



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C. 20535-0001

August 28, 2002

Francis X. Taylor  
Ambassador-at-Large, Coordinator for Counterterrorism  
U.S. Department of State  
2201 C Street, NW  
Washington, D.C. 20520

Re: Iranian Resistance/Mujahedin-E-Khalq (MEK)

Dear Ambassador Taylor:

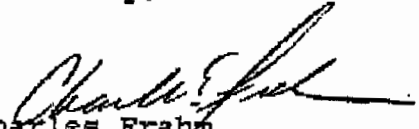
Personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) who are involved in the investigation of the Iranian Resistance, and who are familiar with said investigation, have reviewed the documents filed with the Secretary of State by the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI or NCR) in 2001 in connection with the 1999 and 2001 designations of the NCRI as an alias of the foreign terrorist organization MEK. Additionally, FBI personnel have also reviewed documents obtained during its investigation of the Iranian Resistance. It is the unanimous view of the FBI personnel who are involved in and familiar with the FBI's investigation of the Iranian Resistance that the NCRI is not a separate organization, but is instead, and has been, an integral part of the MEK at all relevant times.

It should be noted that the FBI considers the "Iranian Resistance" to be a more appropriate term for what is commonly referred to as the MEK. The term "Iranian Resistance" is now used by the group itself to refer to its various entities (i.e. the NCRI, the National Liberation Army and the People's Mujahedin of Iran).

Attached is a letterhead memorandum (LHM) setting forth the FBI's analysis and conclusions, together with supporting documentation. This analysis is based on the FBI's investigation, which has illuminated the nature of the Iranian Resistance and uncovered extremely probative and important information regarding the relationship between the NCRI and the MEK. The attached LHM identifies the manner in which the FBI obtained the supporting documentation (attachments). Other components of the Department of Justice have advised the FBI that there is no legal barrier to releasing these documents to you, or to the Department of State's release of these documents to the NCRI.

The FBI hopes that the information contained in the attached LHM is helpful to the Secretary of State.

Sincerely,



Charles Frahm  
Section Chief, International  
Terrorism Operations Section II



U.S. Department of Justice

Federal Bureau of Investigation

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

### MUJAHEDIN-E-KHALQ (MEK)

The FBI's investigation has revealed that the *People's Mujahedin Organization of Iran* (PMOI), the *National Council of Resistance* (NCR) and the *National Liberation Army* (NLA) are interrelated organizations that share common membership, goals and leadership. These organizations refer to themselves as the Iranian Resistance. The Iranian Resistance, referred to in the West by the Farsi name of the organization, *Mujahedin-e-Khalq* (MEK), is a world-wide organization composed of several different groups, each interconnected and working toward the same goal: the violent overthrow of the current Iranian regime. Although the various groups have a wide membership, many of the members are active in activities of the other groups. As a practical matter, the various groups are viewed by both members and supporters as interchangeable components of the Iranian Resistance.

The MEK is also identified in the West as *Mujahedin-e-Khalq Organization* (MKO). The English translation of *Mujahedin-e-Khalq* is the *People's Mujahedin*, also called the *People's Mujahedin of Iran* or the PMOI. These are all names synonymous with an original body of people who fought the Shah of Iran and then his successor, the current Iranian regime. Through the leadership of MASSOUD RAJAVI, this body of fighters has evolved and expanded. This expanded organization refers to itself as the Iranian Resistance and it has three basic components: a political branch (NCR), a military branch (NLA), and an internal branch (PMOI).

The NCR, the political branch of the Iranian Resistance, is also known as the *National Council of Resistance of Iran* (NCRI), and is headquartered in Auvers-sur-Oise, France. On its official website and in its magazine, the *Lion and Sun*, the NCRI refers to itself as the NCR or the NCRI interchangeably. It has representatives and representative offices in North American and many Western European countries. All NCRI representatives receive immediate direction from the NCRI president and the person selected by the NCRI to be Iran's president-in-exile. The NCRI committees conduct the majority of their daily business at the location of the NCRI headquarters. The NCRI and the PMOI each maintain offices in the National Press Building in Washington, DC. The NCRI office space at the National Press Building is listed in the National Press Building property management files as a satellite office of the PMOI's office space. (TAB 1)

The NLA is the military branch of the Iranian Resistance. The NLA is a standing, conventional army and is headquartered in Baghdad, Iraq. The NLA maintains several former Iraqi military bases along the Iran-Iraq border. All NLA members, including the NLA leaders, are also PMOI members. The NLA is a designated alias of MEK and its alias designation has not been challenged.

The internal branch of the Iranian Resistance consists of the body of fighters inside Iran, now referred to within the Resistance as the Mujahedin Headquarters, People's Mujahedin, or simply the Mujahedin. These are slightly modified versions of its formal organizational name, the PMOI. The Resistance website, [www.iran-e-azad.org/english/](http://www.iran-e-azad.org/english/), indicates that the PMOI is the

biggest NCRI member organization. The Resistance website indicates that in 1994, the NCRI decided to create offices in different countries, so the PMOI dissolved its various chapters, except for the press offices. (TAB 2) This information indicates that the PMOI allows the NCRI to represent its interests abroad. Despite the various iterations of the name, it is important to understand that each one represents the same organization.

There is a great deal of evidence that illustrates the links and overlapping identities between the various organizations that comprise the Iranian Resistance.

- The overall leader of the Iranian Resistance is MASSOUD RAJAVI. He formed and/or leads all three branches of the Iranian Resistance. He is the current President of the NCRI and Commander-in-Chief of the NLA. (TAB 3a) His wife is MARYAM RAJAVI, who, in 1993, was selected by the NCRI to be named Iran's President-in-Exile. She is a former Secretary General of the PMOI and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the NLA, a position she did not resign until her subsequent election as President-in-Exile. From inside and outside the organization, the RAJAVIs are both considered the leaders of the Iranian Resistance. Their pictures adorn various PMOI, NCRI, and NLA publications and, according to source reporting, appear at Iranian Resistance rallies and demonstrations. (TAB 3b)
- A person who formerly had a position of leadership within the PMOI assumed a similar position within the NCRI. Thus, according to Foreign Agent Registration Act documents and INS forms, a current NCRI Representative to the United States, ALIREZA JAFARZADEH, was also a former PMOI Representative to the United States. (TAB 4)
- Both RAJAVIs currently reside with the NLA outside of Baghdad, Iraq. MARYAM RAJAVI, in a 1996 interview in the NCRI's *Lion and Sun*, stated that "When the National Liberation Army makes its move toward Tehran, all our forces, in the army and elsewhere, will act, and this will assist the NLA in its task and there will be a final settling of accounts between us and the regime..." (TAB 5)

#### EVIDENCE FROM FALLS CHURCH

The Iranian Resistance utilizes a residence in Falls Church, Virginia (hereinafter "Falls Church address") for its NCRI and PMOI office spaces and operations. The Falls Church address was a house converted to use as an office space. In fact, the indoor swimming pool had been drained and a floor placed over the drained pool. The area above the pool was divided into offices. In one of these offices, a hatch in the floor led into the drained swimming pool. This area was used for storage of materials, including flags, t-shirts, magazines and other PMOI, NCRI and NLA paraphernalia. The materials were all commingled together, and not separated. In December 2001, the FBI executed a search warrant on the Falls Church address and obtained a large amount of evidence, which establishes the overlap of the PMOI, NCRI, and NLA.

- The FBI found evidence that indicated an overall structure of the Iranian Resistance. A copy of a schematic breakdown was found with the heading of "Iranian Resistance." It was broken down into three branches: Internal - Mujahedin Headquarters; Military - National Liberation Army; Political - National Council of Resistance. (Tab 6)
- The FBI found an Account Reopen Request from Citibank among the NCRI's papers. This document indicates that a PMOI representative and a NCRI representative jointly re-opened a closed PMOI account. Signer one is SHAHIN GHOBADI, a representative of the PMOI. Signer two is ALIREZA JAFARZADEH, a NCRI representative. The P.O. Box listed on the form is a PMOI post office box. The listed home telephone number is identified as an NCRI

number on a NCR telephone schematic found in the Falls Church address. The listed work telephone number is a number identified as a PMOI number on the PMOI's rental information at the National Press Building. The account number on the document is identified as having been the PMI Press Office's account. A money order payable to the "PMI press office Acct. 66531578" in the amount of \$100.00 and dated January 3, 2001, was also seized. It appears that the money order was used to re-open the joint account. (TAB 7)

- The telephones from the NCRI's and PMOI's offices at the National Press Building appear to have been forwarded to the Falls Church address. It appears when an individual telephoned either the NCRI or the PMOI at the National Press Building, the number would be forwarded to the same telephone in the Falls Church address. The FBI seized a schematic diagram showing the forwarding of PMOI and NCRI telephones to the Falls Church address. (TAB 8)
- The PMOI's official newspaper, the *Mojahed Weekly*, commonly referred to as *The Mojahed*, was prepared for distribution at the Falls Church address. The papers were delivered to the Falls Church address from abroad, then prepared and mailed out to subscribers. Copies of the newspaper, copies of NASHER Limited's (the distribution company) bank statements, returned copies of the newspaper, shipping invoices, a postal money order, and keys to *The Mojahed's* post office box, number 1873, were seized at the Falls Church address. Subscriptions to the newspaper were sent to the post office box and later taken to the Falls Church address. Additionally, the president of *The Mojahed's* distribution company received personal mail at the residence. A source, who has provided reliable information in the past, previously indicated that supporters of the PMOI subscribe to *The Mojahed*, overpay their subscriptions to mask donations and the excess money goes to fund the Iranian Resistance, to include the NLA. (TAB 9)
- Other publications found at the Falls Church address indicate links between the NCRI, NLA and PMOI. NCRI publications, particularly the *Lion & Sun*, regularly show NLA activities, and the NCRI's website links to the NLA's website. PMOI publications were found at the Falls Church address that also contained details of NLA military activities, schematics, training manuals, and operational maps. (TAB 10)
- Amongst the NCRI and PMOI documents were pictures of NLA armored vehicles inscribed with the PMOI symbol, displaying photographs of the RAJAVIS, and flying PMOI and NCRI flags. The PMOI symbol is painted on the hatch of several armored vehicles. (TAB 11) Other symbols, including various flags associated with the PMOI and NLA, were stored together at the Falls Church address.
- A reliable source indicated that Iranian Resistance supporters will write out a series of blank checks for a specified amount and give them to Resistance representatives. The FBI found examples of these types of signed, blank checks at the Falls Church address. (TAB 12) Confidential sources have reported to the FBI that the NCRI and the PMOI use the signed, blank checks to pay their expenses and fund their activities.
- Travel documents for the PMOI U.S. Representative were found at the Falls Church address. (TAB 13)
- Receipts and bank account information for the PMOI were found commingled with NCRI documents. (TAB 14)
- The FBI seized a three ring binder labeled "Our Materials", which contained various documents, including press releases from the NCRI and PMOI. It was

divided by four tabs: Leadership, which contained documents such as biographies of Maryam and Massoud Rajavi; PMI, which contained documents such as biographies of Aliroza Jafarzadeh and Shahin Ghobadi, and an article entitled The Mojahedin and Iraq; NLA, which contained documents such as an article entitled The National Liberation Army of Iran. A Brief History and an article detailing an April 1 NLA mission; and NCR, which contained documents such as a biography of Mohammad Mohaddessin. (TAB 15)

- The NCRI and PMOI both list 17 Rue des Gonds as an official address. It is printed on letterhead of both the NCRI and the PMOI, as well as on business cards of NCRI representatives. Most importantly, the telephone number listed on the letterhead is the same number for both the NCRI and the PMOI. (TAB 16)

In sum, the FBI's investigation revealed that in the United States and elsewhere, the PMOI and the NCRI are not in actuality separate organizations. While they may hold themselves out that way to the public and some of their membership, the records and operations of these entities demonstrate that they operate as one group, along with the NLA, as part of an overall organization known as the Iranian Resistance. The leadership of the PMOI and NCRI is intermixed, and the entities operate in a day-to-day way as a single unit. Thus, the FBI's investigation has confirmed that the NCRI operates as an alias of the PMOI, despite whatever claims these entities make publicly that may fool outsiders, and even some of those inside the entities.