

## MKO KIDNAP ATTEMPT IN EUROPE

**On 27th September a statement was issued by Roshana Association in Germany stating that, as former members, they had been harassed by the Mojahedin's agents in that country. The statement was accompanied by a petition signed by 37 ex members.**

Roshana Association revealed that the MKO have planned various actions in order lay the ground for its removal from the list of terrorist entities in Europe. To this end there are three areas which the MKO says it needs to work on in order to achieve this.

- 1- the ex members have to be silenced so they will not expose the MKO
- 2- the moderate, nationalists inside Iran working to end the violence are depriving both the hard liners inside Iran and the MKO terrorists outside Iran from having fresh martyrs and blood
- 3- the democratic opposition outside Iran has closed the political atmosphere to the MKO's violent slogans and has discredited the MKO by not giving any credence to it and exposing its lies.

According to Roshana Association, Mojahedin forces active in Europe have been mobilized to work on these issues. The first priority is to silence former members, even by physical elimination. Dedicated MKO teams have been deployed to spy on and act against these people.

For long-term MKO watchers this is not unexpected. When French police raided the MKO Paris headquarters in June 2003, evidence of such activities, including lists of targets, was found. The recent harassment of Roshana

Association members is part of a pattern of violent and vituperative suppression of all its critics and opponents of every description. This has not been confined to Iranians. Anyone, whether journalist or politician who has voiced a negative view of the Mojahedin has been subjected to a suppressive campaign by the organisation.

Immediately following Roshana Association's statement an incident occurred which confirmed the facts. On 28th September in the NeuMarkt shopping area of Cologne in Germany two men approached an ex member and after he ignored them, began follow him. They then tried to abduct him physically from the street. The ex member started to shout for help and passers by came to his aid and telephoned for the police. The would be kidnapers ran away but police arrested one of them in the next underground station.

On 29th September Roshana Association issued another statement with the news, stating that the matter has been referred to the judicial system and formal complaint has been brought by the ex member's lawyer. The man arrested was named as Ehsan Rajae. The identity of the other man has been discovered by the police and is under investigation.

On 2nd October the Ancient Persia organisation (Paris) gave out a statement revealing that Ehsan Rajae served as a high ranking member of the MKO's secret services in Iraq under Saddam Hussein. He was one of the MKO's torturers working under the direct command of the late Ebrahim Zakeri (then head of Massoud Rajavi's secret services in Iraq). Rajae had been trained in and was a specialist in intelligence and terrorism in Iraq. Rajae had been transferred to Europe recently and had accompanied Commander Mahvash Sepehri. She was sent to Europe with the specific mission of suppressing critics of the cult. The first and last responsibility of Mahvash Sepehri is to clear the air for the MKO in Europe by silencing its critics. In particular she has been tasked to silence and/or eliminate, by whatever means, those who witnessed murder and torture committed inside the Mojahedin.

On 4th October Roshana Association wrote an open letter to Germany's Interior Minister, Mr Otto Schilly, outlining their concerns and asking for the protection of citizens against attack by the MKO and for measures to be taken to stop the MKO's illegal and terrorist activities in that country. ■



## EDITORIAL

Welcome to the sixth edition of *Survivors' Report*. We have had some positive feedback from readers and some criticisms. All of which is welcome, and we have tried to incorporate suggestions and to correct our mistakes. Some of the contact we had was clearly from the Mojahedin and we all reflected that the most precious and rare commodity that Iranians can possess today is an open mind, something sadly lacking in the Mojahedin and its supporters.

Following last week's comment that the MKO's emblem was self-explanatory we have in fact been asked to explain it. So, what better way than to include in this edition their own words from their own publication in English. Our lead story shows that the Mojahedin's basic belief in violence is as strong as ever as news emerges of harassment and plans to eliminate opponents even in the streets of Europe. Mette Tegnander from Norway writes as a citizen affected by the threat of terrorism and questions by what definition a terrorist entity is not regarded as dangerous.

A new book by Alain Chevalerias might

provide answers. 'Burned Alive in the name of Marx and Mohammad' is the result of over a year's research into the Mojahedin and what motivates its activities. Inspired by the self-immolations orchestrated by the Rajavi's following the French police raid on the MKO headquarters in Paris last year, the book examines terrorism as a way to wage war in a time and in places of peace. Safa Haeri is a well-known Iranian journalist who needs no introduction after a forty year career reporting on Iranian and Middle East and world politics. His report from the book launch as chief correspondent for the Iran Press Services is included in this

edition.

The concept of good terrorist, bad terrorist is surely motivated by political and not practical reasons. Sometimes it is easy to take a one sided view or to ignore much of the evidence concerning such a terrorist group. When a member of parliament speaks out in support of this terrorist organisation, it is natural that many will raise their voices to remind him of the facts surrounding this group. The letter from Maryam Khoshnevis in Sweden encapsulates the arguments on both sides. We hope this and similar dialogue will continue. ■

## NEWS IN BRIEF

**28 Sept.** A kidnap attempt in Germany by MKO agents was thwarted when passers by rushed to the aid of the victim, a former member of the organisation, and called the police. Thanks to the quick reaction of German police one of the would be abductors was arrested and the second is now under investigation. The victim has brought charges against Ehsan Rajaei, a former torturer in the MKO's Iraqi camps. (Roshana Association)

**30 Sept.** According to Irandidban website, Mohammed Seyed al-Mohaddessin, a leading MKO member in France, announced that the French Judiciary had arrested an MKO agent in connection with the case of June 17th and illegal financial activities of this organization. The arrested person is allegedly the "MKO's Cashier". The French Judiciary is currently investigating several MKO-linked cases in France. Lawyers of the group, while accepting the allegations, have tried to halt the case by citing a law which limits the French government from investi-

gating a person who has committed a crime outside the country. But illegal financial acts (such as money laundering) have been conducted inside France by the group and so the country can pursue them. It seems that the detention of this man is in line with this investigation.

**17 Oct.** Baztab website reported that 3 MKO members had fled from Iraq to Iran. The three Iranians (one aged 30 and two other under 30) said they had been duped by MKO agents were recruited after the Persian Gulf War. The men first escaped from Camp Ashraf and were living in an American made camp near Baghdad. They had visited the Iranian embassy in Baghdad to ask to be repatriated. Eventually they were returned and have now been reunited with their families in Iran.

**17 Oct.** Massoud Khodabandeh of Iran-Interlink wrote an Open Letter to FOX News channel challenging its continued employment of terrorist MKO spokesman Alireza Jafarzadeh on its

news programmes as FOX's Iran analyst. Mr Khodabandeh suggested that in the name of journalistic balance, a debate could be hosted by FOX News in which Mr Jafarzadeh answer to other Iranian experts and analysts on the claims he makes in support of Saddam's collaborators.

21 Oct. Major Iranian newspapers report that nine members of the Mojahedin-e Khalq have escaped from the camp in Iraq and made their way back to Iran. They are now reunited with and living with their families. ■

## SHADES OF GRAY

**The Duelfer report alleges that Saddam gave funds to a listed terror group. But the claim does little to advance the White House case for war**

By Michael Isikoff and Mark Hosenball, *Newsweek*, October 13, 2004

Oct. 13 - The new report by chief U.S. weapons inspector Charles Duelfer contains evidence that Saddam Hussein allegedly used the United Nations-managed Oil-for-Food program to provide millions of dollars in subsidies to a group the U.S. State Department has branded a foreign terrorist organization. But so far, the Bush administration has made little of Duelfer's surprise discovery which, on its face, would seem to strengthen White House claims that Saddam's regime had longstanding ties to terrorism.

In fact, U.S. officials concede, the Duelfer finding does little to advance the administration's case and could even be politically awkward. The State Department designated terrorist group in question, is the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK)—an Iranian opposition group that was long backed by Saddam's regime as a counterweight to the Tehran government. Not only does the MEK have no connection either to September 11 or Al Qaeda, in the past, it has had strong support from members of Congress—including leading Republicans in both chambers and a current Bush cabinet member, Attorney General John Ashcroft. Duelfer's evidence linking the MEK to the burgeoning Oil-for-Food scandal comes from 13 secret lists that were maintained by Iraqi oil officials of favored recipients for vouchers for the sale of oil overseas. Duelfer's report says the Iraqi government maintained a rigorous high-level process for nomina-

ting foreign companies or individuals who were to be awarded the Oil-for-Food vouchers and that Saddam himself personally signed off on every name that was put (or struck off) the list. The Oil Allocation Recipient List published in Duelfer's report says that, among Saddam's many beneficiaries, was the MEK (spelled in the report as Mojahedie Khalq, based apparently on how it appeared in the Iraqi documents). The list indicates the MEK received a series of oil allocations totaling more than 38 million barrels over a four-year period prior to the U.S. invasion. That was large enough to theoretically enable the group to collect more than \$16 million in profits; it could receive those proceeds by doing little more than reselling Iraqi oil to middlemen (who could then resell it to real oil companies in Western countries like the United States).

According to the list, people using the MEK's oil vouchers actually collected (or "lifted," in oil-industry jargon) around 27 million barrels of Iraqi oil during the four years before the U.S. invasion. By cashing in on the vouchers, the MEK could have generated profits of at least \$11.2 million, Duelfer's figures suggest. One U.S. official said the vouchers were most likely Saddam's way of rewarding the MEK for the support it provided his regime. The list also says that the MEK apparently used two British companies or business entities to handle the oil deals. Initial efforts to trace the compa-

nies named in the report have so far proved unsuccessful.

In a telephone interview from Paris, Shahin Gobadi, chief press spokesman for the National Council of Resistance of Iran, the MEK's political arm, vehemently denied the charge that the group benefited under the Oil-for-Food program. "This is an absolute lie," he told NEWSWEEK, adding that he believed the list with the group's name was a "fabrication" by Iranian intelligence. "This is part of a smear campaign by the [Iranian] mullah's intelligence agents." The new documents relating to the MEK underscore the awkward problems the group has long presented for U.S. officials. For the past seven years, the State Department has labeled the MEK a terrorist organization, depicting it as a cultlike organization that "mixes Marxism and Islam." The department's most recent annual "Patterns of Global Terrorism" report says the group has been implicated in repeated bombings, mortar attacks and political assassinations inside Iran. "This group has a long, bloody history of committing terrorist acts and retains the capability to do so," a U.S. counterterrorism official said today when asked about the MEK. Saddam is known to have supported the group for years as a potential subversive force against the theocratic mullahs in Tehran. Just last year, the U.S. Treasury Department shut down the operations of an affiliated group, the National Council of Resistance of Iran,

on the grounds that it was serving as the political front—with an office at the National Press Building in Washington, D.C.—for the MEK. But at the same time, the MEK has been championed for years by leading members of Congress who, like its spokesman, have described it as a legitimate resistance movement opposing a tyrannical government run by religious fanatics. As recently as four years ago, more than 200 members of Congress signed statements endorsing the National Council's cause (including prominent Florida Republican Rep. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Missouri GOP Sen. Kit Bond). When Mahnaz Samadi, one of the group's spokeswomen, was detained by U.S. immigration authorities in early 2000 on grounds that she did not disclose her past "terrorist" ties, including her role as a "military commander" for the MEK, John Ashcroft, then a senator, wrote a letter of "concern" to Attorney General Janet Reno. As first reported by NEWSWEEK in September 2002, Ashcroft described Samadi as a "highly regarded human-rights activist" and a "powerful voice for democracy." (A spokeswoman for Ashcroft at the time said he was "supporting democracy and freedom in Iran" and that he did not "knowingly" intend to endorse a member of any terrorist organization.) The question of how to view the MEK has intensified in the wake of the war in Iraq.

After the invasion, U.S. troops rounded up thousands of MEK militants, viewing them at first as terrorists who had been aligned with Saddam. But the Bush administration was divided over what to do with them. Some Pentagon hardliners and neoconservative political activists pushed last year to provide the group with secret U.S. backing as part of a broader covert campaign to destabilize the mullahs' regime in Tehran. But Bush ultimately rejected that move on the grounds that it would send mixed messages in the war on terror, one administration official said. In the meantime, administration moderates, including officials at the State

Department, argued, by contrast, that not only should MEK militants in Iraq be rounded up and disarmed, but that the US should consider some sort of deal with Tehran whereby MEK fighters in Iraq would be turned over to Iranian authorities. In exchange, State Department officials contended, Iranian authorities might be persuaded to deport or extradite Al Qaeda leaders like Osama bin Laden's son Saad and Al Qaeda planner Saif Al-Adel, who are believed to be under house arrest in Iran. With U.S.-Iranian tensions running high at the moment, however, the possibility of such a bargain now seems unlikely. Meanwhile, the Bush administration has been methodically reviewing the status of about 3,800 MEK militants at Camp Ashraf, about 60 miles northeast of Baghdad.

Last summer, The New York Times reported that U.S. authorities in Iraq had found no basis to charge any of them with violations of American law, prompting MEK supporters say that that finding alone was ample evidence that the group should be stricken from the State Department terror list. "There is a contradiction here," Gobadi, the National Council spokesman in Paris, said today. "If none of its members have any connection to terrorism, how can it be described as a terrorist organization?"

But a U.S. official told NEWSWEEK that more recent reporting from Camp Ashraf indicates that about 40 MEK members have been identified as possible candidates for prosecution. Most likely, the official said, the prosecutions would take place in Iraq, where MEK members might be charged with crimes against humanity or war crimes associated with assistance they provided Saddam's regime—including acting as a paramilitary force to suppress uprisings by the Shia. Another handful, perhaps four to six, might be brought to the United States for prosecution for terrorist-related acts or other crimes, the official said.

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## Burned Alive IN THE NAME OF MARX AND MOHAMMED

**At 3 pm, on 20th October 2004, a press conference was held at the Foreign Press Centre in CAPE, Maison de la Radio, Paris to announce the new book 'Burned Alive' by Mr Alain Chevalerias, a well known journalist and expert on the Middle East.**

The book is the result of over a year of research and investigative journalism on the Mojahedin Khalq Organisation in European countries, Iraq and Iran. The Mojahedin Khalq Organisation (MKO), also known as National Liberation Army (NLA), based in Iraq during Saddam's rule, and National Council of Resistance (NCR), based in Paris, has been run by Massoud and Maryam Rajavi for the past quarter of a century. The book has been published by the Centre de Recherches sur le Terrorisme in Paris. Mr Chevalerias, a journalist since 1974, has contributed to and written for many well known French and foreign papers including The Guardian, Figaro, Paris-Match, Le Point, etc. His latest article 'Seven Mistakes of Mr Bush in Iraq' was published this week in the new issue of Jeune Afrique, (17-23 October 2004). This week he also contributed to the Metro paper in Paris (20th October 2004) a short article about the threat of terrorism and the Mojahedin Khalq in France.

In the panel were also present Mr Massoud Khodabandeh. Mr Khodabandeh who had been an execu-



tive member of the MKO, a commander of the NLA and a member of NCR when he left the organisation in 1996 in rejection of the MKO's involvement in war crimes and crimes against humanity ordered by Saddam Hussein and committed by the group. He was also the head of security and telecommunications of these organisations at that time. Mr Khodabandeh currently based in the UK is working as a Telecommunication and Security Consultant. He has close co-operation with the Centre de Recherches sur le Terrorisme and Iran-Interlink organisation.

Mr Antoine Clonna, a French journalist, also attended for the presentation of the book.

The Press Conference was attended by tens of French and foreign reporters, including radio France, French channel 3, Voice of America, Iran Press Service, Los Angeles Times, Belgian Television,

Al Ahram from Egypt, and various independent journalists and personalities, including lawyers and officials from various countries. The Conference was also attended by representatives of some of the opposition organisations to the current ruling regime of Iran.

The Conference started with a brief introduction of the book by Mr Chevalérias and Mr Khodabandeh, followed by a Q&A session which went on for a further 4 hours after which the meeting was finished.

Mr Chevalérias and Mr Khodabandeh explained in depth the nature of the threat posed by terrorism, emphasising that terrorism is a technique which does not have any

particular party or ideology but it can be used by anyone, anywhere, as a tool to wage war at a time of peace and is an attempt to gain political advantage by violating the basic human rights of ordinary people. The use of this tactic is inhuman and damaging. It violates the limits of morality and affects the most vulnerable people. It is a nasty way of inflicting war in a time and in places of peace. Any attempt to accept the use of these actions for what ever short term benefits in any part of the world by 'good terrorists', would clearly result in the acceptance of the other forms of action which would eventually and directly affect all of the people all over the world. Mr Chevalérias also explained about his unsuccessful efforts to interview Mojahedin Khalq representatives in Paris and Iraq. A phenomenon often seen in cults and terrorist organisations, which prefer to run away from any sort of discussion and dialogue and try to answer any criticism by more violence and attacks. The book, about 250 pages, is an account of documented evidences which have been researched by Mr Chevalérias during his trips in the Middle East and Europe over the past year. He explains many aspects of the political, military and internal relations of the organisation including the self burnings of the members in protest at the arrest of their leader in Paris on terrorism charges, terrorist activities inside and outside Iran, including the killing of American servicemen and civilians, their deliberate indiscriminate use of explosives and mortar launchers





in densely populated areas of Iranian cities, the maltreatment and torture and execution of their own members in Iraq during the rule of Saddam, participation in crushing the Iraqi Kurds and Shiites on the direct order of Saddam, close cooperation with the intelligence services of Iraq during the Iraqi war against Iran in which WMD were used against Iranian soldiers, the propaganda machine of the MKO, the

financers and the backers of the group in the political and financial circles of the west and the misuse of the democratic institutions all over the western world. The book 'Burned Alive, in the name of Marx and Mohammed' is also a brief history of the organisation from when it was created to its transformation into a dangerous cult ending at the point of burning themselves alive in the streets of the capitals of major

European countries. Various media made reports and interviews during the conference. VOA interviewed Mr Khodabandeh on the subject of secretly filmed video documents showing Mr Rajavi and his henchmen bargaining with General Haboush (Head of Iraq's former Intelligence Services) about the price of targets chosen for them for assassination. Mr Khodabandeh also talked about the current crisis involving the growing number of disaffected members in Camp Ashraf in Iraq. Answering a question from Mr Safa Haeri, Mr Khodabandeh emphasised that the MKO has no information concerning Iranian nuclear sites or for that matter any other credible information. After over 25 years' absence from Iran, the cult has no real contact with or concept of the social, political or economic situation in Iran.

'Burned Alive' – ISBN 2 9522978 0 0 (in French language) can be obtained from [www.recherches-sur-le-terrorisme.com](http://www.recherches-sur-le-terrorisme.com)

## MKO HAS NO INFORMATION OF IRANIAN NUCLEAR SITES

By Safa Haeri

Posted Wednesday, October 20, 2004



**PARIS, 20 Oct. (IPS) "The Mojahedin (Khalq Organisation, MKO) have no secret information about secret Iranian nuclear sites, contrary to what the group pretends", a former high-ranking commander of the outlawed organization said.**

"The Mojahedin have no satellite to monitor secret Iranian military sites and what they have revealed is in fact nothing more than installations the Iranian authorities have created for enriching uranium without informing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)", Mr. Mas'oud Khodabandeh told Iran Press Service in the sidelines of a press conference in Paris. The conference, held at the Foreign Press Centre in Paris was called by Mr. Alain Chevalerias to present his new book, "Burned

Alive", on the secretive organization, listed by all major Western countries as a terrorist group. Asked if he believes that the MKO has inside information about Iranian military installations producing atomic bomb, Mr. Khodabandeh who, until 1996, was in charge of the security and communications of the Baghdad-based organization said it were the Americans who in fact revealed the installations at Arak and Natanz. He was referring to the so-called revelations made three years ago by the



Council of Iranian National Resistance, the political branch of the MKO in Washington about sites the group said were secret military installations for making nuclear weapons.

### **One day after, an American specialized agency affiliated to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) published satellite pictures of the incriminated places.**

However, IPS had later learned from well-placed experts and intelligence sources that the "revelations" were in fact a "scenario" worked out by "hard liners" at the Pentagon to promote the case of MKO as a "lever" against the Islamic Republic of Iran.

In fact, until the American attack on Iraq, the MKO used to be a favourite of many US lawmakers, branding the organization, working mostly under the label of National Resistance, as a movement fighting for democracy and secularity in Iran.

Formed in the sixties, the MKO, hand in hand with a Marxist-Leninist group, killed at least six American military advisors in Iran while fighting against the Iranian Monarchy regime of Shah Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, America's closest ally in the region except Israel, then also a friend of Iran.

### **A close ally of the Grand Ayatollah Rouhollah Khomeini, the leader of the Islamic Revolution and founding father of the Islamic Republic up to the fall of the Monarchy in 1979, the MKO, then at a zenith of popularity in Iran, was crushed by Mr. Khomeini and Mr. Rajavi fled to France alongside Mr. Abolhasan Banisadr, the Islamic Republic's first elected president, dismissed the ruthless Grand Ayatollah.**

Until the American attack on Iraq, the MKO used to be a favourite of many US lawmakers.

Mr. Rajavi moved from France to Baghdad and with hundreds of followers, took part in the war Mr. Hussein

had started against the newly established Islamic Republic of Iran in 1981, buying at the same time for himself and his secretive organization the label of "traitors to the nation".

"A blend of Marxism and Islamism, the MKO, led by Mas'oud and Maryam Rajavi, worked closely with the former Iraqi Saddam Hussein and participated actively in the terrible massacre of the Iraqi Kurds and the Shi'ites by the now toppled dictator", said Mr.

Chevalerias, an investigative journalist and writer, adding that his findings were the result of more than a year of research on the MKO in Iran, Iraq and Europe.

He also confirmed that the MKO was the subject of divergences in the Bush Administration, with some at the Pentagon around Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld looking to the group and its well-trained members, estimated at between 2.000 to 5.000, and military equipments provided by Mr. Hussein as a source of information concerning agents infiltrated in Iraq by Tehran as well as a mean of pressure over the Iranian theocracy against the State Department that has listed the group as a terrorist organization. Pressed by journalists to explain why the West, mostly France, -- where the Organisation has its international head quarter in the peaceful and picturesque small city of Auvers-sur-Oise near Paris since 1981 -- allows the group they have listed as "terrorist" to operate more or less freely, like organizing open demonstrations against the Islamic Republic in American and European major cities and suddenly cracking down on them, Mr. Chevalerias has a diplomatic answer, advancing "raisons d'Etat", or State's interests.

**The question was referring to the pre-dawn raid the French police's special antiterrorist special units carried out last year against the MKO's headquarters, arresting all the leaders of the group, including Mrs. Rajavi, seizing sophisticated**

### **communications equipments and millions in cash.**

To protest the arrest, tens of the MKO members flew to Auvers-sur-Oise and some immolated themselves in Paris, London and other European cities, "inspiring" Mr. Chevalerias to investigate at the movement, intrigued by the immolations, "an act that has nothing to do with Islam, but more with secretive associations taking their roots from Hasan al Sabbah, the legendary Iranian leader and founder of the Isma'illiyah, an offshoot of the Shi'a sect better known as the Assassins in 1090.

### **A blend of Marxism and Islamism, the MKO, led by Mas'oud and Maryam Rajavi, worked closely with the former Iraqi Saddam Hussein.**

According to Mr. Khodabandeh, the megalomaniac and authoritative leader of the MKO not only operated as a branch of Iraqi army, but also ruled ruthlessly over the organization, jailing and assassinating hundreds of his critics. Asked about Mr. Rajavi's whereabouts, not heard or seen since the invasion of Iraq by American forces last year, Mr. Khodabandeh said he is now living in the huge Ashraf Camp near Baghdad among other members "protected in fact by the Americans".

"Not only the MKO fought against Iran, but also carried out operations against other Iranian opposition forces opposed both to them and the Islamic Republic", Mr. Khodabandeh said, accusing the MKO of having "destroyed" the overall Iranian national opposition to the regime.

**As the conference went on, MKO's supporters distributed a communiqué accusing the former official, -- as well as other members who have cut with the movement -- of being an "agent" of Iranian intelligence services and Mr. Chevalerias a "collaborator" of the ruling ayatollahs, hence confirming assertions that the group uses violence against its opponents.** ■

# THE MEANING BEHIND THE MOJAHEDIN'S EMBLEM

Extract from the MKO's own paper in English

(full text can be seen on [www.iran-interlink.org](http://www.iran-interlink.org))



...  
for a revolutionary organisation, the name has a particular importance. For the name fundamentally represents what the organisation stands for; it encapsulates its point of view. Its path and its ideological totality. The sum of its ideas, its values, its long-term policy and its political methodology... when we were considering how our emblem should be, we had to consider how we could put the ideological content of our organisation in visual terms...

the following is what we decided on, described point by point. With the meaning given for each symbolic figure in the overall logo:

the Motto: standing at the top of the design, in the place of honour, as it were, the motto is a verse from the Qoran (al-Nasaa, 95): " God exalts the Mojahedin (those who strive, who participate in the inward and outward Jehaad) above those who merely sit"... the verse which constitutes the motto stands for several important things in its own right: The verse itself expresses the principle that this is the emblem of a revolutionary organisation which accepts Islam in its fullest sense as its ideology... The Qoran, we regard as the last [revealed scripture], containing principles which we reverence and strive to put in to action. This crusading principle is summed up in the Qoranic verse which stands at the apex of our seal... The name of the organisation,

the Mojahedin, is cited in the motto-verse, a name which has ideological and historical significance, reflecting on the entire history of those have striven and struggled (maintained the Jehaad) throughout the history of Islam...

The five pointed star: centred immediately below the motto-verse, requires special explanation... the star is the symbol of the trailblazer, the pioneer, the vanguard of the new culture and literature of our world, the sign of those individuals who move in the forefront of the given conditions of a time and show the way to the rest, guiding them forward... our star is a hallmark which is instantly recognisable to elements in the forefront of progressive action, a symbol which is employed by other forces, as well, and therefore, having currency all over the world...

The rifle: After the star we come to the rifle and the scythe in the order of symbolic representations on the emblem, crossed over each other and gripped firmly together by the human arm with its clenched fist. Each figure having a significance of its own...

The rifle is, in truest sense the mark of unswerving belief in and full commitment to the Jehaad, the Islamic striving and struggle, and the revolutionary approach of armed combat... in Qoran this meaning is elaborated in such verses as: " those who have accepted the faith and have slain and been slain, their misdoings will be absolved absolutely." ... " O believers, "arm" yourselves"... the rifle represents for us the highest form of combat, which takes place in the world for sacred striving, to remove oppression and exploitation from society, that Jehaad which Imam Ali described as the gateway of gate-

ways to heaven, so that one who wields the sword (or today, the rifle) on the battlefield hallows that ground and follows the straightest path...in the final analysis, the rifle is the most appropriate symbol of this approach, the sole way to resolve the contradiction between the people and imperialism...

The Scythe: The hand tool of the deprived... the peasants have had to endure and so our consequent greater readiness to join with these brothers of ours in the struggle.

The Anvil: For those who have a true understanding of Qoran and its expression Estezaaf and mostazef (abasement and those who are abased) know that the most deprived classes in any given historic-social situation are the "meek who shall inherit the earth" and they must accede to that inheritance...

The olive branch: ...the symbol of peace and friendship, which emphasises that whatever Jehaad and combat and revolutionary plan must be carried out, it



must be in the service of the ultimate establishment of a society with war. This is to say that as long as exploitation and inhumanity prevail, peace is impossible, while all those who hold out the olive branch of peace under the present conditions of the world are simply putting up a pretentious front... The map of Iran: As we know the genuine, revolutionary Islam is committed to eradicating exploitation and oppression everywhere in the world, towards which ends it is involved with the forging of unity, equality and fraternity amongst all the peoples of the word and the establishment of justice around the globe. At this juncture, we should keep in mind that Islam is an international faith that transcends all frontiers and arbitrary division of the earth into this clan or that nation, believing that all borders and boundaries should be eliminated. This conviction marks the world oriented revolutionary organisation off from groups which are committed solely to struggle for national recognition... of course we should be aware of the particular conditions obtaining in our own country's historical process, with attention to the fundamental contradiction, which is that between the people and imperialism,... thus the very map of Iran should be looked upon as the representation of a particular country only in the context of a given set of historical conditions through which the struggle must pass...

Photo:

Massoud Rajavi, preparing his people for terror missions. Ashraf military camp, Iraq.

After the failure of his coup attempt in 1980s, Rajavi fled Iran to Paris. He was later bought by Saddam Hussein during the Iran-Iraq war.

Rajavi served as a mercenary with Saddam's secret services against his birth land for a quarter of a century, murdering many Kurds, Shiites, Iranians, Iraqis and westerners. Since the fall of Saddam, he became a fugitive and to this date has remained in hiding. ■

## WHO CLAIMS THAT TERRORISTS ARE NOT DANGEROUS?

Mette Tegnander (Norway)

**Not for over a century have we been able to talk of wars being fought between two armies on far flung fields while the families waited at home for news of their loved ones.**



Now wars are fought amidst civilian populations. And with this erosion of boundaries over the last century between military and civilian in military actions, the use of 'terrorism' has burgeoned. Terrorism is not an ideology it is a way of waging war. For me, both war and terrorism threaten civilian populations. Both murder and violate human beings and are destructive to humankind and social progress. But terrorism affects me more directly because terrorism deliberately targets civilians to create fear and instability in society to put pressure on governments. Suicide bombing has become a norm for terrorists. A terrorist and a soldier, both have their own reasons, and their own motives for killing. They kill and war in God's name, in the name of religion, in freedom's name, for their land, for resources, for justice... One man's freedom fighter is another man's terrorist. Soldiers fighting a legitimate war kill humans lawfully. For either, religion and God can provide a powerful motive and justification for killing their enemy without having a bad conscience. Perhaps both the soldier and the terrorist feel proud when they are successful in their war or in their mission. Even so, only one of them pursues their career in a lawful way. But which law? Who makes these laws? Of course it's our governments. Do we measure human progress by the law dividing acceptable conflict and unacceptable conflict? Is there morality or is there logic in these laws?

Without consensus can we effectively challenge the use of violence in any form? Armed struggles inspire emotive reactions, as any discussion of Iraq, Rwanda or 9/11 would reveal. And often the voluble anger on each side in a conflict drowns out the small voices of ordinary citizens wishing for peace. As well as being an emotive issue, it is a complex one and must be subject to rigorous debate. In spite of the intense focus on terrorism since 9/11, the UN Member States have still not agreed on a single definition. There is no internationally accepted definition of terrorism. What 9/11, the Bali bombings and Beslan have shown us is that, whatever the failure to agree a single definition, citizens of countries all over the world now face the direct threat of violence, death and fear brought about by terrorism. Citizens' protests can no longer be sidelined by political leaders in deference to the bigger picture, because terrorism in our streets now is the bigger picture.

### Covert support for terror?

During the Cold War the world had two superpowers. It was these superpowers which defined 'right and wrong' in the world's conflicts. When the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan, the USA chose to support Osama bin Laden's Al Qaida as the 'right' way to prevent the spread of communism. At that time, Al Qaida were fighting a terrorist war for freedom on the same side as the USA. After the fall of communism and the emergence of one superpower, support for Al Qaida was no longer needed, and the politics of who was right and who was wrong shifted. However, although some in the USA might have claimed to be fighting in God's name, Bin Laden could not claim that Islam that had emerged triumphant. Al Qaida became more active not less. This time against The Great Satan. Then

the good terrorists became dangerous terrorists. But were they not dangerous terrorists all the while the USA supported them? Are we to believe that Al Qaida changed or that the politics of terror changed? Following 9/11 the USA gave us a new definition for the superpower's friends and enemies. Those who are not with us are against us, declared George W Bush to his grateful public looking for certainty in a world suddenly shattered by the chaos of violence and destruction. The concept of a global war on terrorism emerged. In this framework, the Mojahedin-e Khalq is listed as a terrorist group. European politicians know that the MKO, by its own admission, has killed

thousands in Iran (including civilians) in terrorist operations. It has historically killed American military personnel in Iran, and Kurds and Shiites in Iraq. The MKO has always tried to hide its terrorist activities in the west and to present itself as a political front. It seems politicians are happy to ignore the deaths and violence as long as they do not occur in Europe. So while there is agreement in the west that the MKO is terrorist in nature, the organisation is not currently regarded as a dangerous terrorist outfit. The echoes of Al Qaida are frightening. At present, for reasons which they must explain to their own citizens, the USA and Europe's governments are prepared to allow mem-

bers of this organisation to set fire to themselves in Europe's cities, exploit Swedish schoolchildren, speak on television, use violence against their critics and to attempt to physically eliminate former members living in Europe. The MKO has shown its terrorist credentials and shown that it can use terrorist tactics in Europe, and that these acts are not restricted to Iranians in Europe but are just as likely to target any vulnerable group. Today the MKO may not be treated as a threat for Europe, just as Al Qaida wasn't for the USA, but I think that one day it will happen that their potential for terror will be unleashed on Europe just as Al Qaida did so unforgettably in America. ■

## 'DANCE TO THEIR TUNES, DO NOT WRITE THEIR MUSIC'

**Following a trip to Iran to visit two MKO prisoners in Evin prison in June this year, Mr Win Griffiths, MP, a long term political supporter of the Mojahedin expressed criticism of reports written about the visit by Iran-Interlink. (The whole of this dialogue can be found on the [www.iran-interlink.org](http://www.iran-interlink.org) website.)**

In response, several former members wrote to Mr Griffiths highlighting what they regard as fundamental gaps in the understanding of the MKO's political supporters about the organisation. We have reproduced one letter here which encapsulates more than any other the arguments on both sides.

Dear Mr Griffiths, distinguished member of the British Parliament, I read your letter to Iran Interlink and it confirmed to me what I already believed about the situation surrounding Mr Ebrahim Khodabandeh and Mr Jamil Bassam. I will explain for your information. About one and a half years ago, Messrs Khodabandeh and Bassam were arrested in Syria and handed over to the Iranian regime. I was, at that time, certain that the Mojahedin were then facing an immense challenge which would require a very delicate and sensitive approach to it. The Iranian regime had got two big gifts from the fall of Saddam's regime and it could be envisaged that it would, through these two men, challenge the Mojahedin. Past experience of this kind, which

includes the arrest and freeing of Mr Shamsavandi and Mrs Malek, endorsed this idea. When your good self as a supporter of the Mojahedin received your visa to travel to Iran, I became convinced that the ball has now turned in favour of the regime. Otherwise, as you said yourself, the regime which did not even grant permission to the Canadian ambassador in Tehran to attend the court for Mrs Zahra Kazemi, could definitely say "no" to you. In fact if the regime of Tehran had even the smallest doubt about its victory in this case, it would not enter into it at all. Your and the Mojahedin's silence after the visit in Tehran was somewhat interesting and I was only able to read about the trip through the Iran-Interlink website. Now since 20th September, I have been able also to read your letter to Iran-Interlink which has enabled readers to have better understanding as to your own points of view.

1 Your visa to be present in Iran and your free access to visit the two high ranking MKO members in prison was as unbelievable for you as it was unfortu-

nate for the Mojahedin. The MKO would have wished that this visa had not been granted so that they could continue with their claims that Messrs Khodabandeh and Bassam are under constant torture and their execution is imminent. This claim has been continuously on the MKO's official website (Hambastegi-ye Meli) claiming that the two men are constantly under torture. This reminder of course is from someone who has been not just a supporter of them like your good self, but someone who has served them in the highest ranks and knows only too well their way of thinking and their culture.

2 Mr Griffiths, you have announced two reasons for your trip: to visit the two imprisoned men, and to achieve amnesty for the members of the NCRI. Concerning your first objective to establish their wellbeing it is the duty of any freedom lover to thank you. But the question arises whether you are only interested in the wellbeing of these two men and nobody else. At the time when Mr and Mrs Rajavi were

controlling their cult members in the heart of the Ba'athist regime and were sending their disaffected members and critics to prison and would practice every physical and psychological pressure on them, would it not have been just if you would have asked them why and to what end?

You have been born and brought up in civilised Europe. Could you not at least have entertained some doubts concerning the allegations of prisons and prisoners and interrogators and torturers in Mr Rajavi's system? And then placed yourself to at least meet with some of the victims of the cult, even in European territory, so as to find out about the miseries they have gone through? If the lives of all human beings are valuable, which they are, then you cannot discriminate between them. They should all enjoy their basic human rights in life whatever their beliefs or their ethnic background. Having stated these basics, when the Mojahedin under the rule of Saddam Hussein were being sent into cities to open fire, was it not needful for you to ask them not to use mortars, which as an imprecise projectile carries a certain irresponsibility in itself? Have you ever tried to obtain correct statistics about the victims in the useless wars in the cities and in the border region? Have you ever asked the Mojahedin what is the reason behind their loss of members and who they are? And might not this have brought you closer to the facts about the number of prisons and prisoners and...?

Concerning your second agenda, I must accept that your presence in such a mood and atmosphere of non violence and rejection of terrorism and armed struggle is something for which I should congratulate you. On the condition that Mr and Mrs Rajavi apologise to the people of Iran and Iraq for their co-operation with Saddam Hussein in the massacre of Iranian and Iraqi civilians. It is therefore expected from you that you put your efforts into stopping the officially recognised terrorist activi-

ties of the Mojahedin which are being orchestrated by the National Liberation Army and whitewashed using the name National Council of Resistance.

3 Dear Mr Griffiths. Your emphasis on distinguishing between the National Council of Resistance and the Mojahedin Khalq Organisation is mind boggling. To try to separate the NCR, MKO and NLA is like trying to analyse a spider by putting different names of insects on different parts of its body. Even now, if you really insist on believing that their actions, thoughts and ideas can be separated, we strongly recommend that you speak with ex members of the NCRI who live nearby yourself. They will explain to you how the NCR, MKO and NLA are names for the same cult under the total power of Mr Massoud Rajavi, and how any criticism of the Ideological Leader is considered a crime and is dealt with and suppressed severely. We might even suggest that you ask your friends in the National Council of Resistance to give an example, even one example in which they could have been able to criticise any part of his vague and unrealistic strategies and tactics. One example would be enough.

4 Mr Griffiths. In your article you have told us that the NCRI has vast support in the Commons as well as the Lords. Even if we take this as something verifiable, would it not be necessary, when stressing this vast number of supporters of the MKO, to also mention the names of Saddam Hussein, Hassan Al Majid, Taher Haboush, Tariq Aziz, Uday and Ghosay Hussein, Taha Yasin Ramezan and tens of small and large criminal supporters of the Rajavi's? There is no doubt that if you want to draw up a list of supporters of the MKO, the top of this list belongs to Saddam Hussein as its only governmental supporter and benefactor and godfather. Then would embarrassment allow the rest of the supporters to put their names under the deposed dictator of Baghdad?

5 Mr Griffiths you emphasised that "I have never said that negotiation is the only way, but that I believe it is the best way, and I have said my opinion to Madam Rajavi and the NCRI leaders in Paris"... would it not have been better if you also explained about their reaction to your opinion so that the readers would be also informed about their stance in the face of the regime's offer of amnesty and its rejection of terror? Your half story suggests the possibility that the negotiation has been Mrs Rajavi's idea and that you have been selected as the ambassador. Otherwise, you can be certain that if you persist with this idea, in the not far future you will also be labelled as a mercenary of the Iranian regime's intelligence ministry! You will only be an acceptable supporter for the MKO if you play their tunes, not when you start writing the music.

Dear Mr Griffiths, This letter is written by someone who has experienced the regime's prisons for supporting the Mojahedin, has spent many years of her life as a high ranking member of the NLA in Ashraf camp, and has been injured in military operations; the injuries are still visible. Has been engaged in political (propaganda) activities in Europe to legitimise the bombings and... and when she did not bow in the Ideological meetings, was put under pressure and ended up being sent to Europe with her cross on her back. She is now carrying many psychological and physical problems on her back and is still under medical treatment. The official documents from governmental doctors in Sweden endorse that I have been under years of psychological manipulation and operation. Which one do you think is worst? The 'psychological operation' or the 'guerrilla operation'? Have you ever considered putting an end to these 'operations' in Mr and Mrs Rajavi's cult?

Maryam Khoshnevis  
ex member of MKO  
23/09/2004

# PERSONAL EXPERIENCES:

## Seyed Amir Movasaghi



**My name is Seyed Amir Movasaghi. I was an executive member and deputy head of department with the Mojahedin. I worked with them full time for 13 years. In all, I was politically active with the MKO for 17 years, from 1984 to 2001.**

**I joined the Mojahedin because I saw that my country had fallen into the hands of another dictatorship, this time a religious one, and I wanted to help my people become free.**

When I joined the Mojahedin it was a 'normal' revolutionary guerrilla group. We all believed we were fighting in a just and legitimate struggle for freedom and democracy in Iran. As time passed though the atmosphere inside the organisation changed and more and more was being demanded from the combatants which didn't seem to have direct relation to the struggle. One of those issues was the marriage and leadership of Massoud and Maryam Rajavi. But I and others kept on because of our fundamental belief in both the aims of the Mojahedin and the wickedness of the regime ruling Iran.

Our thoughts were shaped by the carefully and closely controlled atmosphere in the organisation. For most of the time this atmosphere made us work as hard as possible and for long hours. We enjoyed little rest and the free time we had was filled with communal activities, like sports. When we did have questions such as about our relations with the Iraqis, we had to report them to our superiors and they would answer us in such a way that we knew there was no point in further questions. Things were as they were and all was decided by Rajavi because he had knowledge and understanding beyond ours.

I knew many who had doubts about the organisation. Most did not dare to speak about them especially since there were

spies, like thought police, everywhere who would report you to the leaders. It was very hard to trust anyone while at the same time we were as close as brothers because we were all in the struggle together. It was like us against the outside world.

But even in this atmosphere I could not stop the questions in my mind and the more I thought about the facts which I could not deny to myself, the more I knew I could not continue with the Mojahedin.

Eventually, I demanded to leave

Mojahedin for the following reasons:

- 1- the close military and intelligence co operation of the organisation with the intelligence services of the Baath Party of Iraq.
- 2- The deep involvement of the organisation in crushing the Iraqi Kurds and Shiites in 1991, ordered by Saddam Hussein.
- 3- The imprisonment and torture of disaffected members, critics and the ones who wanted to leave.
- 4- The arrest and hand over of disaffected members to the secret services of Saddam.
- 5- Sending disaffected members deliberately over mine fields at the Iraq-Iran border in order to get rid of them.
- 6- Participation in the dirty deal between Iran, Iraq and the Mojahedin, in which disaffected MKO members from Iraq

were exchanged for Iraqi prisoners of war in Iran (for every disaffected member, 13 Iraqi POWs would be handed over).

During the years of my stay with the MKO in Iraq, I had said several times that I did not want to be with them. The last time was on 1st of Shahrivar 1380 (2001). This was in one of Rajavi's so called court sessions and in the presence of both Maryam Ghajar Azodanloo and Massoud Rajavi. I asked again to be allowed to leave. Instead I was imprisoned and severely tortured both mentally and physically. I spent the next year in solitary confinement in Ashraf military camp and after that, I was handed over to the secret services of Iraq who transferred me to Abu Ghraib prison where I experienced the most severe kinds of barbaric tortures. Rajavi's hope was that I would not come out alive and this would be a lesson to others so they would not dare resist his orders.

Despite all Rajavi's efforts, I am alive and now living in a country in Europe.

Many like me have been looking for a way out of this cult but have been imprisoned and their voices cannot be heard because of the suppressive atmosphere in the organisation.

Many have lost their lives, many have ended up losing it completely under the torture and have become psychotic. Some who had been transferred to Abu Ghraib prison have been lucky. Many more we do not have any news from. ■

## SURVIVORS' REPORT

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

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