

THE MYTH OF THE THIRD WAY Responses to the Mojahedin's new policy statement

Respect for human rights in any country must spring forth through the will of the people and as part of a genuine democratic process. Such respect can never be imposed by foreign might and coercion – an approach that abounds in contradictions. Not only would a foreign invasion of Iran vitiate popular support for human rights activism, but by destroying civilian lives, institutions and infrastructure, war would also usher in chaos and instability. Respect for human rights is likely to be among the first casualties. ... the most effective way to promote human rights in Iran is to provide moral support and international recognition to independent human rights defenders and to insist that Iran adhere to the international human rights laws and conventions that it has signed. Shirin Ebadi and Hadi Ghaemi, *The New York Times*, February 8.

What Iranians say:

Any invasion or bombing of Iran will increase militarism, strengthen the grip of religious fanatics over the state and nation, and further erode democratic and human rights in Iran.

(<http://www.petitiononline.com/IranOPL/petition.html>)

What the MKO says:

Those with vested interests in the status quo assert that change in Iran could only come through a military intervention similar to Iraq and, therefore, advocate continuing the policy of conciliation. ...There is a third option: If foreign obstacles are removed, the Iranian people and their organized resistance have the capability to bring about change. This is the only way to prevent foreign invasion. ...the People's Mojahedin, (a member of the NCRI) is the pivotal force within the Resistance... ...The terrorist tag on the People's Mojahedin is politically and morally unwarranted ...This

movement, with its democratic interpretation of Islam, is the antithesis to fundamentalism and advocates a pluralistic state on the basis of the separation of Church and State. ...the Western policy of appeasing of the clerical regime has seriously impeded change in Iran

The US position:

Iran is the world's primary state sponsor of terror [that is, Iran does not recognize the state of Israel] ...the administration has not yet presented a clear-cut strategy for dealing with Iran, instead hinting alternately that the solution may be European-led negotiations with Tehran, an Israeli military attack or a rebellion led by the Iranian opposition ...In place of negotiations, the administration and many members of Congress seem to be suggesting that the Iranian people should revolt – Mark Palmer former State Dept official: "We need to find all the ways we can to support and encourage the Iranian people to stand up for

their rights." ...David Kay [former weapons inspector in Iraq] recommended that the administration safeguard the quality of its intelligence on Iran by involving respected outside experts in its assessment. He also warned that the United States would only invite international derision by relying Iranian exiles for material to support its case, as it relied on Iraqi expatriates in 2003. ...The CIA is... resisting the recruitment of agents from the MEK because senior officers regard them as unreliable cultists under the sway of Rajavi and her husband.

Abolhassan Banisadr, first post-revolution president of Iran:

If the Third Way presented by Rajavi's group is not based on supporting them in the context of a US attack on Iran, it will leave the dead body of this organization on the hands of US government. In a recent MKO television broadcast, Mehdi Abrishamchi (MKO's liaison

EDITORIAL



The dominant theme for the big powers, USA, Europe and Russia for the past few weeks has been 'what to do with Iran'. Among the proposals and arguments over Iran's nuclear power program have been suggestions that the USA support Iranian opposition groups to bring about regime change. As well as monarchists, republicans and students, the Mojahedin has also been touted as a means to this end.

Never shy about coming forward, the Mojahedin jumped firmly onto this bandwagon last month as a possible means to secure its own future. Apparently abandoning overnight its thirty year history of armed struggle, the Mojahedin proposed a Third Way. "If foreign obstacles are removed" said Maryam Rajavi, "the Iranian people and their organized resistance have the capability to bring about change. This is the only way to prevent foreign invasion."

What are the 'foreign obstacles' and what is meant by the Iranian people's 'organized resistance'? It is clear that violence has not been ruled out, only 'foreign invasion' – which sits in stark contrast to the stance every other Iranian opposition which, while supporting regime change renounces violence as a solution.

Mrs Rajavi's message become a little more clear when we learn that "the People's Mojahedin is the pivotal force

within the Resistance". Now, isn't there a world of difference between resistance by the Iranian people and 'the Resistance' - which of course is Massoud Rajavi's catch-all to describe the people and the organisational groupings under his hegemony. But when it is further announced that "the terrorist tag on the People's Mojahedin is politically and morally unwarranted", the game plan becomes totally transparent. In her Third Way, Maryam Rajavi is not talking about Iran or Iranians or what could or should be done to affect regime change or curtail Iran's nuclear ambitions. She is making a plea for the Mojahedin to be removed from international terrorist lists in exchange for being used as a mercenary force against Iran. Two hiccups loom large in this plan, the first was beautifully described by Gary Sick in a recent interview: "Everybody I've ever talked to in Iran or who have gone to Iran tell me

without exception that these people are despised." So much for the people's 'organized resistance'.

The other obstacle – which is starkly obvious – is that in twenty-five years, even with the full military and financial backing of Saddam Hussein and at a time when the Iranian people were under even greater pressure than now, the Mojahedin singularly failed to effect regime change in Iran when that was its single aim.

Our lead article this month looks at this Third Way from various perspectives. Maryam Khoshnevis' article The Third Phase – Mercenaries explores another 'third' for the MKO, as she describes the evolution of the MKO's current position. And also, the third and final part of the MKO dissidents' interview with international media is published.

In the third month of 2005, that is enough threes!

The Myth of the Third Way

officer with Saddam's Secret Services for over 20 Years) said: "At the end of the day we will strike a deal with those who have put us in the terrorism list". The Mojahedin's so called Third Way is nothing more than shamefully demanding military intervention in Iran by the US. It is undeniable that without this intervention the MKO cannot find any way into Iran. But even with the support of such intervention, the MKO's presence would only antagonise the people of Iran against Americans. If there is such a concept as the Third Way, it would

take the form of giving support to the Iranian opposition for a 'velvet revolution'. This would naturally involve all the opposition groups; monarchists, republicans, leftists and others, each of which have some support inside or outside Iran. But not the MKO. Historically the MKO is hated and despised by Iranians both inside and outside Iran. That is why we see all kinds of dialogue and discussion between the various opposition groups, but the MKO is never present and is never invited. Supporting the MKO means opposing and denying all the

other opposition groups. Supporting the MKO's armed struggle means rejecting change with the backing of the Iranian people. This is the best present you can give to the hardliners of Iranian politics. The hardliners in Iran have used the MKO for over 20 years using the argument that the so called opposition is that which would fight against its own country alongside Saddam Hussein. Supporting the MKO now serves as a reminder of Saddam's support for the group. If they could not do it with the backing of Saddam's army - and they tried their utmost several times – how

can anyone believe that supporting them now does not mean military intervention by the USA. This is the worst kind of attack you can make on the real opposition who will have to either side with the regime against a foreign enemy, or lose their credibility altogether. Rajavi and others know full well that this Third Way (supporting a small number of terrorists) is nothing other than the Second Way: military attack. Now that the American president has openly downgraded the possibility of such attack, the focus should be on helping Iran's real opposition. And the first step is to rid them of hated people like the MKO.

Mohammad Hossein Sobhani, Germany:

The Mojahedin has always opposed non-violent Iranian opposition groups and movements, and labels them appeasers of the mullahs regime. Reformers and moderates alike are accused of 'working for the regime'. This is because Massoud Rajavi will be automatically pushed aside if a political solution is found to Iran's constitutional deadlock. If it is resolved politically through the will of the people, he will never be the country's chosen leader. His only hope is the military removal of Iran's constitutional rulers and their replacement by

his own form of rule. But, certainly the cost of the war in Iraq in both personnel and financial terms militates against further military intervention in the region. Massoud Rajavi knows the US threats are unrealistic, and because of this he has called, through his wife, for the Third Way, which purportedly avoids an invasion by foreign forces. But Rajavi is not thinking about the people of Iran, he is advertising his organisation as a mercenary force to potential buyers. His sales pitch is that 'the US can't attack Iran but we can, and while keeping a democratic face'. Rajavi's representative Mojgan Parsaii has said the National Liberation Army is ready. Give us money, weapons and leave toppling the regime to us. This is what they really mean by democratic change or the Third Way. Reading between the lines of this offer you can see their army is standing in quicksand in Iraq and that after the recent election of a majority of Shiites and Kurds, it is quite naïve to talk of a Mojahedin army in Iraq. While there are some in the Pentagon who still believe the MKO can provide people for spying and sabotage, both hawks and doves agree that the MKO cannot be categorized as an opposition or an alternative for Iran. Whatever is proposed, the Pentagon faces several obstacles to using the MKO. The MKO: is listed as a

terrorist organisation is hated inside Iran is hated outside Iran – republicans, monarchists, nationalists, religious groups, the Fedayeen, the Communist Workers' Party – no-one will touch them because of the MKO's anti-nationalism, contempt for Iran's people and non-negotiable hegemony in its dealings. What exactly is meant by the phrase 'the Iranian people and their organized resistance have the capability to bring about change', when the MKO is so universally hated by Iranians. Of course, the biggest obstacle to using the MKO is that it is demanding its salary in power [in Iran] rather than just in opposition status – it will not end with removing them from the terrorist lists. In reality the way to bring about change in Iran – as with any country – is through the political and social movements of its own people employing non-violent methods of civil disobedience and negative actions such as strikes. Not only will military action - on any scale and with whatever force - fail to effect the desired change, it will destroy the current progress of these movements and compound the deadlock on change.

Maryam Khoshnevis, Sweden:

What is the Third Way? Mrs Rajavi's Third Way, as a solution to the impasse faced by the MKO since the fall of



NEW THEOLOGICAL EXPRESSION FROM THE CULT

Mrs Maryam Rajavi says:

“Whoever casts doubt on the existence of a unique God may be forgiven; but whoever casts doubts on the uniqueness of Mr Massoud Rajavi will not be forgiven, because God is not tangible and cannot be seen, but Mr Rajavi is present and can be met.”

Saddam, could not be more vague, unreasonable and indefensible. The MKO sect is based on a militant, reactionary ideology theorized by Massoud and Maryam. Therefore any solution proposed by them could not be without violence and terrorism. They never give analyses of their proposals. If they did, they would have to openly admit terrorism as their strategy which would make life even more difficult for them than it already is. The MKO has always maintained that dialogue or rapprochement does not work with Iran. Yet it now pretends to reject a military option and instead introduce a Third Way which says the west should not engage with Iran, it should support the indigenous opposition. The emphasis is that this can only work if the MKO is taken off the terrorist list. This condition is stressed without actually explaining what this Third Way actually means. Considering Iranian society exactly what is the MKO's approach? Exactly what mechanism is it proposing for change? We assume that, if not an accepted part of the Iranian people's demands, the Third Way will obviously not work.

About the MKO

What happens inside the MKO sect it considers to be its utmost secrets which should never be revealed. This is because it would reveal conditions which amount to a modern slavery thereby nullifying its claim to be democratic, moderate or progressive. The sect's efforts to suppress this paradox means it is in constant contradiction and will one day burn in the fire it has created. Even today the eyes and throat of the MKO is burning from the smoke of this fire. Inside the sect, loyalty to the indoctrinated theory of Rajavi's Ideological Revolution is more important than accepting the fundamentals of the religion such as belief in God. Maryam says, "Whoever casts doubt on the existence of a unique God may be forgiven, but whoever casts doubt on the uniqueness of Mr Massoud Rajavi will not be forgiven, because God is not tan-

gible and cannot be seen, but Mr Rajavi is present and can be met." A sect built on such rubbish can produce nothing other than dictatorship, indoctrination, psychological manipulation, torture and imprisonment, and replacing the individual's identity with an organizational identity. In this world view, anyone who does not submit to this ideology is said to lack understanding. MKO members naturally see themselves as superior to everybody else in the world. They are given a gun and programmed to open up the way for the cult's survival and evolution. It is the height of tragedy when one person believes that society should be corrected according to his own understanding by the force of arms. When these combatants hit a wall which they cannot penetrate, their organizational order is to crush their cyanide tablets and 'free' themselves or to 'burn themselves' and become 'eternal'. Rajavi's totalitarian sect presents not only an obstacle to Iranian opposition groups, it is an obstacle in front of humanity. Rajavi accepts nothing but total slave-like submission and lives on the blood of others' sacrifices. This blood sucking has only one aim and that is power. Certainly this is not a new phenomenon in history. Those who wish to use them as mercenaries should further investigate their nature, ideology and agendas so they would not be disappointed and shocked by what they find in their hands.

What do the people of Iran want?

Whatever it is, it is far away from what the MKO stands for, and is in fact the opposite of that. The day the MKO took up arms from Baghdad was the day it stood in front of the Iranian people. It cannot claim to be on the side of Iranian people let alone claim to be their rescuers. The MKO is to Iranians as the Taliban and Bin Laden was to Afghans, and as Saddam was to Iraqis. You don't have to be a genius to work this out.

What, then, is the Third Way?

Considering the above, surely it is

imperative to ask Mrs Rajavi herself to explain the mechanism of her proposal. The MEPs who have listened to her in Europe should ask what the MKO proposed previously to achieve this regime change. Why do the people of Iran despise them and reject them? If democracy in Iran was supposed to have been achieved by MKO arms, why is it that Mr Rajavi declared to Saddam Hussein "Our relation with you is not based only on strategy and goals, we are the same spirit in two bodies". (Extract from film of Rajavi and General Haboush).

The truth is another thing.

Mrs. Rajavi and the sect under her command do not believe in their own proposal and are therefore incapable of giving a detailed explanation of the practicalities of the Third Way. Rajavi knows better than anybody that the success of an opposition force depends on its popularity, the accountability of its leadership and whether it is perceived as trustworthy once in power. In all these factors the MKO has failed miserably – which even the MKO's own supporters do not dispute. They would not expect a snake to give birth to a dove. The Rajavi sect is desperately waiting for a military attack on Iran so that it might gain something from the differences between what it labels the Imperialists and the Reactionaries. (The labels stem from the cult's belief in its own superiority.) Not long ago the MKO labeled the ruling reactionaries as road makers for the Imperialists and thus placed its struggle against Reactionaries above its struggle against Imperialists. Now that the Imperialists are showing their teeth and claws to the Reactionaries, the Revolutionary MKO sits like a vulture dreaming of a war so that it can eat. To hide this unpalatable truth, it plays with the idea of a Third Way, pretending to be democratic and anti-war so that the way for its use as a mercenary force – remove it from the international terrorist list – is opened up and they can be employed more readily. ■

NEWS IN BRIEF

Letter to the International Herald Tribune

1 February, Amir Naghshineh-Pour, San Diego, California

The terrorist organization headed by Maryam Rajavi ("Empower Iran's opposition forces," Views, Jan. 28) is very much comparable to the mullahs that currently rule Iran. Their history clearly indicates that they committed crimes against the Iranian people and how they allied themselves with one of the world's cruelest dictators, Saddam Hussein. This terrorist organization has no support among the Iranians. They have no place in Iran.

MKO Paris Demonstration Cancelled

5 February, Irandidban website

French authorities cancelled an MKO demonstration which was to be held on February 10.

The move came after authorities had three weeks ago agreed to the demonstration in Paris.

On Fublacht newspaper wrote, a statement by the MKO said that "30000 Iranian exiles are to rush into Paris on February 10 to take part in a demonstration. The National Council of Resistance, organizer of this demonstration, calls for international support."

Over previous days the MKO's TV channel has tried to attract foreign citizens by promising to pay the costs of travel and accommodation in Paris.

Producers threatened by MKO over broadcast

6 February, In the Claws of the Mojahedin, Channel One TV, the Netherlands

Dutch TV broadcast a twenty eight minute documentary on the sect nature of the Mojahedin organization. The program, comprising interviews with Massoud Jaabani and Anne Singleton, talked about their experiences of psychological manipulation inside the organization.

The program's producers were stunned when they received abuse and threats by the Mojahedin even before the program was broadcast. This was followed by a concerted wave of verbal attacks by Iranians who all claimed to have nothing to do with the MKO.

Massoud Jaabani was a member of the MKO for twenty years. He currently works as a psychologist in the Netherlands and contributes to the Long Walk to Freedom organisation which supports refugees in the Netherlands. His book 'The Psychology of Armed Struggle' is published in March.

US seeks Iranian group as operatives against Tehran

Press Trust of India, New York, February 7, 2005

Members of an Iranian group known for its support of the US embassy takeover in 1979 may now be sought by the Bush administration as operatives for use against Tehran, a media



report said on Monday.

At a camp south of Baghdad called Ashraf, 3,850 members of the Mujahedin-e Khalq (People's Holy Warriors) or MEK have been confined, but gently treated by US forces since the invasion of Iraq, Newsweek said in its upcoming issue. Some Pentagon civilians and intelligence planners, Newsweek said, are hoping a corps of informants can be picked from among the MEK prisoners, then split away from the movement and given training as spies.

After that, the thinking goes, they will be sent back to their native Iran to gather intelligence on the Iranian clerical regime, particularly its efforts to develop nuclear weapons, the report said.

Maryam Rajavi, who heads the MEK with her husband Massoud, told the news magazine that her group is what America needs.

"I believe increasingly the Americans have come to realize that the solution is an Iranian force that is able to get rid of the Islamic fundamentalists in power in Iran," she said.

She is demanding that the MEK be taken off the State Department's list of terrorist organizations, their assets unfrozen and their energies unleashed, the report said.

However, CIA is resisting the recruitment of agents from the MEK because senior officers regard them as unreliable cultists under the sway of Rajavi and her husband.

Counter-MKO Picket in Köln

February 10, Roshana

A picket held by Roshana Association in Köln highlighted some hidden truths about the Mojahedin organisation. People were shocked to learn that the Iranian group had been under the protection of Saddam and that dissidents of the organization were kept in his prisons because they refused to accept to fight for Saddam against Iraqis.

Voice of America interviewed Ali Ghashghavi at the picket and he explained why they think the MKO is not fit to talk about Iranian politics after 20 years working for Saddam, and being involved in the massacre of Kurds and Iraqis, the torture and imprisonment of dissidents, and misusing and deceiving the democratic institutions of the EU and the USA.

MKO Demonstration in Berlin Curtailed

February 16, Expatica

A German court on Thursday lifted a police ban imposed on a demonstration by an Iranian opposition group, the National Council of Resistance of Iran.

The court ruled the march in Berlin could go ahead if a speaker was prevented from addressing the protest and inflammatory banners were barred. Officials said between 700 and 800 Iranians took part in the protest.

Earlier, the city's interior ministry said the group - which seeks the ouster of the Teheran government - planned to use the rally to build support for the Iranian People's Mujahedin-e Khalq which has been declared a terrorist organisation by the European Union.

Germany's domestic security agency, the Verfassungsschutz, says the People's Mujahedin is merely a wing of the National Council of Resistance (NCR).

The NCR had claimed in a statement that 40,000 people had planned to attend the Berlin rally.

Former MKO meet German MPs

17 February

A delegation consisting Messrs Akbar Akbari, Jamshid Tahmasbi and Farhad Javaheriyar met with German MP, Rainer Funke (FDP, Hamburg) in the Bundestag to talk about human rights in Iran and Iraq. Mr Funke is well informed about Iran and its history and the human rights issues involved. Mr Akbari described his three years in Abu Ghraib and the tortures he endured after he was handed over by Massoud Rajavi to Saddam's Intelligence Service headed by General Haboush.

Mr Funke showed concerned about the possibility of military attacks against Iran. Mr Javaheriyar rejected any military solution whether conducted directly or through mercenaries. Mr Funke expressed hope the delegation would meet with more parliamentarians and educate members about the delicate situation in Iran as well as the human rights issues. And he assured them that the parliamentarians support them.

MKO attack former member in the Netherlands

February 19

A meeting between a Christian priest and Mr Hadi Shams Haeri in Koningineweg in the Netherlands was interrupted by five MKO members who spotted him. These MKO supporters tried to dissuade the priest from talking to Mr Shams

Haeri, but when their efforts failed they started to attack the group verbally. They called for reinforcements and suddenly the priest, Mr Shams Haeri and his sister-in-law were surrounded by twenty angry MKO supporters and members. They managed to get into a car and drive away while rubbish was thrown at the car. The MKO were unable to harm them.

Humanitarian personalities and organizations condemned the actions of the MKO.

Mr Shams Haeri had arranged the meeting in order to help secure the release of his two children who are being held as hostages by Rajavi's cult in Iraq.

In a statement Mr Shams Haeri said, "although they use other names after being put on list of terrorists, the violent nature of the organization, its mercenary leader and the threat it poses to western democracies remains the same." He urged Iranians and others to expose the MKO under whatever false names they use in Europe and America.

Iranian academic wins apology from Mojahedin

February 24

Dr Ali Ansari, a leading UK academic, brought High Court proceedings against Zed Books Ltd over comments made in the book *Enemies of the Ayatollahs* by Mohammed Mohaddessin, a leading member of the Mojahedin cult. His solicitor, Julia Schopflin, said that on receiving Dr Ansari's complaint, the publisher accepted fully that there was no basis for what had been written about him and immediately offered him an apology. It had been agreed that a suitable sum would be paid to an appropriate charity and Dr Ansari's legal costs met in full.

The counsel for the publisher, Joanne Neenan, apologised for the damage and embarrassment caused by the allegations, which, she accepted, were completely untrue.

Zed had agreed not to republish them and all relevant copies of the book had been recalled and the offending material destroyed.

100 Mojahedin Successfully Repatriated – More Will Follow

February 28

The ICRC informed Iran Interlink that a new wave of voluntary repatriations of former MKO combatants in Iraq has begun. Today one hundred crossed the border at Khosravi, accompanied by officials of the ICRC, and Iraqi and Iranian humanitarian organization. The returnees are reported to be well and delighted to be home. They will soon be reunited with their families.

ICRC officials added that the process is ongoing and that, with the cooperation of the American Army, all the MKO combatants in Ashraf camp will be processed. Another group of voluntary repatriations is scheduled for next week. ■



RADIO MULTI CULTE

Report by Nasrin Basiri, 12 February

The French police say the association intended to celebrate the 26 th anniversary of the Iranian revolution with a demonstration in Paris. After publication of the leaflets and adverts in the papers it became clear that the aim was to demonstrate in support of the NCRI which is the loud-speaker of the MKO.

This organization is in the list of terrorist organizations which the European Union announced 12 December 2002. On the other hand the MKO demonstrations in Paris in 2003 had a bitter ending including the self burning of some of the demonstrators. As a result and considering the international situation, it is possible that this demonstration would end up violating public peace and order and should be stopped. In this respect the French police decided not to give permission to this demonstration. After this, the "human rights organization" published huge newspaper adverts and billboards all over the city of Berlin asking people to participate in a demonstration commemorating the 26 th anniversary of the Iranian Revolution and against the breach of human rights in Iran. In some other advertisements there were other new names also asking people. Tats, the German news-paper wrote that the NCRI and MKO are inviting people for a demo on 10 th Feb. On the Thursday morning German police announced that the NCRI demo is not permitted because there are serious concerns about the motives and the aims of the organizers and the announcers. On the morning of the same day a local court freed the demo but with conditions.

The conditions were:

- 1- Masoumeh Bolourchi (one of the heads of MKO) is not allowed to give speeches during the demo;
- 2- Demonstrators are not allowed to dis-

- play the MKO logo;
- 3- The demo should not walk and should be confined to one specific area;
- 4- The above conditions should be read clearly twice at the start and the finish of the demo.

We know that when the demo was supposed to be in Paris, the organizers had asked friends to join and had offered transport and a stay in a hotel. They had been told all expenses would be paid. An employee of a political refugee camp in Berlin said that they had been calling the refugees and ask them to participate emphasizing that all expenses would be paid by them.

With this in mind I set off for there... a lot of police around... the area is very quiet, no cars, no people. I get nearer and now see some small and big busses parked alongside the road. Many have been sitting inside and eating sandwiches. Some have transparent ponchos. They are most probably the organizers. I switch on my recorder and as I am passing the busses start asking. Can I ask why you are demonstrating? Where are you coming from? How did you know about the demonstration? Do you think that by giving power to Massoud and Maryam we would achieve democracy? Little by little the glossy pictures of Maryam and Massoud Rajavi are coming out and the slogan of "Iran, Rajavi - Rajavi, Iran".

There are about a thousand gathering around a podium. The loudspeakers are very strong. Maybe about the same number are scattered in the area. I get

the microphone near the mouth of about 60 to 70 people half with smile and half with annoyance, none want to talk. Half don't know Farsi or German. Two middle age French women have come from Paris and only speak French and repeat something and show the picture of Maryam Rajavi and ask me if I know her. Some black men are standing in the middle of the street. One has a rain coat with the map of Iran printed on it. On one side of the map is the picture of Maryam and the other side the picture of Massoud Rajavi. They don't want me to talk to them. They look afraid or nervous. Asking if they have come for the demonstration, they answer 'NO'. I point to their clothes and say, 'then what are these?' Without a word they pass beside me. Farther away a bearded man is looking at me. Then I get stuck with some young boys. Me first, me first. Me. Me. They come from Stuttgart and Nuremberg.

'We want freedom, we want freedom'... looks as if they met each other in the bus. I ask them, 'do we achieve freedom by Massoud and Maryam?' One says, 'I don't think so', the other says, 'I hope so', and the third advises that we should have unity... the man who was watching me has vanished.

I see a bunch who don't look like Iranians... I ask 'where have you come from?' One says from Dagestan. The other from Gergisestan and the other from Gorjestan.

Another young one starts repeating all the names of the former Soviet Union

and says 'from all of them, we are from every where'. They don't know German. A little English. I try to ask them why they have joined the demo? They look at each other and start translating my words to each other. One said it is against Bush. 'Bush is bad.'

A woman answers 'to get the Mojahedin out of list of terrorists. We have come to show who is terrorist.' A man who can barely talk says 'they have told us to bring as many people as possible because for every person, one thousand will demonstrate and god willing the regime will be toppled.'

Beside the road a few black men are standing and saying something in French. I ask them if they come from Paris. They nod their heads. They say they came from Belgium to participate. A fairly old woman gives me a lecture about how Massoud and Maryam and the Liberation Army are the only way for the people of Iran. A young blue eye girl has come from Sweden and says we are demonstrating to say that we don't want

Europe to deal with Iran, and America to go to war with Iran. And then a smile and she motions to the picture of Maryam Rajavi with her head and says. 'The Third Way.'

A few men are standing and talking and laughing. One of them has hidden his head with a scarf. He doesn't understand me. I repeat. No use. Another says "no capito" I say "takalom Arabi?" OK. They are Arabs and have come from Venice. I ask some one else why are they demonstrating? A young one says we have gathered to stop Americans attacking Iran. I say there are rumors that the Mojahedin are getting money from America. For example, for this demonstration? What do you say? A middle age man says this is all rumor. The trip money was paid by the organization itself. Some have even come themselves.

A man has come from Texas...there are 13 more from Texas, but the other parts of US no one knows. Most of the participants have come from the Netherlands.

After that from Sweden. The number of Iranians from Germany was very low. I did not see even one person from Berlin itself.

After the program I rang all the numbers which had been announced. In Paris there was a French answering machine. In Germany a German machine. On one telephone a woman answers and promises that someone will call back in 10 minutes. I get the number of Mr Dabiran and call him. He is on his way, call in 45 minutes. I call in 45 minutes. No one picks up the phone. Two hours later, 3 hours later...no one. I call a few times to find the first woman. No chance. At last someone takes the phone and tells me there is no one I can connect you to. I say no problem I was trying to have the organizations view so I wouldn't have to write something one sided. Before, the officials of the MKO would rudely say they do not wish to talk. This new approach is maybe a little bit better. ■

US GOVERNMENT'S SECRET PLANS FOR IRAN

MONITOR - WDR TV, Germany, February 3, 2005



Sonia Mikich: "After Baghdad, now Teheran, the next war? Condoleezza Rice, the US Secretary of State is in attendance in Europe and praises the efforts of the Europeans to solve politically the atomic controversy with Iran. That is one signal of American foreign policy. The other one: Pressure is to be finally made on the Mullah's regime in

<http://www.wdr.de/tv/monitor/beitrag.phtml?bid=660&sid=124>

Report: Markus Schmidt, John Goetz

"these are terrorists, but there is a big difference between being my terrorists or yours." Ray McGovern, ex-CIA

Teheran. George Bush said clearly yesterday in his speech that Iran is the major supporter of terrorism. And again, the US leads the war against terrorism. This is well known.

A military strike on Iran - the film script has been written long ago, and its logistic preparations are underway. The allied ones are on the ground. Markus Schmidt and John Goetz have this report:

George W. Bush, yesterday night, appeared for the start of his second term of office and his message: America will carry democracy into all world. George W. Bush, US President : "Iran remains

the major international sponsor of terror. It strives for nuclear weapons. This evening, I say to the Iranian people that "if you take a stand for your own liberty, America stands at your side." The option of military strikes is still on the table and is being prepared. And these fighters (MKO) play an important role. They call themselves Mojahedin-e Khalq of Iran, MEK. They are mortal enemies of the Mullahs. In their videos they praise their impact force. Thousands of fighters for a new Iran. But for the US State Department, and also for the European Union, they are considered as terrorists, on the same

stage with Al-Qaeda. Is MEK today the secret ally of the US? Ex CIA agent McGovern has no doubt.

Ray McGovern, ex-CIA-civil servant: "why the US cooperates with organizations like the Mojahedin, I think, is because that they are local, and because they are ready to work for us. Previously, we considered them as a terrorist organization.

And they exactly are. But they are now our terrorists and we now don't hesitate to send them there to Iran."

Here in the Pentagon the threads gather where the Iran Plan is being run since the autumn of 2002. Here is the power of Neo-Conservatives. For them, Iraq is only an intermediate step for toppling the ruling power in Teheran. Karen Kwiatkowski, ex Pentagon official: "In the autumn 2002, when the president was campaigning to get the agreement for the invasion to Iraq, the 'office for special planning' was looking at Iran. And Neo-Conservatives thought about how to proceed with Iran. In their conception of the world, Iran has long been a target."

"For years, the Pentagon has tried to lift the MKO's name from the terrorist list and to recognize it as a resistance force. For the war planners, they are the "born allied" ones, trained in sabotage technology, and disciplined."

Ray McGovern, ex CIA civil servant: "They are sent now over the borders into Iran for the usual secret service activities: attaching sensors, in order to supervise the Iranian atomic program, mark targets for air attacks, and perhaps establishing secret camps to control the military locations in Iran. And also a little sabotage."

Karen Kwiatkowski ex Pentagon official: "MKO is ready to do things over which we would be ashamed, and over which we try to keep silent. But for such tasks we exactly use them."

Flash back:

The history of the Mojahedin is as brutal as it is bizarre. Their ideology: a mixture of Islam and Marxism, their practi-

ce: Terror...

The 60's: Fight against the Shah, murdering US soldiers [sic] in Teheran.

1979: Revolution beside Ayatollah Khomeini.

The 80's: Breaking with the Mullah's regime, fighting underground, performing military operations due to which many civilians died.

1986: MKO leader, Rajavi left exile in France, under the pressure of the government in Paris. His new host: Saddam Hussein, ruling power of Iraq and mortal enemy of the Mullahs. Saddam showed up generously, gave the bases, supplies and heavy weapons. May 2003: US tanks scroll up 100 km, to the headquarters of the Mojahedin north of Baghdad. The MKO itself, hands over all heavy weapons without a single shot fired during the operation. The MEK is the only terrorist group in the world, with which the US army cut a deal. And still another characteristic: Their fighters in Iraq are given protected persons status under [the Fourth] Geneva Convention.

US soldier, May 2003: "the Mojahedin explained their preparations to deliver their weapons. They may carry small weapons for self-defense, but they have agreed to hand over their large weapon systems and tanks to the coalition troops."

The spokesmen of Mojahedin give themselves the status of statesmen and say: "No, they are not puppets of the US." They audaciously praise themselves and add: "Mojahedin was first in uncovering the secret atomic plants of the Mullahs."

But now they want to be rewarded for this, and it means that they want their name off the terrorist list.

Mohammad Mohaddessin, MKO spokesman: "Cooperation with Americans? They control us and naturally protect us too. Our units in Iraq form only a very small part of our movement. We have thousands and thousands of supporters [in] Iran." But behind the scenes, MKO fighters have good relations with

Americans. We visit the 'Global Option' private business, which is specialized in military training world-wide. After investigations by Monitor, it becomes clear that the company employs military trainers from the Mojahedin and coordinates all cooperation needs on behalf of the Pentagon. Asked about this intermediary role, the answer is vague: 'Cooperation, yes. There is bilateral recognition, but direct receipt of money for the services of the company, no'.

Neil Livingstone, Global Option: "MKO, a long time ago, said goodbye to terrorism. It was stupidity in fact to put them on the US terror list, a kind of tranquilizer for the Iranian government. A concession to get the negotiations go faster. We do not cooperate with MKO. I was their guest, I promoted them in Congress, without getting money. I have had good relations with them since a long time ago, for 30 years."

Another informed source speaks words contradictory to those of Livingstone. Pat Long, former department manager in the military secret service, says to Monitor: Global Option has been taken up as buffer by the Pentagon in order to hide the Pentagon's relations with a terrorist organization from the public. Pat Long, ex civil servant of Pentagon secret services: "Secret Services adopt security measures in their operations to which we can't link the orders of government. So, if the operation fails, one can claim that the government has had no role in it and that there were other hands involved."

Reporter: "and these 'others' is Global Option?"

Pat long, ex civil servant of Pentagon secret service: "I exactly heard that."

"They are again in business. This time not beside Saddam Hussein but at the side of the US: always useful, always a puppet in the hands of powers."

Ray McGovern, ex CIA civil servant: "these are terrorists, but there is a big difference between being my terrorists or yours." ■

THE THIRD PHASE – MERCENARIES

Maryam Khoshnevis

After Iran's revolution of 1979 the Mojahedin-e Khalq ordered its members and supporters to adopt the charade of appeasing the ruling mullahs so that they might extract some advantage from the situation - perhaps a little share in power. This was dubbed the political phase. The duty of all Mojahedin forces was to play along with both the leadership and the strategy of the regime, and to stand against imperialism.



In less than two years Massoud Rajavi discovered that his organization had no popular support among the people of Iran, and that as a result, the heads of the regime were never going to concede even a tiny fragment of power to him. So, he moved on to his next phase, the military phase; which used terror and bombing as fuel for his fire. Of course this was simply a return to the Mojahedin's activity prior to the revolution. The apex of this military phase was conducted from Iraq with the support of Saddam Hussein and integration into the Baathist regime.



Pursuit of the military phase continued for two decades, though the organization continually swapped tactics between guerilla warfare and cross-border attacks, according to Iran's behaviour toward Iraq during the eight year war and after. The Mojahedin officially announced the resulting thousands of Iranian civilian deaths it caused. Massoud Rajavi's obligation to Saddam Hussein was such that he ordered his

forces to take part in Saddam's war against the Kurdish uprising in the north of Iraq and his suppression of the Shiites in the south. After all, his organization depended on Saddam for its survival.



The fall of Saddam's dictatorial regime in 2003 stopped the Mojahedin's military phase. The organization which had lived on the financial, logistical and intelligence support of his regime found itself on the verge of bankruptcy. But maybe this is not the end of the road. The Mojahedin opportunistically wriggled its way into the gap between Iran and the west so that it could devise a third phase and so evade inevitable destruction. This time the Mojahedin had no plan for this phase, but it was well aware that it needed to find a replacement for Saddam Hussein to guarantee its continued existence. From that day henceforth the Mojahedin has been begging western circles to define a new strategy involving them. The organization has no reservations about its identity, or its historical place or its own history. The fundamental goal is to keep itself alive in this third phase until some other way opens up. In internal discussions the leadership advocates a policy of 'deceiving the imperialists, exploiting their differences with the mullahs' regime and buying time for ourselves'. Political analysts already refer to this

third phase as the mercenary phase and believe the Mojahedin Khalq Organization is no more than a very small tool in the tool box of the western countries to put pressure on Tehran's regime. And two years since the fall of Saddam, it is clear that the new mercenary phase of the Mojahedin is being given life. Ray McGovern, former CIA civil servant says:

"They are ready to work for us.

Previously, we considered them as a terrorist organization. And they exactly are. But they are now our terrorists and we now don't hesitate to send them there to Iran...these are terrorists, but there is a big difference being my terrorists or yours". (*)

Karen Kwiatkowski, a former Pentagon official says:" For years, the Pentagon has tried to lift the MKO's name from the terrorist list and to recognize it as a resistance force. For the war planners, they are the 'born allied' ones, trained in sabotage technology, and disciplined... The MKO is ready to do things over which we would be ashamed, and over which we try to be silent. But for such tasks we exactly use them". (*)

Pat Long, former civil servant of the Pentagon secret service: "They are again in the business. This time not beside Saddam Hussein but at the side of the US: always useful, always a puppet in the hands of powers". (*)

The only obstacle to the west officially employing the Mojahedin mercenaries is that they are in their own terrorist list. Though they see this as something they can overcome, at least in the eyes of their own public. It is not without

reason that the US vice president says "We should not have acted so hastily in putting the Mojahedin in the list of terrorists".

So, the Mojahedin's mercenary phase can be achieved. And this is the greatest hope of the Mojahedin's ideological leader - who has been in hiding from the time of Saddam's removal. Massoud Rajavi's last message of April 2004 was typically belligerent:

"Up to a few days ago they were accusing the Mojahedin and its freedom fighters of dependence on the Iraqi Government and accordingly labeled this resistance as terrorist. Now that Iraq is under the control of American forces what will they say? Probably the world will say that we are mercenaries under the protection of the United States". The Mojahedin Khalq has no qualms about describing itself as mercenary

because it has nothing to lose. The Mojahedin lost everything it ever had a long time ago. And who better to employ mercenaries than those who have already unabashedly undertaken so many shameful actions in their past that this would be nothing by comparison.

(*) <http://www.wdr.de/tv/monitor/beitrag.phtml?bid=660&sid=124>

PERSONAL EXPERIENCES: THE INTERVIEW OF 9 MOJAHEDIN DEFECTORS WITH INTERNATIONAL MEDIA

(in three parts) Part Three

Aljazeera Correspondent: Was mortaring the Nur residential complex deliberate? There was a military base 50 meters away but 5 mortars hit the residential complex.

Arash Sameti Pur: This simply proves that the organization's purpose is propaganda.

In everything they do, none of it has any military meaning. If it was important for him to hit the military base, he would have hit it. Why should he hit the residential area?

Another time, they hit a small garden in a house.

The mortar is not a precise weapon; now, consider it in the city where the actors are under pressure. It's clear they will hit wrong locations.

But is this important for the organization? Not at all! It only wants propaganda from these actions. When they gave me the assassination plan I told them that several civilians could be killed. They said "don't worry, they may not be killed." When I insisted that the weapons might kill civilians they answered: "the heroic nation should pay a price."

But you know that according to Iranian society we are standing against our own people. It is now two months I'm in Iran. Everyone I talked to hates the

organization.

The mortaring itself is not valuable for the organization. They want to say we fired x amount of mortars at x place. Even without military knowledge one can see that this is not military work, this is terrorist activity.

Hoshiar Seifi: We all know that Sanandaj is a small, residential place. But they insisted that it is a very important place. They even told us that the homes around it all belong to Mojahedin. So it isn't important who lives there, the important matter is mortaring. They want to say "we are able to operate in the cities. We can take weapons to the cities". The people are not important.

Personally, I was unaware of Iran's internal affairs for 11 years. We had no radio, no TV, nothing. An ordinary man at least has some connection to the world outside. We had no connections; we didn't know what is happening inside Iran. They told us, "if you go to Iran and perform an operation, people will follow you and they'll support you. People in Iran are waiting for you." It wasn't so. We went to the cities and saw that they hate us and they even hate our name. When people see one of us they capture him and deliver him to the officials.

The Mojahedin says that we have a popular base in Iran; this is not so.

Ma'soomeh Malek Seyed abadi: They know they're doing the wrong thing. They just want to hang on to their forces in Iraq. There are many who want to leave Iraq.

They weep and say "we don't want to kill people".

There's one woman, Mina Rahmati, who lived in Belgium for 13 years. She said I can't go on any more. Let me go back to Belgium. The daughter of Mr Shams Haeri is another one they have kept by force. Some say that she is not in a good mental state.

If they allow her to go they have admitted defeat.

Arash Sameti Pur: As others said, there are many in the organization who want to leave but Rajavi's sect doesn't let them go. As soon as we arrive in Iraq they don't let us move and if we resist, they'll kill us. Like Mr Gholamreza Fakhari, who was a Canadian citizen, he came to Iraq and then he was killed there. There are many other similar instances. Once, in a place under the command of Batul Rajaei, they held a trial for a Kurdish combatant from the Romadi region. In this court he was beaten severely. In courts all over the world

people have lawyers, but in Rajavi's courts people are alone.

Even worse, if everyone else doesn't join in and criticize the person, they say "you're like him". Manoochehr Noori was attacked by a number of combatants because he didn't want to stay. There are many cases like this.

Saeed Sangar: Some people were removed [killed] quietly. I was at Manoochehr Noori's trial. The judge sentenced him to stay in the organization and deprived him of the right to leave Iraq. He cried for his parents. He was only 15 years old. He said: "I want to go, I can't stay here."

They asked him to divorce mentally. But he didn't even know what a woman is. They forced him to participate in an operation and put him under mental pressure. In court, they insulted him a lot and they hit him. Finally he was killed.

Gholamreza Fakhari, a Canadian citizen, asked them to give back his passport and said: "try me in front of the UN. What's my crime having come here? Why did you deceive me to bring me here? I gave you what you wanted, I gave you money. Now, give me my passport and let me go." But Rajavi didn't let him go.

Rajavi can't accept that a man leave and explain to the people outside the inhumane ideology he's experienced. It's description may seem strange for someone outside the organization, understanding it is very hard.

Correspondent (to Mrs. Seyed Abadi): In a meeting two days ago, the Mojahedin's leader recalled you as a martyr. Do you think he's unaware of what's going on around him and inside the country?

Ma'soomeh Malek Seyed abadi: I'm sure he's aware, but he knows that I can't call the forces inside the bases and tell them that I'm alive.

Hoora Shalchi: It's about propaganda rather than about the actual member. Most combatants know Marjan was from the Netherlands. Rajavi's propaganda ploy was to motivate others to

take revenge and to attract some combatants from outside Iraq. He puts most energy into propaganda about women. He knows that stories about women or mothers have more effect on people.

Correspondent: What's your final message to the people of Iran?

Arash Sameti Pur: By serving the Mojahedin I believe that I have betrayed Iranians.

We helped an enemy that fought our nation for eight years. We were mercenaries. On behalf of my friends and myself, I can only apologize to the Iranian people.

Mohammed Qomi: In the end I advise young people inside and outside the country to learn from our bitter experience. Please do not be deceived by Mojahedin propaganda. I stress that it was a very bitter experience. I don't want other youngsters to undergo such an experience.

Saeed Sangar: Through this interview with international media I want to tell all young people inside and abroad do not listen to Rajavi's sect. There are undeniable facts about them. They destroy families. They move society toward aggression and terrorism. They turned us into terrorists. We entered the country as terrorists. Please don't be deceived by Rajavi's cult.

Mir Qafur Seyedi: I too want to ask forgiveness from our good people and to admit that we were wrong and that Rajavi's cult killed our humanity. He turned us into a single-use commodity and sent us as terrorists to kill our own people.

Ali Karimi Far: I ask all the people who support this group to think about what they have chosen? Why did they choose Rajavi? What is Rajavi's real agenda? Do they have any relatives in Iraq? Do they know what's happening to them in Iraq? Do they write letters or call them? Can they meet with them? Ask: 'what is happening to our relatives?'

Investigate this. Go and discover that anyone who joins Rajavi's organization

will never be able to leave it. I mean he is not allowed to leave. Rajavi's suppression means there is no other way except to obey him.

Correspondent: What did you expect from people?

Arash Sameti Pur: We were told that they would support us. But when I was escaping, ordinary people tried to catch me. The Mojahedin had told me 'the people will help you, they'll give you money, shelter and...' But this is what I met with and I realized that it's only slogans.

Ma'soomeh Malek Seyed Abadi: We did fundraising in the streets of Netherlands.

We showed some photos to people in Europe and told them, "these children's parents have been killed by the Iranian regime and we want you to help them". But it was all lies.

Ali Karimi Far: I'm really sorry now for what I have done. The Mojahedin brainwashes its combatants to prepare them for terrorist operations. What they tell us is nonsense. Rajavi just wants to get power. I'm sure Rajavi never thinks about Iranians. Rajavi is a traitor and a criminal, he destroys young people. Members don't dare to even remember the names of their relatives because they'll be punished. Then they talk about democracy and freedom. Is this democracy? Is this freedom? That if you give even a bit freedom to your troops, no one will stay there! ■

SURVIVORS' REPORT

Association for the Support of Victims of Mojahedin-e Khalq ©2004

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