

1. On April 21, I had a longer discussion with Sadeq Kharrazi who came to see me (S.Kh. is the Iranian Ambassador in Paris, former Deputy-FM and nephew of the Foreign Minister, his sister is married to the son of the Religious Leader Khamenei). During this discussion a first draft of the enclosed Roadmap was developed. He said that he would discuss this with the Leader and the Foreign Minister.
2. On May 2, I met him again for three hours. He told me that he had two long discussions with the Leader on the Roadmap. In these meetings, which both lasted almost two hours, only President Khatami and FM Kharrazi were present; "we went through every word of the this paper". (He additionally had a series of separat meetings with both). - The question is dealt with in high secrecy, therefore no one else has been informed, (S.Kh. himself has become also very discreet in our last contacts). - S.Kh. presented the paper to the Leader as a proposal which he had discussed, with a friend in Europe who has close contacts with higher echelons in the DoS. The Leader explicitly had asked him whether this is a US-proposal and S.Kh. denied this, saying that, if it is accepted, this friend could convey it to Washington as the basis for opening the bilateral discussion.
3. Then S.Kh. told me that the Leader uttered some reservations as for some points; the President and the Foreign Minister were very positive, there was no problem from their side. Then he said "They (meaning above all the Leader) agree with 85%-90% of the paper. But everything can be negotiated." (By 'agree' he meant to agree with the points themselves referred to as 'US aims' in the Roadmap, and not only to agree that the US puts these points on the agenda). - "There is a clear interest to tackle the problem of our relations with the US. I told them, this is a golden opportunity, one day we must find a solution". - Then S.Kh. asked me whether I could present the enclosed Roadmap very confidentially to someone very high in the DoS in order to get to know the US-reaction on it. - He asked me to make some minor changes in the Roadmap draft of our previous meeting, we re-wrote for instance the Iranian statement on the Middle East, and he said that he thinks, that this statement would be acceptable - "the peace process is a reality".
4. Then he said: "If the Americans agree to have a discreet bilateral meeting on the basis of this Roadmap, then this meeting could be arranged very soon. In this meeting our remaining reservations could be discussed as well as the US would bring in their reservations on this paper. I am sure that these differences can be eliminated. If we can agree on a Roadmap to clarify the procedure, as a next step it could already be decided in this first meeting that the two Foreign Ministers could meet for starting the process" along the lines of the Roadmap "to decide on how to proceed to resolve everything from A till Z". - Asked whether the meeting between the two foreign ministers has been agreed by the Leader, he said: "Look, if we can agree on the procedure, I believe honestly that it is O.K. for the meeting of the foreign ministers in Paris or Geneva, there is soon an occasion." - Asked whom he thinks would participate in the first discreet meeting, he mentioned Armitage, referring to the positive positions of the latter on Iranian democracy. - I told him that I think that this is impossible, but then he mentioned a meeting these days between Khalilzad and Zarif (Ambassador to the UN) in Geneva on terrorism and said it could be a similar level from the DoS and on their side maybe him or Zarif or both.
5. When I tried to obtain from him a precise answer on what exactly the Leader explicitly has agreed, he said that the lack of trust in the US imposes them to proceed very carefully and very confidentially. After discussing this problem with him I understood that they want to be sure that if this initiative failed, and if anything about the new Iranian flexibility outlined in it became known, they would - also for internal reasons - not be bound to it. - However, I got the clear impression that there is a strong will of the régime to tackle the problem with the US now and to try it with this initiative.

Roadmap

US aims: (Iran agrees that the US puts the following aims on the agenda)

- **WMD:** full transparency for security that there are no Iranian endeavours to develop or possess WMD, full cooperation with IAEA based on Iranian adoption of all relevant instruments (93+2 and all further IAEA protocols)
- **Terrorism:** decisive action against any terrorists (above all Al Qaida) on Iranian territory, full cooperation and exchange of all relevant information.
- **Iraq:** coordination of Iranian influence for actively supporting political stabilization and the establishment of democratic institutions and a democratic government representing all ethnic and religious groups in Iraq.
- **Middle East:**
 1. stop of any material support to Palestinian opposition groups (Hamas, Jihad etc.) from Iranian territory, pressure on these organisations to stop violent action against civilians within borders of 1967.
 2. action on Hisbollah to become an exclusively political and social organization within Lebanon
 3. acceptance of the two-states-approach.

Iranian aims: (the US accepts a dialogue „in mutual respect“ and agrees that Iran puts the following aims on the agenda)

- **US refrains from supporting change of the political system by direct interference from outside**
- **Abolishment of all sanctions:** commercial sanctions, frozen assets, refusal of access to WTO
- **Iraq:** pursuit of MKO, support of the repatriation of MKO-members, support of the Iranian claims for Iraqi reparation, no Turkish invasion in North Iraq, respect for the Iranian national interests in Iraq and religious links to Najaf/Kerbala.
- **Access to peaceful nuclear technology, biotechnology and chemical technology**
- **Recognition of Iran's legitimate security interests in the region with the according defense capacity.**
- **Terrorism:** action against MKO and affiliated organizations in the US

Steps:

1. **Communication of mutual agreement on the following procedure**
2. **Mutual simultaneous statements** „we have always been ready for direct and authoritative talks with the US/with Iran with the aim of discussing - in mutual respect - our common interests and our mutual concerns, but we have always made it clear that, such talks can only be held, if genuine progress for a solution of our own concerns can be achieved“.
3. **A direct meeting on the appropriate level will be held with the previously agreed aims**
 - a) **of a decision on the first mutual steps:**
 - **Iraq:** establishment of a common working group on Iraq, active Iranian support for Iraqi stabilization, US-commitment to resolve MKO problem in Iraq, US-commitment to take Iranian reparation claims into the discussion on Iraq foreign debts.
 - **Terrorism:** Iranian commitment for decisive action against Al Qaida members in Iran, agreement on cooperation and information exchange
 - **Iranian statement** „that it supports a peaceful solution in the Middle East, that it accepts a solution which is accepted by the Palestinians and that it follows with interest the discussion on the Roadmap, presented by the Quartet.“
 - **US-acceptance of Iranian access to WTO-membership negotiations**
 - b) **of the establishment of three parallel working groups on disarmament, regional security, and economic cooperation.** Their aim is an agreement on three parallel road maps, for the discussions of these working groups each side accepts that the other side's aims (see above) are put on the agenda:
 - 1) **Disarmament:** road map, which combines the mutual aims of, on the one side, full transparency by international commitments and guarantees to abstain from WMD with, on the other side, access to western technology (in the three areas),
 - 2) **Terrorism and regional security:** road map for above mentioned aims on Middle East and terrorism
 - 3) **Economic cooperation:** road map for the lifting of the sanctions and the solution of the frozen assets
 - c) **and of a public statement after this first meeting on the achieved agreements**