

The FDA has repeatedly rejected marijuana for medical use because it adversely impacts concentration and memory, the lungs, motor coordination, and the immune systems. A recent evaluation of the issue by scientists at NIH concluded, after carefully examining the existing preclinical and human data, there is no evidence to suggest that smoked marijuana might be superior to currently available therapies for glaucoma, weight loss associated with AIDS, and nausea and vomiting associated with cancer chemotherapy.

The simply truth is that organizations promoting this bill—normal/drug policy foundation—are intentionally exploiting the pain and suffering of others as part of their back door attempt to legalize marijuana.

Marijuana weakens the human immune system. That is why, oncologists reject the idea of prescribing smoked marijuana for cancer chemotherapy. Crude marijuana contains over 400 different chemicals. Marinol—oral THC—is available for the treatment of nausea associated with chemotherapy. Yet, safer and more effective medications are preferred by physicians.

While marijuana and several other substances can lower intraocular eye pressure associated with glaucoma the medication must be carefully tailored to prevent further eye damage. Besides numerous adverse side effects of smoking marijuana, the dose cannot be controlled.

There are also misconceptions about the use of marijuana in treating treat the wasting syndrome associated with AIDS. It is ineffective in increasing weight gain and further compromises the immune system. It also puts AIDS patients at significant risk for infections and respiratory problems.

For these reasons the American Cancer Society, the American Glaucoma Society, and the American Medical Society all oppose using marijuana for medicinal purposes. Oppose H.R. 2618 and reject those who make empty promises to patients with chronic illnesses.

When you hear from the conspiracy theory dope smokers, who spend most of their time flooding the internet with prodrug messages aimed at kids, keep in mind that the physicians and other health care professionals who care for AIDS, cancer, and glaucoma patients overwhelmingly oppose this ill-advised legislation.

#### ST. NICK'S 20TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. CAROLYN B. MALONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 28, 1995*

Mrs. MALONEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise to honor the St. Nicholas Neighborhood Preservation Corporation 20th Anniversary. One of the corporation's projects is Jennings Hall, a 150-unit residence for senior citizens, which was once a vacant nurses' residence which had been abandoned when St. Catherine's Hospital closed its doors in the early 1970's. Jennings Hall is just one of many success brought forward by the St. Nicholas Neighborhood Preservation Corporation—St. Nicks.

St. Nicks opened its doors for business in the rectory of St. Nicholas Roman Catholic Church on May 12, 1975. Three of the original staff members were on hand on May 12, 1995

to present awards to St. Nicks' five founding advisors. Mr. Speaker, the founding advisors deserve special recognition, they are: Erica Forman, Cathy Herman, Jan Peterson, Ron Shiffman, and Brian Sullivan. They were presented with the Founding Members' Award for the creative and forward-looking planning and technical assistance they provided to St. Nicks at its inception and throughout the years. I join Marion Wallin and Marie Leanza in recognizing them for "the invaluable contributions they had each made to the organization and the neighborhood in their unique ways during the past 20 years."

St. Nicks Board Chair, Louis Pellegrino called the commemorative events for the 20th Anniversary of the St. Nicholas Neighborhood Preservation Corporation just one more effort "to bring together all those who contribute their time, effort, and support to make the community a better place in which to live and work." Mr. Speaker, I am proud to add my voice to those who recognize the significant contributions of all the St. Nicks members and staff to our community. Groups like St. Nicks galvanize our neighbors and provide the spark necessary to stop the all too common deterioration of communities, neighborhoods, and cultures. Mr. Speaker, in conclusion, I can only hope that the 20th Anniversary of the St. Nicholas Neighborhood Preservation Corporation will inspire others to follow their lead in making our communities better places to live and work.

#### IRANIAN REGIME PROVEN TO BE MAJOR VIOLATOR OF HUMAN RIGHTS

HON. JAMES A. TRAFICANT, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 28, 1995*

Mr. TRAFICANT. Mr. Speaker, the Iranian regime has proven to be a major violator of human rights, particularly those of women in Iran. The present regime of Iran is the world's leading state-sponsor of terrorism, has adamantly worked to subvert the peace process in the Middle East, is vigorously pursuing an ambitious nuclear program, and has used every opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of other nations. This has gone on for 15 long years. There must be an end to this misery for the people of Iran and relief for the rest of the world.

Experience has shown that change must come from within. The Iranian people have demonstrated that they seek a different course than their rulers. Demonstrations, riots, and strikes in Iran within the past year testify to their reality. Meanwhile, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, as the only alternative to the present regime, has declared that it seeks a democratic, pluralistic and secular Iran.

In March, on the anniversary of International Women's Day, I stated in this chamber that the clerics' number-one enemy is a woman: Maryam Rajavi. She was elected by Iran's parliament-in-exile as the future president of Iran. The unprecedented participation of women in the resistance is the best testimony to the movement's democratic nature.

Recently, Mrs. Rajavi, whose headquarters are in Paris, paid a visit to Norway, where she

was warmly received like a head of state. She met with leaders of all major parties, spoke at the Foreign Relations Committee of Norway's parliament, and attended a Sunday prayer service at Oslo's most famous church, where she was received by a high official of the Norwegian Church. She also attended an enthusiastic gathering of 1,500 of her supporters in Oslo, and addressed dignitaries at the City Hall. In this speech, she outlined the goals and objectives of the Resistance she leads, and eloquently spoke of her vision for a democratic and peace-seeking Iran of tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is extremely important for our leaders and citizens to better acquaint themselves with her views. In addition, Norway must be lauded for its firm stance against the Iranian regime, and its support for Maryam Rajavi. I, therefore submit a copy of the text of Mrs. Rajavi's speech, to be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

TEXT OF THE REMARKS BY MRS. MARYAM RAJAVI, THE IRANIAN RESISTANCE'S PRESIDENT-ELECT, OSLO, NORWAY, OCTOBER 31, 1995

Ladies and gentlemen, dear friends, I would first of all like to thank Mr. Lingas, Mrs. Nybaak and all those in the Committee in Defense of Human Rights in Iran for all the work they have done to defend the rights of the Iranian people.

It is a source of great pleasure to be among the leading thinkers, intellectuals and representatives of a nation which for many years heroically resisted against foreign occupation and the reign of Hitler's fascism, liberated itself and instituted a society which is doubtless one of the most advanced democracies in the contemporary world. It is a society wherein women have a leading role in guiding its affairs, in and of itself the most realistic and best hallmark of democracy in today's world.

I am therefore confident that I am speaking to an audience which well understands the suffering of an enchained nation of 70 million, who for the last 16 years have been subjugated by a brutal religious fascism that has eliminated all vestiges of democracy and popular sovereignty. Norway's policy of distancing herself from the conventional conciliatory approach to the Khomeini regime, and paying heed to human rights and the resistance in Iran, assures our people that democracy and justice have an adamant advocate in today's world. The formation of the Norwegian Committee in Defense of Human Rights in Iran itself best reflects this commitment to and respect for the principles of human rights and justice by Norway's political, cultural, social, artistic and literary personalities.

Allow me to use this opportunity to outline the issues which, in my view, must be considered by the international community. What is transpiring in my fettered country, Iran, namely the reign of the mullahs' medieval religious dictatorship, not only represents a national catastrophe for all Iranians, but is also a source of a global problem and danger threatening stability and peace the world over.

Firstly, the mullahs have extended their state-sponsored terrorism across Asia, Africa, the United States, and Europe, including Germany, Switzerland, Italy, France and Norway.

Secondly, the clerics are exporting the cultural and political dimensions of fundamentalism, especially to Islamic countries and various Muslim societies. This is followed by an expansion of the fundamentalist extremist networks.

Thirdly, they oppose peace and advocate turmoil everywhere, as reflected in their regime's enmity to the Middle East peace process.

Today, virtually everyone is aware of the crimes perpetrated by Khomeini's anti-human regime within and without Iran. You know that the clerics have executed 100,000 of the best youth of my country purely for political reasons, for opposing the ruling dictatorship, and for defending freedom and democracy. The names and particulars of 16,000 of them have been compiled in this book. The victims include intellectuals, university students and faculty, high school students, teenage girls, pregnant women, elderly women, businessmen, merchants and even dissident clerics. In many cases, several members of a single family have been executed. Many more have been subjected to the most barbaric, medieval tortures.

Nor is the appalling predicament of women under the mullahs' rule a secret. Inconceivable atrocities are committed against women on the pretext of combating improper veiling. Everyday, thousands of women are lashed, sent to prisons or viciously assaulted and insulted. These crimes are unprecedented in other areas of the globe. The rulers of Iran brazenly carry out hideous crimes under the banner of Islam. According to Khomeini's fatwa, virgin girls are raped by the Revolutionary Guards prior to execution to prevent them from going to heaven. Those condemned to death have their blood drained before execution.

The export of terrorism, fundamentalism and belligerence of this regime, under the banner of Islam and revolution, is another well-established fact. It is evident in the regime's insistence on perpetuating the unpatriotic war with Iraq, which lasted some eight years and left millions dead or wounded and \$1000 billion in economic damages on the Iranian side alone; in its enmity to Middle East peace; in its interference in the affairs of Islamic countries; in its decree to murder foreign nationals; and in its more than 100 terrorist operations throughout the world. The echo of these despicable-criminals' bullets still lingers in this city.

And it is clear to everyone that the regime has adopted policies of setting up intelligence, propaganda and terrorist networks in other countries; allocating astronomical funds to procure conventional arms, and biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction; and especially of endeavoring to obtain nuclear weaponry—all to back up the export of fundamentalism and to secure the survival of the religious dictatorship.

I shall refrain from further elaborating on the regime's crimes and conspiracies. In the time that I have, I wish to address a pivotal issue: How to confront this regime and the fundamentalism and terrorism it fosters. This issue is key, because on the international level, all approaches and policies vis-a-vis the mullahs' religious, terrorist dictatorship have proven futile. Indeed, in many cases they have been taken advantage of by the regime, which has been the only party to benefit from them.

For many years, particularly following Khomeini's death, Western countries indulged in a guest for a moderate current within the regime. They pinned their hopes on improving the regime's behavior through economic engagement. Simultaneously, a number of big powers invested in a policy of appeasement in an attempt to ingratiate themselves with Tehran, and prevent the export of terrorism to their own countries. Consistent with this approach, the official European policy toward Iran today is one critical dialogue. The experience of the past 16 years has confirmed, however, that none of these policies has borne fruit. They have

failed to have any impact on the conduct of this international outlaw.

A symbolic and quite fitting example is the inhuman and anti-Islamic fatwa against Salman Rushdie. About seven years have passed since the decree was issued. All European efforts to change the status quo through dialogue, discussion and economic and political incentives have proven futile. Khomeini's successors have time and again reiterated that the decree must be implemented. For seven years, the regime has used the Rushdie affair as a bargaining chip in seeking more concessions from the West. The atrocities that this regime perpetrates against its own citizens are beyond description. Needless to say, the moderation of such a regime is but a mirage.

It is ironic that when even the Khomeini regime's first prime minister, Mehdi Bazargan, acknowledged in an interview with the German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau* in January that the mullahs have the support of less than five percent of the Muslim people of Iran, and lack both religious and social legitimacy, the international community nevertheless allows Tehran to promote their evil anti-Islamic, anti-human objectives among Muslims elsewhere, turn Western countries into hunting grounds for their opponents, and blackmail European countries by staging terrorist operations on their soil to promote their evil anti-Islamic, anti-human objectives among Muslims elsewhere, turn Western countries into hunting grounds for their opponents, and blackmail European countries by staging terrorist operations on their soil. Indeed, the extensive economic and political support provided by a number of countries, coupled with the kowtowing by certain circles to the terrorist mullahs' political blackmail, have been instrumental in prolonging this regime and delaying the establishment of democracy in Iran by the Iranian people and Resistance.

#### MISPERCEPTIONS ABOUT MULLAHS, SOURCE OF APPEASEMENT

In my view, beyond economic interests or fear of terrorism—which in many cases justify and give impetus to them—these misguided policies and drastic miscalculations stem from the lack of a correct, objective understanding of the nature of the Khomeini regime, and of the roots and extent of its fundamentalist, backward outlook. For precisely this reason, these countries lose sight of the regional and international implications of their approach. This misperception of the regime's durability is compounded by a comparable deficiency in objective appraisals or knowledge of the legitimate, democratic alternative to this regime, which is capable of bringing democracy to Iran.

Although there are fundamental differences between the Khomeini regime and Hitler's fascism, in terms of their political, economic and military capabilities, a parallel may nonetheless be drawn with the conciliatory treatment of Germany by some European countries in the years preceding the Second World War. This policy of acquiescence, embodied in the Munich agreement of 1938 or the relations between the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany until even the first or the second year of the war, stemmed from the notion that certain concessions at the expense of other countries, who were abandoned in their Resistance against fascism, would stop German expansionism. Hitler benefited greatly from the policy, which enabled him to advance his goals.

Today, due to the experience of the past 16 years, a more profound understanding of the clerical regime's nature has emerged and, in a few cases, a more realistic policy has been adopted. Here, allow me, on behalf of a Re-

sistance movement which for 16 years has waged an all-out cultural, ideological and political struggle against this regime, to briefly share with you our knowledge and awareness of this regime. This understanding and our consequent principled policies have enabled us to resist against the most ruthless dictator of contemporary history and prevent him from casting us aside. In fact, we have experienced continuous expansion and growth.

Misperceptions of the regime have not only led to mistaken policies by the international community. For the same reason, many Iranian political parties and groups regrettably failed to stand up to this religious, terrorist dictatorship, surrendered to it, or were eliminated altogether from the Iranian political landscape.

#### THE NOTION OF THE VELAYAT-E FAQIH

In reality, the outlook and conduct of Khomeini and his regime neither belong to our age, nor compare to most dictatorships that have emerged in the twentieth century. This regime represents the most retrogressive form of medieval, sectarian dictatorship. Having failed to alleviate any of Iranian society's problems or needs, it is attempting to impose itself under the guise of Islam on the people of the world, especially Muslims.

The mullah's religious dictatorship is based on the philosophy of *Velayat-e Faqih*, presented in its present form for the first time by Khomeini. He explains his views in his book, "*Islamic Rule or Velayat-e Faqih*," written in the 1960s. His theory is based on the one hand upon imposing absolute authority over the populace, and on the other upon extending this authority to all Muslims, i.e. "exporting revolution."

In his book Khomeini states: "The *Velayat-e Faqih* is like appointing a guardian for a minor. In terms of responsibility and status, the guardian of a nation is no different from the guardian of a minor." These are Khomeini's exact words. During his reign, he repeated several times that if the entire population advocated something to which he was opposed, he would nevertheless do as he saw fit.

He went as far as to write: "If a competent person arises and forms a government, his authority to administer the society's affairs is the same as that of Prophet Muhammad. Everyone (meaning Muslims everywhere) must obey him. The idea that the Prophet had more authority as a ruler than His Holiness Imam Ali [the first Shi'ite Imam], or that the latter's authority exceeded that of the Vali is incorrect."

With these words, Khomeini granted himself the same authority as the Prophet of God, but he did not stop there. Twenty some years later, in 1988, he wrote an open letter, published in the regime's dailies, lashing out at some views suggesting that "government authority is contained within the bounds of divine edicts." Khomeini wrote: "... The *Velayat* takes precedence over all secondary commandments, even prayer, fasting, and the hajj. . . . The government is empowered to unilaterally abrogate the religious commitments it has undertaken with the people. . . . The statements made, or being made, derive from a lack of knowledge of divinely ordained absolute rule. . . ."

In this way, Khomeini propagated the notion of the *Velayat-e Motlaqeh Faqih* (absolute rule of the jurist), something which his heirs and theoreticians within the regime went to extremes to stress. Mullah Ahmad Azari-Qomi, one of the most authoritative theoreticians of the *Velayat-e Faqih* notion, wrote: "The *Velayat-e Faqih* means absolute religious and legal guardianship of the people by the Faqih. This guardianship applies to the entire world and all that exist in it,

whether earthbound or flying creatures, inanimate objects, plants, animals, and anything in any way related to collective or individual human life, all human affairs, belongings, or assets. . . .

This world view, as practiced by Khomeini and his regime, culminates in absolute ruthlessness and oppression when dealing with the issue of women. Azari-Qomi writes about the marriage of virgin girls thus: "Islam prohibits the marriage of a virgin girl without the permission of her father and her own consent. Both of them must agree. But the Vali-e Faqih is authorized to overrule the father or the girl." In other words, the Vali-e Faqih can forcibly marry a girl without her own or her father's consent. In this way, this regime not only applies maximum political suppression on the citizenry, but interferes in the most personal affairs of their lives, from compulsory veiling to varied forms of discrimination against women, to banning smiles and stoning women to death.

Misogyny is the most fundamental feature of the Velayat-e Faqih, and the structure of the clerical regime's system rests upon dehumanizing women. As far as women in the work force are concerned, their opportunities are less than 10% of those of their male counterparts. This ratio decreases as the quality of the job or its political nature increases. No women manage the affairs of the society, particularly its political leadership. The regime's constitution absolutely and unequivocally bans women from judgeships, the presidency and leadership.

All evaluations and laws within this regime are based on the precept that women are weak and the property of men, for which reason they have no place in leading or managing the society. A woman must stay at home, rear children and cook, the tasks for which she has been created.

The official, legal deprivations and restrictions, and even statistics represent only a small part of the gender apartheid. Its more significant aspect is in the spirit of the anti-human relationships emanating from this regime, to the extent that one woman wrote in a state-controlled daily that it makes women regret that they were created as women in the first place. Indeed, it is these relationships which force women, especially young women, to set themselves on fire in utter despair under the mullahs' reign.

The mullahs' misogyny has given rise to horrifying crimes. The wholesale execution of thousands of women, even pregnant women, is unique to this regime. The flogging and torturing of women in public, execution methods such as firing bullets into their wombs, the "residential quarters" in prisons designed to totally destroy these defenseless women, and the multitudes of tortures and atrocities invented by the mullahs, demonstrate the unparalleled savagery of their enmity toward women. Why does the regime so barbarously and relentlessly suppress women? What explains the clerics' misogyny?

The foundations erected by Khomeini's religious despotism and the installation of the regime's suppressive institutions and forces have been fortified by promoting and reinforcing gender-based distinctions and discrimination. In the name of religion and such pretexts as improper veiling, the clerics suppress women, eliminating them from the social scene.

This enmity toward women is not, however, merely a by-product of the mullahs' reactionary beliefs. If the clerics show the slightest laxity in their misogyny and gender-apartheid, allowing women to enter the social arena free of the reactionary restrictions unique to this regime, the mullahs' suppressive organs and institutions throughout society would lose their *raison d'être*.

The clerical regime, a religious dictatorship, would subsequently lose its vitality, because the dynamism and conduct of the repressive forces in defending the theocracy is, before anything else, rooted in safeguarding gender-distinctions under the pretext of defending "Islamic rule."

As far as the regime's foreign policy and the export of terrorism are concerned, both Khomeini and his successors pursue specific goals, unequivocally defined. Following Khomeini's death, Rafsanjani stressed: "Islamic Iran is the base for all Muslims the world over," adding that Khomeini "truly and deeply hated the idea that we be limited by nationalism, by race, or by our own territory." Elsewhere he says: "Iran is the base of the new movements of the world of Islam . . . The eyes of Muslims worldwide are focused here. . . ."

The book *Principles of Foreign Policy of the Islamic Republic of Iran*, published by the Iranian regime's foreign ministry, states: "Islam recognizes only one boundary, purely ideological in nature. Other boundaries, including geographic borders, are rejected and condemned."

After Khomeini's death, his son Ahmad said: "Islam recognizes no borders . . . The objective of the Islamic Republic and its officials is none other than to establish a global Islamic rule. . . ."

The mullahs ruling Iran dream of a global Islamic caliphate, much like the Ottoman Empire. They say the Islamic revolution will suffocate within Iran's borders and cannot be preserved without the export of revolution. Mohammad Khatami, Rafsanjani's former Minister of Islamic Culture and Guidance, who is also known as a moderate within the regime, writes: "Where do we look when drawing up our strategy? Do we look to *bast* (expansion) or to *hefz* (preservation)?" Particularly after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the mullahs refer to the split between Trotsky and Stalin in the 1930's, noting that developments in the Soviet Union proved the validity of Trotsky's theory of a "permanent revolution," and that the only way to preserve the Islamic regime is to foment Islamic revolutions in other countries. The slogan of "liberating Qods (Jerusalem) via Karbala," with which Khomeini continued the Iran-Iraq war for eight years, reflected the strategy of "bast."

Ali-Muhammad Besharati, the current Interior Minister and former Deputy Foreign Minister, stresses that "the third millennium belongs to Islam and the rule of Muslims over the world." By Muslims, of course, he means none other than the mullahs. Mohammad-Javad Larijani, a key foreign policy advisor to Rafsanjani, said: "The true Velayat-e Faqih is in Iran. This Velayat is responsible for all of the Muslim world. . . One of its objectives is expansion. . . ." Larijani is one of the regime's roving ambassadors who engages in a great deal of posturing for the Europeans. Rafsanjani recently sent him to Europe for some deceitful maneuvers concerning the Rushdie case. Khamenei's latest emphasis that the Jews must be expelled from Israel and Israel annihilated are also an extension of this policy.

I must emphasize here that the mullahs' outlook and theories about government and Velayat-e Faqih cannot be viewed as an interpretation of Islam. They are the first to offer such a criminal reading of Islam. This is unprecedented in Islamic history. Even many traditional clerics, more senior than or on par with Khomeini in Qom and Najaf seminaries, were strongly opposed to the Velayat-e Faqih perspective. In reality, the mullahs interpret Islam solely in terms of the needs and interests of their dictatorship.

The fact is that Khomeini and his clique lack any historical or political ability to

govern a big nation with several thousand years of history and a rich culture. To stay in power, they see themselves as increasingly compelled to employ repression and religious tyranny inside the country, and export terrorism and fundamentalism, in an effort to expand the geographic sphere of their influence. For this reason, after Khomeini's death, contrary to all expectations that his heirs would pursue a "moderate" path, they were forced to fill the void of Khomeini's charisma, the unifying element which gave the regime religious legitimacy, with greater suppression and export of fundamentalism. The Rafsanjani regime's record of terrorist activities abroad and interference in Islamic countries and the affairs of Muslims elsewhere is far worse than when Khomeini was alive.

#### HOW DID KHOMEINI BECOME A NATIONAL & GLOBAL THREAT

Allow me to also refer to how the regime is taking advantage of Iran's cultural, political, human and geo-strategic potential in pursuing its evil objectives:

For 14 centuries, since the advent of Islam, Iran and Iranians have always played a key role in shaping and advancing the policies and cultural identity of the Islamic world. Iranians wrote most books on Shi'ite and Sunni *Fiqh* and *Hadith*, on Arabic grammar and on interpreting the Quran. In philosophy, logic, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, chemistry and other sciences of the era, Iranian scientists led the Islamic world. The books of Avicenna, the renowned 11th century philosopher and physicians, were translated into many languages and taught in Western universities until recently.

With an eye to Iran's vast land mass, geopolitical position, population and many other factors, the country enjoys an exceptional position in the Islamic world. In the last 14 centuries, it has had a tremendous impact on Islamic countries. The mullahs have made maximum use of this potential to export their fundamentalism and advance their objectives. In other words, if a regime much like Khomeini's has assumed power in any other Islamic country, it would not have enjoyed such stature. It is not without reason that Larijani says Iran is the only country capable of leading the Islamic world. This explains why the clerical regime in Tehran serves as the heart of fundamentalism throughout the world, just as Moscow did for communism.

Many fundamentalist currents existed in Iran or elsewhere before Khomeini's ascension to power, but they were nothing more than isolated religious sects. With the establishment of an Islamic reign in Tehran, they were transformed into political and social movements, and into serious threats to peace, democracy and tranquillity.

In fact, the Khomeini regime uses propaganda, political, financial, military and ideological assistance, and beyond all these, its status as a role model and as a regional and international source of support, to direct Muslims' religious sentiments toward extremist and undemocratic trends. The mullahs exploit Islam's spirit of liberation and its call for justice and freedom, to further their medieval rule. Instead, consistent with the experience of the Resistance, the sentiments of Muslims and Islam's freedom-seeking spirit could have been and can translate into a modern and democratic movement which, while respectful of Islam, aspires to a secularist, pluralist form of government.

#### WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

So far, I have referred to the internal and international conduct of the Khomeini regime. Now, I wish to address the solution.

On the basis of our 16-years of experience in the struggle for democracy, the only solution is to offer a political and cultural alternative to the Khomeini regime. I say political because this alternative must overthrow the regime and replace it with a democratic, secular government. The head of the viper is in Tehran and unless crushed there, there is no hope of uprooting fundamentalism.

I say cultural because this alternative must present a democratic Islam, with a peaceful, tolerant culture compatible with science and civilization, to confront the mullahs' Velayat-e Faqih theory. Only thus can it prevent the mullahs from imposing themselves as the representatives of Islam in the minds of the people of Muslim countries.

Even before Khomeini's rule, we understood the danger of the Velayat-e Faqih, because we knew the mullahs and Khomeini intimately. While in prison in the final months before the shah's fall, the Mojahedin leader, Mr. Massoud Rajavi, repeatedly pointed to backward religious currents as the main threat to the democratic anti-shah movement and warned against the dangers of religious fascism. In 1979, Khomeini succeeded in usurping the leadership of the Iranian people's antidictatorial revolution, relying on *marja'iat* (religious leadership) for religious legitimacy, deceit and the people's lack of experience and awareness. The shah's widespread clamp down on organizations fighting for freedom, including the arrest and execution of their leaders, assisted Khomeini along the way. Relying on the overwhelming support of the people, who longed for freedom and independence, he became a dangerous force which destroyed everything in his path.

From the onset, the Mojahedin, as a democratic Muslim force, saw it incumbent upon themselves to expose Khomeini's demagoguery and false portrayal of Islam. They thus represented a cultural, ideological and political challenge to the ruling mullahs, and embarked upon a relentless campaign to explain the facts to the people. For the first time, there was a cultural alternative to the Khomeini regime.

What we knew of Islam, the Quran and the life of the Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) was totally contrary to the behavior of the new rulers. Like all great religions, Islam is the religion of compassion, tolerance, emancipation and equality. The Holy Quran often states that there is no compulsion in religion. In so far as political and social life are concerned, it stresses consultation, democracy and respect for other people's views. Islam seeks social progress, and economic, social and political evolution.

Fourteen centuries ago, when people in the Arabian peninsula were burying their girl children alive, Islam accorded women equal political, social and economic identities and independence. The Prophet of Islam profoundly respected women. The first Muslim was a woman, and four out of the ten original Muslims were women.

After two and half years, the Resistance's endeavors paid off. Cracks appeared in Khomeini's religious legitimacy, and his use of the weapon of Islam began to lose its effect. No longer did the people view Khomeini and the ruling mullahs as infallible. To prolong his rule inside the country, Khomeini had resorted to a blatant crackdown. Everyone knew that the Mojahedin, the largest opposition force seeking freedom, were Muslim themselves and that Khomeini's quarrel with them was not over Islam, but over preserving his dictatorial rule. Our message defended political freedoms and the people's individual and social rights, and opposed dictatorship and the regime's misuse of Islam.

Mr. Rajavi lectured on Islamic teachings in one of Tehran's largest universities in

1980. 10,000 university students and intellectuals took part every week, and tapes and transcripts were distributed in the hundreds of thousands. The discourses exposed Khomeini's reactionary views promulgated under the banner of Islam, discrediting him among the religious youth. In a ruthless onslaught to curb the extensive influence of the Mojahedin in all universities, in spring 1980 Khomeini closed down all universities for the years to come on the pretext of a cultural revolution. For our part, we have continued our efforts in this respect as one of our primary tasks.

Another of the fundamental aspects of this cultural struggle has been to target the heart of the clerics' Velayat-e Faqih culture, namely the issue of women and mullahs' ultra-reactionary, misogynous treatment of them. In this regard, we did not stop at simply exposing the clerics. In other words, our women, in diametric opposition to Khomeini's culture, advanced through unprecedented effort and activities and assumed heavy responsibilities at the highest levels of the Resistance.

With its unique perspective on this issue, the Iranian Resistance succeeded in incorporating women in the front lines of the movement and in the highest levels of military command, as acknowledged by most observers. In the political arena as well, we are witnessing the ascension of women to important political positions. At the organizational and management levels, the highest positions are occupied by women who have shown that when given the opportunity, they can excel in assuming responsibility. Today, 52% of members of the Resistance's parliament are women. Women fill the majority of positions within the National Liberation Army's high command. The leadership of the Mojahedin consists of a 24-member, all women council. The women of the Resistance have thus proven that, just like men, before all else it is their human qualities and consequent social and political abilities which count. They have righteously overcome all obstacles in performing their duties.

Hence, a glance at the regime and the Resistance quickly reveals two distinctly opposite cultures. Diametrically opposed to the Khomeini regime, whose very existence depends on their suppression and elimination of women, the victory and advancement of the Resistance would have been impossible without woman and their role in the leadership and command. The first to attest to this fact are the male activists, combatants, and commanders, who are best aware of the glorious path that has been traversed.

It is also significant that the Resistance's elimination of the most persistent and profound form of discrimination against the most oppressed sector of society, namely women, and its fostering of relationships among people which allow women to attain their legal and social rights, is the best guarantee for democracy and pluralism in the future Iran.

#### A DEMOCRATIC ALTERNATIVE

Obviously, we did not stop at introducing a cultural alternative, we also gradually established a political alternative. In 1980, during the first presidential elections, Massoud Rajavi was a candidate for president. All religious and ethnic minorities, the youth, women, and opposition groups and parties supported Mr. Rajavi's candidacy. Sensing the danger, Khomeini issued a fatwa a few days before the election, banning him as a candidate because he had not voted for the Velayat-e Faqih constitution. Several months later, during the elections for parliament, the Mojahedin and other democratic forces announced a joint slate. This time, despite the many votes cast for them,

the regime prevented even one of the Mojahedin candidates from taking office through widespread rigging. In each of the election rallies of the Mojahedin in Tehran and other cities, hundreds of thousands took part.

In the first two and a half years of Khomeini's rule, the *Pasdar* (Revolutionary Guards) killed 50 supporters and members of the Mojahedin in the streets. They arrested several thousand, subjecting them to brutal torture. The regime also dispatched gangs of club-wielders into the streets to clamp down on dissidents. In contrast, the Mojahedin did not fire a single bullet, relinquishing their legitimate right to self-defense to prevent more violence and bloodshed. The Mojahedin's goal was to resolve the political problems through peaceful means.

On June 20, 1981, in protest to the repression, the Mojahedin organized a peaceful demonstration. In a short span of time, some 50,000 Tehran residents joined the march. Khomeini issued a fatwa to suppress the demonstration. Guards opened fire indiscriminately, and hundreds were killed or wounded. Thousands were arrested and executed the same night in groups of several hundred.

Khomeini and other officials of his regime had realized early on, even before the overthrow of the shah, that the Mojahedin could stand against both a religious and political dictatorship, due to their freedom-seeking and tolerant interpretation of Islam and their popularity and social base. In other words, the Mojahedin were the antithesis to the clerics. In summer 1980, several days after Mr. Rajavi spoke to 200,000 Tehran residents in Amjadieh sports stadium, condemning the slaughter of the Mojahedin and dissidents in other cities, Khomeini reacted by saying that the enemy was "neither in the Soviet Union, nor in the United States, nor in Iranian Kurdistan, but right here—in Tehran."

In reality, the religious dictatorship was trying to portray democracy and popular sovereignty as contrary to Islam. In consequence, it could suppress any democratic initiative on the charge of being anti-Islamic. The mullahs relied in this tactic on the people's unawareness. Khomeini was, however, well aware that the Mojahedin would thwart his pretenses about Islam and religious legitimacy. Thus, he spared no effort against the Iranian Resistance, because he knew that if could eliminate us, he could overcome his other problems and stabilize his rule. Among the crimes the Khomeini regime perpetrated to destroy its main enemy, I can mention his order for the mass execution of all members and supporters of this Resistance, purely for being affiliated with the movement, his declaration that their lives and properties are fair game, and the assassinations of the Resistance's activists abroad.

In this way, Khomeini, who in 1979 was welcomed as a religious and political leader by millions in Tehran, continued after June 20, detested, only through the force of the bayonet, torture and execution. The people, meanwhile, were chanting death to Khomeini. As such, the only avenues which remained for the freedom-seeking and patriotic people and forces was to rid themselves of the mullahs to establish democracy.

In order for the Resistance for freedom to achieve maturity, a political alternative—a vast coalition of opposite groups—was needed. Although the basis for such a coalition had taken shape in the first presidential elections and the parliamentary elections,

after the start of the extensive, all-embracing suppression, this coalition had to be formalized and transformed into a political alternative. Thus, on July 21, 1981, the National Council of Resistance was formed with the objective of establishing democracy in Iran.

After 14 years, the Council, the longest lasting democratic, political coalition in Iran's contemporary era, has 560 members. A significant number of other committed personalities, whose membership has recently been approved, will soon join it. The Council encompasses the democratic opposition, the representatives of ethnic and religious minorities, nationalist figures, and Muslim, secular and socialist leaders. It acts as the Resistance's Parliament.

The Council's 25 committees will serve as the basis for the future coalition government following the mullahs' overthrow. In office for a maximum of six months, the Provisional Government's primary task is to hold free elections for a Legislative and Constituent Assembly. According to the Council's ratified decisions, in tomorrow's Iran, elections and the general vote will constitute the basis for the legitimacy of the country's future government. Freedom of belief, press, parties and political assemblies is guaranteed, as are the judicial security of all citizens and the rights stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

All privileges based on gender, greed, and beliefs will be abolished and any discrimination against the followers of different religions and denominations will be banned. No one will be granted any privilege, or discriminated against, on the basis of belief or non-belief in a particular religion or denomination.

In tomorrow's Iran, the national bazaar and capitalism, personal and private ownership and investment toward the advancement of the national economy will be guaranteed. As for foreign policy, Iran will advocate peace, peaceful coexistence, and regional and international cooperation.

According to the Council's ratified plans, in tomorrow's Iran, women will enjoy equal social, political, cultural and economic rights with men. They will have the right to elect and be elected in all elections, and the right to freely choose their occupation, education, political activity, travel, and spouse. Equal rights to divorce and freedom of choice in apparel will be guaranteed for them.

#### THE REGIME'S CURRENT STATE

In this way, 16 years after the mullahs' rule, the overwhelming majority of people, from women to workers, to employees to university faculty, intellectuals and even the bazaar merchants and clergy, who were hitherto considered the traditional basis of the regime, are deeply disaffected. Unemployment grips 50% of the labor force. With an inflation rate of over 100%, some 80% of the people live below the poverty line. Corruption and astronomical embezzlement by the regime's officials, some of which has been exposed, have eliminated any credibility the regime might have had.

In a word, the abysmal economic, social and ethical record of the regime and 16 years of resistance by a democratic alternative against it, have left no legitimacy or popular base for this regime. In the eyes of the Iranian people, the regime and its leaders are a bunch of criminals, thieves and corrupt individuals. Khomeini's death and the death of the last remaining grand ayatollahs; the lack of the minimum qualifications in Khamenei as the regime's religious leader; and the absence of an acceptable Marj'ae Taqlid (source of emulation) who would support the regime have either eliminated or se-

riously undermined the last vestiges of the regime's religious legitimacy among the most retrogressive sectors of the society and the most traditional forces supporting it.

Today, religious fundamentalism does not exist as a social issue or problem in Iran. We are, rather, facing a form of fascism under the guise of religion which holds the reins of power. It is not without reason that today only 30% of the regime's Revolutionary Guards, its main suppressive arm, are volunteers, whereas at the end of the Iran-Iraq war in 1988 and Khomeini's death in 1989, more than 70% were volunteers ideologically loyal to the regime. Even those remaining are receiving greater material incentives, and continue essentially because it is a well-paying job. In short, they have been transformed from a volunteer army to a suppressive mercenary force which fights against the people for its own survival.

On the international scene, however, the situation is very different. Although word of the regime's difficulties and internal crises and crimes against the people has inevitably reached the outside world, the policies of other countries toward the regime have not allowed the Iranian people's all-out Resistance and more importantly, that Resistance's cultural and ideological challenge to the mullahs to extend beyond Iran's borders.

For this reason, the regime has done its utmost to tarnish the image of the Resistance at the international level and forestall its advances, through dirty deals and agreements. This is one of the primary issues of discussion between the regime and its foreign interlocutors. The regime pursues its policies and prevarication against the Resistance in international arenas and foreign countries through its own operatives or through persons who have acquiesced but pose as oppositionists.

The regime's extreme sensitivity and hysteric reactions to the international successes and political relations of the Resistance with other countries, governments and parliaments confirm that this is its Achilles heel. This also explains the repeated appeals by the regime's leaders and diplomats to other governments to prevent the presence of the members and sympathizers of the Resistance. By the same token, the economic relationships between Western countries and Tehran's rulers, and the resultant petrodollars are used only for domestic suppression, weapons purchases and the quest to obtain nuclear arms and export terrorism and fundamentalism. A significant portion of the revenue has also been diverted into the mullahs' foreign bank accounts. For their part, the Iranian people have received nothing but suppression and greater destitution.

The extensive economic ties with this regime have not only failed to contain fundamentalism, but have also emboldened the regime to continue these policies. Experience has also shown that the clerics use these connections as a cover to undertake more terrorist and fundamentalist activities abroad.

In a word, the 16-year experience of the Iranian Resistance in dealing with the fundamentalist rulers of Iran and the experiences of international politics regarding Iran under the banner of the mullahs demonstrate that:

Any policy based on appeasing this regime is doomed to failure. Laws governing a religious dictatorship are different from the experiences and laws applying to the world community as we approach the end of the 20th century. This regime's laws emanate from the Middle Ages. Decisiveness is the only language with which one can and must communicate with this regime.

Any notion that would equate the conduct of the Khomeini regime with Islam is a stra-

tegic and dangerous mistake from which only the mullahs benefit. By publicizing, supporting or recognizing the democratic alternative, which has the greatest respect for Islam as the religion of the majority of the Iranian people, and which at its core encompasses a Muslim democratic movement, is the only way to deny the mullahs the means of characterizing and exploiting opposition, hostility and decisiveness on the international level toward them as enmity to Islam.

In this way, the world community and Western countries will not be compelled to surrender to the blackmail of Khomeini's anti-human regime under the banner of Islam, to accept its double-talk on the cultural and religious distinctions of Iran and Islamic countries, or to tarnish the universal principles of human rights by giving concessions to this anti-human regime. Regrettably, the regime has recently received such concessions in a number of cases.

Furthermore, the people of different countries, especially Muslims, will to a great extent obtain the objective understanding of the Khomeini regime that the people of Iran have arrived at, and few will be beguiled by the regime's Islamic posturing and demagogic slogans.

In other words, exercising decisiveness against the regime and support for the Iranian Resistance constitute two fronts against fundamentalism. On the one hand, by standing firm against the regime and supporting the Resistance, the pace of change by the people inside Iran toward democracy and peace will be expedited. Thus, the material and spiritual source of support for fundamentalism will be eliminated and its heart will stop beating. On the other hand, by exposing the anti-Islamic nature of the mullahs in Western and Islamic countries and introducing the democratic alternative to this regime, the fertile grounds for the growth of fundamentalism will dry up. We have gained this experience with 100,000 martyrs.

Norway has more than once demonstrated that on the international level, it does not take yield to routine political and economic considerations in defending democracy and human rights. The courageous actions by your country to assist liberation movements and its pioneering role in resolving international issues, have given Norway a special stature among the people of different countries. In the same way, your firm stance vis-à-vis the religious, terrorist dictatorship ruling Iran has aroused enormous friendship and respect among the people of Iran.

On behalf of the Iranian people and their just Resistance for peace and freedom, I see it incumbent upon myself to call on the government and the people of Norway to impose comprehensive sanctions on, and sever diplomatic relations with, the mullahs and put the issue of Iran and the Resistance on the agenda of their foreign policy, and to convince especially the European countries to adopt a decisive policy and recognize the right of the Iranian people to resist against this anti-human regime.

And here, I want to address Norwegian women in general and those supremely qualified women in particular who have held positions of enormous political and social responsibility in your country for many years. I call upon you to rush to the aide of your sisters in Iran, who have ably resisted against the misogynous clerical regime and for their part have demonstrated that a woman is equally a human being. Of course, in this path, they have made great sacrifices and endured intolerable prisons and torture.

I also call upon the Norwegian youth, whose decisive role in the political life of Norway I have witnessed during my stay in

your country, to come to the aid of the Iranian youth who are suffering from the most extreme pressures.

The Iranian people are determined to bring democracy and peace to their homeland. Doubtless, a democratic Iran is indispensable to the return of tranquility and lasting peace to the entire Middle East region and the uprooting of terrorism throughout the globe.

I again thank our dear friends, particularly the members of the Committee in Defense of Human Rights in Iran. I hope to soon be your host in the democratic Iran of tomorrow.

### THE FBI DUE PROCESS IMPROVEMENT ACT

HON. FRANK R. WOLF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 28, 1995*

Mr. WOLF. Mr. Speaker, I have learned some Federal Bureau of Investigation [FBI] special agents are accorded Merit System Protection Board [MSPB] appeal rights and others are not. This discriminatory policy offends traditional notions of fairness and should change. It is not fair that some agents receive MSPB appeal rights while others do not.

Because of my concern about this policy, today I will introduce legislation, the FBI Due Process Improvement Act, a copy of which appears at the end of my statement. This simple legislation would amend 5 U.S.C. §7511(b)(8) by striking "the Federal Bureau of Investigation," thereby extending certain procedural and appeal rights with respect to certain adverse personnel actions to all employees of the FBI. This legislation corrects the current disparate treatment of nonveteran special agents regarding their ability to appeal adverse personnel actions and ensures the due process rights of all employees of the FBI.

Special agents of the FBI are loyal civil servants dedicated to protecting Americans from the worst kinds of crime. Their jobs are difficult, demanding, and sometimes dangerous. They are often transferred to posts far from home which demands considerable sacrifice by FBI families. FBI agents are on the front line of the fight against crime. They endeavor to reunite mothers and fathers with their kidnapped children; they work to maintain the high integrity of the American political system by investigating public corruption; they protect all Americans from foreign and domestic terrorism; they risk life and limb infiltrating and thwarting the scourge of organized crime; they help keep drugs out of the hands of America's most vulnerable citizens; they investigate white collar crime, pornography, and a host of countless other Federal criminal offenses. In short, FBI agents are the often unseen but indispensable protectors of tranquility and freedom within the United States. The FBI motto—fidelity, bravery, and integrity—accurately characterizes the manner in which agents approach their important work.

These duties are performed by all agents, veteran and nonveteran alike. However, these two categories of agents receive disparate treatment when charged with misconduct. Military veterans are permitted full due process rights including the ability to appeal adverse personnel actions to the MSPB. In other words, veteran agents, who are in the excepted service, receive the same due process

rights that employees in the competitive service receive. Nonveteran agents, also members of the excepted service, do not. This means that a veteran agent will receive an outside, independent, objective review of his/her case while a nonveteran agent will not. Is this fair? I maintain that it is not. Furthermore, female special agents are particularly hit hard by this policy because few have served in the military; thus they are not eligible to receive the MSPB appeal rights that veteran agents, who are predominantly men, do. Also, FBI agents should have the same MSPB appeal rights as Federal law enforcement agents who work for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, Drug Enforcement Administration, Customs Service, and Border Patrol.

The Congress should eliminate this discriminatory policy because it serves no rational or useful purpose. The Congress should have rectified this disparity in 1990 when it enacted legislation (P.L. 101-376) which granted appeal rights to members of the excepted service affected by adverse personnel actions. The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, in its report on the bill (H. Rept. 101-328), preserved the disparate treatment between preference eligible veteran agents and other agents because of the FBI's "sensitive mission." However, this conclusion was not supported by any concrete examples about how MSPB appeal rights would adversely affect the FBI's sensitive mission. In fact, if the denial of MSPB appeal rights is so vital to the sensitive mission of the FBI, the prudent course would have been to deny those rights to all agents, including preference eligible agents. Obviously, the grant of MSPB rights to all agents would not adversely impact the FBI's mission. The Bureau has long experience with the MSPB process used by its preference eligible agents, and there have been no reports of abuse of the system. Furthermore, there is no evidence that it has compromised the FBI's sensitive mission.

Mr. Speaker, there is no reason to maintain the distinction between preference eligible veteran and nonveteran agents. All agents, whether veterans or not, should be treated in a fair and equitable manner. As I have already stated, the FBI has considerable experience with the MSPB process available to veteran agents. I am not aware that there has been any particular abuse of the MSPB process by preference eligible agents. Likewise, I do not anticipate that expansion of MSPB rights to all agents would be burdensome on the FBI. There is no room in the modern FBI for discriminatory personnel policies; therefore, nonveteran agents should receive all the rights and enjoy all the privileges accorded to their preference eligible veteran counterparts.

Mr. Speaker, I urge our colleagues to co-sponsor this important legislation. I also urge Congressman MICA, chairman of the House Civil Service Subcommittee, to move this legislation as expeditiously as possible. Finally, I ask unanimous consent to include a copy of this bill and a letter from the FBI Agents' Association in support of this legislation in the record immediately following my statement.

H.R. —

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

#### SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Due Process for FBI Agents Act".

#### SEC. 2. EXTENSION OF RIGHTS.

Section 7511(b)(8) of title 5, United States Code, is amended by striking "the Federal Bureau of Investigation,".

#### SEC. 3. EFFECTIVE DATE.

The amendment made by this Act shall apply with respect to any personnel action taking effect after the end of the 45-day period beginning on the date of the enactment of this Act.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
AGENTS ASSOCIATION,

*New Rochelle, NY, November 28, 1995.*

Hon. Frank R. Wolf,

House of Representatives, 241 Cannon House  
Office Building, Washington, DC.

Re Due Process For FBI Agents Act.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLF: This letter is to inform you that I have reviewed and the FBI Agents Association fully and enthusiastically supports your bill, the "Due Process For FBI Agents Act."

It is time to end all vestiges of disparate treatment by extending MSPB rights to all FBI agents.

Thank you for your willingness to take the lead on this most important matter.

Very truly yours,

ED BETHUNE,  
General Counsel.

### TRIBUTE TO BARBARA KERCHEVAL

HON. CARRIE P. MEEK

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, November 28, 1995*

Mrs. MEEK of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I take this privilege of paying homage to a distinguished colleague of mine, Barbara Kercheval, who came to make a name for herself at Miami-Dade Community College, north campus, some 32 years ago. A very articulate go-getter, Ms. Kercheval came to the college, armed with an array of excellent academic background and heady recommendations from the University of West Virginia. Barbara's father, the well-known Dr. Kercheval, was a mainstay of the West Virginia football team for many long years.

Serving first as a departmental advisor, she came to be known on campus as the caring counselor who made it her duty and obligation to ensure that students were given the best advice possible in juggling their academic schedules to achieve timely excellent grades in the midst of their work outside the campus. For this effort she has been recognized by many professional organizations, which saw to it that Barbara's crucial and excellent contributions to the academic achievement of the students under her tutelage did not go unnoticed.

She also served as faculty advisor to the Alpha Chapter of Sigma Delta, taking her student-athletes to compete in various intercollegiate athletic events. She is known primarily as a first aid course consultant extraordinaire for many years, setting high standards for students training in cardiopulmonary resuscitation techniques. She later became the supervisor for the Campus' CPR teacher training program and developed the recertification procedure for all personnel in the division.

For over 20 years Barbara represented her department as faculty senator, serving as a