

1
2 EXECUTIVE ACTION
3 CONFERENCE
4

5 Middle East in Transition:
6 Prospects for Iran?
7

8
9 Saturday, February 19, 2011
10 11:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m.
11

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13 The Mayflower Hotel, State Room
14 1127 Connecticut Ave., NW
15 Washington, DC 20036
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1 MR. TORRICELLI: Good morning and
 2 welcome. My name is Bob Torricelli and for some 20
 3 years I had the great honor of serving the
 4 United States Congress. During that 20 years many
 5 of us met at different locations throughout America
 6 as people in the expatriate community from Iran met
 7 to discuss the horrors in their homeland, the
 8 unfortunate fate that has befallen their country.
 9 I will confess to you during those
 10 years the possibility of real political change in
 11 Iran, the ending of that tyrannical regime seemed
 12 unlikely but the wheels of history turn and the same
 13 providence that would not tolerate fascism or
 14 Communism, that swept away the autocratic regimes in
 15 Indonesia and the Philippines and a host of other
 16 countries, the same forces of history that
 17 manifested themselves in the streets of Egypt, a
 18 rising tide of human expectation and thirst for
 19 freedom is now approaching the shores of Iran.
 20 What once seemed impossible somehow
 21 begins to look inevitable. As students gather

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1 tomorrow again in Teheran it is appropriate to
 2 congratulate Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for
 3 giving a voice to all of our hopes. She was heard
 4 firmly in Egypt and now again as demonstrators
 5 gather in Teheran to make America's position clear.
 6 We do not oppose the government in
 7 Teheran simply because they defy America or even
 8 because they have become international outlaws in
 9 violating the established laws but because they
 10 betray their own people, because they made a lie and
 11 a mockery of their own revolution.
 12 Our country has proven that we have
 13 high standards for our friends. That is clear after
 14 what occurred in Egypt. In the coming days it is my
 15 hope and my belief that President Obama and
 16 Secretary Clinton will also make clear that those
 17 standards apply to all regimes, the weak and the
 18 powerful, our friends and our adversaries.
 19 What was good for Egypt and in Tunisia
 20 and in Eastern Europe and in the Soviet Union, do
 21 the people of Iran deserve any less and should

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1 America's position be any less clear?
 2 In this struggle we all have
 3 responsibilities. Everyone is ultimately
 4 responsible for their own government no matter their
 5 political system. We as Americans have a role. It
 6 is at a minimum to correct a great injustice. We
 7 all understand the truth. The MeK was placed on a
 8 terrorist list as a strategy of appeasement towards
 9 Teheran.
 10 It may have been right, it may have
 11 been wrong but it is this. It failed and it is time
 12 to end it. Indeed, it begs the question. Can a
 13 people who oppose a terrorist government ever
 14 themselves be terrorists?
 15 Can an organization which is unarmed
 16 pledge to peaceful change and for most of the last
 17 ten years under the protection of the United States
 18 army ever be a terrorist organization?
 19 It isn't simply that it is an
 20 injustice. It makes a mockery of the terrorist list
 21 itself. Unarmed people in refugee camps in Iraq

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1 cooperating with the United States government
 2 largely in previous years under our protection is on
 3 a terrorist list but the Taliban is not while they
 4 consume American lives. North Korea is removed from
 5 the list while they test nuclear weapons, fire at
 6 their neighbors and take lives.
 7 Yes, we all have our roles in this
 8 struggle. For some people it will mean enormous
 9 sacrifices. What happened in Egypt will not happen
 10 as easily in Teheran. It may be inevitable but
 11 lives will be lost. No one asked us to lose our
 12 lives. Only to stand up for truth and to correct
 13 this injustice.
 14 The people of the United States, be
 15 they of Iranian extraction or other have a right to
 16 organize and be heard. This sanction on the MeK is
 17 interfering with that right. It is giving comfort
 18 to the government in Teheran and it is placing the
 19 United States on the wrong side of history.
 20 There is time to correct it and I
 21 believe with President Obama and Secretary Clinton,

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<p>1 we have the proper leaders to do it.</p> <p>2 The European Union has already</p> <p>3 corrected this injustice. The United States Court</p> <p>4 of Appeals has asked for a review. A majority of</p> <p>5 members of Congress have asked for a change of</p> <p>6 policy and in recent weeks some of the most</p> <p>7 distinguished military, national security,</p> <p>8 diplomatic and political leaders of our generation,</p> <p>9 Democrat and Republicans, have joined this chorus.</p> <p>10 It is overwhelming.</p> <p>11 There was a refrain in the American</p> <p>12 civil rights movement which comes to mind after all</p> <p>13 these years of struggle and disappointment, and</p> <p>14 unsuccessful efforts in the past to correct this</p> <p>15 injustice. It's never too late to do the right</p> <p>16 thing.</p> <p>17 For those who have been silent in the</p> <p>18 past about the government in Teheran, for those who</p> <p>19 have tolerated this injustice, for those who played</p> <p>20 no role at all, this is our moment. We are honored</p> <p>21 today for this discussion and to bring more light</p>	<p>1 being here in Washington engaged in the dialog with</p> <p>2 such prominent public leaders on such an important</p> <p>3 international, regional and distinctly U.S. issue.</p> <p>4 It's a pleasure to have worked with so</p> <p>5 many of the political, military and government</p> <p>6 leaders here today, many of whom have been my</p> <p>7 mentors recently or in the decades past.</p> <p>8 Equally so it's a distinct pleasure to</p> <p>9 work with the Iranian American community of northern</p> <p>10 California, a special thank you to that committee</p> <p>11 which performed an invaluable function by keeping</p> <p>12 international and regional attention on the</p> <p>13 challenges in Camp Ashraf.</p> <p>14 Such attention from my perspective</p> <p>15 covers two vitally important areas for the people in</p> <p>16 the camp. First it continues to highlight the awful</p> <p>17 humanitarian condition there is and it continues to</p> <p>18 focus on the importance of revoking the designation</p> <p>19 as a foreign terrorist organization for the PMOI.</p> <p>20 Timing of this conference is flawless.</p> <p>21 Right now the U.S. Department of State is continuing</p>
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<p>1 upon this issue, to be joined by a very</p> <p>2 distinguished panel.</p> <p>3 It is my honor to introduce each in</p> <p>4 turn. First joining us this morning Ambassador Dell</p> <p>5 Dailey. Ambassador Dailey was the Department of</p> <p>6 State's Coordinator for Counter-terrorism in 2007 to</p> <p>7 April 2009, principal advisor to the Secretary on</p> <p>8 counter-terrorism matters, responsible for taking a</p> <p>9 leading role in developing coordinating strategy to</p> <p>10 defeat terrorists abroad and in that capacity he</p> <p>11 also coordinated diplomats, intelligence officials</p> <p>12 and military in the world's largest</p> <p>13 counter-terrorism effort.</p> <p>14 Prior to that assignment Ambassador</p> <p>15 Dailey searched for 36 years on active duty in the</p> <p>16 United States Army reaching the rank of lieutenant</p> <p>17 general as the Director of the Center for Special</p> <p>18 Operations, U.S. Special Operations Command and</p> <p>19 McNeil Air Force Base in Florida.</p> <p>20 Ambassador Dailey.</p> <p>21 MR. DAILEY: It's a distinct pleasure</p>	<p>1 to reconsider its efforts in retaining the PMOI on</p> <p>2 the foreign terrorist organization list. It is</p> <p>3 critically important to ensure all relative</p> <p>4 information from this conference gets to the U.S.</p> <p>5 government during this important deciding moments</p> <p>6 and, yes, the conditions change significantly at</p> <p>7 Ashraf and the Middle East regions to clearly</p> <p>8 justify the revocation.</p> <p>9 But in the Middle East especially</p> <p>10 tick tock Tunisia, tick tock Egypt, tick tock Iran.</p> <p>11 Our presence here today is also</p> <p>12 foreboding because time is of the essence. This is</p> <p>13 best evidenced by the 3400 men, women and children</p> <p>14 located at Camp Ashraf and their future</p> <p>15 vulnerability.</p> <p>16 This vulnerability is a function of the</p> <p>17 United States and coalition members, progress in</p> <p>18 normalizing the relations with the new post-Saddam</p> <p>19 Hussein nation of Iraq but increased sovereignty of</p> <p>20 Iraq at the expense of the residents in Camp Ashraf</p> <p>21 must not occur.</p>

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<p>1 The regional actors, European Union, 2 United Nations, United States need to maybe make 3 pressure on the Iraqi government to treat the Camp 4 Ashraf members with dignity, care, restraint and 5 respect. 6 An important area of concern is the 7 humanitarian conditions at the Camp. They are 8 becoming abhorrent and must be improved. The 9 repeated incursions by the Iraq police have occurred 10 on numerous dates: July 2009, October 2010, 11 November 2010, January 2011, February 2011, all 12 resulting in injuries and several in deaths. 13 14 What is even more unacceptable are the 15 restraints placed on the residents of Camp Ashraf 16 for obtaining medical care. For example, limiting 17 specialist doctor care and being denied hospital 18 access in selecting cases. 19 Couple that with the continuous blaring 20 of propaganda into the Camp from over 180 21 loudspeakers creates conditions that are physically</p>	<p>1 previously unknown information about Iran. 2 This effectively reliable source of 3 information should be used to the maximum by the 4 nations that are threatened by Iran. No other 5 internal or external organization has been this 6 productive in obtaining such information. We should 7 not let it fall idle. To best make this Iranian 8 opposition effective the United States must revoke 9 the terror designation which is now in effect. 10 The use of the Iran opposition through 11 the PMOI is a powerful counterbalance to Iran. It 12 has already shown its success. This opposition is 13 an important target of the Iranian mullahs. It 14 continues to hunt religiously in Iran the PMOI 15 connections and possibly in Iraq. 16 Since the United States remains 17 militarily committed in Iraq and Afghanistan it can 18 pursue no further military actions in the region. 19 Since the UN has approved up to three Security 20 Council resolutions and applied economic impact with 21 limited success Iran stands with impudence and</p>
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<p>1 unlivable. These humanitarian attacks need to be 2 stopped and not repeated. 3 As Iraq must make peace with Iran and 4 its neighbors and become a newly democratically led 5 member of the region, Camp Ashraf should not be the 6 prize that Iran wins. 7 Iran has shown a hatred for the camp 8 and its residents as recently as hanging a visitor 9 to the camp and hanging of a photographer in the 10 elections debacle last year. 11 For Iraq and the United States members 12 of Camp Ashraf and the PMOI are the best 13 counterbalance to Iranian terrorist and nuclear 14 aggression. 15 As a global terrorist state supporting 16 terror in Afghanistan, all over the Middle East and 17 now Iraq becoming a nuclear threat and power Iran 18 must be met and stopped. 19 PMOI has the contacts, incites, 20 cultural awareness and a proven past record of 21 providing the United States and hence the world with</p>	<p>1 defiance to the world while making its nuclear 2 capability match its delivery capability. 3 The PMOI and the Iranian opposition are 4 the best instruments of power to get inside the Iran 5 mullahs and unseat them. No one expected an 6 uprising in Tunisia, Libya, Egypt, Bahrain or Yemen 7 but surprisingly it happened. The people of Iran 8 with a recent history of throwing off their rulers 9 from 1999 to last year can respond. We should 10 capitalize on this. 11 My second point is the revocation of 12 the PMOI from the U.S. foreign terrorist 13 organization list. The United States has continued 14 to retain them on the FTO since its original 15 inclusion. 16 Numerous actions have occurred since 17 then to require the U.S. to reevaluate this 18 decision. Our allies, both the European Union and 19 England have removed the PMOI from their comparable 20 lists. This is accomplished through a thorough 21 review of the facts both classified and</p>

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<p>1 unclassified, current entities and a history from 2 2001 to now of no terrorist activity. The 3 United States should do to same as its allies. 4 Most unfortunately reports indicate 5 that the Iraqi government continues with the 6 unacceptable raids into Camp Ashraf. They do so 7 because the United States has identified the 8 residents as terrorists and the Iraqi government 9 justifies treating terrorists the way the 10 United States thinks they should be treated. This 11 is ironic. 12 Intent and capability to pursue 13 terrorist activities is widely believed to be the 14 reason that PMOI remains on the foreign terrorist 15 list. 16 However, the PMOI and all the residents 17 in Camp Ashraf have signed a non-terror declaration. 18 Additionally they've turned in their tanks, armored 19 personnel carriers, weapons and much military 20 equipment. Certainly their intent is now zero to 21 commit terrorist activities and their capability is</p>	<p>1 has the authority and now the reason to immediately 2 remove the PMOI from the foreign terrorist list. 3 Let's hope she does so. 4 Finally and most importantly, the 5 conditions for retaining the PMOI on the list have 6 changed significantly to warrant revocation. These 7 conditions are very clear. The rising nuclear power 8 of Iran. 9 As evidenced by Iranian intransigence, 10 arrogance, refusing to negotiate at the Istanbul 11 talks last month. If there ever was a time for 12 Secretary Clinton to reconsider the revocation it is 13 now. 14 All our tools of persuasion and 15 coercing of Iran have failed. Iran has a fear of 16 the PMOI due to its popularity and its secular 17 nature. 18 They have a fear of the PMOI due to its 19 encouragement of free elections and rule of law. 20 Iran has a fear of the PMOI due to freedom of 21 religion and no nuclear weapons or weapons of mass</p>
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<p>1 now zero to conduct terrorist activities. It should 2 be revoked. 3 As mentioned previously, the foreign 4 terrorist list has become mired in ill thought out 5 foreign policy. The PMOI is on the list while the 6 Taliban remain off the list. 7 We had thousands and thousands of 8 Americans and coalition troops killed by the Taliban 9 since 9/11 while none have been killed by PMOI. Why 10 is PMOI still on the list and the Taliban is not? 11 This is poor diplomacy. This is poor foreign 12 policy. This is poor statecraft and it's ended in a 13 grievous miscarriage of the use of the FTO, the list 14 itself. 15 It brings great discredit to the 16 United States from our most important resources, our 17 own people and our friends. This listing gives 18 protection to the leadership sworn to kill us. It 19 is appropriate that Secretary of State Clinton, a 20 magnificent diplomat, fixes gross embarrassment and 21 obviously painful error as soon as possible. She</p>	<p>1 destruction. Iran has a fear of the PMOI due to 2 freedom of speech and freedom of press. Right now 3 Iran fears the PMOI more than ever. 4 It is with complete irony and 5 embarrassment and great international confusion that 6 the United States and Iran are of equal mind and on 7 the same team of retaining the PMOI on the terrorist 8 list. Let's end this confusion. We must revoke the 9 terrorist designation. 10 Thank you. 11 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you, 12 Ambassador, very much. Thank you very much. 13 Bill Richardson has just concluded his 14 second term as the Governor of New Mexico. That's 15 only part of his story. Nearly 29 years ago we were 16 elected together to the House of Representatives, at 17 least a lifetime ago. 18 Starting in 1997 Governor Richardson 19 held two posts in the Clinton administration. First 20 as Ambassador to the United Nations and then as 21 Secretary of Energy. He was a presidential</p>

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1 candidate in 2008 for the Democrat party, has become
 2 one of the great voices in the country and my party
 3 for all things good and decent, a good friend, Bill
 4 Richardson.
 5 MR. RICHARDSON: Thank you very much.
 6 Thank you.
 7 I want to just say with Bob Torricelli,
 8 Congressman Bob Torricelli, Senator Torricelli,
 9 those of us in the Congress used to call him the
 10 Torch. That's how he was known because he was an
 11 unflagging fighter for human rights and democracy.
 12 Cuba, Iran, Africa, Bosnia, Sudan and those of us
 13 who also were involved in foreign policy, we would
 14 like to time our visits to a country a few days,
 15 even months after Torch had been there because we
 16 knew he had stirred things up in a very good way.
 17 I notice this audience because
 18 Torricelli is a magnificent speaker. He had a lot
 19 of applause lines that you either didn't catch them
 20 or you had a really hard night last night or you are
 21 very overly respectful audience and I wanted to just

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1 say to you how honored I am to be with this
 2 bi-partisan group of leaders.
 3 We're all members I suspect of a
 4 political party point of view but when you attack an
 5 issue of human rights and national security it's so
 6 much better to do it in a bi-partisan way and all
 7 you have to look is on the right and the left, the
 8 distinguished leaders that I think are fairly
 9 together on this issue.
 10 It shows the importance of what we're
 11 talking about here today. Now, I'm going to be an
 12 optimist here. You get the biggest lines for being
 13 a pessimist.
 14 I'm going to be an optimist
 15 because -- by the way, I want to just say it's great
 16 to see two members when I was in the cabinet, of our
 17 cabinet here, I haven't even said hello to him,
 18 General Shelton and General Pace. We used to have
 19 these cabinet meetings where we discussed do we do
 20 this or that, military, and when these guys would
 21 show up with their splendid uniforms how can you

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1 argue against them, especially General Shelton who
 2 is about 6-foot 8. I don't know if he still is.
 3 It's great to see them.
 4 Here is why I'm optimistic. First, the
 5 events in the Middle East, whatever you may think of
 6 what's happened there, obviously it's a thirst for
 7 freedom and democracy. It's an effort to topple
 8 dictators that curb the expression of the press and
 9 of the people.
 10 Is it a technological revolution? Yes.
 11 This is probably, in Egypt, the first Face Book
 12 revolution, tweeting revolution whatever it is.
 13 Over the years -- I'm old fashioned. My staff says
 14 we got a Face Book page for you and I'd say you do
 15 it, I'm not going to do it. I didn't pay much
 16 attention to it. Now I am. I watch what is said
 17 about me there.
 18 I was one of those that say there's a
 19 reporter for the Washington Post, New York Times, AP
 20 calling you but they are the on-line reporter. I'm
 21 not going to talk to them. Nobody reads that. I

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1 want the dirty newspaper.
 2 Well, my point there is that this has
 3 changed. The technology of communicating among
 4 people, not just within Egypt but within the
 5 Middle East, you saw the connection of the young
 6 people of Tunis and Egypt and you sense that with
 7 this powerful technological tool that that has
 8 fueled the dissent that has brought the end of
 9 regimes and you see it in Bahrain, although there
 10 are some sectarian issues, you see it in other
 11 countries in the Middle East and you see it in Iran
 12 and I too like the Ambassador and the Senator said,
 13 I am pleased with my government's response.
 14 I'm pleased that at a time when we have
 15 so many other strategic interests in the Middle East
 16 that are important, military, energy, we have to
 17 keep the Middle East peace negotiations going, we've
 18 got to keep the treaty with Israel going, the 1979
 19 treaty, we have to collaborate with Middle East
 20 countries in the fight against terrorists.
 21 There are so many security interests

1 that we have to deal with but when it comes to
2 security, when it comes to issues of freedom and
3 democracy you have to strike a balance but
4 eventually you've got to pick one over the other.

5 I know politicians say we can do both.
6 Well, we can but sometimes you have to tilt and my
7 sense very much is that our administration is moving
8 very well in that direction.

9 I'm also going to say something that
10 maybe hasn't been said as much. President Bush 43,
11 he talked about freedom and democracy. I remember
12 the speech. I said what is he saying about Egypt?
13 Didn't he know Mubarak, we have this relationship
14 with him? So I'm giving credit to him for raising
15 the issue.

16 Nothing much happened in terms of
17 policy but I think we have a bi-partisan consensus
18 that freedom and democracy are the values that we
19 should stand for more than anything is America.

20 So this is why I feel that this
21 movement, our movement, because I'm kind of a

1 just like the Torch and sometimes it works, other
2 times it doesn't but I've never been afraid to face
3 those that we have differences with.

4 It doesn't mean when you meet that you
5 give them anything because many times you can
6 advance American values but the Istanbul talks
7 showed that the Iranian regime is not interested in
8 negotiating. They set preconditions that made the
9 talks sponsored by the European Union literally
10 absurd.

11 So there's no reason to pursue what is
12 called the dialog for now when they basically say
13 that they are not -- they want to take the issue of
14 enriching uranium off the table so you can't even
15 discuss what you are going to negotiate.

16 Again, I see it as pointing to our
17 policymakers that the negotiations have not worked.
18 The events in the Middle East show momentum. Let me
19 get to my final point.

20 As I see, there are three issues that
21 have to be dealt with. First, the delisting. It

1 latecomer, I've been Governor of New Mexico for
2 years, I had to worry about roads and schools and
3 you all, you see these issues every day, that what
4 has happened in the Middle East means that the
5 movement that I believe we share has what is called
6 momentum.

7 You can sense it in a political
8 campaign. I'm one of those that has run a campaign.
9 By the way, it's great to see Lee Hamilton. When I
10 was a Congressman everyone said if you want to know
11 what's happening in the Middle East listen to Lee
12 Hamilton, so I'm going to listen to Lee.

13 I sense this momentum with what's
14 happening in the Middle East, what's happening in
15 Iran, the repressive nature of the regime responding
16 to the protesters. You can see something hopefully
17 happening soon so I'm pleased with that.

18 I'm pleased also with the perception
19 that somehow, which I had held for a while, that
20 it's important to negotiate with your enemy. Over
21 the years I've talked to North Korea, to Cuba, Sudan

1 makes no sense.

2 On grounds of evidence, the Court of
3 Appeals, and I understand the lawyer is here who did
4 that masterful brief, the D.C. Court of Appeals said
5 that the justification for the terrorism designation
6 lacks due process.

7 The fact that the MeK has provided
8 intelligence information to the United States,
9 valuable, on nuclear issues in Iran, and so the
10 first step has to be the delisting and that's where
11 I hope we can all work together and make this happen
12 soon. Soon.

13 Number two, and here is another bit of
14 the good news. You are probably wondering when all
15 these heavyweights say we should delist and we
16 should do something about Camp Ashraf, you are
17 wondering: Big shots, what are you doing about
18 this, right, like you are saying it?

19 Well, I want to tell you. I've done a
20 little checking on this. I'm not going to tell you
21 what exactly I've done but the good news is that my

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1 sense from those that I've talked to is that nobody
 2 is against doing this. They either don't have the
 3 information or they are too busy doing other things.
 4 Now, you say they should be busy
 5 because my issue is important. Well, I can tell you
 6 being in government when you have all these crises,
 7 you've got a lot of stuff on your plate. You are
 8 traveling, having meetings, you are dealing with all
 9 these ramifications.
 10 The good news is that I think the
 11 answer is more information to our policymakers and
 12 what you are doing in getting the Congress involved,
 13 getting the press, organizing as citizens in your
 14 communities, in California, around the country, is
 15 so important, allying yourselves with the European
 16 Union.
 17 I was in Europe with the judge about a
 18 month ago. I saw a huge European Union commitment
 19 to this issue. So I'm not saying be patient. I'm
 20 saying keep doing what you are doing but let's do it
 21 more strategically.

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1 I think the argument that is made is
 2 this is a movement that doesn't want any money.
 3 This is a movement that doesn't want weapons. This
 4 is a movement that just wants to be allowed to roam,
 5 to do your democratic thing.
 6 Have you ever heard of a movement that
 7 doesn't ask for money? I haven't. You're the
 8 first.
 9 Camp Ashraf, that's a human rights
 10 issue. That is just a matter of security, of moving
 11 the right people to secure this Camp, our people
 12 work with the government of Iraq to make it happen,
 13 with the United Nations, find a formula that finds
 14 safety and security for many of those to your
 15 families.
 16 When I made my first speech to this
 17 group I got letters from families, from young people
 18 that have families there. They focus on the human
 19 rights side, the treatment.
 20 Why can't the greatest nation in the
 21 world offer this kind of protection? I think this

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1 is something that is very achievable and we have to
 2 work at doing it.
 3 My last point is one of connecting.
 4 What can we as citizens, those of you here, do to
 5 continue this effort?
 6 Getting this bi-partisan support,
 7 first.
 8 Secondly, using the American political
 9 process which is for all of its pitfalls and
 10 difficulties, the most vibrant and open in the
 11 world, get engaged.
 12 Thirdly, connect with your families,
 13 with anybody you knows in Iran and the Middle East
 14 and spread the word of democracy. Then lastly I
 15 think support the efforts of the leaders of the
 16 organization that is focusing on the issues that
 17 we're discussing today.
 18 They are doing everything right and I
 19 think it's just one of those cases where you sense
 20 in a campaign that you are catching breaks at the
 21 end, that the end is near, the end of the campaign

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1 is near. There are these last few developments that
 2 are working. Things are going our way. The
 3 Middle East situation, the Istanbul talks, Secretary
 4 Clinton's great speech in Iran, more people knowing
 5 about this issue. So it has to end up working well.
 6 I'm delighted to be here. I'm very
 7 pleased to be associated with many of you. It's
 8 great to see my colleagues here.
 9 Those that I didn't mention like
 10 Slocombe back there, in the cabinet he would sit in
 11 the back. You know how sometimes people
 12 strategically want to make their point. Walt
 13 Slocombe used to speak at the end. He would wait
 14 until everybody spoke and then everyone would talk
 15 to him and Slocombe in his beautiful Pentagonese
 16 would tell you the strategic issues, so I'm
 17 delighted to be with such a great group, the judge
 18 who has had a distinguished career, especially on
 19 this issue, Mike, with the General, with the Torch.
 20 I want to hear Lee Hamilton so I'm going to give you
 21 the best part of my speech. The end.

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1 MR. TORRICELLI: One of the most
 2 distinguished careers in American justice has been
 3 held by Judge Mukasey. Michael Mukasey was
 4 confirmed as the 81st Attorney General of the
 5 United States. He served until January 2009. He
 6 was appointed to the United States District Court
 7 for the Southern District of New York which next to
 8 the New Jersey court is the most distinguished court
 9 in America. The last six years he served as chief
 10 judge of that court. We all watched his skill and
 11 temperament. In 1996 when he presided over the
 12 trial of the two highest ranking terrorists
 13 apprehended at that point in American history for
 14 their role in the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.
 15 Judge Mukasey.
 16 MR. MUKASEY: I want to thank Senator
 17 Torricelli, the Torch, if I may call him, for that
 18 fine introduction and the Iranian-American community
 19 in northern California. It's a pleasure to be one
 20 of the building blocks toward Lee Hamilton.
 21 In both December and January at

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1 conferences in the United States and abroad I had
 2 occasion to point out that we were at one of those
 3 moments in history when we know that future
 4 generations are going to ask what it is we did to
 5 advance what is good and what it is we do to resist
 6 what is evil.
 7 Events have a way of overtaking even
 8 the most urgent rhetoric. In the brief span of a
 9 couple of weeks the conditions that we're here to
 10 address have become even more urgent.
 11 Militant Islamism threatens to destroy
 12 civilization as we know it. Iran oppresses its own
 13 people, threatens its neighbors and the world at
 14 large and pursues a program to develop nuclear
 15 weapons that it has said repeatedly that it will not
 16 hesitate to use.
 17 In parts of the Islamic world in
 18 Tunisia, Egypt, Bahrain, people, mostly young people
 19 but really the population at large have risen up and
 20 demanded freedom in Tunisia and Egypt they actually
 21 succeeded the overthrowing regimes that were

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1 authoritarian. Those regimes had limits to the
 2 brutality that they would use to survive and so they
 3 are gone.
 4 However, in countries where there is no
 5 limit to the brutality that the regime will use to
 6 put down dissent, and Iran tops the list of those
 7 countries, the story thus far has not been as happy.
 8 The week before last at Friday prayers
 9 Supreme Mullah Ali Homani speaking not in Farsi but
 10 in Arabic just to make sure that he was reached and
 11 understood by people in Cairo praised what he called
 12 the explosion of sacred anger against Washington and
 13 against United States interference in Egypt.
 14 He claims that events were the natural
 15 extension of the 1979 revolution. He was obviously
 16 not embarrassed that in 2009 he himself had given
 17 orders to put down the uprising in the streets of
 18 Teheran in response to a fraudulent election and
 19 this week again the regime has responded with brute
 20 force.
 21 Achmadinajad told the crowd in

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1 Teheran's Freedom Square that despite all of the
 2 complicated and satanic designs of the United States
 3 a new Middle East is emerging without the Zionist
 4 regime and U.S. interference, a place where the
 5 arrogant powers will have no place. The
 6 parliamentary speaker told state run television on
 7 February 14 Americans have changed their stances
 8 several times in the last 20 years. First they were
 9 doubtful to take a stance. When the protests
 10 intensified the Americans turned to the people and
 11 began supporting them.
 12 It is precisely for this reason that
 13 Teheran did not and would not allow antigovernment
 14 demonstrations to intensify in Iran. The Iranian
 15 rulers are fearful that the United States would
 16 start siding with the organized Iranian opposition.
 17 That would further intensify and
 18 empower it. The United States must not at this time
 19 wait for the outcome of the demonstrations before it
 20 decides which side it wants to be on, especially
 21 since we witnessed the great potential for change in

<p style="text-align: right;">Page 34</p> <p>1 Iran in the summer of 2009. 2 Even before Iranians went into the 3 streets the mullahs executed people in record 4 numbers and called for the execution of anyone who 5 dissents, in particular the mullahs have executed 6 several members of Iran's main opposition, the MeK, 7 who were involved in last year's antigovernment 8 demonstrations in Teheran and had relatives at Camp 9 Ashraf where residents are holding out despite the 10 efforts of Iran and its collaborators among the 11 Iraqi authorities to drive the residents back to 12 Iran or to destroy them altogether. 13 When people were, nonetheless, brave 14 enough to take to the streets again this week the 15 regime cut the ties between the protesters and the 16 outside world by cutting off the internet so that 17 the regime could use brutality without being seen. 18 Secretary of State Hillary Clinton 19 expressed support for the tens of thousands of 20 protesters in Iran's capital this weeks. She said 21 that the Obama administration very clearly and</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 36</p> <p>1 designation to get itself delisted. 2 In other words, the Iranian regime now 3 has the Great Satan working for it even as the 4 Iranian people are in the streets demanding regime 5 change. 6 As you are aware, the approximately 7 3400 members of MeK who now live at Ashraf in Iraq 8 close to the border of Iran are in a precarious 9 position. 10 In 2003 they surrendered the weapons 11 they had in return for a solemn guarantee from the 12 Deputy Commander of multi-national forces in Iraq 13 that they would be treated as protected persons 14 under the Fourth Geneva Convention. 15 From 2003 to 2009 the United States 16 honored and backed up that commitment and General 17 Patraeus did not turn over responsibility for 18 security to Iraqi forces until he received an 19 assurance that the residents of Ashraf would 20 continue to be protected but Iran has brought 21 increasing pressure on the Iraqi government in the</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">Page 35</p> <p>1 directly supports the aspirations of the people who 2 are in the streets of Teheran. She also spoke of 3 the hypocrisy of the Iranian regime which had hailed 4 the protests in Egypt but suppressed opposition at 5 home. 6 We need to overcome our own hypocrisy 7 inherent in our policy regarding the Iranian 8 opposition. The State Department maintains the MeK 9 on the list of terrorist organizations. That has 10 the effect of pushing Iran's largest and most 11 organized opposition group which is feared by the 12 ruling mullahs out of the political debate. 13 The Iranian regime is now in the 14 enviable position of having the United States 15 designate as a terrorist organization a group of 16 Iranians who are a threat to the regime, thus 17 limiting their activities. 18 As a result, in essence for the past 14 19 years the bulk of the resources of the group has 20 been consumed not in fighting the Iranian regime but 21 in fighting the consequences of the terrorist</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">Page 37</p> <p>1 past several months and the situation for the 2 residents of the camp has grown more perilous. 3 Iraqi forces have placed at the gates 4 of the camp some 180 loudspeakers that go 24 hours a 5 day to harass the residents day and night to prevent 6 them from sleeping. This pressure has been ongoing 7 for almost a year. Medical care continues to be 8 denied to residents of Ashraf. 9 We speak of and recognize the dangers 10 of Islamism but real change is unlikely to come from 11 outside the Islamic world. However, MeK is a 12 moderate Islamic organization committed to 13 establishing a secular democratic and nuclear free 14 Iran but instead of help and encouragement to MeK 15 the United States instead lists MeK as a foreign 16 terrorist organization. 17 This is not a partisan issue as between 18 Republicans and Democrats. The history goes back to 19 the 1990s during the Clinton administration when MeK 20 was designated by the Secretary of State as a 21 terrorist organization to the belief that that would</p>

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<p>1 somehow help us engage with the mullahs. 2 It continued regrettably in the 3 administration in which I served in the belief that 4 if we delisted MeK the Iranians would send IED's and 5 other equipment to insurgents in Iraq which of 6 course they were doing anyway. There is an 7 opportunity to change that dynamic immediately and 8 dramatically by removing the designation of MeK 9 immediately. 10 This would have three effects. First, 11 it would show the current regime that we mean 12 business and that we're prepared to take all 13 necessary steps to bring pressure on it. 14 Second, it would send a strong signal 15 for the Iranian people that United States policy is 16 genuinely to side with them, with those who are 17 standing up against the regime which would further 18 fuel dissent against the regime in Iran and third, 19 it would take the focus of the attention of the 20 regime away from Hezbollah in Lebanon and the fluid 21 situation in Egypt and make them focus on their own</p>	<p>1 are preparing for further antigovernment 2 demonstrations. 3 It is helpful for the MeK to remain a 4 bone in the throat of Iran and a diversion to the 5 regime because of its potential to undermine the 6 regime but the MeK has been much more than that. 7 It has helped the United States 8 affirmatively by providing valuable intelligence 9 from its own sources within Iran about the Iranian 10 nuclear program. 11 The United States wouldn't have known a 12 great deal of what it does know about the Iranian 13 nuclear program without information furnished by 14 MeK, including but not limited to the nuclear 15 facilities at Natans in Iraq, the disclosure of 16 which marked the beginning of pressure on Iran that 17 arises from what is obviously a nuclear weapons 18 program. 19 There are no good reasons for 20 continuing to brand as terrorists a group of people 21 who so far as anyone can tell are interested only in</p>
Page 39	Page 41
<p>1 borders. 2 MeK has petitioned the U.S. State 3 Department to be taken off the list. The Iranian 4 regime believes time is short and it would like 5 nothing better than have the residents of Ashraf 6 driven out before MeK is removed from the list where 7 it should never have been in the first place. 8 Why is this timing so crucial? It's 9 crucial because the residents of Ashraf, if the 10 residents of Ashraf are still there when the 11 designation is removed then the United States and 12 the Iraqi government will have no choice but to 13 protect them. 14 The designation gives those in the 15 Iraqi government who want to curry favor with Iran 16 an excuse for oppressing the people of Ashraf that 17 they would not have if that designation were 18 removed. 19 With Teheran trying to exploit the 20 situation in the Middle East, America should empower 21 the main Iranian opposition as the Iranian people</p>	<p>1 bringing to their country the blessings of the kind 2 of liberty that we enjoy in this country. 3 As I said, the continued designation of 4 MeK as a terrorist organization gives great comfort 5 to the Iranian regime by putting on the sidelines an 6 organization that is potentially a grave threat to 7 that regime. It also provides justification for the 8 regime to execute MeK members in Iran and to boast 9 that it is executing terrorists. 10 There's a consensus inside this country 11 of the need to delist MeK. An increasing number of 12 members of Congress have supported resolutions 13 favoring that result. It is a bi-partisan 14 consensus. 15 There's a case pending in the District 16 of Columbia Circuit. In a sense this is more than 17 about a case and really more than about MeK. This 18 is about the posture of the United States toward the 19 Iranian regime. 20 I think the case has been made that 21 when Iranians go into the street and put their lives</p>

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1 on the line for freedom as they are doing now and as
 2 they did after the fraudulent election in 2009 our
 3 response through those who our government who speak
 4 for us must be more than to remind the mullahs as we
 5 did in 2009 that the world is watching.
 6 What is necessary and to make it clear
 7 in word and deed that we offer more than condolences
 8 when things go wrong to people who are willing to
 9 put their lives on the line for freedom.
 10 We must offer support and encouragement
 11 and make it clear in word and deed that we stand
 12 with those who stand for freedom and demand regime
 13 change.
 14 In the middle of the 19th century
 15 Abraham Lincoln referred to the United States as the
 16 last best hope of earth. I think that those words
 17 are even truer in the 21st century than when Lincoln
 18 first uttered them in the 19th. I think it's time
 19 we started talking and behaving as if we believe
 20 them.
 21 When succeeding generations consider of

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1 what we did to advance what is good and what we did
 2 to oppose what is evil they will find an answer that
 3 they and we can live with. I thank you again for
 4 the great privilege of speaking to you.
 5 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you very much.
 6 I have heard Lee Hamilton introduced to speak on
 7 American foreign policy for so many years on so many
 8 occasions one is put in the position of Liz Taylor's
 9 fourth husband who when asked about his wedding
 10 night said he knew what to do; he didn't know what
 11 to do to make it interesting.
 12 When I came to Congress 28 years ago
 13 Lee Hamilton was already one of the most
 14 distinguished voices in American foreign policy. It
 15 was my great honor to serve with him as he became
 16 the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee.
 17 That is the only part of his distinguished service.
 18 He served in the Congress from 1965 to 1999. He was
 19 a member of the President's Foreign Intelligence
 20 Advisory Board and the President's Homeland Security
 21 Advisory Council. He was co-chairman along with

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1 Secretary of State James Baker of the Iraq study
 2 group, a bi-partisan group created at the urging of
 3 Congress to make recommendations on American policy
 4 towards Iraq.
 5 At a perilous moment in American
 6 history after the 9/11 attacks he was called upon
 7 again to become vice-chairman of the National
 8 Commission on Terrorist Attacks which issued its
 9 report in July 2004.
 10 Lee Hamilton also served in 1999 to
 11 2010 as the President and director of the Woodrow
 12 Wilson Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., a
 13 distinguished American and a great friend, Lee
 14 Hamilton.
 15 MR. HAMILTON: Good morning to all of
 16 you. I just checked my watch. It's still morning.
 17 Good morning to all of you. I'm delighted to be
 18 here for three reasons.
 19 First of all, to be with this very
 20 distinguished panel. Bob, I kind of envy your job
 21 here today because I'd like to get up and say nice

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1 things about every member of this panel. I think
 2 I've worked with all of them and I know I've heard
 3 testimony from all of them.
 4 I tell the people back in Indiana that
 5 it's very hard to make this government work. We
 6 make a lot of criticisms of our leaders but a
 7 country as big and as diverse as we are, it's hard
 8 to make it work.
 9 What impresses me about the people here
 10 at the panel this morning is they are people who
 11 have tried to make this country work. They are
 12 dedicated public servants and a high honor for me to
 13 be with them.
 14 Secondly, I'm honored to be here
 15 because of you. I admire what you have stood for in
 16 terms of seeking for the Iranian people freedom. I
 17 know many of you have deep personal attachments to
 18 people today in Iran, that you feel the issues that
 19 we discuss here rather easily, you feel them very,
 20 very deeply.
 21 I want you to know how much I admire

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1 and appreciate you. I am impressed and have been
 2 impressed throughout my time with the importance of
 3 unofficial people in foreign policy. People in
 4 Washington come and go in high office. The
 5 unofficial people maintain the ties and the contacts
 6 and the bilateral relationships and you serve a far
 7 more important purpose I believe than you probably
 8 realize in the work that you have done.

9 Now, the third reason that I'm glad to
 10 be here is that you folks are just about the most
 11 hospitable I've seen since I left Indiana. I'm not
 12 nearly as knowledgeable about Iran.

13 What I'm going to do is just try to
 14 give you some impressions about U.S.-Iranian
 15 relationships that are really quite obvious to all
 16 of us and then I'm going to attempt something that I
 17 probably shouldn't. I'm going to try to spell out
 18 for you very quickly what I think the United States
 19 ought to be doing.

20 My impressions are, first, the
 21 United States has had extraordinary difficulty over

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1 a period of decades of dealing with this country of
 2 Iran.

3 I don't know of any country that has
 4 caused us more heartburn, more anguish over a longer
 5 period of time than Iran. I don't know that I know
 6 the reasons for it, but I am impressed by you. It
 7 has been a very, very difficult country for the
 8 United States to understand and to deal with.

9 There are reasons for it. Iran is a
 10 country of great political complexity and
 11 volatility. It has a very complex political system.
 12 It has I think someone told me over 200 separate
 13 political parties.

14 It has, of course, a great deal of
 15 internal turmoil that you folks know a lot more
 16 about than I do. It has created enormous tensions
 17 in the international community over a period of
 18 time. Of course, all the world today is very much
 19 focused on what it's planning to do with regard to
 20 nuclear materials.

21 It has been a very complex challenge

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1 for American foreign policymakers over a period of a
 2 long time. Iran is a powerful country. It's a big
 3 actor. It's rich in all kinds of resources,
 4 especially energy resources. We continue in this
 5 country to focus, as much of the world does, on what
 6 it intends to do with regard to nuclear power.

7 I've read, as you have read in recent
 8 days, the intelligence reports of the United States
 9 government, maybe others here on this platform that
 10 can speak to that better than I, but I'm impressed
 11 when they say that Iran is determined to build a
 12 nuclear program and that they have begun taking
 13 steps towards designing nuclear warheads.

14 That has enormous significance for us
 15 and for the world and, of course, for that region.
 16 I understand that much of the information that we
 17 have in this country with respect to the Iranian
 18 nuclear program comes from you and from those that
 19 you know well.

20 So we have trouble reading Iran. What
 21 are they up to? What really drives that country

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1 today? What in the world are they trying to do with
 2 respect to building nuclear weapons? What are their
 3 intentions?

4 We all know the complexity of this
 5 problem, the difficulty of it, the anguish that it's
 6 caused you personally, the anguish it has caused
 7 American policymakers. What do we do about it?

8 May I make a few suggestions that I
 9 think most of my colleagues will say in one way or
 10 the other, nothing particularly original in what I
 11 have to say?

12 We must insist, of course, that the
 13 Iraqi government live up to its commitment to
 14 protect those who live in Ashraf. I've talked with
 15 several of you in recent days about that situation.
 16 You have educated me a good bit about what has gone
 17 on there but the safety and the security of those
 18 people must be assured and the United States must
 19 insist upon it.

20 Secondly, as I think all of us would
 21 agree, we have to support and we have to tighten the

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1 sanctions. We have had sanctions on Iran since 1979
 2 and the world community a long time as well.
 3 Loopholes have to be closed. The sanctions have to
 4 be tightened.
 5 From my point of view I think it's very
 6 important that we particularly tighten those
 7 sanctions with regard to financial flows and
 8 financial institutions. We have to double, triple,
 9 strengthen our efforts to tighten the sanctions.
 10 These sanctions coupled with covert
 11 actions, I think the world agrees, the United States
 12 agrees, have had an impact in delaying the nuclear
 13 program in Iran and that's a very positive thing
 14 because it gives us more time to try to solve this
 15 problem.
 16 With regard to the covert actions, I am
 17 not knowledgeable with respect to exactly what is
 18 being done today but it is my belief as much of our
 19 press is reporting that those covert actions have
 20 been very important with regard to reducing the
 21 nuclear potential causing barriers, obstacles,

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1 problems for them. The next thing we have to do is
 2 support the opposition in Iran.
 3 I have been terribly moved as you have
 4 been as I have seen the protest movements spreading
 5 out across the Middle East and I'm very much aware
 6 of the fact that in Iran in the next two or three
 7 days it could be a very critical time for the future
 8 of that country.
 9 The United States must see this as an
 10 opportunity to stand up for our core values in this
 11 country and we must support those people in Iran who
 12 seek freedom and democracy and respect for human
 13 rights.
 14 I believe the best chance for the
 15 United States to move forward in its relationship
 16 with Iran is to support the opposition in Iran and I
 17 mean support in very specific ways. I don't know
 18 that I know all of their ways. Cash is one thing
 19 that could be helpful. Removing barriers to the
 20 opposition acquiring the latest technology in, in
 21 getting the word out throughout the country might be

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1 another and we should never let up on our support
 2 for human rights.
 3 I believe that the United States
 4 understands that the ingredients in Iran today are
 5 there for the support of change. They have a
 6 frustrated, young, well educated, not employed,
 7 technically savvy, restless group of people in that
 8 country. Change will come to Iran. It is only a
 9 matter of time.
 10 I asked myself what does it matter how
 11 the United States stands in all of us? My guess
 12 would be that our position is not decisive, that the
 13 future of Iran is to be decided by the Iranian
 14 people and that's the way it ought to be, not by me,
 15 not by this distinguished panel, but by the Iranian
 16 people.
 17 Let me talk about this issue of
 18 delisting the MeK. I'm one of these people, Bill
 19 Richardson -- put away that thing while I'm
 20 speaking, would you please, Bill? He's got a lot to
 21 learn from me. You can read the comic page as far

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1 as I'm concerned.
 2 I have to say to you that I'm one of
 3 those people that Bill referred to in his remarks
 4 that has not paid enough attention to this issue.
 5 I think I can give you a lot of reasons
 6 why I have not but you wouldn't accept any of them
 7 I'm sure so I'll just have to tell you that from
 8 where I stand now I'm really puzzled.
 9 I do not understand why the
 10 United States has kept the MeK on the terrorist list
 11 for all of these years. I have had access to
 12 classified information. I know some things may have
 13 happened in the past but I just don't understand
 14 why.
 15 Now, this is not nuclear physics. This
 16 is a factual question with regard to the conduct of
 17 the MeK and why the United States has not resolved
 18 it and spoken out on it I simply do not understand
 19 but I am not aware of any facts that require the MeK
 20 to be on the terrorist list.
 21 As I conclude here I want to just say a

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1 word about this ten point plan. As I understand it,
 2 this is the third option. I've read through that.
 3 I like it. I think it's very well done.
 4 Support for the ballot box, support for
 5 a pluralist system, separation of the church and
 6 state, complete gender equality, a modern legal
 7 system, support for the universal declaration of
 8 human rights, support for private property, support
 9 for peaceful coexistence, supports for a free Iran.
 10 MR. TORRICELLI: It's not polite to
 11 say I told you so, but about Lee Hamilton I told you
 12 so.
 13 If you were casting a Hollywood movie
 14 and had to fill the role of the Joints Chiefs of
 15 Staff of the United States military the first person
 16 that would come to mind would be General Shelton.
 17 He looks the role, acts the role, he served for two
 18 terms, was principal military advisor to presidents
 19 Clinton and Bush and served as chairman of the Joint
 20 Chiefs of Staff of the United States. He is a
 21 native of Tarborough, North Carolina, a graduate of

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1 North Carolina State University, General Shelton
 2 spent 38 years serving his country in a variety of
 3 command positions. Among his many awards he's a
 4 recipient of the (the General's various medals and
 5 honors are listed). He was also knighted by Queen
 6 Elizabeth. He is the author of two books. He is a
 7 great and distinguished American and we are honored
 8 to have him here today. General Shelton.
 9 MR. SHELTON: Thank you very much.
 10 What a tough act to follow but it's great to be here
 11 with such a distinguished panel, friends that I've
 12 had the opportunity to serve with, selfless servants
 13 and it is great to see Governor Bill Richardson
 14 again. It's been a while since we served side by
 15 side. We always saw things eye to eye because we're
 16 about the same height.
 17 It's always great for me to be with
 18 such a concerned group of citizens, citizens that
 19 are concerned about their fellow countrymen, people
 20 that are concerned about what's going on back in
 21 Iran right now and in particular people that are

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1 excited about the potential for change.
 2 Now, the subject that I was asked to
 3 speak about today, change, is one that is very
 4 complex and caused me some concern because change is
 5 all basis tough. It's hard, it's challenging, it
 6 takes difficult work by many, many people.
 7 What is the most effective means to
 8 make that change, the most efficient means? What's
 9 the most, the least disruptive way that you can do
 10 it? Finally, what's the right timing? When I look
 11 at Iran I say the timing is now, today.
 12 Having been involved in the change of a
 13 couple of governments I can tell you that's the
 14 toughest change that you can go through. It is
 15 really challenging. The first thing you do is you
 16 have to start looking at who is the enemy.
 17 When I do that I think about the
 18 ancient warrior Sun Su and I paraphrase: If you
 19 know yourself and you know your enemy you will be
 20 victorious in every encounter. If you know yourself
 21 but not your enemy for every victory you will also

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1 suffer a defeat. If you know neither yourself nor
 2 your enemy then you are a fool and you will be
 3 defeated in every encounter.
 4 When I look at change in Iran I think
 5 we know who the enemy is and I'll talk more about
 6 that just a few minutes. Let me take a quick look
 7 at Egypt.
 8 As a result of recent events there is
 9 considerable excitement around the world regarding
 10 the chance to change. That's particularly true in
 11 the Middle East. In almost every case it is because
 12 in those countries you find people that are
 13 oppressed, dissidents that are being jailed or
 14 imprisons. You find democratic methods or
 15 techniques are almost non-existent. Torture,
 16 killing and imprisonment are commonplace and there
 17 is usually a resistance movement in these countries
 18 going on but in the case of the Middle East
 19 countries I became quite concerned but when you look
 20 there is this fundamentalist or radical element that
 21 is present in almost every one of the countries.

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1 It is an opportunity that the current
 2 regime in Iran sees in making a change in control in
 3 that country that will allow them to control the
 4 region.
 5 When I look at what's going on in Egypt
 6 today I know there are elements of the media that
 7 are very positive and very upbeat. All of us are
 8 excited about the Egyptian people being out from
 9 under what turns out to be a very oppressive leader
 10 but at the same time I think we have to be concerned
 11 and I for one am concerned about what the future
 12 holds.
 13 Not all countries can use the same
 14 template that we saw in Egypt because in Egypt the
 15 people with the guns, the armed forces, the army if
 16 you will, were very supportive of the people. They
 17 were a very highly respected institution in Egypt
 18 and still are and they were determined they would
 19 support those that were opposing the regime by not
 20 gunning them down like the Iranian government does
 21 today. Mubarak had his flaws. He needed to go

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1 because of his type of leadership but on the
 2 positive side he was a moderate Arab leader who was
 3 very friendly to the United States and had been very
 4 supportive throughout.
 5 As I look at Egypt today I am quite
 6 concerned because where are they going to go now in
 7 terms of their government, how quickly will the
 8 Iranian people be in a better position than they are
 9 today and finally what will be the relationship of
 10 the emerging government in Egypt as pertains to the
 11 west and specifically with the United States.
 12 Hopefully it's not going to turn out to
 13 be a case of we got what we asked for or be careful
 14 what you wish for.
 15 That brings me to Iran. From my
 16 perspective the Iranian people can not be worse off
 17 than they are with the current Iranian regime.
 18 Today Iran suffers from a regime that is a mixture
 19 of theocracy and autocracy and one that continues to
 20 defy the international community. I believe that
 21 the Iranian people both those that are inside the

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1 country today as well as those that are living in
 2 exile or outside the country are in favor of change
 3 and not tomorrow, but today.
 4 There is one exception and it's a big
 5 exception and those are the people in Iran that are
 6 armed, the ones that are in control, the ones that
 7 enjoy being in control and do not want to see a
 8 change in government because they are the ones that
 9 are treated well, they are the ones that benefit
 10 from the current regime and that is where we see an
 11 issue.
 12 Just like in Iraq, we had the very same
 13 issue and that was that many Iraqi people wanted
 14 change, they wanted Saddam out. The Republican
 15 Guards, the police, the Army had the guns and,
 16 therefore, it was very difficult for them to make
 17 that change until we intervened. The Iranian issue
 18 is compounded by the fact that the largest organized
 19 resistance to Iran's current regime has been put on
 20 the list the MeK.
 21 Ambassador Dailey, when he was serving

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1 he office he recommended they be taken off. His
 2 recommendation was not followed which in my opinion
 3 was a mistake and one that we should rectify
 4 immediately. Not tomorrow. Today.
 5 Ambassador Dell Dailey was on target
 6 then. He's dead on target today. We need to move.
 7 Iran's current regime is the largest exporter of
 8 state sponsored terrorism in the world.
 9 U.S. forces have encountered their
 10 opposition groups every place we've been in for the
 11 last 25 years. Our friends and allies in the
 12 Middle East fear the current Iranian regime and I
 13 saw that on every trip that I made and still with
 14 those I correspond with in the Middle East.
 15 Yet by placing the MeK on the FTO list
 16 we have weakened the support of the best organized
 17 internal resistance group to the most terrorist
 18 oriented anti-western world antidemocratic regime in
 19 the region. That's a disgrace.
 20 On top of that we stood by as the
 21 Iraqis invaded Camp Ashraf as they killed unarmed

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1 Iranian civilians living there, individuals that had
 2 been promised protection by the United States,
 3 individuals that had supplied us with invaluable
 4 information during the toughest days of the Iraq war
 5 and when I saw this, when I saw the invasion on
 6 television I was reminded of the ethnic cleansing
 7 that the Serbs carried out against the people of
 8 Kosovo. We didn't stand by then. We intervened.
 9 Iran's current regime is clearly a
 10 government that needs to change. The MeK is the
 11 organization that they fear and that should tell us
 12 something right off the bat. When you look at what
 13 the MeK stands for, when they are antinuclear,
 14 separation of church and state, individual rights,
 15 MeK is obviously the way that Iran needs to go.
 16 Why we haven't joined our friends, our
 17 European allies along with our great partner,
 18 England, and taken them off the list is beyond me.
 19 It was a noble attempt but one that did not pan out.
 20 Our European allies saw that it didn't pan out and
 21 they moved quickly to take them off the list.

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1 I believe we've got a great Secretary
 2 of State in Secretary Hillary Clinton but for those
 3 below her in the State Department, those that make
 4 the recommendations that come up to the Secretary I
 5 say who are we kidding? Get on with it. Get the
 6 recommendation to the Secretary and do it.
 7 The MeK is not a perfect organization.
 8 They've made mistakes. So have we, but I think the
 9 MeK, when you look at them in the big picture they
 10 provide hope for the Iranian people that far exceeds
 11 anything that we or our allies can offer excluding
 12 direct intervention at this point.
 13 I think for those of us here today, our
 14 prayer is that we will see democracy prevail in Iran
 15 and in the Middle East but in such a manner that it
 16 will provide peace and stability and that we can
 17 maintain that throughout the region and our hope is
 18 that the MeK will be removed from the FTO list and
 19 be allude to continue their efforts to bring about
 20 change in Iran for the sake of the Iranian people.
 21 Thank you very much.

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1 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you, General.
 2 General Michael Hayden was the director
 3 of the Central Intelligence Agency, appointed by
 4 President George W. Bush. He served in 2006 to
 5 2009. Prior to becoming CIA director he was the
 6 principal deputy Director of National Intelligence.
 7 General Hayden was director of the National Security
 8 Agency from 1999 to 2005. He entered active duty in
 9 behalf of the United States in 1969 and since then
 10 has served as commander of the Air Intelligence
 11 Agency and as director of the Joint Command and
 12 Control in the Controlled Warfare Center. We're
 13 honored to have you this morning.
 14 MR. HAYDEN: Thank you for giving me
 15 the opportunity to be with you here this morning and
 16 this afternoon.
 17 I must admit a certain sense of
 18 discomfort why am I up here with this group because
 19 you have a distinguished gathering of
 20 decision-makers and policymakers here and I'm the
 21 intel guy. I think I'm going to come at this

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1 discussion from the point of view of the intel guy
 2 because that's who I am.
 3 Before I jump into the specifics I need
 4 to give you a sense as to what it is I think that
 5 means. Intelligence works all the nexus of the
 6 world as it is and the world as we want it to be.
 7 Intelligence takes a pretty powerful role in those
 8 decision-making processes.
 9 You get into the same room that these
 10 distinguished gentlemen are in but you come in
 11 through an entirely different door. Let me tell you
 12 what I mean.
 13 When I talk to a policymaker I feel as
 14 if I'm talking to the vision guy. My role in that
 15 conversation is to be the fact guy. Think again of
 16 all the people you voted for in every election. I
 17 believe there's nary a one that you voted for
 18 because he was a master of the facts. You vote for
 19 people because of where it is you thinks they want
 20 to take us. Inherently if I'm the fact guy talking
 21 to the vision guy, and the Governor suggested this

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1 earlier that vision guy is inherently optimistic.
 2 Otherwise he wouldn't have applied for that job if
 3 he didn't think he could effect change.
 4 I have to tell you it is a malady of my
 5 intelligence profession that we are inherently
 6 pessimistic. Bob Gates, who is now Secretary of
 7 Defense and formally DCI, has a wonderful phrase.
 8 He says when a CIA analyst stops to smell the
 9 flowers he looks for the funeral.
 10 I went through kind of a classic
 11 liberal education, a lot of philosophy courses and I
 12 know the difference between deductive and inductive
 13 reasoning. The intelligence guy is inherently
 14 inductive. He's working from the specific up to the
 15 general and I have to tell you in every dialog with
 16 a policy maker I was looking at someone who really,
 17 really, really wanted to be deductive. He wanted to
 18 take general first principles and apply them to
 19 specifics. Here I am in this dialog in the narrow
 20 space I need to be in as the intel guy. I've got to
 21 be anchored to the facts but I also have to be

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1 relevant to my partner in this dialog who has a
 2 vision and who wants to move the world into a better
 3 place.
 4 The intel guy never gets to set policy
 5 but his responsibility should be to set the left and
 6 the right hand boundaries of what constitutes the
 7 possible.
 8 I have to tell you I participated in
 9 that kind of dialog about Iran multiple times in the
 10 oval office with President Bush and his team. I
 11 would offer you the view that Iran behind al-Qaeda
 12 was the second most discussed topics that we had
 13 during my time in government.
 14 President Bush had hundreds of
 15 questions about Iran. One would be about the
 16 nuclear program, kind of the specifics of the
 17 physics there and the other had to do with Iran
 18 itself and how it was governed and particularly how
 19 the Iranian government made decisions. I must tell
 20 you as tough as those nuclear questions were, those
 21 were the ones I wanted.

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1 I would say that President Bush, he
 2 actually offered some impatience when it came to
 3 Iran and how much insight we could give him. I
 4 recall one instance where he say Mike, this is not
 5 North Korea. We have some access. How come this is
 6 so opaque for us? In another instance he was kind
 7 of poking his finger at the middle of my chest
 8 saying Mike, I don't ever want to be -- Mike, I
 9 don't want any President ever to be faced with only
 10 two options, accepting a nuclear armed Iran or
 11 conducting major military activity against that
 12 state.
 13 Now I step back and I'm wondering what
 14 are the fact guys, the guys that I left behind in my
 15 profession, what are the fact guys now telling the
 16 vision guys in our government with regard to these
 17 questions.
 18 I think the first thing they are
 19 telling them is Iran is on a path to nuclear
 20 capability. I was quite struck with Mr. Hamilton's
 21 incredibly careful choice of words. He said nuclear

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1 capability. That's kind of where I am too.
 2 In my personal view if this is a
 3 weapon, I think the Iranians get right there. We
 4 got a kit in the garage and we can put this thing
 5 together in a couple of weeks because having a
 6 weapon and particularly testing a weapon sets in
 7 motion a whole bunch of things they don't want and
 8 don't need.
 9 How do we know they are that close?
 10 When my successor goes I'm in to the President and
 11 he tells you they are so close I can't tell you
 12 actually when they will have one. There is public
 13 commentary on the new national intelligence system
 14 that's coming out. I have not seen the document.
 15 The language that seems to be reflected
 16 in the press accounts paraphrase what I just said.
 17 They are using the phrase "virtual nuclear weapon"
 18 or my phrase now "permanent breakout." I think
 19 that's a reality.
 20 I think that arc left uninterrupted is
 21 a given. The path in the arc has gotten a bit

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1 slower. Myself looking at what I can look at now in
 2 my second life, we probably don't get to that fork
 3 in the road President Bush talked about until some
 4 time after 2012.

5 Of my colleagues, an individual with
 6 whom I worked a great deal, Meyer Degan of Israel,
 7 says we don't get to that fork in the road until
 8 perhaps 2015. So we have a bit more time to effect
 9 some changes but no one is arguing we're heading
 10 down this road and at some point we reach this fork.

11 Now, that's really important. Let me
 12 give you a second truth the fact guy should be
 13 giving to the vision guy.

14 The second truth is there is the very
 15 real possibility that this government in Iran, the
 16 one we're talking about now, that this government is
 17 actually incapable of stopping that trajectory.
 18 Hear me out. Recall after the Obama administration
 19 came in we offered the Iranian government an
 20 arrangement by which they could take the LEU, give
 21 it to a second or third party, change it into

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1 medical isotopes and return it to Iran and that deal
 2 had nothing to do with stopping the centrifuges
 3 spinning which used to be the American red line. We
 4 had moved our red line dramatically, had not
 5 challenged their right to spin centrifuges.

6 Do you recall they accepted the before
 7 and before they didn't. They were unable to pick up
 8 what was I think by any objective measure a powerful
 9 concession.

10 They were unable because of whatever
 11 processes or dynamics inside that government to say
 12 yes, even when it was in their own interest. We saw
 13 this play out three octaves below this.

14 You recall the three American hikers
 15 that are indicted, two of them still in custody, did
 16 you see the drama for the young lady, we're going to
 17 release here, no, we're not, she comes back and all
 18 of a sudden she shows up in Amman.

19 Look at the distinctions in trying to
 20 get there. We ratchet up the last set of sanctions
 21 which are quite dramatic. He had a press

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1 availability with a bunch of thinkers and the
 2 President is quoted by name as saying the Iranian
 3 regime may be so ideologically committed to getting
 4 a weapon that no amount of pressure can dissuade
 5 them.

6 That has tremendous policy implications
 7 if our goal is to shape regime thinking. If we can
 8 make this problem resolved by affecting how they
 9 think, affect how they think by engagement, by
 10 sanctions, if you accept the premise I've just
 11 offered you, they are incapable of getting to, yes,
 12 that makes all of that pretty much wasted effort.

13 A third truism is regime behaviors and
 14 a whole bunch of other areas give us little hope for
 15 a changed relationship with this group, well known
 16 support for Syria, Hezbollah, Hamas. How about
 17 this? This is one that I formed when I was DCIA
 18 when we were talking about the darkest days in Iraq,
 19 the IED's which were designed by the Iranian regime.
 20 It was the policy of the Iranian government approved
 21 at the highest level of that government to

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1 facilitate the killing of American and coalition
 2 soldiers in Iraq, period. It doesn't gat any more
 3 stark than that in talking about any regime's
 4 behavior.

5 I was often asked in government if the
 6 Iranians get a weapon could we defer their using it?
 7 I must admit I was struck by the question can we
 8 defer the Iranians from using that weapon because I,
 9 frankly, think -- and fact guy talking to vision
 10 guy -- I, frankly, think if you are talking about
 11 deterrence here, we're not talking about deterring
 12 Iran.

13 We're talking about Iran deferring us.
 14 Picture what an Iranian regime without a nuclear
 15 weapon is now doing and then imagine what might such
 16 a regime with a weapon, even if it's a kit in the
 17 garage, might be capable of doing.

18 Which brings us to the fourth truism,
 19 how do we deal with the current events? How brutal
 20 is this regime? The first thing I need to offer,
 21 these are not dominoes. These are very different

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1 regimes.

2 One has to be a bit sophisticated to

3 see how events as they happened in Tunisia or in

4 Egypt or how they are happening in Yemen, how they

5 play out in Iran.

6 There are many common denominators. It

7 has already been suggested by several folks this is

8 also a regime that will also shod its own citizens

9 which makes it different than Tunisia and Egypt.

10 They are quite willing to use maximum force. This

11 makes this a very, very difficult problem for our

12 policymakers, success is not something that's

13 inevitable or guaranteed.

14 Frankly, I understand a bit of the

15 reluctance of the administration because we shared

16 it in the previous administration. To touch this

17 because the degree to which there are American

18 fingerprints on it, it might make it more difficult

19 for those folks we all know will ultimately resolve

20 this, the Iranian people to resolve it.

21 Our comments have been a bit cautious.

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1 Our comments have been about process, not change.

2 If you compare our comments now about Iran, it's

3 about Iranian behavior towards the demonstrators.

4 It's not about meaningful transition now which,

5 frankly, was the language we used just 10 to 14 days

6 ago.

7 That leads to some very real questions.

8 If a nuclear Iran is unacceptable and there are

9 three successful American presidents who have said

10 that's unacceptable, if it is unacceptable, if

11 Iranian decision-making is unable to stop this

12 process, if the opportunity for regime

13 transformation is allowed to pass then in 2012 or

14 2013 or 2014 or 2015 we do get to that fork in the

15 road that President Bush warned me about and whoever

16 is President at that point has only two choices: Do

17 something or do nothing, and at that point those are

18 both very bad.

19 Thank you all very much for the

20 opportunity.

21 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you very much.

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1 It is very unusual in a Senate hearing to actually

2 have two chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of

3 the United States but that indeed is what we have

4 here today. General Peter Pace was sworn in as the

5 16th chairman of the Joint Chiefs in 2005. This is

6 the culmination of a career that began as a graduate

7 of the United States Naval Academy. He served as

8 the principal military advisor to the President and

9 Secretary of Defense and the National Security

10 Council. Prior to becoming chairman he served as

11 the vice-chairman of the Joint Chiefs in 2001 to

12 2005. General Pace holds the distinction of being

13 the first Marine to have served in either of these

14 positions. He's also served as Commander in Chief

15 of the United States Southern Command. Highest on

16 his great list of credentials he was a constituent

17 of mine, having lived in Teaneck, New Jersey.

18 MR. PACE: Thank you. When you

19 receive that kind of a warm welcome the smartest

20 thing to do is just sit down and don't ruin it.

21 I truly am honored to be here with you,

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1 to be part of this panel with so many folks who I

2 had the pleasure of serving with and who I admire

3 but mostly because of you here in this room. I did

4 not come as a backup singer in a chorus.

5 I came as an individual who has had

6 some unique experiences and I hope my experience can

7 somehow help us all understand better how to help

8 Iran. Like you, like each and every one of you the

9 overriding reason to be here this morning for each

10 of us is our passionate desire to see the Iranian

11 people live their lives the way they want to in

12 freedom.

13 I've been asked to speak to you a

14 little bit about the threat that Iran currently is

15 and the potential responses to at that time threat.

16 First, it would be good if we define

17 what a threat is. In military terms it is a

18 capability to do you harm and, number two, an intent

19 to do it. Countries over time have changed, as I

20 believe Iran will.

21 The United States has fought against

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1 England and Italy and Germany and Japan, all
 2 countries with citizens who are now our friends.
 3 In the past as today they've had
 4 weapons that could hurt us. The difference is they
 5 do not intend to hurt us.
 6 Given the definition of threat, of, A,
 7 capability and B, intent is the current regime in
 8 Iran a threat? Absolutely. Look in the region.
 9 They provide weapons and instruction and sometimes
 10 personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan specifically to
 11 make it difficult for the governments in both of
 12 those countries to grow their democracies,
 13 specifically to kill Americans and our coalition
 14 partners, specifically to impose their will on their
 15 neighbors.
 16 Their special operations persons and
 17 their support for Hezbollah just makes that tortured
 18 region so much more difficult to live in and so much
 19 more difficult to find a peaceful solution. Their
 20 conventional forces, some are for self-defense but
 21 others like the thousands of able minds that they

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1 have, the hundreds of small, fast attack boats that
 2 can do swarm tactics against both military and
 3 commercial attacks in the straits of Hormuz.
 4 There are missiles, cruise missiles and
 5 the 2000 plus missiles that they have, some of which
 6 that can travel 2000 plus kilometers are all threats
 7 to their neighbors in the region and to those
 8 coalition forces from around the globe that are
 9 trying to help in the region.
 10 In a couple of years all of Europe will
 11 be within missile range of the missiles they are
 12 developing. A couple of years after that the
 13 United States will be in missile range.
 14 So there is a very real threat to the
 15 region, to Europe and to the United States in both
 16 the current capabilities and the capabilities that
 17 are on the drawing board.
 18 A couple of the missiles can travel
 19 enormous distances with the potential of nuclear
 20 weapons and the threat grows astronomically. As has
 21 been mentioned, the advent, the attainment of a

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1 nuclear weapon capability by this regime in Iran is
 2 truly unacceptable.
 3 Can you imagine what they will do?
 4 They are already in a position to coerce their
 5 neighbors. Can you imagine what their having a
 6 nuclear deterrent would do to their willingness to
 7 be more adventurous with their armed forces, with
 8 their support to paramilitaries with their support
 9 to terrorism?
 10 Not only is it a problem from the
 11 standpoint of that regime having that kind of
 12 capability, it then means that the rest of the
 13 region has to make a basic decision.
 14 Do they cower under that threat, do
 15 they become nuclear powers in their own right? Then
 16 what happens when a regime that has shown its
 17 willingness to provide money and all sorts of
 18 weapons has nuclear weapons that it might give to
 19 others, be it other nation states or, worse,
 20 terrorist organizations? This is a huge threat to
 21 all of us.

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1 What are our possible responses?
 2 First, there is the possibility of a military
 3 response.
 4 It is the least best option and
 5 certainly the last one that we ought to contemplate
 6 or use, but if you want to have some ability to talk
 7 to the current regime and if you want to have any
 8 credibility you better have a military capacity and
 9 the willingness to use it at the right time.
 10 So it's important to also understand
 11 that the U.S. military for one is quite capable of
 12 handling any new threat.
 13 Some folks get confused between our
 14 desire to not fight and the true strain on our
 15 forces that five or six deployments to Iraq or
 16 Afghanistan has put on them and, on the other hand,
 17 our ability to protect ourselves.
 18 Today there are about 200,000, give or
 19 take, U.S. service members serving in the Gulf
 20 region. That's 200,000 out of 2.4 million active
 21 Guard and Reserve.

1 Are they under strain? You bet they
2 are. Have they been working at this for the last
3 nine or ten years, yes. Are they willing to serve
4 their country? Yes, they are.

5 Fundamentally if a threat arises to the
6 United States of America does this country have the
7 resiliency and the power to do something about it?
8 The answer is: Absolutely.

9 There are two million plus U.S. service
10 members. There's an entire United States Navy and
11 Air Force and all of the other elements of our
12 national power. It would be ugly because we would
13 have to use more brute force because many of the
14 precision weapons and precision intelligence assets
15 that are needed to be less destructive are already
16 being employed but no potential enemy should ever
17 misunderstand the difference between ongoing
18 operations and our desire to not over work our
19 troops and our desire to use a military instrument
20 as a last resort, you should not confuse that with
21 the ability to use it. So the military option on

1 from him. As has been pointed out also the Egyptian
2 armed forces and the Egyptian police have been
3 supportive and unoppressive of the true will of the
4 Egyptian people. A different story in Teheran.

5 So it is gatherings like this that are
6 so important. I know the issue of the MeK is
7 critical to each of you.

8 I try to understand when I knew I was
9 going to be part of this panel today why is it that
10 my government continues to list the MeK as a
11 terrorist organization. I have not found the reason
12 that convinces me.

13 I also know, however, like everybody
14 else up here, that you don't know everything.
15 There's always something you don't know.

16 A couple of things that were said to me
17 this week as I was trying to delve into why is it.
18 I'm not saying I agree with these things but there
19 are things that people believe and that you in this
20 room, therefore, still have not overcome. One is
21 the history since 1965. The ten points that were

1 the table is important. It must have credibility
2 but it is, in fact, the very last thing you want to
3 use.

4 Next is negotiations. The entire
5 Iranian nuclear program has been undertaken during
6 negotiations. It is important to continue to talk
7 but I don't see where a nation, if it has,
8 determined that it will have nuclear weapons would
9 be dissuaded by negotiations.

10 That leaves why you are all in this
11 room. Uprising of the people. It has been pointed
12 out Egypt and all of the other public demonstrations
13 that are going on throughout the region now hold
14 both great promise and great peril.

15 There is no doubt in my mind that the
16 Egyptian people who have won for themselves this
17 opportunity to rewrite their own constitution, to
18 live in freedom the way they want to inside their
19 own country, there's no doubt in my mind that there
20 are forces out there including current Iranian
21 regime forces that would seek to steal that program

1 read today are wonderful. I would support each of
2 those points if I were an Iranian citizen and I
3 certainly do as a citizen of the world but somehow
4 that promise of rejection of violence and these ten
5 principles has not yet translated into trusting and
6 believing amongst some folks whose voices matter and
7 figuring out how to address that in a way that's
8 understandable and trusted is key to where you want
9 to go.

10 Some folks said to me this week if the
11 United States government took the MeK off the
12 terrorist list it would be a signal to the Iranian
13 regime that we had changed from a desire to see
14 changes in regime behavior to a desire to see
15 changes in regime. My response to that is: Sounds
16 good to me.

17 You can't get where you want to go if
18 you don't understand what the obstacles are. And
19 there's another obstacle out there and it is folks
20 believe that a lot of people in Iran do not trust
21 the MeK because of the alliance between Saddam

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1 Hussein and the MeK during the Iran-Iraq war and
 2 that fear is also holding back many individuals and
 3 it has to be overcome if you want to get to where
 4 you want to go with regard to the MeK.
 5 Lastly, I had the great privilege of
 6 wearing the uniform of the armed forces of the
 7 United States for over 44 years. It was a source of
 8 great pride to me to defend my country's
 9 constitution against all enemies, foreign and
 10 domestic, and in my life in uniform as best I could
 11 to help protect the American people and those of us
 12 of like mind around the globe but I know one thing
 13 for a fact and that is that the freedom I was
 14 protecting was freedom I had inherited.
 15 I did not have to stand up to be
 16 counted. I did not have to throw out a regime. I
 17 simply had to recognize as an American how lucky I
 18 was to be born in this country and what a privilege
 19 it was to defend it which is why I truly wanted to
 20 be here this morning, why I had such incredible
 21 admiration, why I stand in awe of the citizens in

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1 Iran yesterday, today and tomorrow who despite the
 2 threat of being killed by their own armed forces or
 3 police, who despite the threat of regime punishment
 4 that is handed out so readily, despite that they are
 5 standing up for the simple reason that they want to
 6 live their lives the way that I inherited my life
 7 and as a citizen of the United States and a citizen
 8 of the world to be able to come here together with
 9 you all and to somehow have our voices be heard in
 10 Iran, if we through our actions today and tomorrow
 11 can help encourage and support those who are pining
 12 for freedom then as already has been pointed out
 13 here today, the inevitability of freedom in Iran
 14 will come sooner and that is well worth our time
 15 today and tomorrow and every day until it happens.
 16 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you. Our last
 17 remarks today are from someone you may not know but
 18 for anyone who has served in the United States
 19 government during these last 20 or 30 years, he has
 20 in various positions been somewhat of a fixture of
 21 making national policy. (Mr. Slocombe's background

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1 is given).
 2 MR. SLOCOMBE: I appreciate the
 3 opportunity to be here with this distinguished
 4 panel.
 5 I want to approach the issues we've
 6 been talking about today from a slightly different
 7 perspective.
 8 For reasons that I fully understand and
 9 deeply respect, in some sense the ultimate issue is
 10 what's right for Iran but there is also an issue of
 11 what's in the interest of the United States.
 12 For the reasons that a number of
 13 people, particularly Lee Hamilton, have addressed,
 14 for Iran to have a nuclear weapons capability is a
 15 very serious threat to our cold blooded interests.
 16 We need to think about what are the ways that are
 17 consistent with those interests to do what we can to
 18 stop it.
 19 The logic of my argument is really
 20 quite simple. It is that nuclear weapons are a
 21 grave threat and as I will try to explain in some

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1 detail but or the reasons that General Pace implied,
 2 the military option to stop them is immensely
 3 unattractive.
 4 We have to keep it on the table. It
 5 may come to the point we have to do it but it is
 6 immensely unattractive. Negotiations which were
 7 tried to be fair, not merely by this administration
 8 but by both of its predecessors and even before
 9 presidents Clinton have not been successful.
 10 Sanctions have some hope but for a
 11 variety of reasons they were a long shot. It
 12 follows by a logical process of elimination that if,
 13 as General Hayden said, and I think he's probably
 14 right, this regime is incapable of abandoning its
 15 nuclear weapons ambitions voluntarily something has
 16 to change inside Iran for their policies and their
 17 practices with respect to nuclear weapons to change
 18 and the best thing for that is a change which is
 19 produced by the people of Iran, and the
 20 United States cannot produce that change itself and
 21 indeed I suspect amongst the people you have here

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1 who is most sensitive to the argument that if we,
 2 the United States government, become the sponsor of
 3 regime change in Iran and it becomes our program and
 4 what we're working for with us in front, regime
 5 change becomes less likely, not more.
 6 That means it has to happen from inside
 7 Iran but while the United States can't lead, it
 8 must, I think it was Governor Richardson who said it
 9 has to be on the right side and show that it's on
 10 the right side.
 11 I want to talk very briefly, and I know
 12 I'm the last speaker and that means I'm standing in
 13 the way of lunch which is always a mistake, to say a
 14 little bit about why I think the military option is
 15 so unattractive.
 16 There's a lot of questions about why
 17 this is worth even thinking about. I want to agree
 18 with the point that general Hayden made which is
 19 that in an important sense the danger from Iranian
 20 nuclear weapons is that they will be used to deter
 21 us.

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1 That is Iran's regime wants to be the
 2 hegemon of the region. The principal barrier to
 3 that is the American commitment to the security of
 4 Iran's neighbors. The stability of that region is
 5 crucial to our own freedom and prosperity. I think
 6 the danger is not that an attempt to coerce the
 7 United States by threatening us with nuclear weapons
 8 or missiles would succeed. I don't think it would.
 9 The danger is that the belief that they
 10 could coerce us would encourage and induce the
 11 people who run the Iranian regime to take risks to
 12 undertake actions that we would have no choice
 13 except to respond to and that is -- putting the
 14 world in a situation in which essentially crazy
 15 thugs are encouraged to do things that will
 16 necessarily produce a drastic reaction at great cost
 17 and risk is extraordinary dangerous. That I think
 18 is the core danger.
 19 It becomes then very tempting to say if
 20 worse comes to worst we'll nuke them. That's a very
 21 dangerous illusion.

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1 Always when I was in the Pentagon I was
 2 struck by the degree which American military
 3 officers, far from being enthusiastic about using
 4 military force, were cautious. There were even some
 5 people who argue they were excessively cautious.
 6 As General Pace has explained, there
 7 comes a time when you have to take those risks but
 8 it is crucial to understand what those risks are and
 9 what the payoffs are. There's no question that the
 10 United States could successfully attack a series of
 11 identified targets. There's probably no question
 12 that the United States has somewhat more information
 13 about what the right targets are than appear in the
 14 newspaper but I would ask General Hayden to get up
 15 if he or his successors can give an absolute
 16 assurance that we know what all the right targets
 17 are and that is the core objection to a military
 18 strike, that we run the risk that we would launch
 19 the strike. It will do considerable damage but it
 20 won't solve the problem and it has the potential to
 21 make the problem worse.

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1 Of course, the regime has a whole
 2 variety of ways of responding. The danger is that
 3 they would respond in ways which would be immensely
 4 damaging to us and our friends and our allies and
 5 interests is not in and of itself an absolute reason
 6 not to rely on a military strike but it is a reason
 7 to be very cautious.
 8 I think the military option, although
 9 it can't be off the table and just saying it's not
 10 off the table isn't enough. It can't be a pure
 11 bluff. It has to be something we would be prepared
 12 to be serious about.
 13 It means that somehow we have to find a
 14 way to change the policy of the people who run Iran.
 15 The best chance for that is by internal change. I
 16 certainly cannot say how that internal change will
 17 come about. I think there are strong pressures for
 18 it to change. It may not take the form that it
 19 takes in other countries but I think it is essential
 20 that it should happen. It is by far the best option
 21 and the United States government should do

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1 everything that it can to promote that, bearing in
 2 mind that it cannot be an American project.
 3 I want to address briefly the two
 4 specific issues of the delisting and Camp Ashraf. I
 5 may have the distinction of being the only person on
 6 the dais who has actually been to Camp Ashraf.
 7 Quite apart from the nature of the MeK, the
 8 United States has made a commitment to the
 9 protection of the people who are there. Somehow we
 10 have to find a way to ensure that those people are
 11 protected and that that commitment is made.
 12 Second, I believe that the
 13 United States is a system in which law, legal
 14 standards, should applied based on the facts. By
 15 the way, I do not entirely accept the argument that
 16 the 1997 designation was made strictly to
 17 please -- to curry favor or to seek to open a road
 18 to communication with the Iranian government,
 19 although that was an element. It is a question of
 20 fact. Does the MeK meet the standard for being on
 21 the terrorist list or does it not? I do not have

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1 access to all the information. I do have a high
 2 confidence that the people who make that decision in
 3 the State Department now and it will ultimately be
 4 the Secretary, will approach it from the point of
 5 view of what are the facts and I believe that if
 6 they do that, justice will be served.
 7 Thank you.
 8 MR. TORRICELLI: Thank you for your
 9 very thoughtful remarks. My fear would be for my
 10 own country that when our government reaches a
 11 judgment about a terrorist list for people who have
 12 pledged themselves for peaceful change and are
 13 unarmed, my fear is the Iranian nuclear program
 14 already is a deterrent as you feared on us.
 15 I thought a lot of things listening to
 16 this program today and I leave you this morning just
 17 with a couple of observations. I lost my father a
 18 couple of years ago. He lived to a ripe old age.
 19 He had come to America from Italy during the fascist
 20 regime and moved into a tenement in the South Bronx
 21 and across the street the fascist government kept an

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1 open office where they watched the Italian
 2 immigrants and attempted to organize them. As a
 3 young man my father stood in front of that office
 4 with a sign, piece of paper, opposing Italian
 5 fascism. He was only a boy and it was of no matter
 6 and I'm certain of no consequence but to the day he
 7 died he remembered a land where he had been born he
 8 took a stand. I tell you this because by being here
 9 today you are doing more than holding a paper sign
 10 of a child. You've taken a stand. I know how
 11 difficult and how overwhelming it can seem.
 12 Back when Bill Richardson and I were
 13 first running for Congress I represented a district
 14 in New Jersey with many ethnic communities of Poles
 15 and Czechs, Hungarians, and I used to go and
 16 campaign them and every year they would have
 17 ceremonies for their national days and they would
 18 talk about the day that their countries would be
 19 liberated and free again and I have a confession to
 20 make to you as a young Congressman. I was always
 21 there and I always participated but the power of the

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1 Soviet Union was so great and so many years had
 2 passed and my heart bled for these people and I said
 3 all the right things but, the truth be told, I never
 4 really believed.
 5 When the Berlin wall came down I don't
 6 remember where I was but I remember what I did. I
 7 smiled to myself about all those simple people who
 8 knew so much more than I did for all those years.
 9 Our time seems so complex but actually
 10 some things are so simple. The one inevitability of
 11 the human species and the time in which you live is
 12 freedom. It is roaring at you and nothing on earth
 13 will stop it. Likely Hamilton and Bill Richardson,
 14 I remember going to the Philippines and seeing
 15 Marcos with all this soldiers and uniforms, going
 16 into the Kremlin, their claims of ownership of the
 17 future, where are they? What happened to them?
 18 Nothing but dust in history.
 19 I know Teheran seems like a mighty rock
 20 against all these forces. It isn't. The end of the
 21 regime in Teheran is already sealed. We just don't

1 know when.

2 The heroes that will take them down are
3 probably only known to themselves but they are out
4 there on the streets or in universities or, as we
5 speak, meeting in basements across Iran. Some
6 things never get held back. Human freedom. The
7 Persian people have been a great people through all
8 human experience. This nightmare is almost over.

9 Finally, I am not pleased with what my
10 country has done with this terrorist list. It is
11 not right, not fair, it is not just, but of the many
12 things I believe in through my public career I'll
13 leave you with this one: Hillary Rodham Clinton.
14 Hillary is smart, principled, she is not intimidated
15 and presented with these facts the United States, as
16 in the end it always does, will do the right thing.
17 Thank you all.

18 (Meeting concluded)

19
20
21

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