty bad actors, supporting the opposition would give any American negotiator more leverage, not less leverage at the negotiating table. A good first step would be delisting the MEK."

Robert Torricelli:

"The listing of the MEK as a terrorist organization by the US is wrong. It is wrong as a matter of law, it is contrary to the facts, it is interfering with the rights of American citizens to be heard."