

January 9, 2017

President-Elect Donald J. Trump
BY HAND

Dear Mr. President-Elect,

Congratulations to you and Vice President-Elect Pence on your election. As Americans, many of us with years of public service, we urge your Administration to adopt and pursue an Iran policy that recognizes the interests and inalienable rights of the Iranian people, and not just the clerical regime ruling over them.

President Obama's administration and other countries made commitments to Iran on the nuclear issue. In granting to the Iranian government major financial, legal, political and security-related concessions, the US and its P5+1 negotiating partners expended their available leverage. Your Administration will want to hold Iran to its obligations for which so much was given, work with the IAEA and other governments to close loopholes in the Joint Comprehensive Program of Action (JCPOA), detect Iranian efforts to violate its commitments, and otherwise deter Iran from threatening its neighbors' security.

President Obama expressed the hope that nuclear negotiations would induce Iran's leaders to act with greater consideration of American interests. It is now clear that Iran's leaders have shown no interest in reciprocating the US overture beyond the terms of the JCPOA which gained them significant rewards. Through their extremely high rate of executions at home, and destructive sectarian warfare in support of the Assad regime in Syria and proxy Shiite militias in Iraq, Iran's rulers have directly targeted US strategic interests, policies and principles, and those of our allies and friends in the Middle East.

To restore American influence and credibility in the world, the United States needs a revised policy based on universally shared norms and principles reflecting the ideals of peace and justice. A policy highlighting, and demanding an end to, Iran's domestic human rights violations and malevolent regional actions will attract broad support and generate needed leverage against Iran's threatening behavior.

In June 2015 and July 2016 a large, bipartisan group of former US officials and policy experts, including most if not all of the undersigned, issued specific recommendations for a more principled, comprehensive and effective policy (Attachments 1 and 2). You will see that we have consistently advocated a policy that, by recognizing the basic rights of the Iranian people to exercise their sovereign franchise free of brutal repression, would put the United States on the right side of history.

The Iranian Supreme Leader's interest in pursuing a nuclear weapons capability is based not on legitimate concerns of self-defense for his country, but on preserving a vulnerable system of dictatorship that has lacked legitimacy from its violent inception, and dares not hold a truly free and open election. The world's Shia Muslims have overwhelmingly ignored, abandoned and rejected the religious authority claimed by Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei under the post-1979 constitution; regime writings reflect his perceived need of a nuclear weapons capability to compensate for his failure to inspire

followers with religious charisma as Ayatollah Khomeini had done. Our policy must make clear that the clerical rulers in Tehran will be denied any opportunity to develop or obtain nuclear weapons.

By now it is clear that neither Iran nor its Syrian or Russian allies are committed to defeating ISIS. Although ISIS is Sunni, its rise was abetted by Assad, Iran's Revolutionary Guards led by its elite Qods Force, and Iraq's then-Prime Minister Maliki to divert international focus from achieving a negotiated transition of power in Damascus which could have ended the civil war and the exodus of refugees to neighboring states, Europe and North America. Iran fears a scenario that would bridge sectarian differences and accord a legitimate political role to Sunnis as well as Shia and Kurds in Syria and Iraq, as this would leave Iran and Russia with reduced influence and no military role in either country. Our most respected experts have consistently warned against relying on Iran's cooperation in the fight against ISIS.

The critically important goals of promoting a legitimate political settlement in Syria, enabling humanitarian relief for endangered and displaced Syrian families, and ending the politically destabilizing flow of refugees fleeing horrific violence for Europe and North America, are unconnected to the nuclear agreement; no longer can these strategic interests be held hostage to a concern that Iran might renege on its commitments under the JCPOA. The Iran policy will have to change, including a long-overdue focus on gross internal human rights violations and the lack of democratic legitimacy which is at the core of the Tehran's regime's lawless and destructive role.

The execution of nearly 3,000 people in Iran, including many women and juveniles, since the self-proclaimed reformist Hassan Rouhani became President in 2013 is exceeded by no other country today in *per capita* terms. This is not an "internal" matter that the world should ignore: the US, along with most countries, is legally bound by the International Bill of Human Rights. America's commitment to universal principles is not negotiable.

Along with these policy adjustments, we repeat the call for the US Government to establish a dialogue with Iran's exiled resistance, the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI). Headquartered north of Paris, the NCRI, along with its component entities including the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), was for several years listed by several western governments as a foreign terrorist organization; the US designation ran from 1997-2012. All such designations of the resistance were terminated pursuant to comprehensive judicial reviews in the EU, UK, France and the United States.

We now know that these designations of the resistance as a terrorist group by Western governments were not made in response to confirmed terrorism; all were diplomatic gestures taken at the request of Tehran. Iran's Ministry of Intelligence and Security has for many years impaired the exiled opposition by covertly spreading false and distorted claims through third parties in the West. Other governments like Germany and the Netherlands closely monitor Iran's influence operations on their soil; a thorough counter-intelligence investigation by the US is clearly needed and long overdue.

Some in the US media and policy community continue to recycle defamatory allegations from decades past – notably the claim that the MEK killed several Americans in Tehran during the 1970s – that have been independently researched and authoritatively debunked (Attachment 3). A sixteen-month investigation in 2003-2004 by several US intelligence and law enforcement agencies of every MEK member residing in Camp Ashraf, Iraq yielded no charges against any person. While several governments continued after that to label the resistance as a terrorist organization, the MEK and all

those supporting the organization have now been comprehensively cleared and vindicated by judicial investigations. A French magistrate concluded in 2011 that armed resistance by the MEK against the regime from the 1980s until it ended such activities in June 2001 had been legitimate resistance to tyranny, with no acts meeting the definition of terrorism. The mass jailing, torture and execution of family members and MEK sympathizers during the same period for their opposition to fundamentalist dictatorship remains a largely untold story in the US. The truth is that no member of this group has ever been convicted of terrorism in a court of law.

History aside, no one disputes that the resistance effort since 2001 has been entirely political in nature, including discovering and revealing Iran's secret nuclear weapons program in 2002 – an act for which President George W. Bush publicly credited the resistance. It is time to end the fundamentalist regime's undue influence over US policy and establish a channel of dialogue with the NCRI, as many other governments have done, consistent with the longstanding US diplomatic practice of dialogue with political opposition groups worldwide.

Given the opportunity to engage directly with the NCRI, unfiltered by regime propaganda, US officials will learn that in the 1980s, as a political strategy to challenge Iran's harsh fundamentalism that denies all rights to women, the resistance adopted a policy of gender equality – rare in the Muslim world – and elevated women to leadership roles. In the ensuing years, the group developed several elements of a policy platform. In 2006, the leader and President-Elect of the group, Mrs. Maryam Rajavi, unveiled a 10-point plan (Attachment 4) describing the group's aspirations for Iran, which has remained the NCRI's policy agenda ever since. All 10 points reflect principles equally shared by Americans.

Like the resistance, we envision an Iran in the future where all men and women have the right to vote, regardless of ethnic group or religion, and where freedom of speech and assembly are guaranteed, with no Internet monitoring and censorship. We can imagine an Iran where church and state are separated, and religious freedom guaranteed, with an end to the death penalty. Iran's women should have equal rights and opportunity to those of men, with guaranteed freedom in their choice of clothing and in marriage, divorce, education and employment.

Iranians in the 21st century deserve to live under the rule of law, consistent with contemporary – not Shari'a – law, applied equally to all, with due process and the presumption of innocence, and an independent judiciary. Property rights and market economics would be respected in an Iran no longer ruled by religious dictatorship.

Of the ten points advocated by the NCRI, the last may be the most consequential. Like the resistance, we believe that it is still possible for Iran to renounce and forego any pursuit of a nuclear weapons program, and that given the opportunity to exercise popular sovereignty through free and fair elections, the people of Iran would embrace a non-nuclear posture, as countries including Brazil and Argentina have previously done. To contemplate such an evolution in Iran is to recognize how modest and tenuous are the nuclear program restraints negotiated into the JCPOA, and how little effect it has had on the adverse strategic trends impacting our security and national interests.

In sum, Mr. President-Elect, we believe that a clearer reflection of US interests and principles must now shape our policy toward Iran. With a more enlightened grasp of the Iranian regime's priorities and vulnerabilities, your Administration will be equipped to exert leverage enabling the US to oppose Tehran's repression and adventurism while standing for the fundamental values both our peoples share.

Wishing you success as our 45th President, we thank you for your consideration.

Attachments:

- 1 – June 13, 2015 statement by US delegation at Paris rally
- 2 – July 9, 2016 statement by US delegation at Paris rally
- 3 – Correcting false and distorted allegations against the MEK
- 4 – NCRI President-Elect Maryam Rajavi's 10-point plan

SIGNED:

Amb. J. Kenneth Blackwell – Former U.S. Representative, United Nations Human Rights Commission

General (Ret.) *James L. Jones* - Former USMC Commandant, NATO Commander, National Security Advisor to the President

Hon. Edward Rendell - Former PA Governor, DNC Chairman

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Hon. Michael B. Mukasey - Former US Attorney General

Hon. Robert Torricelli - Former NJ Senator

General (Ret.) Charles (Chuck) Wald- Former Deputy Commander U.S. European Command

Hon. Mitchell B. Reiss (Ret.) - Former Ambassador, Special Envoy to the Northern Ireland Peace Process

Policy Initiative on Iran

Breaking the Stalemate, Engaging with the Iranian Opposition

June 13, 2015

With a long history of serving the American people and the U.S. national interest, we stand together today to call for a new approach in our country's policy toward Iran and the Iranian opposition.

Ours is an independent initiative, motivated by our concerns for United States national security, as well as justice and opportunity for millions of Arab and Persian citizens whose futures are being shaped by current events, and the unending suffering of the Iranian people, who have been deprived of their most fundamental rights for over 35 years under the tyrannical regime ruling Iran.

We are also concerned about the safety and security of the approximately 2,500 Iranian opposition members trapped in Camp Liberty in Iraq, whom our government, through its military, has pledged in writing to protect. Their safety while being processed for onward relocation by the United Nations remains a moral obligation for the United States, arising not only from our written guarantee but also from the valuable help and intelligence – including information about Iran's nuclear program – provided by these opposition members. Our country's failure to uphold its solemn promises to these defenseless men and women is inexcusable, and is a by-product of our government's misreading of the Iranian regime's intentions.

We are united in our understanding of the nature of the regime in Iran, a subject about which many of our colleagues in Washington seem uncertain. While we share the goal of seeking an end to Iran's nuclear weapons activities through diplomacy if such an outcome can be negotiated, we believe it is a mistake for Iran's actions in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and elsewhere to be overlooked, minimized, excused or even welcomed. We also believe it will better serve our country's interests to pay closer attention to the human rights and aspirations of the Iranian people.

Today we call for an end to the misguided position of those in Washington who seek to isolate, exclude or otherwise ignore Iran's largest, most established and best organized political opposition, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, led by Mrs. Maryam Rajavi. In recent years we have come to know Mrs. Rajavi and the NCRI, and we know the resistance far better than many in Washington who believe that the NCRI should be kept at arm's length for one reason or another.

We call as well for immediate pressure by our government on the government of Iraq, which depends on United States military and financial aid, to end the systematic torment of the MEK members still in Iraq that has thus far resulted in 142 deaths (101 outright murdered, 15 victims of rocket attacks, and 26 denied access to proper medical treatment) and the ongoing denial of livable health, sanitary and nutrition conditions. This cessation of harassment should be followed immediately by their physical removal from Iraq to countries in which Iranian opposition members are already leading productive lives, including the United States.

Mrs. Rajavi's steadfast message, to political and religious leaders around the world over a period of many years, is a 10-point plan for the future of Iran that would resolve Iran's most dangerous and destabilizing challenges. The plan would restore political legitimacy through universal suffrage, guarantee rights for all citizens and particularly women and minorities, end the cruel excesses of the judiciary and establish the rule of law, end the nightmare of fundamentalist Islamic dictatorship by once again separating church and state, protect property rights, promote equal opportunity and environmental protections, and – last but certainly not least – seek a non-nuclear Iran, free of weapons of mass

destruction. The idea that Washington should continue in 2015 to disregard a worldwide group of Iranians promoting such a platform is indefensible. The United States should be maintaining a vibrant and constant dialogue with the National Council of Resistance of Iran.

It is by now beyond dispute that the regime in Tehran is fomenting instability and conflict throughout the region, most notably in Syria, Lebanon, Yemen and Iraq. Its campaign to undermine stability was launched because the regime sought to enhance its influence throughout the region and because it feared the emergence of more open political systems in nearby countries that could revive the democratic forces behind the Persian Spring of 2009. Iran shares responsibility for the rise of ISIS; this phenomenon was cynically facilitated by Syrian dictator Bashar al Assad and then-Prime Minister Nouri al-Maliki in Iraq to divert the focus from their own divisive sectarian actions, supported by Iran, about which we have repeatedly warned in previous years.

Iran's regime has sustained a leader in Damascus guilty of major war crimes against his own people and in defiance of a Presidential "red line," a UN-brokered transition process and the united stance of Arab League governments insisting on his departure. It has supplied military-grade weapons to Hizballah, a Lebanese non-state actor with the blood of American diplomats and Marines on its hands. It has supported and led sectarian militias in Iraq assaulting Sunni villages and towns. It has provided long-range rockets to Hamas in Gaza to be aimed at population centers in Israel, destabilizing efforts at a negotiated two-state solution. And it has supplied arms, explosives and funds to an insurgent group in Yemen that has driven out foreign Embassies, including our own, seized power and provoked a new regional military conflict.

In all of these actions, while the US Administration has exercised restraint in the apparent hope of moderating Iran's behavior, Iran's leaders have shown nothing but contempt for longstanding American, European and Arab interests throughout the Middle East. They have also clearly demonstrated that money is no object in their efforts to quell popular movements for more open and democratic governance, both domestically and in neighboring Arab countries.

Inside Iran, while many Americans have for years detected signs of moderation, the regime has become, if anything, more repressive since Hassan Rouhani became President in 2013. Imprisonment and executions have increased. Information, including access to the internet, radio and television as well as social media, are now substantially controlled by the Revolutionary Guards. The 2013 elections were carefully managed by the regime to avoid a repeat of the open rebellion in the streets in 2009, after which many were executed and more have been imprisoned.

The editors of The Washington Post, writing about its reporter, whom they say is "entirely innocent of the charges" for which he has been imprisoned in Iran since July of 2014, write that this "blatant abuse of the human rights of an American journalist" raises "disturbing questions about a regime that Mr. Obama is counting on to implement a complex and multifaceted accord limiting its nuclear activities." The Post editors ask, "If [Foreign Minister] Zarif and President Hassan Rouhani either countenance or cannot stop such blatantly provocative behavior by the Iranian intelligence services and judiciary, how can they be expected to overcome the entrenched resistance to limiting Iran's uranium enrichment?"

We share these concerns. We also recognize that the fundamentalist regime in Tehran, in violating so many norms of political governance and international behavior since the 1979 revolution, survives not through the ballot box but only by absolute suppression and its false claim to religious authority – a formula which has now been repeated by Sunni extremists attempting to create an Islamic State in Iraq and Syria. No one should misunderstand why the National Council of Resistance of Iran is the single entity feared most by the rulers in Tehran: it is because the MEK and NCRI directly challenge the religious claim of authority that the mullahs have used to exercise and maintain political power.

The ayatollahs' thirty-five-year war against the MEK and the NCRI; the repeated deadly assaults against the residents of Camp Ashraf and Camp Liberty; their intelligence services' covert influence and propaganda campaigns against the Resistance in Western countries; their constant diplomatic requests over the past two decades for the US, France and other governments to place the MEK on their lists of terrorist organizations; their confiscation of satellite dishes and jamming of Iran National TV signals reaching the population inside Iran; their arbitrary arrest, imprisonment and execution of anyone supporting the Resistance – all these aspects of the regime's obsessive focus on the Resistance are due to one fact.

This is not about terrorism, not about culture, not about the Iran-Iraq war or the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War. All the propaganda generated by the regime to defame and criminalize the Resistance has now been exposed, and the NCRI has challenged every terrorist listing and won. No, this obsession of the mullahs with the Resistance is about Islam, and the desire of millions of Iranians to exercise their faith while living in a modern society with higher education, and economic and political empowerment for women and men alike. The concept of *Velayat e-faqih* in the new regime's constitution – forcefully imposed by Ayatollah Khomeini after the fall of the Shah to place total religious and political power in the hands of one man – has been a disaster for the Iranian people, for Iran and for the world. You will not hear any debate in Washington that ISIS must be stopped; it is high time Americans also recognized that if ISIS succeeds, what the world will get is a Sunni version of Khomeini's Iran.

We recommend the following four initiatives to our government and to presidential candidates and prospective candidates in both parties, aimed at de-escalating conflict throughout the Middle East, in part by recognizing these realities, standing for American principles and basic international norms, and opposing the destructive role of Iran in the region.

First, on the nuclear issue, we support a peaceful solution if it can be achieved through diplomacy. However, we strongly believe that such a solution cannot be achieved by making concessions to Iran but rather by making clear that Iran will be denied any potential opportunity to obtain a nuclear bomb. Iran under the ayatollahs has consistently shown that it cannot be trusted. Verification, not blind trust in the Iranian government to fulfill conditions of the agreement, must be an unconditional reality. Furthermore, western negotiators must clarify what is meant by Possible Military Dimension (PMD) activities of Iran before a comprehensive deal can be signed.

Second, Iran's destructive role throughout the region must be curbed and deterred. Far from being part of the solution, Iran is a major part of the problem. There should be no direct or indirect cooperation with Iran under the pretext of fighting ISIS. Iran has been a major engine of the spread of Islamic extremism and fundamentalism. It is globally recognized to be the primary state sponsor of terrorism. The success of a long-term stabilization strategy in the region hinges on ending Iran's cynical and destructive meddling in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Lebanon and other countries.

Third, we should be more vigilant and vocal about the serious human rights abuses by the regime that continue inside Iran. Our policy on Iran's internal and external transgressions against universal international norms can no longer be held hostage to the nuclear issue. Indeed, our failure to stand for basic principles and rights only encourages the regime to violate them further with impunity. Nuclear negotiations, which many have taken as an indication of moderation within the theocratic regime, must not inadvertently provide it an undeserved veneer of legitimacy and abet its suppression of the Iranian people. During Mr. Rouhani's tenure as President, the human rights situation in Iran has measurably deteriorated while illicit arms trafficking and support for terrorist non-state actors has continued unabated. A successful policy toward Iran and the Middle East cannot be based on denial of these realities.

Ultimately, the core of our approach is to side with 80 million Iranian people and their desire, along with people everywhere, for freedom and popular sovereignty based on democratic principles. Engaging with the democratic opposition has been the missing piece of US policy for many years under both Republican and Democratic leadership. Thus, as our fourth initiative, we call on our government to break the stalemate and engage in respectful dialogue with the Iranian opposition, consistent with our country's policy of dialogue with all political groups. Whatever the outcome of nuclear negotiations and in virtually any possible scenario, the wishes of the Iranian people and their desire for change must be taken into consideration.

The fact is that Washington officials, experts and expatriates cannot possibly know what Iranians living under a violently repressive dictatorship truly believe about their circumstances or whom they would support in an open political process. We disrespect a great people by assuming that a democratic and non-nuclear Iran is impossible. It is not impossible; to the contrary, it is the only way to a future of regional stability.

Mrs. Maryam Rajavi, as a Muslim woman advocating a tolerant and democratic interpretation of Islam enabling Muslims to be accepted and respected by all cultures and faiths, represents the very opposite of the misogynous Iranian regime's dictatorial nature and that of all Islamic fundamentalists and extremists. We need to align our policies with our principles, and begin listening to the voices of brave Iranians, many of whom have waited more than three decades, as their loved ones endured torture and death in the mullahs' prisons, still believing in the promise of America. All of us here today stand with them in solidarity with their deepest aspirations for a respectable, just and democratic Iranian government worthy of its people.

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Hon. Marc Ginsberg - Former U.S. Ambassador to Morocco

Brig. Gen. (Ret.) David D. Phillips – Former US Military Commander For Camp Ashraf

Hon. Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Jr., Former Special Envoy and Asst Sec State

Hon. Rudy Giuliani - Former NYC Mayor, Presidential Candidate

Hon. Mitchell B. Reiss (Ret.) - Former Ambassador, Former Special Envoy to the Northern Ireland Peace Process

Hon. John Bolton- Former U.S. Ambassador to the UN

Hon. Porter Goss - Former Director of CIA, Former Chairman of House Intel Committee

Hon. Edward Rendell - Former PA Governor, DNC Chairman

Colonel (Ret.) Thomas V. Cantwell, Former US Military Commander for Camp Ashraf

Hon. Newt Gingrich – Former Speaker of the House

Hon. Bill Richardson – Former NM Governor, Secretary of Energy, UN Ambassador, Presidential Candidate

Hon. Glenn Carle
Former Deputy National Intelligence Officer for Transnational Threats, National Intelligence Council

General (Ret.) *James L. Jones* - Former USMC Commandant, NATO Commander, National Security Advisor to the President

Hon. Tom Ridge – Former PA Governor, Secretary Homeland Security

General George Casey - Former U.S. Army Chief of Staff and Commander of Multi-National Forces – Iraq

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Dr. Alan Dershowitz, Professor of Law Harvard Law School

Lt. Col. (Ret.) Leo McCloskey – Former US Military Commander For Camp Ashraf

Hon. Robert Torricelli - Former NJ Senator

Lt. Gen. (Ret.) David Deptula – Former Deputy COS For Intel, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance, U.S. Air Force

Hon. R. Bruce McColm - President, Institute for Democratic Strategies

Hon. Frances Townsend – Former Homeland Security Advisor to the President

Hon. Paula J. Dobriansky – Former Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs

Colonel (Ret.) Gary Morsch - Former Senior U.S. Army Medical Officer, Camp Ashraf

General (Ret.) Charles (Chuck) Wald- Former Deputy Commander U.S. European Command

Hon. Louis J. Freeh – Former Director FBI

Hon. Michael B. Mukasey - Former US Attorney General

THE FOLLOWING POINTS REPRESENT THE UNIFIED, BIPARTISAN VIEW OF THE AMERICAN DELEGATION

1. In democracies like America, we have learned that tolerance and respect for all religions and individual freedom of religion are essential to a peaceful society.

That is why we agree with the NCRI that the Iran will remain a threat to its neighbors and to its own people so long as the Supreme Leader claims total authority over the nation's affairs and violates the sovereignty of other countries.

2. In democracies like America, elected leaders have limited terms, and citizens are accustomed to choosing new office-holders promising a different direction whenever the public believes change is needed.

That is why we agree with the NCRI that US policy has misunderstood Iranian regime politics for years; whether hard-line or so-called reformist, all of Iran's leading regime figures bear responsibility for terrorism, assassinations, massive human rights violations and political executions. None have clean hands and all will try to block true reform.

3. In democracies like America, we tend to label politicians based upon their place in the liberal-to-conservative spectrum, because these differences in philosophy translate into differences in policy.

However, we agree with the NCRI that in Iran, such labels do not have any meaning for the people. Hassan Rouhani is called a reformer, but internal repression and external aggression have only increased since he took office. Iran is already conducting provocative ballistic missile tests that the P5+1 thought had been prohibited by the nuclear agreement.

4. Like most of our colleagues in Washington, we have for many years looked for opportunities to achieve real restraints on nuclear proliferation by untrustworthy states including Iran.

Yet we share the NCRI's concern that the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) fell short of ending the threat of a future nuclear-armed Iran. Whether or not the Tehran regime is following the 'letter' of the JCPOA, it is clear they have nothing but contempt for the 'spirit' of the deal. We particularly commend Madame Rajavi for advocating a nuclear-free Iran as a core policy for the NCRI. There is no threat to the Iranian people that would be reduced by nuclear weapons in the hands of this regime.

5. Whatever views each of us may hold about the US Administration's nuclear negotiation with Iran, we all recognize that the US has given Tehran a free hand in Syria, Iraq, Yemen and elsewhere throughout the negotiations, with the result that Iran has caused grave damage in each place.

That is why we agree with the NCRI that the time is long overdue for the US and other democratic countries to pay far closer attention to Iran's leading role in destabilizing neighboring Arab countries by fanning sectarian conflict, and to give much higher priority to deterring and demanding an end to this unlawful aggression.

6. In America, where all the attention in 1979 after the Shah fell was on the American hostage crisis, we have overlooked how the fundamentalists under Ayatollah Khomeini suppressed the population's desire for democracy through deadly force starting in 1981. Had we understood the regime's total lack of popular legitimacy from its inception, we would have paid closer attention to

the popular uprisings in Iran in 1999 and 2009, reflecting deep disaffection with religious dictatorship.

After meeting countless exiled Iranians in America and Europe and understanding the traumatic crimes inflicted on their families, with as many as 120,000 murdered by the regime and three executions a day on average even now, we are fully persuaded that this regime does not reflect the will of 79 million Iranian people, and stays in power only through a relentless combination of repression and propaganda at home, and export of terrorism and fundamentalism outside Iran. We agree that the Tehran government is acting out of weakness and failure, not strength. Indeed, Tehran's best source of strength is the rest of the world's lack of firm policies against the regime's transgressions, ignoring the desire of the Iranian people for change.

7. In America there has been much concern over the release of substantial frozen funds to Iran as a result of the nuclear agreement. We were led to believe that the Iranian people would benefit from government spending on their living conditions and well-being.

Yet we are now faced with widespread indications that business with the outside world is being handled almost exclusively by front companies profiting the dictatorship. We see that the funds unfrozen by the lifting of sanction are fueling the sectarian conflicts in Syria and Iraq, and arming violent non-state actors in the Arab world including Hezbollah and the Houthi in Yemen. Average Iranian citizens are seeing no benefit from all the funds released to the regime. Again the NCRI's warnings have been borne out by facts.

8. Back in America we along with many members of Congress have had the opportunity to meet Iranian-Americans who actually know what happened to their relatives opposing dictatorship and corruption in Iran under the Shah and the mullahs. For decades Washington has had a false and very misleading understanding about the Mujahedin-e Khalq resistance group, promoted by Iranian intelligence and propaganda.

The true story of those in Iran brave enough to stand up to dictatorship and repression is a story of heroism on behalf of a great civilization and 79 million Iranians trapped by a failed and desperate regime. We support the NCRI and the MEK because we now know the truth about their legitimate resistance to tyranny, confirmed by several major judicial reviews in Europe and North America, and are no longer confused about whose cause is just. Not one member of the MEK has ever been convicted of terrorism.

9. As Americans we feel a special obligation to focus on the future and to be a positive agent of change for the better. For many years, the US has fallen short in understanding what kind of liberalization and change the people of Iran have wanted going back to the days of Mossadegh, and even as far back as 1906.

With the US Administration clearly having misread Iran's unchanging hostility toward US interests in the nuclear talks, it is time for America to move forward and start talking with the organization representing educated, principled, modern Iranian Muslim men and women all over the world who support the NCRI and Madame Rajavi's ten-point plan. We therefore recommend that from now on, the United States should maintain an open channel of dialogue with the National Council of Resistance, to benefit from these exiles' experience and knowledge about the regime in Tehran. The regime is discredited, illegitimate and in decline, and the people of Iran deserve to know that Americans understand their plight, and respect their right to determine their own future, free of oppression.

10. Finally, as Americans we value our country's honor and reputation, and stand here today believing that our government must uphold the solemn pledges it has made in the name of the American people.

In this respect we have all steadfastly demanded security for the residents of Camp Ashraf, now Camp Liberty, and continuously reminded our government to uphold America's obligation to ensure the protection of the residents. We ask the Administration to take all necessary measures for their safety until the last residents leave Iraq, and to urge the United Nations to relocate the residents with far greater urgency. We call on the Government of Iraq to prevent agents of the Iranian regime from gaining access to Camp Liberty with the intention of disrupting the relocation, and to uphold its commitment to allow the residents to sell their assets in Ashraf and Liberty and take personal possessions with them to Albania. Our country and the UN have promised protection to the MEK members in Iraq, and yet in seven attacks, many have been killed or wounded by Iraqi security forces and militias acting at Iran's behest. It is time the United States made clear that we will keep our word and uphold our principles and those of the UN.

We are honored to stand with this brave group of men and women, whose promotion of a modern, educated, tolerant and democratic form of Islam has never wavered in the face of lethal attacks. By offering a clear and legitimate alternative to Tehran's brutal and morally corrupt fundamentalism, the resistance has proven that bullets, rockets, prison cells, torture and the hangman's noose are no match for the pure ideals of patriotic Iranians. Today we salute you all.

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General George Casey - Former U.S. Army Chief of Staff and Commander of Multi-National Forces - Iraq

Hon. John Sano - Former Deputy Director CIA National Clandestine Service

Hon. Linda Chavez -Former Assistant to the President For Public Liaison; Chairman of the Center for Equal Opportunity

Hon. Patrick Kennedy – Former Rhode Island Congressman

General (Ret.) Hugh Shelton - Former Chairman of US Joint Chiefs of Staff

Gen. (Ret.) James Conway – Former Commandant U.S. Marine Corps

Hon. Joseph I. Lieberman – Former Connecticut Senator

Hon. Eugene R. Sullivan – Lt. Colonel (Ret.), U.S. Army; Retired Federal Judge

July 9, 2016

Hon. Newt Gingrich - Former Speaker of the House

Lt. Gen. (Ret.) David Deptula – Former Deputy COS For Intel, Surveillance, and Reconnaissance, U.S. Air Force

Colonel (Ret.), U.S. Army Wesley M. Martin – Former US Military Commander for Camp Ashraf, Senior Antiterrorism Officer – Iraq

Hon. Raymond Tanter - Former Personal Representative of Secretary of Defense to Arms Control Negotiations

Lt. Col. (Ret.) Leo McCloskey – Former US Military Commander For Camp Ashraf

Hon. Robert Torricelli - Former NJ Senator

Hon. Paula J. Dobriansky – Former Under Secretary of State for Democracy and Global Affairs

Hon. R. Bruce McColm - President, Institute for Democratic Strategies

Hon. Frances Townsend – Former Homeland Security Advisor to the President

Colonel (Ret.) Gary Morsch, Former Senior Medical Officer at Ashraf

Hon. Louis J. Freeh – Former Director FBI

Hon. Michael B. Mukasey - Former US Attorney General

General (Ret.) Charles (Chuck) Wald- Former Deputy Commander U.S. European Command

Attachment 3 – debunking the falsehoods and distortions about the MEK

On the following page are two press articles published at the time that American advisors stationed in Tehran were assassinated in the early 1970s by radical secular leftists. The killers were from a breakaway entity that adopted variations of the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK) name and logo after over 100 of the MEK's most active members, including its leaders, were executed or incarcerated. The "real" MEK, which embraced a modern practice of Islam, clashed with the breakaway secular leftist splinter group that had murdered the Americans.

The US State Department's 2005 Country Reports on Terrorism correctly stated that, "A Marxist element of the MEK murdered several of the Shah's US security advisors prior to the Islamic Revolution."

Ambassador Lincoln Bloomfield's 2011 independent report citing credible sources that called into question the reliability of 10 common allegations associated with the MEK at that time may be found here: <http://bit.ly/2gDz3s>

Relevant portions of Ambassador Bloomfield's 2013 history of the MEK, The Mujahedin-e Khalq – MEK: Shackled by a Twisted History (Univ. of Baltimore), revisiting the alleged MEK terrorist actions cited in the annual State Department Country Reports on Terrorism with independent research, may be found here: <http://bit.ly/2gR8VAR>

Iran Says Guerrilla Trained in Cuba

By William BraniginSpecial to The Washington Post
The Washington Post (1974-Current file); May 11, 1976;
pg. A9

Iran Says Guerrilla Trained in Cuba

By William Branigin

Special to The Washington Post

TEHRAN — Iranian authorities say that two alleged terrorists killed recently in a gun battle with police were Communists who had received guerrilla training in Cuba and two other unnamed countries.

The "terrorists," identified as Garsivaz Broumand and Khosrow Safaie, were fatally shot May 4 when police raided their hideout in Tehran, according to a government communique.

Their deaths bring to at least 31 the number of alleged terrorists executed or slain in shootouts with police in Iran this year.

The government statement said Broumand had taken a six-month course in Cuba nine years ago and that

Safaie, a member of Iran's outlawed Tudeh Communist Party, had been trained in two foreign countries.

Most of the terrorists killed previously in Iran have been identified by Iranian authorities as belonging to an "Islamic Marxist" organization responsible for killing at least 30 persons, including three American colonels, and wounding more than 70 others in assassinations, gun battles and bombings over the past three years.

According to a confession by a gang member before he was executed recently, the Iranian leaders of the Islamic Marxists received training and instructions from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, led by George Habash.

Iranian authorities say the

latest casualties in the Islamic, Marxist gang includes a man killed by a grenade he tried to throw at police and three persons, including a woman, who were slain in a shootout with security forces last month.

In January, nine terrorists convicted of murdering the three American colonels and five Iranians, including a general, were executed by firing squad.

The leader of the group, Vahid Afrakhteh, told a Westerner allowed to see him shortly before his execution that the gang had plotted to kill U.S. Ambassador and former CIA director Richard Helms and the Shah of Iran. Afrakhteh said security surrounding both men was too tight.

Afrakhteh said he person-

ally killed Col. Lewis Hawkins in Tehran in 1973 and led the cell that gunned down Col. Paul Shaffer and Lt. Col. Jack Turner after stopping their chauffeur-driven car in 1975.

He said most of his immediate superiors were Iranians who still at large and who have close links with the Marxist Habash group.

Iranian authorities recently publicized a pamphlet that they said showed the connection between the Habash group and Iranian "subversives." They said it contained pictures of executed Iranian terrorists and an article signed by Habash supporting guerrilla activities in Iran and Oman, where the Shah's troops have been helping local forces fight Marxist rebels.

Iran Kills Man Accused In Slaying of 3 Americans

TEHRAN, Iran, Nov. 17 (UPI)—Security police have shot and killed the man who masterminded the August slayings of three American civilians on a Tehran street, officials announced today.

The announcement said Bahrām Aram was killed in a police shootout on a downtown Tehran street yesterday. Two other guerrillas also were killed in an intensified 10-day campaign to rid Tehran of terrorists, the announcement said. Seven suspected guerrillas were arrested and a large amount of arms and explosives confiscated during the campaign, police said.

According to police, Aram directed

the morning rush-hour attack on an automobile carrying three U.S. employees of Rockwell International.

The three Americans killed — William Cottrell, 43, Robert Krongard, 44, and Donald Smith, 43—were all Californians.

Since the attack, Americans in Iran, particularly those working on sensitive defense contracts, have taken special precautions while traveling in the city.

The three dead Americans had been working on Project Ibex, an electronics system capable of surveillance of neighboring countries, including parts of the Soviet Union.

Maryam Rajavi's Ten Point Plan for Future Iran

In a meeting at the Council of Europe in April 2006, [Maryam Rajavi, President-elect](#) of the Iranian Resistance, elaborated on the movement's vision for a future Iran:

1. In our view, the ballot box is the only criterion for legitimacy. Accordingly, we seek a republic based on universal suffrage.
2. We want a pluralist system, freedom of parties and assembly. We respect all individual freedoms. We underscore complete freedom of expression and of the media and unconditional access by all to the internet.
3. We support and are committed to the abolition of death penalty.
4. We are committed to the separation of Religion and State. Any form of discrimination against the followers of any religion and denomination will be prohibited.
5. We believe in complete gender equality in political, social and economic arenas. We are also committed to equal participation of women in political leadership. Any form of discrimination against women will be abolished. They will enjoy the right to freely choose their clothing. They are free in marriage, divorce, education and employment.
6. We believe in the rule of law and justice. We want to set up a modern judicial system based on the principles of presumption of innocence, the right to defense, effective judicial protection and the right to be tried in a public court. We also seek the total independence of judges. The mullahs' Sharia law will be abolished.
7. We are committed to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and international covenant and conventions, including the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Convention against Torture, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. We are committed to the equality of all nationalities. We underscore the plan for the autonomy of Iranian Kurdistan, adopted by the National Council of Resistance of Iran. The language and culture of our compatriots from whatever nationality, are among our nation's human resources and must spread and be promulgated in tomorrow's Iran.
8. We recognize private property, private investment and the market economy. All Iranian people must enjoy equal opportunity in employment and in business ventures. We will protect and revitalize the environment.
9. Our foreign policy will be based on peaceful coexistence, international and regional peace and cooperation, as well as respect for the United Nations Charter.
10. We want a non-nuclear Iran, free of weapons of mass destruction.

Maryam Rajavi is the President-elect of the [National Council of Resistance of Iran \(NCRI\)](#), a coalition of some 500 Iranian opposition groups and personalities, committed to a democratic, secular and non-nuclear republic in Iran. Half of NCRI's members are women. As a Parliament-in-exile, the Council's primary task is to hold free and fair elections for a Legislative and National Constituent Assembly in Iran no more than six months after the ouster of the ruling theocracy.