

CHAPTER 2: ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GUARD CORPS, IRGC (Sepah-e Pasdaran) THE MILITARY POLITICAL ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF IRAN



By Stephen E Hughes

CHAPTER 2: Introduction

Stratocracy is a form of military government in which the state and the military are traditionally the same thing and government positions are always occupied by military leaders. The military's political power is supported by law and the society. As such a stratocracy does not have to be autocratic by nature in order to preserve its right to rule.

Emerging Militant Islamic Autocracy Republic of Iran

An autocracy is a system of government in which a supreme political power is concentrated in the hands of one person. His decisions are neither subject to external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control. Autocracy is any form of government in which one person is the supreme power within the state. It is derived from the Greek αὐτοκρατής: αὐτός ("self") and κρατεῖν ("rule"), and may be translated as "one who rules by himself". Iran.. Supreme Leader

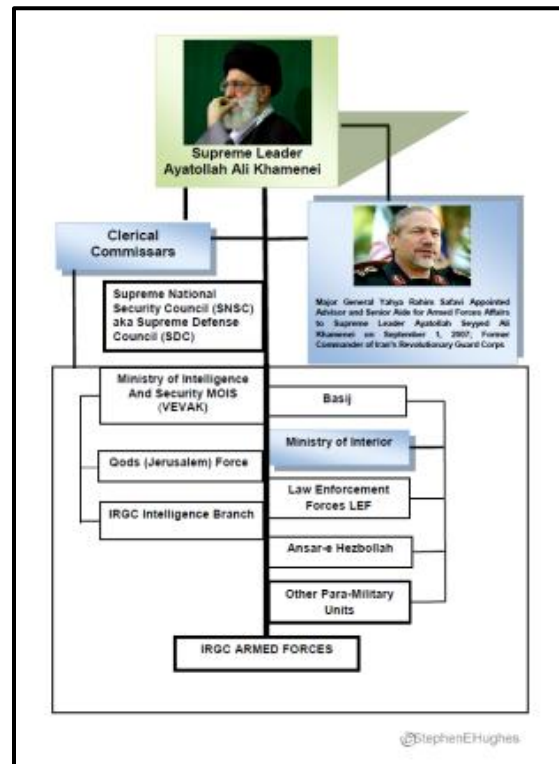
In the last two decades former and current cadres of the IRGC have gained total grip on all three branches government. They are in control of judiciary, executives, governors, mayors; over 60 percent represent Members of Parliament. They are in control of sport, schools and universities and in control of their curriculum, and they have even just started controlling kindergartens. The IRGC and Al Qods have vast economic resources beyond the military budget, and prestige; they enjoy access to the best recruits. In the face of foreign aggression, the abstract notion of "guarding the Revolution and its achievement" may be a reference to the IRGC's role in maintaining the ideological nature and survival of the regime.

Since 1989, IRGC has had a dominant position in the Iranian economy through lucrative energy, construction, and foreign trade government concessions, which has resulted in monopolizing significant sectors of the economy. Beginning around 2000, the IRGC's hand further extended into new and far more lucrative sectors of the economy. IRGC became measurably active in the Iranian stock market in 2005. Most significantly, noted in 2000-2007 IRGC was awarded billions of dollars in contracts in the oil, gas and petrochemical industries, as well as major infrastructure projects. The IRI started awarding some of the no-bid contracts directly to the Guard's engineering arm, Khatam Al-Anbia. Other times, the link is more indirect.

Through privatization Khamenei has transferred control of Iran's Commerce, Industry, Oil, Gas and Public Services Sectors to the Islamic Revolutionary Guard.

"Militarization Rather than Privatization: the so-called privatization scheme that enables the IRI leadership to transfer ownership from relatively transparent parts of the public sector to parts of the public sector shielded from public scrutiny. Purchases of the IRGC and its subordinate volunteer militia, the Basij, are conducted by their credit and finance institutions, such as the IRGC and Basij Cooperative Foundation and their subsidiaries,"

No. 3 • June 2010 American Enterprise Institute The Revolutionary Guards' Looting of Iran's Economy By Ali Alfoneh pg.4 www.aei.org



Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has ruled non-Islamic law, psychology and sociology, as "fundamentally poisonous, Western theories.

The IRGC and the Basij have become deeply entrenched in the Iranian education system at both the university and the high school level. Starting about 2007 and especially after the 2009 IRI disputed presidential election protests, numerous university professors and administrators were removed from their positions and replaced with IRGC and Basij officials. Hate Indoctrination Is A Professed Goal Of Iranian Textbooks." The Iranian education system is preparing its students for a global war against the West, in the name of Islam, Describing Iran's school system as a "Global War Curriculum," Catalogs how pupils as young as 9 are conditioned to take part in a global jihad against such "infidel oppressors" as Israel and the United States.

- ***Hate Indoctrination Is A Professed Goal Of Iranian Textbooks." The Iranian education system is preparing its students for a global war against the West, in the name of Islam,***
- ***Describing Iran's school system as a "Global War Curriculum,"***
- ***Pupils as young as 9 are conditioned to take part in a global jihad against such "infidel oppressors" as Israel and the United States.***
- ***Study of 115 Iranian school textbooks concludes and substantiates that Tehran is preparing its children for war, and is willing to risk massive casualties for the opportunity to defeat America in a world-wide cataclysmic confrontation.***

Discrimination and Intolerance in Iran's Textbooks Saeed Paivandi a Freedom House
Publication 2008 <http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/discrimination-and-intolerance-irans-textbooks/methodology>

Supremacy of Raison D'état:

"Justification of overriding state power, there are circumstances when the need to ensure the security or well-being of the state or the nation justifies governments ignoring the normal considerations of law or morality". Khomeini formalized the supremacy of raison d'état over the tenets of Islam, Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist.

Chapter 2 uncovers the true nature of the Islamic Republic of Iran. It is a military state controlled by one man, the Supreme Leader Khamenei. His tower of power is maintained through the powerful IRGC, the Basij and other elements. Through the IRGC all aspects of state of Iran are dominated and subjugated. Chapter 2 reveals the deeper levels of Tehran from the educational system, to the powerful Clerical Commissars, who are the eyes, ears and hands of the Supreme Leader Khamenei. Children, women, and men are hammered into the clogs of an Islamic war-machine. Those that do not measure up to this militant Islamic war-machine are imprisoned or executed. The war-machine goals are to build an Islamic World, the destruction of America, the "Great Satan," and "Israel" the lesser Satan.

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According to the Constitution of the Islamic Republic, the Supreme Leader is commander-in-chief of the armed forces, which consists of three main components: the regular military (sometimes referred to as the Artesh); the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) or Pasdaran, and the Law Enforcement Force (LEF). The regular military and IRGC come under the control of the Ministry of Defense and Armed Forces Logistics (MODAFL). These forces are responsible for defending Iran's borders and providing for internal security. The LEF is formally subordinate to the Ministry of Interior, and plays a key role in internal security and frontier security.



Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, IRGC (Sepah-e Pasdaran)

The IRGC played an important role in cementing Khomeini's hold on power in 1979 revolution, but it was not immediately apparent what its post-revolutionary role would be. Initially, the Guards functioned to ensure internal security only, but Iraqi president Saddam Hussein's 1980 invasion of Iran pushed the organization into national defense. Khomeini's had executed all of the former government top military officials. In addition

there were purges at all levels of the Iranian Military Forces. Saddam Hussein believed he could just walk in and take over Iran. The Iran-Iraq war transformed the IRGC into a multifaceted organization. The Iranian leadership invested massively in the organization as the Islamic Republic fought for its very existence, and the IRGC resultantly developed not only traditional defense capabilities but also embraced its mission to enforce revolutionary values at home and export them abroad. Early post-revolutionary leadership argued for the restoration of the preeminence of the traditional armed forces (the *artesh*) because of their military proficiency in the face of the existential military threat posed by Saddam Hussein's invasion. Others argued that the revolutionary zeal of the IRGC (by which they often meant its loyalty to the regime) was as important as the professionalism of the traditional military. Khomeini compromised. He sent clerical representatives to the regular armed forces fighting the Iraqis, and he also supported the continued existence of a separate revolutionary armed force in the IRGC. [1]

Under the IRI constitution the IRGC is tasked with "guarding the Revolution and its achievements," The IRGC constitutes the backbone of clerical rule in Iran and is controlled directly by supreme leader Ali

The IRGC has roughly 125,000 military personnel including ground, aerospace, and naval forces. Its naval forces are now the primary forces tasked with operational control of the Persian Gulf. It also controls the paramilitary Basij militia which has about 90,000 active personnel. It controls all of missile, C.B.R.N. forces.
Iran: Jane's World Armies. October 3, 2011

Khamenei. The IRGC's political and economic aspects give further concentration of power in the hands of Khamenei, the purging of all other factions, and closing of the regime's ranks. It also provides a counter weight to the regular armed forces. [1a]

In the last two decades former and current cadres of the IRGC have gained total grip on all three branches government. They are in control of judiciary, executives, governors, mayors; some 50 percent represent Members of Parliament. They are in control of sport, schools and universities and in control of their curriculum, and they have even just started controlling kindergartens. The IRGC and Al Qods have vast economic resources beyond the military budget, and prestige; they enjoy access to the best recruits. In the face of foreign aggression, the abstract notion of "guarding the Revolution and its achievement" may be a reference to the IRGC's role in maintaining the ideological nature and survival of the regime.

1). Security Structures of Iran By [Frederick Kagan www.irantracker.org/basics/security-structures-iran](http://www.irantracker.org/basics/security-structures-iran)

1a). The Revolutionary Guards' Role in Iranian Politics by Ali Alfoneh *Middle East Quarterly* Fall 2008, pp. 3-14

IRGC Gen. Mohsen Rezai Initially, Khomeini incorporated the IRGC into the new formed government cabinet. Mohsen Rezai served as the group's first and only minister and continued his command after Khomeini made the IRGC a wholly separate entity. Throughout its existence, the IRGC has had remarkably stable leadership. Rezai helped stabilize the country after Khomeini's death and ensured a smooth transition to Khamenei rule.

Rezaei became Chief Commander of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps in 1981, when he was only 27 years old, and remained in the post until 1997, when he was promoted to the Expediency Discernment Council, where he became the Secretary and the Chair of the Commission for Macroeconomics and Commerce. As secretary he oversees research and drafts the country's macro economic, political and cultural policies. While studying mechanical engineering at Iran University of Science and Technology before the 1979 Islamic Revolution, Rezaei switched to economics after the Iran-Iraq War, studying at Tehran University, where he continued until 2001, when he received his Ph.D. in 2001. *He co-founded Imam Hossein University and currently teaches there.* [2]

Economy of Resistance, economic plan: In 2012 he stated, "A new economic system" is being formulated to renovate Iran's economy" and will be placed in the next one to two years, "High quality global journalism requires investment. He added there are two government teams working "constantly" to evade sanctions, one under the direct supervision of Mahmoud Ahmadi-Nejad, the president, and the other under the authority of first vice-president Mohammad-Reza Rahimi. The "economy of resistance" responsibility of the new government, which he described as "one of the country's most important, whose main responsibility will be to circumvent sanctions" [2a]

His Book: "Regional Iran": "refers to my theory of establishing southwest Asia with Iran at its center. Establishing Iran as a regional power is nothing new and the concept was already pursued during the Pahlavi era, as well as after the Islamic Revolution in Iran. Our Islamic identity should not deprive us from having an effective interaction with the world and change Iran into an enclave with no relation with the international system,"

"America's life depends upon oil supplies and Iran could influence this. America needs the Region because of economic reasons, and in a certain sense America's life depend upon Iran."

Who is Mohsen Rezaei? Iran From Inside: Who Is Mohsen Rezaei? Journal of Middle Eastern Geopolitics

■ **He combines his military past with a background in economics. He has been identified as one of the authors of Iran's 20-year plan and has also been a proponent of the so-called Third Current aimed at eliminating factions and "deviations" in politics.**

■ **Next President of Iran Mohsen Rezai? Is he currently being groomed as the next president of Iran, or for the new position Khamenei is thinking about creating, Prime Minister? [2b]**



Mohsen Rezaei is currently the Secretary of the Expediency Discernment Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Before that, Rezaei was the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps Chief Commander for 16 years, (1981 to 1997). In November 2006, Argentine Judge Rodolfo Canicoba Corral and Interpol issued international Arrest and extradition warrant for Mohsen Rezaei, six other Iranians and one Lebanese in connection with the July 18, 1994 suicide bombing of the Jewish cultural center in Buenos Aires, Argentina, which resulted in the deaths of 85 people and serious injuries to 151.

Mark J. Roberts, *Khomeini's Incorporation of the Iranian Military* (Washington: Institute for National Strategic Studies, 1996), p. 51.
Kenneth Katzman, *The Warriors of Islam: Iran's Revolutionary Guard* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1992), pp. 26-8.
2). <http://www.interpol.int/Wanted-Person>
2a). Iran develops 'economy of resistance' By Najmeh Bozorgmehr in Isfahan September 10, 2012 www.ft.com
2b) Iran's Power Struggle Goes Beyond Personalities to Future of Presidency Itself By Robert F. Worth October 26, 2011 nytimes.com

Iman Hossein University-Tehran (IHU)

IHU was originally established in 1986 its foundational goals were to train officers for IRGC, somewhat similar to America's WestPoint. However it evolved as a place of education for all levels of the IRGC and science, research and technology. IHU is not an ordinary university with free access. It is controlled by soldiers and military forces at the entrance. No one can enter the university without personnel cards or permissions from military officers. IRGC could persuade the Iranian Ministry of Science, Research and Technology to confirm IHU as a university but it is under supervision of IRGC and their staffs are all members of IRGC.

Imam Hossein University



The IRGC uses the university for personnel recruiting and training. The IAEA suspects IHU to be involved in CBRN and missile development, including the testing of nuclear warhead triggers and illicit procurement of sensitive materials. Some intelligence reports indicate IHU conducts nuclear development activities separate from the AEOI (Atomic Energy Organization of Iran), according to U.S. officials; According to the a 2008 IAEA report, the university (called a "technical university" in the report) houses the Physics Research Center (PHRC), which controls the Iranian nuclear program, once under the Atomic Energy Organization of Iran (AEOI), Iran's civilian nuclear agency. The 2008 IAEA Report - One of the principal sources of nuclear experts has been the Imam Hossein University. Part of the takeover of the Iranian nuclear program also necessarily included transferring experts from around the country into this university. The IAEA stated the IRGC is believed to have co-opted the nuclear research facilities and experts of the university system in order to conceal and cloak the true military aspect of the Iranian nuclear program.

A 2008 Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) made a report concerning biological activities in Iran, stated are centered on the productions of microbial bombs using anthrax, smallpox virus, and typhoid fever, high dosage of aflatoxin, plague microbes, and chloromicrobes, done at the Imam Hossein University in Tehran. Genetic cloning is also being carried out at Malek-Ashtar University of Technology.

According to information provided by the exiled dissident group The National Council of Resistance of Iran, the IHU is conducting research and development on missile warheads for biological and chemical weapons. The IHU is located in close proximity to the missile plant of the Shahid Hemmat Industrial Group. The IHU is one of five Iranian universities offering advanced degrees in aerospace engineering. IHU provides Bachelors and Masters Programs in 15 departments. The student body consists of 6000 students and soldiers, almost from members of IRGC or Basij. The world market in biotechnology, food processing, pharmaceutical, and other related equipment has grown so large, has so many dual-use items, and has such weak controls, that it is impossible to know what Iran has purchased and is purchasing, and from whom they are purchasing such items. What is clear is that Iran has become a country with a relatively advanced base in biotechnology, which has extensive laboratory and research capability, and steadily improving industrial facilities with dual-use production capabilities with all of the equipment necessary to produce wet and dry storable biological weapons.

"The fall of the Soviet Union – which had been involved in extensive WMD research, development, and production throughout the Cold War – left many unemployed Russian scientists looking for new clients. Tehran was able to lure many of these unemployed scientists with knowledge and experience in weaponizing deadly toxins to its program with its abundant reserve of petrodollars. According to numerous defected former Soviet scientists, several military biologists were recruited by Iran throughout the 1990s. A London Sunday Times article from August 1995 reported that, –by hiring Russian biological weapons experts, Iran had made a quantum leap forward in its biological weapons program," Iranian Weapons of Mass Destruction: Biological Weapons Programs Anthony H. http://Csis.Org/Files/Media/Csis/Pubs/081028_Iranbw_Chapterrev.Pdf

(This will be covered extensively in a subsequent CHAPTER 9: CBRN Capabilities, What is not be asked, What is not being Investigated)

Imam Hussein University (IHU) <http://www.nti.org/facilities/329/>

Iranian Entity Imam Hussein University Of The Revolutionary Guards

<http://www.Iranwatch.Org/Suspect/Records/Imam-Hussein-University-Of-The-Revolutionary-Guards.Html>

IAEA 2008 Report http://www.isis-online.org/publications/iran/IAEA_Iran_Report_22Feb2008.pdf

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and the IRGC

On June 24, 2005, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad won the presidency of Iran, in a run-off against the former president Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, where he also became the first non-cleric president in 24 years. Ahmadinejad holds a Ph.D. in traffic and transport engineering from Tehran University of Science and Technology. He later became a lecturer at the university, joined the revolutionary guards in 1986 after volunteering to serve in the war with Iraq. He joined the revolutionary guards in 1986 after volunteering to serve in the war with Iraq. Ahmadinejad was sent to the front where, until 1985, he was involved in logistics and auxiliary activities. In 1986 he volunteered for the special Revolutionary Guards brigade situated at the Ramadan base and operated beyond Iran's borders (in the town of Kirkuk in northern Iraq). After that, he served as a combat engineering commander in a Revolutionary Guards division. IRGC intervention in internal Iranian politics has peaked under Ahmadinejad Presidential, and has continued to climb unabated. [3]



The presence of former IRGC officers in the cabinet is not a new phenomenon; their numbers under Ahmadinejad first Presidential term occupying nine of the twenty-one ministry portfolios were unprecedented. Nor did these commanders-turned-ministers only occupy secondary posts. The ministers of energy, welfare and social security, industries and mines, justice, culture and Islamic guidance, petroleum, defense, commerce, and cooperatives are all war veterans and former IRGC or Basij officers. Ahmadinejad first Presidential term continued this takeover with appointments of governors and deputy governors to Iran's thirty provinces. He systematically swept provincial governorships of Rafsanjani and Khatami supporters, replacing them with officials recruited from the ranks of the IRGC, the Basij, (Basij a former Para-military organization) and the Islamic Republic prison administration. The governors of Kerman, West Azerbaijan, Khuzestan, Hamadan, and Ilam are all IRGC veterans while the governors of Zanjan, Lorestan, Isfahan, and South Khorasan are veterans of the prison administration. To head the administration of West Azerbaijan, Kermanshah, Hormozgan, and Khorasan Razavi, Ahmadinejad tapped associates from his time as Tehran mayor. These lists are not comprehensive but rather depend upon available biographical materials of appointees. It is possible that the IRGC and security presence is even higher.

Between 2009 and 2010 ten out of the 21 ministers in his current cabinet, formed in September 2009, are IRGC commanders, as are one-third of 30 provincial governors. 80 seats in the 290-seat Majlis (Parliament) are held by former IRGC commanders. The Majlis Speaker, Ali Larijani, was an IRGC Brigadier General. The head of the state Radio and TV, Ezzatollah Zarghami, was an IRGC Brig. General. The Secretary of the Supreme National Security Council and Iran's chief nuclear negotiator, Saeed Jalili, was an IRGC commander. The mayor of Tehran, Mohammad-Baqer Qalibaf, was a Commander of the IRGC Air Force. [4]

**Mahmoud Ahmadinejad
his second term in office,
due to terminate in
August 2013**

**Iranian Laws &
Government: The
Constitution of Islamic
Republic of Iran**

**Chapter IX: The Executive
Power, Section One The
Presidency Article 114
The President is elected
for a four-year term by
the direct vote of the
people. His re-election for
a successive term is
permissible only once.**
http://www.iranchamber.com/government/laws/constitution_ch09.php

3).Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center at the Israel Intelligence Heritage & Commemoration Center (IICC) March 8, 2007Iranian president Ahmadinejad

4). IRGC's dominance over Iran's politics and economy – Part 1 TUESDAY, 11 MAY 2010
http://www.iranfocus.com/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=20355:irgcs-dominance-over-irans-politics-and-economy--part-1&catid=32:exclusive-reports&Itemid=32

IRGC and Iran's Oil Industry

Iran has a mixed economy that is heavily dependent on export earnings from the country's extensive petroleum reserves. Oil exports account for nearly 80 percent of foreign exchange earnings. The constitution mandates that all large-scale industries, including petroleum, minerals, banking, foreign exchange, insurance, power generation, communications, aviation, and road and rail transport, be owned publicly and administered by the state. However most of this including the oil and gas sector is in the hands of the IRGC.



In July 2011, president Ahmadinejad appointed Maj. Gen. Rostam Qassemi of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) as oil minister, bringing the number of former IRGC officers in his cabinet to twelve out of eighteen. Yet the IRGC's seizure of the Oil Ministry could have far reaching economic, political, and strategic implications. In reality this was no more than a formality, no one placed in a position of power without prior approval of the Supreme Leader Khamenei. In June 2006, the Revolutionary Guards were put in charge of developing the giant offshore South Pars gas field in the southern Persian Gulf. South Pars is the world's largest gas field, with reserves estimated at 1,800 trillion cubic feet of gas. While Iran extracts 210 million cubic meters per day from the South Pars gas field (the largest in the world) it shares with Qatar, the emirate extracts 360 million cubic meters of gas from it. The IRGC, whose aggressive pursuit of nuclear weapons provokes foreign sanctions against the Islamic Republic, also benefits from the sanctions, which eliminate foreign competition for Iranian oil and gas contracts.

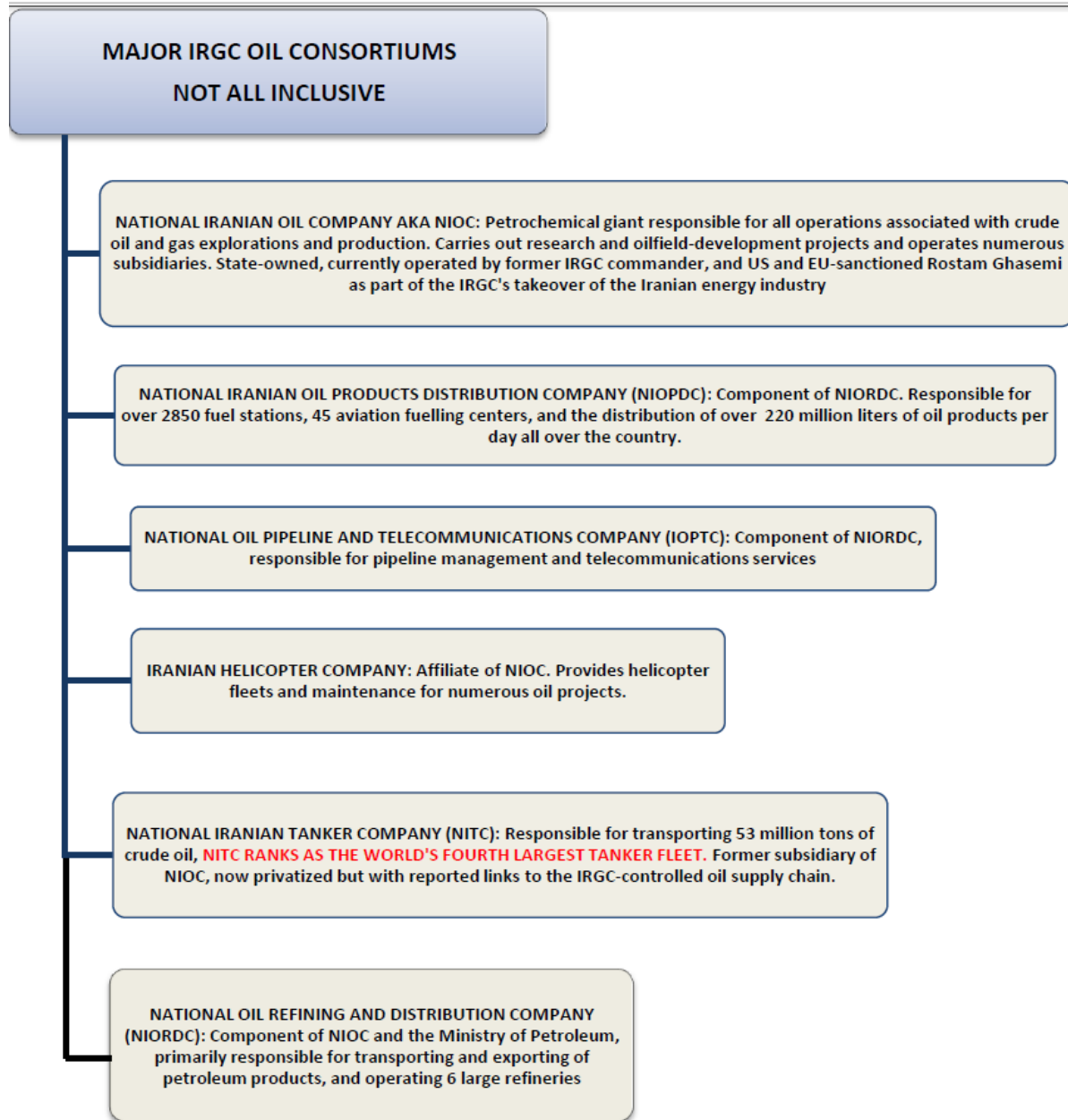
The Revolutionary Guards' engineering companies replaced Europeans driven off by sanctions and were given huge no-bids contracts, greatly enhancing its military economic power.

Khatam al-Anbia, "Seal of the Prophets" also known as GHORB

The IRGC exercises much of its economic control through Bonyads, tax-exempt, government subsidized foundations that control large swaths of Iranian industry, and IRGC-owned companies like Khatam al-Anbia, an engineering firm that is one of Iran's leading industrial contractors. Through Khatam al-Anbia, the IRGC has succeeded in assuming a dominant role in Iran's oil and gas industry as evidenced by the August 2011 appointment of IRGC commander and former Khatam al-Anbia head Rostam Ghasemi as Iran's Minister of Petroleum. The Khatam al-Anbia firm, also known as GHORB, is the IRGC's major engineering arm and one of Iran's largest contractors in industrial and development projects. Khatam al-Anbia was created during the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war to help rebuild the country. Moreover it has diversified over the years into companies dealing with mechanical engineering, energy, mining and defense. Originally a simple IRGC Engineer Arm the Khatam Anbia Troops, evolved into the IRGC's hegemonistic economic institution. In addition, it has become one of the most compartmentalized elements of the IRGC. Khatam Anbia personnel are instrumental in construction – maintenance of the Islamic Republic's most covert facilities, from missiles to CBRN facilities. Acting as a business company it is given choice highly profitable government building contracts. Through Khamenei's privatization and IRGC Engineer Arm, the Khatam Anbia is able to channel several billion of dollars into military projects. This shell game is one of means how economic resources are placed into the pockets of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps.

- ***Khatam al-Anbia has grown into IRI's largest company: its 812 subsidiaries employs approximately 40,000 people and have won over 17,000 no-bid contracts, primarily in the energy sector, is heavily involved in construction of the QOM/Fordow facilities.***

5). Iran's Revolutionary Guards Strike Oil 2012 [Ali Alfoneh](http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/irans-revolutionary-guards-strike-oil/) | [Iran's Revolutionary Guards Strike Oil](http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/irans-revolutionary-guards-strike-oil/) February 16, 2012
<http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/irans-revolutionary-guards-strike-oil/>
6). The National Oil Co. of Iran awarded that contract, also without putting it out to tender, in June 2006 More economic power for Iran's Rev. Guards by Staff Writers Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UPI) May 5, 2011
http://www.spacedaily.com/reports/More_economic_power_for_Irans_Rev_Guards_999.html



The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps maintains a complex and constantly shifting network of front groups Khatam al-Anbia, has 812 affiliate companies. The IRGC consortiums have proved adept at the swift creation of new shell companies in order to outmaneuver sanctions. The advantage of the network maintained by the Revolutionary Guard is that companies working with it often have no formal, organizational connection to it, or to the Islamic Republic. Rather Khamenei's privatization companies established by trusted IRGC veterans work in close cooperation with the Guard, with few traceable or visible links.

From: IRGC Campaign, United Against Nuclear Iran unitedagainstnucleariran.com/irgc



In 2011 IRGC officer, Brig. Gen. Rostam Ghasemi became Iran's Minister of Petroleum and currently serves as president of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) [7]

With Maj. Gen. Rostam Qassemi appointed as oil minister this places Tehran's Petroleum Empire under the direct control of the IRGC. The IRGC having domination of the Oil Ministry has far reaching economic, political, and strategic implications. Qassemi was born in 1964 in Sargah village in Fars province and is believed to have a degree in civil engineering. He joined the IRGC in Kharg Island in 1979 and became logistics chief in Bushehr province two years later and participated in the Iran-Iraq War. After Iran's war with Iraq (1980-88), Qassemi directed the engineering activities of the IRGC in Bushehr. In 1996, he was assigned as chief of the IRGC navy's Nouh base. In 2007, Qassemi was appointed chief of Khatam al-Anbia firm (seal of the prophets), also known as GHORB the IRGC's main engineering firm and one of the country's largest development contractors. Khatam al-Anbia has built dams, highways, and pipelines for water, gas, and oil. Like other IRGC firms, it has reaped a windfall of no-bid contracts as foreign oil companies have withdrawn from Iran's oil and gas sector. He was director of the Khatam Anbia Troops in the Iranian Revolutionary Guard from 2007 to 2011

National Iranian Oil Company AKA NIOC: This Petrochemical giant is responsible for all operations associated with crude oil and gas explorations and productions. NIOC carries out research, oilfield-development projects and operates numerous subsidiaries. Currently NIOC is operated by former IRGC commander, and US and EU-sanctioned Ghasemi as part of the IRGC's takeover of the Iranian energy industry.

Incorporating Basij: In May 2012 the oil ministry, led by Ghasemi signed a memorandum of cooperation with the Oppressed Basij Organization, headed by Basij commander Brigadier General Mohammad-Reza Naghdi. The memorandum of cooperation stipulates that Basij engineers, scholars, and specialists will work alongside the oil ministry to aid the indigenous development of the country's oil and natural gas industry. This comes one day after the oil ministry signed contracts giving two other military-linked entities the right to exploit three oil fields. The government granted Khatam al-Osia Headquarters the right to develop the Alpha and Tosan fields, which are believed to contain a combined total of 500 million barrels of crude oil, of which up to 120 million barrels is extractable. The fields are expected to eventually produce up to 30,000 b/d.[8]



C.B.R.N. Proliferation & Procurements
Ghasemi himself was added in February 2010 to the U.S. Treasury's Department list of Specially Designated Nationals (SDNs) whose assets are frozen and with whom Americans may not do business. Designation was made under an executive order that targets proliferators of weapons of mass destruction and their delivery systems.(9)

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is an intergovernmental organization of 12 oil-producing countries of Algeria, Angola, Ecuador, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Venezuela. OPEC's influence on the market has been widely criticized. Because its member countries hold the vast majority of crude oil reserves (about 80%) and nearly half of natural gas reserves in the world, the organization has considerable power in these markets. "General Ghasemi has been sanctioned by both the United States and the European Union most recently by the US on June 8, 2011 for the IRGC's human rights abuses, deaths of Iranian People. This is someone who has been linked to Iran's nuclear proliferation activities, and his appointment shows the expanding influence of the IRGC in Iran's economy. Given the continued unrest in the Middle East, we should be concerned at the possible consequences of having such a man at the helm of OPEC".

7). Top Iranian Revolutionary Guard in Line to Become Oil Minister, OPEC Head By Patrick Goodenough July 29, 2011

<http://cnsnews.com/news/article/top-iranian-revolutionary-guard-line-become-oil-minister-pec-head>

8). International sanctions help Iran's armed forces conquer the oil industry May 24, 2012 in News

<http://www.iranpolitik.com/2012/05/24/news/international-sanctions-irans-armed-forces-conquer-oil-industry/>

9). Treasury Targets Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps 2/10/2010 www.treasury.gov/press-center

New Head of OPEC is Iranian Military Hardliner By Peter C Glover Aug. 05, 2011 energytribune.com/

Niruyeh Moghavemat Basij Mobilization Resistance Force

The most dramatic change in the power balance occurred in September 2007 under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad (2005-present), when the Basij was formally subordinated to the IRGC.



During the Iranian revolution, Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini issued a decree founding the Basij as "a large people's militia", in November 1979. The Basij was to counteract the increasing domestic and international threats against the newly founded Islamic Republic of Iran. The Basij from its inception in 1979 as a Para- police force role quickly change with Saddam's invasion of Iran. Khomeini renamed them the, " People's Militia,"

Khomeini stated that "a country with 20 million youths must have 20 million riflemen or a military with 20 million soldiers; such a country will never be destroyed." This "people's militia" was established on April 30, 1980. Originally Basij was open to those above the age of 18 and below the age of 45, and all women in that age category. However as Saddam's forces drove restlessly into Iran, Khomeini with no real capable military Leaders left after his purges became desperate. Anyone was allowed in, children as young as 9 years of age were recruited for human wave attacks. This subject matter will be discussed in a later chapter. In 1981, less than a year after the beginning of the war with Iraq, the Basij became a unit of the Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps and the most important organization in Iran for recruiting and organizing volunteers and deploying them to the war front.

The end of the war saw a shift in the mission of the Basij to a security force responsible for local defense, suppression of urban revolts and protests, and ensuring the internal security of the regime, and at this point a course of ideological and political training was added to the Basij training system in order to strengthen the ideological beliefs of its volunteers. As time went on, the ideological component of the training became more important than the military one. Eventually, a new plan went into effect, on October 7, 1994,

The Basij has also increasingly been drawn into economic activity. It has gradually assumed the role of the now-defunct Agricultural Jihad, the "revolutionary" organizational counterpart to the Ministry of Agriculture. It has controlled the Yazd Steel Works since 2001 and the Tabriz Tractor Factory since April 2009. In addition, Basij financial institutions have enabled members to take advantage of the lucrative housing market. –

**The Basij Resistance Force A Weak Link in the Iranian Regime?
Ali Alfoneh | Washington Institute for Near East Policy February 05, 2010**

[aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/the-basij-resistance-force/](http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/the-basij-resistance-force/)

according to which ideological-political training was incorporated into all levels of Basij training, from basic training to refresher courses. Some estimates place the Basij force at 400,000. There are about 90,000 active-duty Basij members who are full-time uniformed personnel; they are joined by up to 300,000 reservists. The Basij can mobilize up to 1 million men. This includes members of the University Basij, Student Basij, and the former tribal levies incorporated into the Basij (aka Tribal Basij). Middle-school-aged members of the Student Basij are called Seekers (Puyandegan), and high-school members are called the Vanguard (Pishgaman). They have been active in monitoring the activities of citizens, enforcing the hijab and arresting women for violating the dress code, and seizing 'indecent' material and satellite dish antennae.

10). Niruyeh Moghavemat Basij Mobilization Resistance Force <http://www.globalsecurity.org/intell/world/iran/basij.htm>

11). The Ideological-Political Training of Iran's Basij (2010) Dr. Saeid Golkar Middle East Brief <http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB44.pdf>

The Basij: Since the 2005 election of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Basij interventions in politics have become more frequent. The Basij were pivotal in suppressing the antigovernment protests after

the disputed presidential election on June 12, 2009. Various branches of the Basij were mobilized to counter anti-government protests at high schools, universities, factories and on the street.

In the aftermath of the disputed 2009 presidential election in Iran, the Basij was thrown into the limelight when it was used by the Iranian government to crush and eventually control opposition demonstrations. For the past twenty years, the Islamic Republic of Iran has used Ideological-Political Training (IPT) in order to remold the Basij as a new security force, tasked with confronting internal unrest and social revolt. Given the increasing role of the Basij in Iranian society and the increasing resort to it by the state as an instrument of suppressing internal unrest, knowledge of what the Basij is and how it functions has become vital. [12]



Originally separate from the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the Basij were slowly merged with the IRGC between the years of 2004-2007.

In 2007, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) changed command. Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei appointed Brigadier General Mohammad Ali Jafari, (also known as Aziz Jafari and Ali Jafari) to be the seventh commander in chief of the IRGC. He immediately implemented a major restructuring to move the IRGC's primary focus from external defense to internal security. Jafari earned his stripes during the Iran-Iraq War, in which he was chief of the IRGC's Najaf base. [13]

"The provincial basis of IRGC units is meant to better local commanders' control over recruitment, but it also restructures IRGC capabilities as an anti-riot force and guards the organization against any attempts to decapitate it, such as might occur should U.S. or Israeli military forces strike the Islamic republic

Al-Zahra and 'Ashoura Brigades

Ali Jafari became chief of the newly established IRGC Strategic Studies Center, under his supervision the center began to conduct research into "velvet revolutions" and alleged U.S. "soft regime change policies." He argued that the IRGC should focus on future internal threats to the Islamic Republic's stability, a push that led the IRGC to establish the Al-Zahra and 'Ashoura Brigades to serve as anti-riot forces within the organizational framework of the paramilitary Basij Resistance Force, long the subordinate little brother of the IRGC. [14]

Research carried out by the United Kingdom Home Office in June 2011 states: "Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment, updated 1 February 2011, stated that "

"Known as the Mobilization of the Oppressed", the Basij volunteer force is a paramilitary militia organized throughout Iran under the tutelage of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC). Basij personnel are the eyes and ears of the Islamic regime and are considered extremely loyal,"

United Kingdom Home Office
(28 June 2011) Iran, Country of Origin Information (COI) Report, p.43) [15]

12.)What Do Structural Changes in the Revolutionary Guards Mean? Ali Alfoneh September 23, 2008
<http://www.aei.org/article/foreign-and-defense-policy/regional/middle-east-and-north-africa/what-do-structural-changes-in-the-revolutionary-guards-mean/>

13). IBID 1

14). IBID 1

15). Iran: Country Of Origin Information (COI) Report COI Service , Jane's Sentinel Security Assessment, updated 1 February 2011
<http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/policyandlaw/coi/iran/report-0611.pdf?view=Binary>



IRGC Gen. Jafari, Reorganization of Basij Forces

2007, Gen. Jafari assured Basij members that their organization would not be merged into the IRGC Ground Forces, but would remain as a distinct unit within the IRGC.

 **Gen. Jafari's Reorganization Had Two Major Components:**

- 1). Merging the Basij into the IRGC**
- 2). Restructuring the IRGC itself to become less centralized and more focused on the provinces.**

Jafari justified merging the paramilitary Basij with the elite IRGC because both organizations shared the same goal of "guarding achievements of the Revolution." On September 28, 2007, at the farewell ceremony for Basij chief Brigadier General Seyyed Mohammad Hejaz, Jafari explained that the IRGC was a "military-political-cultural organization sharing the same organizational goals as the Basij" and that "half of the Revolutionary Guards' mission is placed on the shoulders of the Basij. As of 2011 Basij has taken a very active role in Iran's domestic security affairs. Basij forces maintain a formal presence in all government offices, universities, schools, trade associations, hospitals and factories. The Basij militia is designed to defend the Islamic republic against internal enemies and foreign intervention. Given its size and paramilitary nature the main utility of the Basij members to the government is to act as the eyes and ears of the IRI. In carrying out their ideologically-based duties, Basij members act as 'moral police' in towns and cities by enforcing the hijab, arresting women for violating the dress code, prohibiting male-female fraternization, monitoring the activities of citizens, seizing 'indecent' material and satellite dish antennae, intelligence gathering and even harassing government critics and intellectuals. Basij volunteers also act as bailiffs for local courts."

 **Now based in the IRI at more than 70,000 locations nationwide, members of the Basij are organized into five main elements:**

- 1. The Pupil Basij,**
- 2. The Student Basij,**
- 3. The University Basij,**
- 4. The Public Service Basij**
- 5. The Tribal Basij**

The diverse range of these units demonstrates the various roles of the militia, and the fact that the aim of the Basij is not just to forge a paramilitary force, but to reinforce support for the regime through ideological dissemination.

Fact Sheet: New Executive Order Targeting Iranian Officials Responsible For or Complicit In Serious Human Rights Abuses U.S. Department of the Treasury September 29, 2010

Mohammad Ali Jafari is the Commander of the IRGC. As commander of the IRGC, Jafari controlled the Basij Forces during the June 2009 election. Forces under his command participated in beatings, murder, and arbitrary arrests and detentions of peaceful protestors.

Today, President Obama signed an Executive Order that imposes sanctions on Iranian officials determined to be responsible for or complicit in serious human rights abuses involving Iran. In signing today's Order, the President identified eight individuals for sanctions who share responsibility for the sustained and severe violation of human rights in Iran since the June 2009 disputed presidential election by listing them in the Annex to the Order. The Iranian individuals identified today are: Mohammad Ali Jafari, Commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC); Sadeq Mahsouli, current Minister of Welfare and Social Security and former Minister of the Interior; Qolam-Hossein Mohseni-Ejei, current Prosecutor General of Iran and former Minister of Intelligence; Saeed Mortazavi, former Prosecutor-General of Tehran; Heydar Moslehi, Minister of Intelligence; Mostafa Mohammad Najjar, Minister of the Interior and Deputy Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces for Law Enforcement; Ahmad-Reza Radan, Deputy Chief of Iran's National Police; and Hossein Taeb, current Deputy IRGC Commander for Intelligence and former Commander of the IRGC's Basij Forces.

iranwatch.org/government/US/Treasury/us-treasury-targetiranianhumanrightsabusers-092910.htm

16). What Do Structural Changes in the Revolutionary Guards Mean? By Ali Alfoneh
AEI Middle Eastern Outlook [aei.org](http://www.aei.org)

17). The Basij Resistance Force Ali Alfoneh

<http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/basij-resistance-force>

Basij Sisters: Basij Sisters is a group of militia women founded by Marziyeh Dabbagh, the most prominent woman fighter in Iran. Dabbagh had been a long time associate of Khomeini before the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Before the revolution, Marziyeh used her father's book business as a front for arms smuggling and bomb making.

In addition she organized training Iranian commandos from Palestinian bases in Lebanon. During Khomeini's Paris exile, she became chief of his household security. [18] It is difficult to ascertain the true number of the Basij Forces; some estimates are over one million and having the Basij Sisters numbers over 70,000. Basij Forces and

especially the woman branch roam the cities of Iran. They enforce strict Islam dress codes. The average Iranian is subject to citation, arrest and harassment by them. Thousands of Basij members were used to quash the demonstrations following the June 12, 2009 contested elections protests. They were reportedly linked to the beatings and murders of demonstrators, home invasions, destruction of property, and rape. "Basij Sisters took part in crushing female resistance and arresting several women activities after the 2009 election results were out.



Another subsidiary of the Supreme Council, the Women's Socio-Cultural Council, was established in 1987 to address the problems of war widows, but has evolved into one of the most ideologically conservative organizations treating women's issues. This council's charter stipulates that a Basij woman must be present at all of its meetings and events. It publishes periodicals and pamphlets celebrating the virtues of hijab and attacking feminism. [19]

- ***IRGC's Basij Sisters are allowed to play a major role in the political scene, they still represent a suppressive power that clamps down on other women from liberal and secular trends.***

Law Enforcement Forces (LEF) Ismail Ahmadi Moghadam, the chief of Iran's Law Enforcement Forces (LEF), and Ahmad-Reza Radan, the deputy chief of Iran's LEF. The LEFs, Moghadam and Radan were all U.S. Sanctioned, designated pursuant to E.O. 13572. In April 2011, Radan traveled to Damascus, where he met with Syrian security services and provided expertise to aid in the Syrian government's crackdown on the Syrian people. [20] LEF are formally subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, the Head of the LEF, General Qalibaf, is directly appointed by the Supreme Leader who in turn appoints the higher echelons of its officers, who are all hard-line conservatives. The LEF, a kind of revolutionary police, came into being in 1990 as the result of a merger of three formerly separately organized forces with internal administrative autonomy, e.g. the city police, the gendarmerie (country-side police) and the revolutionary committees. The LEF play a crucial role in the maintenance of internal security. This became obvious when it quelled the student protests in Teheran in July 1999. [20]

After the June 2000 appointment of Mohammad Baqer Qalibaf, a former IRGC Air Force commander, as its new chief, the force gradually improved its equipment inventory, policing capability, and professionalism. Although exact official figures are not available, it is generally assumed that the number of personnel of the LEF today amounts at about 100'000 to 120'000 men. [21]

17). Hope & Frustration November 14, 1997 The Iranian From "Nine Parts of Desire; The Hidden World of Islamic Women" by Geraldine Brooks (Anchor Books, 1995). <http://www.iranian.com/Features/Nov97/Women/index.html>

18). Foot Soldiers of the Islamic Republic's "Culture of Modesty" by Fatemeh Sadeghi published in MER250 <http://www.merip.org> Iran's Basij Sisters Suppressed Election Protests Hayyan Nayouf 06/08/2009 alarabiya.net/articles/2009/08/05/80895.html

19). Treasury Sanctions Syrian, Iranian Security Forces for Involvement in Syrian Crackdown 4/29/2011 <http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/tg1224.aspx>

20). Geneva Centre For The Democratic Control Of Armed Forces (DCAF) Conference Paper Iran's Security Sector: An Overview Wilfried Buchta Workshop On "Challenges Of Security Sector Governance in the Middle East", held in Geneva 12-13 July 2004, organized by the DCAF Working Group on Security Sector Governance and Reform in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) pg11

21) The Rise of the Pasdaran Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps 2009 Prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense Approved for public release; distribution unlimited RAND National Defense pg 10-11

Major General Mohammad Ali Jafari: At 6'3" tall, Jafari has been frequently referred to as the "Giant of Yadz" also his nickname is Aziz. At the start of the Iran-Iraq War Jafari fought with the Basij paramilitary force. In 2007, the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) changed command. Major General Mohammad Ali Jafari



became the new commander in chief, only the seventh in the organization's history. He immediately implemented a major restructuring to move the IRGC's primary focus from external defense to internal security.

On November 26, 1979, Ayatollah Khomeini ordered the formation of the Basij militia. Jafari immediately joined and initially went to work in its cultural unit. Later he joined the intelligence unit of the IRGC and was dispatched to Kurdistan province in western Iran. In June 1981, he was transferred to the military wing of the IRGC and fought in the Iran-Iraq war. He rose to serve as a commander of operative battlefields of south and west fronts. He also participated as an assistant in the operation of Sosangard, and served as commander of the Ashura Battalion, as well as of the Garrisons of Qods and Najaf. As a dominate IRGC commander in the southern front, Jafari is believed to have played a key role in both the Karbala 4 and Karbala 5 operations. He was reportedly badly wounded in both operations; the second injury kept him from returning to the war zone. He was then appointed the deputy chief of operations for the IRGC, and then deputy commander of its ground forces. After the war Jafari returned to university to complete his education and in 1992 he received a degree in civil (construction) technology. By 1992, Jafari had risen to the rank of brigadier general. He was appointed commander of the ground forces of the IRGC in 1992, a post he held for 13 years.

From 1992 and 1993, he taught at the War University of the Revolutionary Guards. He was appointed to head "a strategic research center to map out new defensive and military strategies in response to what the Supreme Leader termed has evolving threats to the Islamic Republic and the greater Middle East Region. As the top commander of the IRGC ground forces between 1992 and 2005, Jafari also directly commanded the Sarallah Garrison in Tehran, which was responsible for the capital's security. This is a post he could only have acquired at the behest of the Supreme Leader Khamenei. Forces from the garrison quashed the July 1999 uprising and arrested many of the reformist leaders. The July 1999 uprising at the dormitories of the University of Tehran shook the foundations of the Tehran and the Supreme Leader. The uprising began when popular leftist daily Salaam was banned after it had published a series of reports on attempts by conservatives to restrict the press. The students who protested the ban were attacked by the Basij militia and plainclothes agents. The attacks ignited several days of fierce demonstrations. After Tehran was finally calm again, 29 top IRGC commanders, including Jafari, wrote a letter to then Progressive President Khatami, who they felt responsible threatening him if he did not end his reformist policies. It read, in part,

Your Excellency, Mr. Khatami, look at the international media and radio broadcasts. Does the sound of their merriment not reach your ear? Dear Mr. President, if you do not make a revolutionary decision today, and fail to fulfill your Islamic and national duties, tomorrow will be too late and the damage will be more irreversible than can be imagined.... With all due respect, we inform you that our patience is at an end, and we do not think it is possible to tolerate any more.

This is General Jafari's first known political intervention.

This action was repeated but even more harshly after the contested Ahmadinejad's presidential election of 2005. These events were the harbinger of the 2009 Presidential elections where thousands were arrested and estimated several hundred killed. Ahmadinejad's rise to power and landslide victory in 2005 surprised the international community, including many Iranian specialists who anticipated a Rafsanjani victory. Approximately 22 million people voted in the run-off poll, which had a turnout of 60%. He received around 62% of the vote, nearly twice that of his rival, Rafsanjani, who received 35.9% of the vote. A voting feat he repeated in 2009.

A Hardliners Hardliner By Muhammad Sahimi 21 Jan 2010 A Hardliner's Hardliner: General Mohammad Ali Jafari

www.pbs.org/tehranbuero

Unclassified Report on Military Power of Iran. U.S. Department of Defense. April 2010

The Basij Resistance Force Ali Alfoneh <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/basij-resistance-force>

What Do Structural Changes in the Revolutionary Guards Mean? Ali Alfoneh | AEI Online September 23, 2008 aei.org

Major General Mohammad Ali Jafari: The Building of GAOL, the Role of the IRGC in Suppressing Internal Dissent

Major General Mohammad Ali Jafari is the sole architect of an iron fist which is used to bludgeon the Iranian People and keep them subdued. Jafari's Gaol rivals Stalin and even the late Saddam Hussein's Police States. Across the face of the Islamic Republic he refashioned the Islamic Revolutionary Guard, the Basij and the Law Enforcement Forces (LEF). Jafari forged these elements into a vicious, cold iron fist.

As head of the strategic research center War University of the Revolutionary Guards, Jafari was tasked with confronting evolving internal threats believed to be connected to the U.S. and Israeli Zionism. The nature of this threat was the, "the velvet revolution," "softwar," that had taken place in numerous Communist countries including the crumble of the Berlin Wall, Serbia, Ukraine, and Georgia in which ultimately lead to their demise. Jafari accused Washington and Jerusalem of pursuing this velvet revolution policy of soft regime-change toward Tehran after failing to overthrow the Islamic Republic through more traditional, aggressive means. Major General Mohammad Ali Jafari argued that the most important danger to the Islamic Republic was posed by the "internal enemy," referring to any reform movements.

The second major reform Jafari introduced involved dividing the IRGC into thirty-one commands one for each province and two for Tehran. The IRGC has, from its beginning, been a centralized entity. Throughout summer 2008, Jafari created thirty-one IRGC units and appointed their chiefs and deputies. The Office of the Supreme Leader appointed, representatives, "Clerical Commissars", in each unit to be his eyes and ears. This restructured IRGC into Gaolian Police Force, an iron fist to be used on any Iranian dissensions.

 **Saberin IRGC Fast-Response Battalions:** Each Provincial Corps has a unit called the Saberin. It is a rapid response military element. There is a total of 33 plus. Unclassified Report on Military Power of Iran. U.S. Department of Defense. April 2010.

Ever since the unrest that followed the 2009 presidential election, the regime and the Iranian press have focused their attention on an alleged "softwar" that is being waged against Iran. As used in context, the term "softwar" has variously referred to Western cultural influence and the emergence of secular or liberal Islamist elements in Iranian society. At a conference to study and oppose "softwar" at the Imam Hossein Officers and Guard Training

IRGC THIRTY-ONE COMMANDS	
IMAM SADEGH CORPS:::	Bushehr
QAMAR BANI HASHEM CORPS:::	Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari Province
ASHURA CORPS:::	East Azerbaijan Province
FAJR CORPS:::	Fars Province
QODS CORPS:::	Gilan Province
NEYNAVA CORPS:::	Golestan Province
ANSAR AL-HOSSEIN CORPS:::	Hamedan Province
IMAM SAJJAD CORPS:::	Hormozgan Province
AMIR AL-EMENIN CORPS:::	Ilam Province
SAHEB AL-ZAMAN CORPS:::	Isfahan Province
SARALLAH CORPS:::	Kerman Province
KERMANSHAH PROVINCE CORPS:::	
ALI-YE ASR CORPS :::	Khuzestan Province
BEIT AL-MOGHADDAS CORPS:::	Kordestan Province
FATH CORPS:::	Kohkiluyeh & Boyer Ahmadi Province
ABOL-FAZL AL ABBAS CORPS:::	Lorestan Province
ROUH-ALLAH CORPS:::	Markazi Province
KARBALA CORPS:::	Mazandaran Province
JAVAD AL-A'EMEH CORPS:::	North Khorasan Province
SAHEB AL-AMR CORPS:::	Qazvin Province
ALI IBN-E ABI-TALEB CORPS:::	Qom Province
IMAM AL-REZA CORPS:::	Razavi Khorasan Province
NEYNAVA CORPS:::	Semnan Province
SALMAN CORPS:::	Sistan-Baluchistan
ANSAR AL-REZA CORPS:::	South Khorasan Province
SEYYED AL-SHOHADA CORPS:::	Tehran Province
MOHAMMAD RASULOLLAH CORPS:::	Greater Tehran
SHOHADA CORPS:::	West Azerbaijan
AL GHADIR CORPS:::	Yazd
ANSAR AL-MADHI CORPS:::	Zanjan Province
HAZRAT-E ABBAS CORPS:::	Ardebil Province

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The Basij Resistance Force Ali Alfoneh <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/basij-resistance-force>

What Do Structural Changes in the Revolutionary Guards Mean? Ali Alfoneh | AEI Online September 23, 2008 aei.org

The 2009 Presidential Riots: The re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad after presidential polls on June 12 was heavily disputed by the two defeated candidates, who claimed with good evidence there had been mass fraud. The dispute of the result brought tens of thousands of supporters of the reformist candidates out onto the streets to demand that the result be annulled and there have been sporadic protests every since. The magnitude of the protests and out pouring and people of Iran had not been seen since the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The Supreme Leader unleashed his new former guard dogs, they worked with brutal efficiency. At the helm, of the unmerciful suppression of the 2009 contested Presidential elections was IRGC Gen. Jafari. Security forces used live ammunition to suppress protesters in late 2009; IRI official's claimed the death of at least seven protesters. Other sources stated the figure was much higher and could well be several hundred. Authorities announced that security forces had arrested more than 6,000 individuals after June 2009. Hundreds—including lawyers, rights defenders, journalists, civil society activists, and opposition leaders—remain in detention without charge. Since the election crackdown last year, well over a thousand people fled Iran to seek asylum in neighboring countries. Interrogators used torture to extract confessions, on which the judiciary relied on to sentence people to long prison terms and even death. The 2009 purge continues to today.



Iran, Human Rights Watch Report 2011 www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/related_material/iran_0.pdf

Concerning the 2009 crackdown Jafari proclaimed that he and the other IRGC commanders and the regime were devout Muslims protecting a virtuous, non-materialistic form of Islam and the, by contrast, *"poor as church mice" common people in the protest movements are materialistic, Godless hedonists who seek to bar their countrymen and women from practicing their faith*". January 11, 2010, Jafari said, "the root cause of what happened in the election and over the past eight months" lies in the differences between *"two fundamentally different views, one Islamic, and the other one materialistic"*. He also declared that, *"forgiving the rioters, particularly the Ashura day rioters, is not practical, and even if some officials want to forgive them, people will not allow them."*

 **Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, Supreme Leader (June 19):** *"The problem of the enemies of Iran is that they don't know the Iranian nation. They thought this is Georgia so they can start a velvet revolution... Depicting the Iranian nation as a nation of rioters in the American and European media which are controlled by the Zionists, is an insult towards the Iranian nation... Such governments must be careful of their hostile statements and behavior since the Iranian nation will react,"*

Quotes from Iranian Officials on Foreign Influence in the Situation in Iran By Ashley Lohmann, Charlie Szrom August 21, 2009 irantracker.org/analysis/quotes-iranian-officials-foreign-influence-situation-iran

The Islamic Republic of Iran Carries An Execution Law, Moharebeh ("Enmity Against God"). This is loosely interpreted and can easily apply to anyone. However because of Human Rights & United Nations Watch Dogs, the last two years has seen mass executions of Iranians labeled narcotic traffickers. In 2010 Iranian authorities recorded 252 executions, but rights groups believe many more were executed without official acknowledgement. The Islamic Republic, a population of 270 million people leads the world in executions and execution of juvenile offenders Since January 2010, the *International Campaign for Human Rights in Iran* has published dozens of reports of unannounced secret group executions at Vakilabad Prison in the northeast city of Mashhad. These executions were largely in violation of international human rights law and domestic procedures. Judicial authorities have continuously evaded questions about these executions and the names of those executed have never been officially announced. In 2011 Iranian authorities refused to allow government critics to engage in peaceful demonstrations. In February, March, April, and September IRGC security forces broke up large scale protests in several major cities. In mid-April security forces reportedly shot and killed dozens of protesters in Iran's Arab-majority Khuzestan province. There was a sharp increase in the use of the death penalty. The government continued targeting civil society activists, especially lawyers, rights activists, students, and journalists. In March 2011 the UN Human Rights Council appointed a special rapporteur for Iran. In July 2011 the Iranian government announced it would not cooperate with or allow the special rapporteur access. On September 23 the special rapporteur submitted his first report on Iran in which he highlighted a "pattern of systematic violations of ... human rights" and repeated his call on the government to allow him to visit the country. Iran continued to refuse access to UN special procedures, despite their longstanding and repeated requests for invitations to visit. No special rapporteurs have visited the country since 2005.



IRGC Dominant position in the Iranian economy

Since 1989, IRGC has had a dominant position in the Iranian economy through lucrative energy, construction, and foreign trade government concessions, which has resulted in monopolizing significant sectors of the economy. Beginning around 2000, the IRGC's hand further extended into new and far more lucrative sectors of the economy. IRGC became measurably active in the Iranian stock market in 2005. Most significantly, noted in 2000-2007 IRGC was awarded billions of dollars in contracts in the oil, gas and petrochemical industries, as well as major infrastructure projects. The IRI started awarding some of the no-bid contracts directly to the Guard's engineering arm, Khatam Al-Anbia. Other times, the link is more indirect. [22]

 **Foundations – Bonyads:** are semi-state owned entities which have the explicit support of the Iranian state, but are not strictly subjected to the commercial law. Some of them nominally operate as charities; many are explicit vehicles for the theocratic structure to engage in commercial activities.

Apart from state owned companies early period of Khomeini's rule the most powerful economic players of this period were the Foundations (Bonyads) , particularly the so-called Foundation for the Oppressed. The Foundations / Bonyads had a significant autonomous role in the IRI economy. They were also important players in the Iranian equity market as well. However becoming too independent from the Supreme Leader, the organization was restructured. Beginning in 2005 with IRGC's ascendancy in various aspects of economic life in Iran, the Bonyads/ Foundations were targeted. The Foundations decent from an economic power base began in May 2005; when Supreme Leader Khamenei decreed a new reinterpretation of Article 44 of the constitution. His interpretation permitted the government to privatize a sizeable chunk of state owned enterprises including those in hydrocarbon industries, mines, foreign trade, banks, power generation, postal services, aviation, and ground and maritime transportation. The bulk of these assets are sold to co-operatives and the main recipients are Basij Co-operative Foundation and Sepah Co-operative Foundation. These two entities are the main vehicle for involvement of the IRGC in the Iran Stock Exchange. [23]

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and Basij are like an amalgamation of the Mafia, KGB, Hitler's S.S., and the Fortune 500, controlling hundreds of shell corporations, billions in assets, the IRGC has blossomed into an economic and political behemoth.

The Freedom House report, Freedom in the World 2011 – Iran, published 12 May 2011, stated that:
"The IRGC's influence within Iran continues to grow, as it now wields military, political, and economic power. Former members of the IRGC, including Ahmadinejad, hold key positions within the government, and its commercial arms have been awarded the right of first refusal for government contracts, some of which have been extremely lucrative."

IRGC business commercialization has the potential to broaden the circle of its popular support by co-opting existing financial elites into its constellation of subsidiary companies and subcontractors. In addition is IRGC's role in building up the rural economy through the numerous public-works projects carried out by the Basij enhances their popularity. Adding to this effect is the socialization and recruitment of rural and lower-class Iranian populations into the Basij—frequently accompanied by technical job training, college scholarships, and other financial benefits—the IRGC offers the promise of societal mobility to those who would otherwise be denied it. From laser eye surgery and construction to automobile manufacturing and real estate, the IRGC has extended its influence into virtually every sector of the Iranian market. Perhaps more than any other area of its domestic involvement, its business activities represents the multidimensional nature of its military institution. [24]

22).Iran's Rich Revolutionary Guard By [AZADEH MOAVENI](#) Wednesday, Sept. 05, 2007

<http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1659039,00.html#ixzz1pbrx0IFF>

23). The Revolutionary Guards' Looting of Iran's Economy By Ali Alfoneh No. 3 • June 2010 aei.org/files/2010/06/23/03-MEO-2010-g.pdf

24). The Rise of the Pasdaran Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps 2009 Prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense Approved for public release; distribution unlimited RAND National Defense pg 55

**It Is Estimated By 2009 the IRGC Created A \$12 Billion
Dollar Year Industry**

Rise of the Pasdaran Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's
Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps 2009 RAND p. 55

In September 2009, the IRGC-linked Etemad-e-Mobin consortium bought a majority share in the state-run Iranian Telecommunications Co. for \$7.8 billion. That brought the strategic sector under the Revolutionary Guards' control. [25]

The number of these revolutionaries has been steadily growing in Iran's parliament over the last few years. Some examples are *Mohammad Kowsari*, the deputy head of the Iranian parliament's National Security and Foreign Policy Committee. (Kowsair has become the spokesman for threatening to close down the Straits of Hormuz in retaliation to sanctions or a military strike on the IRI). *Ali Larijani*, head of the legislative and speaker of Iran's parliament; *Ezzatollah Zarghami*, head of IRIB, state television and radio services By 2012 The IRGC has become one of the strongest forces in the Iranian government, becoming the backbone of Iran's political, economical and social structure. [26]

The IRGC has ties to over one hundred companies that control roughly \$12 billion in construction and engineering capital. The Bahman Group, which manufactures cars for Mazda, has been listed among IRGC-owned companies. One of Iran's largest engineering firms, Khatam al-Anbia, is controlled by the IRGC. This firm has been awarded over 750 government contracts for infrastructure, oil and gas projects. [27] The IRGC have a massive hand in the economic sector," stated Robin Hughes, deputy editor of the London-based Jane's Defense Weekly in 2007. "And what's important about that is there is no oversight body that exists that has the capability to supervise the IRGC's economic activities," he said. [28]

It is estimated the IRGC-Basij networks may control as much as 1/3 (other sources ¾) of the IRI economy. With support of the Supreme Leader and their vast alumni networks influence, they have been arranged no-bid contracts to develop everything from the oil and pipeline projects abandoned by foreign corporations to automotive parts, farming, and telecommunications. Although the IRGC officially claim that profits go into the Iranian treasury, there are no public records and no parliamentary oversight of the IRGC and Basij front companies. A 2010 report from Global Financial Integrity estimates that between 2006 and 2008, when the first round of sanctions were put into place, the amount of money illicitly taken out of the Iran per year nearly tripled, from \$4.3 billion to \$12.8 billion. The question is not whether corruption is growing, but by how much. [29]

"Militarization Rather than Privatization the so-called privatization scheme that enables the IRI leadership to transfer ownership from relatively transparent parts of the public sector to parts of the public sector shielded from public scrutiny. Purchases of the IRGC and its subordinate volunteer militia, the Basij, are conducted by their credit and finance institutions, such as the IRGC and Basij Cooperative Foundation and their subsidiaries,"

**No. 3 • June 2010
American Enterprise
Institute The Revolutionary
Guards' Looting of Iran's
Economy By Ali Alfoneh
pg.4 www.aei.org**

25).More economic power for Iran's Rev. Guards Maryam Rahmanian Published: May 5, 2011: http://www.upi.com/Business_News/Energy-Resources/2011/05/05/More-economic-power-for-Irans-Rev-Guards/UPI-84761304611394/#ixzz1pfhTLne5

26). The IRGC: Iran's soundest guardian, yet its most virulent threat By Navid Nonahal Iran Bureau 01/09/2012
<http://www.iranbureau.com/irgc.html>

27).IBID2

28). Iran's \$12-billion enforcers From road-building to laser eye surgery, the Revolutionary Guard dominates the economy. August 26, 2007|Kim Murphy | Times Staff Writer<http://articles.latimes.com/print/2007/aug/26/world/fq-guards26>

29).Revolutionary Iranian Corruption June 28, 2011
<http://www.financialtaskforce.org/2011/06/28/revolutionary-iranian-corruption/>

Growth and Consolidation of Power Through Rural Public Works Programs

IRGC's role in seeding rural economic development through public-works projects affords it a clear opportunity to build a base of rural popular support that can counterbalance any opposition from more urban, entrepreneurial population centers.

Construction activities help recruit new members and shape a positive image for the Basij and IRGC. For example in 2007 Colonel Dezhmeh Khoy, head of the Ardabil Construction Basij, asserted that approximately 8,500 students and other residents had joined the region's Basij unit alone. IRGC has initiated several large-scale development projects throughout the country in recent years. One such project is the 900-km "peace pipeline" originating in Asaluyeh, Bushehr province, and extending to Hormozgan province and Iranshahr. The IRGC hired local individuals from these provinces to work on the pipeline, thus providing local employment. Other projects along the pipeline route were road and school building in adjacent villages

- ***This bulwark presence of the IRGC or Basij in these areas has acted as a preventative security measure against popular uprisings against the state. IRGC officials are able to claim that their presence and that of Basij provides increased security for villagers in these areas.***

Agricultural Jihad Organization (AJO) Other rural area projects, building and renovation of dilapidated school buildings, along with recreational facilities. The Agricultural Jihad Organization helps improve the self-sufficiency of rural areas. On the one hand, these programs aim to bolster the economic development of impoverished areas by improving infrastructure and local services. In addition rural development projects are intended to be an indirect vehicle for indoctrination and counteracting pervasive foreign influences. [30]

- **Financial Institutions and Banks** :Iranians' Mehr Economic Institution, an investment consortium with 700 branches and eight million depositors; one of the biggest banking networks in Iran SATA (Armed Forces Welfare Organization) Armed Forces Retirement Services Organization Ansar Financial and Credit Institution, which includes several affiliates, including the al-Ghadir Institution Pasargad Bank Behshahr Industrial Development Investments Saadi Investments Company National Investments of Iran Company Industrial Development Investment Company. [31]
- **Commerce**: IRGC-affiliated companies control more than 57% of the country's imports The IRGC controls 30% of non-oil exports. [32]
- **Electronics Industry** : The "Iran Electronics Industry" is one of the IRGC's largest companies and has a chain of affiliates: Electronics Industry Complex Shiraz Electronics Industry Iran Communications Industry Iran Information Systems Iran Electronic Parts Industry Isfahan Optics Industry Iran Electronics Research Institution "Moj-e Nasr Gostar" Telecommunications and Electronics Company

What about the Regular IRI Military Forces & Politics?

2012 The Regular Military: While former IRGC members are playing a growing role in politics, there are still no representatives from the regular military forces in the IRI parliament.

The Battle for Power in Iran
Mehrzad Boroujerdi, Mehdi Khalaji, Ali Alfoneh,
February 24, 2012 –
Washington, D.C.
<http://carnegieendowment.org/2012/02/24/battle-for-power-in-iran>

30).The Rise of the Pasdaran Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps 2009 Prepared for the Office of the Secretary of Defense Approved for public release; distribution unlimited RAND National Defense pg 67-70

31). IRGC's dominance over Iran's politics and economy – Part 1 <http://isdciiran.org>

32).IBID 2 / 4) IBID 2

The IRGC Cooperative Foundation; established August 23, 1986, has developed into one of Iran's major financial consortiums. While it does not engage directly in trades on the Tehran Stock Exchange, (TSE) its front companies and subsidiaries are active on the TSE.

The Mehr Finance and Credit Institution (formerly called the No-Interest Loan Institute of the Basij Members [Moassesseh-ye Gharz al-Hassaneh-ye Basijian]), currently headed by Gholam-Hossein Taghi Nattaj, was established in 1991 and has five main subsidiaries. The No-Interest Loan Institute of the Basij Members performs most of the Basij's financial activities to provide housing and issue job-creating loans to Basij members. Mehr Finance and Credit boasts more than seven hundred branches across Iran, making it the largest "private" bank in the Islamic Republic. [33]

Mining and Production: National Copper Company "Shahab Sang" (meteorite) Mining Industries Isfahan Liquid Zinc Company "Angouran" Mine, the biggest lead and zinc mine in the Middle East and one of the biggest in the world Zinc Mine Development Sina Pharmaceuticals Jaber Ibn Hayyan Pharmaceuticals Bahman Cigarette Group.

The IRGC has in recent years acquired all the trappings of a state within a state accountable only to the Supreme Leader and increasingly present or even dominant in many facets of society. The IRGC oversees or owns important interests in numerous sectors of the Iranian economy, including oil, construction, agriculture, mining, transportation, defense industry, and import/export. [34]

Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines ("IRISL")

Sanctioned Iran's main shipping line has long relied upon deceptive techniques to conceal its behavior and to avoid international and U.S. sanctions. IRISL is increasingly employing deceptive practices to disguise its involvement in shipping operations and the designation of its cargo. Since being subjected to U.S. and international sanctions, IRISL has renamed as many as 80 of the ships in its fleet and changed ownership information and flag registries to evade sanctions. IRISL also has renamed its offices in China, Singapore, Germany, and South Korea, has tried to mask its operations in the UAE by using a network of front companies, and has moved its container operations to a subsidiary, HDS Lines. [35] (IRISL is covered extensively subsequent chapter 4)

The trade weighted tariff rate is prohibitively high at close to 20 percent, with layers of non-tariff barriers further restricting trade activity. The investment regime is heavily regulated by the state, and foreign investment is banned in many sectors. Strict government controls limit access to financing for businesses. State-owned commercial banks account for a majority of total banking-sector assets, with credit allocation directed by the government. The top income tax rate is 35 percent, and the top corporate tax rate is 25 percent. All property transfers are subject to a standard tax. A value-added tax (VAT) has been collected intermittently. The overall tax burden is estimated to be 9.3 percent of total domestic income, and government spending is equivalent to 27.8 percent of GDP. The budget balance is in slight surplus, with public debt standing at 11.6 percent of total domestic output. Corruption pervades all branches of government. Resorting to a court system infected by bribery and cronyism is often counterproductive; finding a local business partner with substantial political patronage is a more effective way to protect contracts. The constitution allows the government to confiscate property acquired either illicitly or in a manner not in conformance with Islamic law. Few laws protect intellectual property rights.

IRGC's dominance over Iran's politics and economy
<http://isdciiran.org>

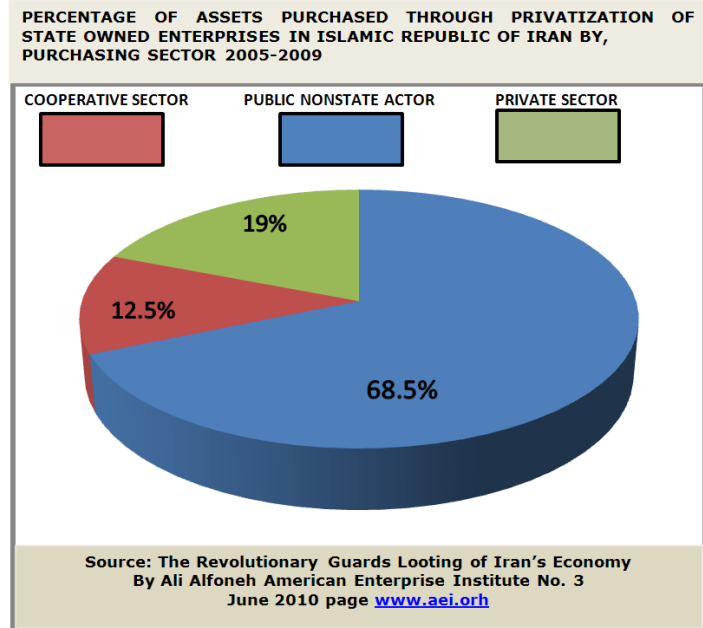
33).The Revolutionary Guards' Looting of Iran's Economy By Ali Alfoneh American Enterprise Institute No. 3 • June 2010 page3 www.aei.org

34). Mullahs, Guards, and Bonyads: An Exploration of Iranian Leadership Dynamics 2010 David E. Thaler, Alireza Nader, Shahram Chubin, Jerrold D. Green, Charlotte Lynch, Frederic Wehrey pages 56-59
http://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2009/RAND_MG878.pdf

35).Finding That the Islamic Republic of Iran Is a Jurisdiction of Primary Money Laundering Concern A Notice by the Treasury Department on 11/25/2011 federalregister.gov/articles/2011/11/25/2011-30332/finding-that-the-islamic-republic-of-iran-is-a-jurisdiction-of-primary-money-laundering-concern

Militarization of the Islamic Republic of Iran Through Privatization

A unique feature of Iran's economy is the presence of large religious foundations/ Bonyads, whose combined budgets make up more than 30% of central government spending. The IRGC operate in part through IRI's Bonyads, ostensibly charitable foundations that operate as huge holding companies. They are outstanding industrial and business sectors: Food and beverage, chemicals, cellulose items, metals, petrochemicals, construction materials, dams, lowers, civil development, farming, horticulture, animal husbandry, tourism, transportation, five-star hotels, commercial services, financing, joint ventures, etc.. [36]



In a 2012 report from Voice of Economic Reality (a think tank promoting transparency and freedom of information in Middle Eastern financial markets) , estimates are that the IRGC now controls about USD 35–40 billion worth of business per year. Put in context, annual Iranian oil sales are USD 85 billion. The continued shift of economic power to the IRGC is very unpopular in Tehran as many small businessmen are being forced to sell their businesses to the IRGC. [37] Khamenei's has effectively launched the privatization of as much as \$120 billion worth of IRI's public assets. [38] According to a 2011 report, the Iran Privatization Organization over the past five years privatized 589 state-owned companies with nearly 83 billion dollars' worth of shares. [39]

The IRGC was placed in control of all of IRI missile forces. This evolved into control of missile programs, production, and research including the procurement of ballistic missile & cruise missile systems. Control of IRI's shipping lines, having hidden economic assets, along with engineering and construction resources became a dire necessity. [40]

Under the Revolutionary Guard's, the IRI has evolved the capability to manufacture domestically produced missiles. For example missile inventory includes Fatah A-110 solid fuel short-range missiles and Shahab-1, Shahab-2, medium-range missiles. The Shahab-1 and Shahab-2 are variants of the Scud B and Scud C, (exported soviet era missiles). The IRGC, was designated by the U.S. Department of State as a primary proliferators' under E.O. 13382 in October 2007, for owning and/or controls multiple commercial entities across a wide range of sectors within the Iranian economy. [41]

36).Bonyad-e Mostazafan va Janbazan Oppressed and Disabled Veterans Foundation (MJF)

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/iran/mjf.htm>

37). Insights – Expanding IRGC Ownership of the Iranian Economy

http://www.voiceofeconomicreality.com/newsletters/2011/aug_2011.html

38).All the Guard's Men: Iran's Silent Revolution September/October 2010 Ali Alfoneh

<http://www.worldaffairsjournal.org/article/all-guards-men-irans-silent-revolution>

39).U.S. Sanctions and Iran's Economic Realities by Abolghasem Bayyinat August 17, 2011

40).Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps 2008 : An Open Source Analysis National Defense University, Institute for National Strategic Studies,260 Fifth Ave SW (BG 64) Fort Lesley J McNair,Washington,DC,20319

41). Finding That the Islamic Republic of Iran Is a Jurisdiction of Primary Money Laundering Concern
A Notice by the Treasury Department on 11/25/2011

Iran's defense spending as a share of GDP only appears to be relatively low compared to the rest of the region, that is because it is hidden through Privatization...

Hidden in Khamenei's decision to transfer control of a large portion of Iran's commerce, industry, oil and gas and services sectors to the IRGC was a carefully crafted covert agenda.

- To create front companies in a bid to conceal the nuclear and missiles program and facilitation of purchases and activities in this regard;
- To fund the nuclear projects and militant fundamentalist activities in the region;

 **Privatization mean's expansion from relatively transparent parts of the public sector to parts of the public sector shielded from public scrutiny, especially the IRGC and its subordinate volunteer militia, the Basij.**

These transfers are conducted by credit and finance institutions, such as the IRGC and Basij Cooperative Foundations and their subsidiaries, such as the IRGC Cooperative Foundation (Bonyad-e Ta'avon-e Sepah) and the Ansar Financial and Credit Institute (Moassesseh-ye Mali/Eghtesadi-ye Ansar). These function as financial arms of the IRGC and the Basij on the Tehran Stock Exchange (TSE) and elsewhere, using their leverage to purchase shares of Iranian companies.

Supremacy of Raison D'état: Justification of overriding state power, there are circumstances when the need to ensure the security or well-being of the state or the nation justifies governments ignoring the normal considerations of law or morality. [42] Khomeini formalized the supremacy of raison d'état over the tenets of Islam as the precept guiding IRI decision-making. This principle guides decision making at the highest levels of the regime, as well as the actions of the regime's foot-soldiers. [43]

On February 2, 2012 the U.S. Senate Banking Committee unanimously adopted a measure that would compel the Obama administration to investigate links between Iran's crude-oil supply chain and its Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, which the U.S. has sanctioned for weapons proliferation, terrorism support and human-rights abuses. [44]

IRI Shell Game Reflagging Ships The U.S. has already sanctioned Iran's national maritime carrier, the Islamic Republic of Iran Shipping Lines, for involvement in missile programs and transporting military cargoes. A report in January 2012 by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute concluded the IRISL had renamed 90 of its 123 ships since 2008 and reflagged some of its fleet in an effort to circumvent sanctions.

Khamenei's hidden defense planning is not only motivated by a desire to enhance the IRI's strategic military and deterrent capabilities. The Islamic Republic has faced real and perceived threats from the late Saddam Hussein's Iraq, the United States, and Israel. With the U.S. military and naval forces in the Persian Gulf the IRI is developing the means to break American attempts to encircle it as part of its efforts to contain the IRI. Of which is not only military or asymmetrical capacities, but a nuclear umbrella based on missile/ cruise missile warfare costly technologies. [45]



42). Raison D'etat Discipline: Political Science <http://www.wisdomsupreme.com/dictionary/raison-detat.php>

43). The Strategic Culture of the Islamic Republic of Iran Operational and Policy Implications Michael Eisenstadt Middle East Studies at the Marine Corps University Monograph Series August 2011 p2

44). Iran Sanctions Bid Targets Oil Tanker Companies to Cut Exports By Indira A.R. Lakshmanan - Feb 6, 2012 11:26 AM PT bloomberg.com/news/2012-02-06/iran-sanctions-plan-targets-oil-companies-tanker-fleet-to-slash-business.html

45). IBID

**Militancy, Education & Socialization
Ministry of Education**

The Ministry of Education is a government body responsible for the oversight of K-12 education in Iran. Each year, 20% of government spending and 5% of GDP goes to education, a higher rate than most other developing countries. 50% of education spending is devoted to secondary education and 21% of the annual state education budget is devoted to the provision of tertiary education. The Ministry of Education is the center of educational power in the IRI. Education is uniform throughout the country, therefore education is highly centralized. Ministries of Education and Higher Education specify a national course of study for all subjects, publish text books, finance the education and design and make tests. Schools (grades 1-12) students are required to wear uniforms and are segregated by sex. Schools operate for 200 days and children go to school from Saturday to Thursday. Schools are closed on Fridays and national and religious holidays. All levels of education culminate in the end of the year stringent testing which determines the students' promotion to the next level. If students fail the end of the year testing, they must repeat the entire year. Overall, government testing is a driving force in teaching and learning. [46]

**Iranian Textbook Analysis, conducted
by Freedom House,**

This report is based on a detailed assessment of 95 compulsory school textbooks (published in school year 2006-2007) covering the sciences, humanities, and religious subjects from Grades 1 to 11, totaling some 11,000 pages. It was conducted by a team of native Farsi speakers led by a well-known expert on Iran's education system. This assessment included a statistical analysis of 3,115 textbook images, a content analysis of 412 lessons in the Farsi textbooks in all grades, and a qualitative analysis of the 95 textbooks to evaluate all forms of discrimination. The Ministry of Education textbooks objects are to instill the Islamist Republic's ideology, based on religious doctrine, of Iranian youth. It is an ideology of discrimination and exclusion, giving precedence to Shi'ite men over women and minorities, belittling the individual contributions of women to society, and propagating Shi'a egocentrism.

- ***Discrimination and intolerance are neither accidental nor sporadic. They are consistent and systematic throughout the textbooks at the core of the curriculum in Iranian schools.***

Martyrdom: holds an important place in the textbooks. Martyrs are praised dating from the beginning of Islam until the present day and their sacrifice is commemorated in the textbooks as a sacred and religious act.

"Heaven has eight doors through which those who are destined for heaven enter. One gate is ... for martyrs and pious people..." (Grade 2 'Heavenly Gifts' religion studies textbook, p. 44) [47]

Ansar-e Hezbollah

**(Helpers of the Party of God)
9.26 A United States Institute of Peace (USIP) publication dated 8 June 2010 stated "Ansar-e Hezbollah, or 'Followers of the Party of God,' is one of the loosely allied militia groups in the wider Basij network. The vigilante group uses force but is not part of official law enforcement. Members wear plain clothes. Ansar-e Hezbollah is often unleashed against protesters. There are a dozen or so well known Hezbollah groups associated with the Basij-IRGC networks. How many and the personnel these Hezbollah groups have is unknown.**

Iran: Group known as Ansar-e Hezbollah (Ansar/Anzar e Hezbollah)
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/category,,IRBC,,IRN,3df4be430,0.html>

46)An Overview of the Education System of Islamic Republic of Iran Shahrzad Kamyab
http://handouts.aacrao.org/am07/finished/F0345p_S_Kamyab.pdf

47). Discrimination and Intolerance in Iran's Textbooks Saeed Paivandi a Freedom House Publication 2008
<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/discrimination-and-intolerance-irans-textbooks/methodology>

Iranian children are taught Israel is "Absolute Evil" Israel is considered the "enemy" of Islamic countries and Muslims, and the "agent" of the U.S. and Western countries. p55 [48]

The land of Israel is referred to as "Occupied Palestine." Any mention of the name and geographic boundaries of Israel is avoided even in the maps in the history or geography books.



The West, the US and Israel are all presented as inherently evil, and as enemies of the Muslims and of the people of Iran themselves. Islamic Viewpoint , Grade 11 (2004) p. 29. [49]

Jihad: Holy War: is a Muslim's duty but is not a sign of violence in Islamic culture and thought. Rather, jihad is more a reaction against violence. "... Perhaps you will ask, then why does jihad exist? What purpose do battles and armed warfare serve? The answer is, Islam is the religion of peace and calm and, until armed action becomes necessary, it will not issue an order for jihad. However, when it is called for, not only does Islam brook no fear of war and jihad, but it also issues orders for it to be waged and considers it a religious duty and among the best ways to worship God." (Grade 8 Islamic Culture and Religious Studies textbook, p. 67)

"Islam and the Holy Koran... consider all the Muslim people of the world—wherever they may be and whichever language they may speak—as one community. Geographic and racial boundaries cannot separate the Muslims of the world from each other..."

"The invasion of one Islamic land is tantamount to the invasion of Islam itself and of the entire Islamic Community. It is incumbent upon all Muslims to liberate the invaded country from the invading enemy with all their power." (Grade 7 Islamic Culture and Religious Studies textbook, pp. 63 and 67. [50])



CMIP –Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace

Founded in 1998, CMIP examines the content of school textbooks used in the Mid-East. This is in order to determine whether children are being taught to accept and recognize the rights of "others" to exist. CMIP believes that education should be used to encourage an attitude of tolerance, pluralism and to promote peaceful means of solving conflicts. CMIP is a non-profit, non-political organization. They are breaking new ground in understanding incitement, and are pioneers in the field of text book analysis. Dr Arnon Groiss is CMIP's director of research. A

Princeton- and Harvard-educated journalist he also has written critical studies of the Israeli, Palestinian, Syrian, Saudi and Egyptian education systems. Beginning in January 2007, CMIP directors Dr Groiss and Dr. Yohanan presented an independent study of 115 textbooks and teachers guides of Iran. A presentation tour was given throughout Europe and at the prestigious Transatlantic Institute in Brussels. [51]

48). Discrimination and Intolerance in Iran's Textbooks Saeed Paivandi a Freedom House Publication 2008

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/report/discrimination-and-intolerance-irans-textbooks/methodology>

49).The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, formerly referred to as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP) The Attitude To 'The Other' And To Peace In Iranian School Books And Teacher's Guides Research, Translation and Editing By Dr. Arnon Groiss and Nethanel (Navid) Toobian English Editor: Dr. Gabriel Beiner <http://www.impact-se.org/research/iran/index.html>

50). IBID – 1

51).IBID -2

The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education

- **"Hate Indoctrination Is A Professed Goal Of Iranian Textbooks."** The Iranian education system is preparing its students for a global war against the West, in the name of Islam,
- Describing Iran's school system as a **"Global War Curriculum,"**
- Catalogs how pupils as young as 9 are conditioned to take part in a global jihad against such "infidel oppressors" as Israel and the United States.

Study of 115 Iranian school textbooks concludes and substantiates that Tehran is preparing its children for war, and is willing to risk massive casualties for the opportunity to defeat America in a world-wide cataclysmic confrontation. In addition, it is the first comprehensive in-depth analysis of how the Islamic Republic of Iran has attempted to indoctrinate two generations of children since seizing power from the Shah in 1979.

On the battlefield, the Believer and Jihad fighter in the cause of God sees himself facing two tasks which are good and important: He battles bravely in order to please God, defend the shining laws of Islam, defend the cause of liberty and justice, of establishing fairness and helping the deprived and the oppressed. He also defends his territory and homeland. Either he kills the enemies of Islam... or he sacrifices his blood in the cause of God, and in His presence. Either way, he attains happiness and victory. Islamic Culture and Religious Instruction, Grade 8 (2004) pp. 67-69



"One of the most striking features of present day Iranian education is the tremendous emphasis on the issue of martyrdom, to the extent that one can metaphorically say that Iranian school students are brought up in a bloody atmosphere. Martyrdom is dealt with in the Iranian school textbooks in two main contexts: (1980-1988 Iran -Iraq War).page 269 Chapter Eight: Martyrdom, CMIP,"

1. The traditional context of the martyred Shiite Imams.
2. The national context of the Islamic revolution and the eight-year war with Iraq

"Iran's 20-year outlook plan from the year 2005 seeks to make Iran a "top regional power". Among other objectives, its current five-year plan seeks to expand bilateral, regional, and international relations, strengthen Iran's ties with friendly states, and enhance its defense and deterrent capabilities. Commensurate with that plan, Iran is seeking to increase its stature by countering U.S. influence and expanding ties with regional actors while advocating Islamic solidarity. It also seeks to demonstrate to the world its "resistance" to the West. Iran is attempting to secure influence in Iraq and Afghanistan while undermining U.S. efforts by furnishing lethal aid to Iraqi Shia militants and Afghan insurgents. It also provides weapons, training, and money to Lebanese Hezbollah, its strategic proxy and partner."

Iran's Military Power
Statement before the
Committee on Armed Services
United States Senate 14 April
2010, Lieutenant General Ronald
L. Burgess, Jr.,
United States Army Director,
Defense Intelligence Agency pg3
<http://armed-services.senate.gov/statemnt/2010/04%20April/Burgess%2004-14-10.pdf>

[52] The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, formerly referred to as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP) The Attitude To 'The Other' And To Peace In Iranian School Books And Teacher's Guides Research, Translation and Editing By Dr. Arnon Groiss and Nethanel (Navid) Toobian English Editor: Dr. Gabriel Beiner <http://www.impact-se.org/research/iran/index.html>

The IRGC & Basij Presence in the Education System

Student Basij Organization (SBO)

The IRGC and the Basij have become deeply entrenched in the Iranian education system at both the university and the high school level. Starting about 2007 and especially after the 2009 IRI disputed presidential election protests, numerous university professors and administrators were removed from their positions and replaced with IRGC and Basij officials. [53]



Instructors look on as schoolboy prepares weapon. (Photo: Javad Moghimi)

Student Basij Organization (SBO) Lecturers' Basij Organization (LBO):

Tehran University's Basij was established as the first bureau of the organization on January 3, 1990, from here it established Basij offices at other universities. Iran -Iraq War veterans and Basij forces who were already studying at universities welcomed the establishment and inauguration of the bureaus and most of them enrolled in the bureaus. The General Staff of the Armed Forces established a center for university Basij with a directive on November 25, 1989, assigning the IRGC responsibility for its creation. The SBO was intended both to recruit students for the Basij and to strengthen the Supreme Leader's Islamic ideological-political policies and agendas. In 1990, the Supreme Council of Cultural Revolution reconfirmed the central IRGC's responsibility for the SBO. [54]

The regular armed services, (IRIA) and officers are seen as insufficiently ideologically "impure" and are kept away from these organizations.

In the wake of dismissals and arrests, Basij officials began to exert increasing influence over university life by filling the vacant professorial posts. The Basij created the Lecturers' Basij Organization (LBO) as a means to consolidate the power of Basij academics in the field of education. The LBO reportedly has more than 15,000 members. The LBO is tasked with maintaining morality and enhancing the institutional credibility of the IRGC in the upper echelons of university life.

LBO provides a mechanism by which the IRGC can shape the design and implementation of university curricula.

The SBO serves as a sort of umbrella grouping for the approximately 650,000 university students throughout IRI who are Basij members, and the body is present in 700 universities. The SBO enjoys a unique position on campus, what Supreme Leader Khamenei has described as a liaison between the IRGC and the university environment.

- ***The Student Basij Organizations (SBO) is the IRGC's arm for mobilizing against student activists populations as seen the 2009 presidential election protests.***

The SBO's role as a conservative vanguard on Iran's university campuses takes two noted forms. First, it confronts reformist activists. Second, the SBO members frequently shift their attacks from the student body to the university administration itself, particularly on social, moral, and political matters that it deems contrary to its institutional vision and that of the Supreme Leader and IRGC. [55]

53).Research Institute The Rise of the Pasdaran Assessing the Domestic Roles of Iran's Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps 2009 RAND National Defense Pages 38-42 www.rand.org

54).The Reign of Hard-line Students in Iran's Universities by Saeid Golkar Middle East Quarterly Summer 2010, pp. 21-29

55). IBID 1

Islamic Republic of Iran National Recruitment Legislation of Armed Forces

"Article 3, section 11 of the Constitution stipulates All round strengthening of the foundations of national defense to the utmost degree by means of universal military training , as a state goal. Article 144 states, The Army of the Islamic Republic of Iran must be an Islamic Army, i.e. committed to Islamic ideology and the people, and must recruit into its service, individuals who have faith in the objectives of the Islamic Revolution and are devoted to the cause of realizing its goals. Article 151 states the government is obliged to provide a program of military training, with all requisite facilities for all its citizens, in accordance with the Islamic criteria, in such a way that all citizens will be able to engage in the armed defense of the Islamic Republic of Iran,". Page 221 Global Report On Child Soldiers [56]



- **Introduction of a specific subject called 'Defense Readiness' begins in grade 8. In this course students are acquainted with weapons and explosives, military drills and tactics and warnings against attacks by enemies of Revolutionary Iran. Defense Readiness, Grade 8 [57]**

There is no compromise in the struggle between Iran and the West: either world victory of Islam or collective martyrdom. Islamic Culture and Religious Instruction, Grade 8 (2004) p. 96.

In general books divide the world into 'good' and 'evil'. Iran stands at the head of the good forces ("the oppressed" , while the US leads the evil forces represented by the West and others "the Oppressors" , "the Arrogant Ones" , "World Devourers" . Hate education is a professed goal: "The students should have a heart overflowing with hatred towards Arrogance" Defense Readiness 1 – Teacher's Guide, High School Grades (2002) page3. [58]

The Lovers of Martyrdom Garrison, Military Unit of Suicide Bombers.

The Islamic Republic of Iran is the only country in the in the world that maintains a military force of suicide bombers. It is open to all adults male and female. [59]It is important to note a male adult in the IRI is fifteen years of age, more shocking for a female it is nine years of age. [60] The college Student Basij Organizations and the Basij command as whole is tasked to recruit for this Garrison. The Basij elements work through a civilian agency, *The International Headquarters for Honoring Muslim Martyrs*. [61] In April 2005, the semi-official daily Iran announced convocation of a unit of female suicide bombers nicknamed the *Olive Daughters*. [62]

56)Global Report On Child Soldiers 2001 Coalition To Stop The Use Of Child Soldiers April 2001 By The Coalition To Stop The Use Of Child Soldiers London N4 3zj United Kingdom page 221

57).The Institute for Monitoring Peace and Cultural Tolerance in School Education, formerly referred to as the Center for Monitoring the Impact of Peace (CMIP) The Attitude To 'The Other' And To Peace In Iranian School Books And Teacher's Guides Research, Translation and Editing By Dr. Arnon Groiss and Nethanel (Navid) Toobian English Editor: Dr. Gabriel Beiner <http://www.impact-se.org/research/iran/index.html>

58). IBID -1

59). IBID -1

60).Iran's Suicide Brigades Terrorism Resurgent by Ali Alfoneh Middle East Quarterly Winter 2007, pp. 37-44

<http://www.meforum.org/1059/irans-suicide-brigades>

61).Legal Rights of Children in Iran 20 October 2007 Lily Pourzand <http://www.gozaar.org/english/articles-en/Legal-Rights-of-Children-in-Iran.html>

62).An Iranian View of US Psychological Operations in Iraq and Afghanistan By Njdeh Asisian pages 6-7 http://www.au.af.mil/info-ops/iosphere/07spring/iosphere_spring07_asisian.pdf

62a0 IBID 60

2011 IRI, Evolution of Militant Islamic Education

"Neighborhood cultural bases" education centers are where teachers will provide "life" guidance, assisted by selected clerics and members of the paramilitary Basij force. [63]

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has stated courses such as non-Islamic law, psychology and sociology, as "fundamentally poisonous, Western theories.

September 2011, all Iranian high school students were introduced to new courses such as "political training" and "living skills" that will warn against "perverted political movements" and encourage girls to marry at an early age. The new courses are designed to help students ages 12 to 17 acquire political analysis skills and prevent them from "being trapped by perverted movements and enemy plots or be imprisoned by satellite channels, the Internet and cyberspace," Across the face of Islamic Republic of Iran's universities, the curricula of law, psychology, sociology and other studies were be drastically altered, officials from the Science Ministry, working to strip out what they describe as Western theories and replace them with Khomeini- Islamic ones. Dozens of professors retired or were fired on the grounds that they did not meet the standards of Islamic revolutionary piety. No doubt replaced by Basij and IRGC cadre. [64]

The new curriculum is also a reassertion of the supreme leader's power and authority over a school system that he considers to be a failure because of its supposed imitation of "foreign" educational systems.

The Science Ministry has fired numerous professors since the 2009 contested presidential elections and riots. They have taken control of hiring for all university teaching positions. Many dismissed professors were aligned with political factions that took part in the 2009 contested elections

These new curriculums teach a uniformed and systematic educational instruction from kindergarten to high school. Text books are woven together with the late Khomeini's harsh Islamic totalitarianisms and Supreme leader Khamenei's ideologies. [65]

In reality these educational purges are to create a single unified IRI society. Tehran needs to create unquestioning, brutal Islamic Soldiers, to further the Muslim world vision of Khomeini. Here there will be only where the Supreme Leader, there is no room for anyone else.

**IRI Age of Adult:
15 yrs Male, 9yrs Female**

IRI -Article 1210 of the Civil Law sets the age of majority for girls at 9 lunar years and for boys at 15 lunar years. Therefore, 9 year-old girls and fifteen-year old boys, who are considered adults in the religious sense term by Islamic legislators, can be punished like adults if they commit a crime, and can even be subject to physical punishment. The Islamic Penal Law allows severe physical punishments such as whipping, cutting parts of the body, stoning and execution for those found guilty of a crime. Since 9 and 15 year-old children are considered adults and, as such, held responsible for their acts with possible severe physical punishments if they commit crimes, they will be subject to the full force of the law and will not receive reduced punishments. Adolescents are treated as adults in the eye of the law and if caught committing a crime, face severe punishments.

**Legal Rights of Children in Iran 20
October 2007 Lily Pourzand
<http://www.gozaar.org/english/articles-en/Legal-Rights-of-Children-in-Iran.html>**

63). Iran overhauls education system to erase Western influences By Thomas Erdbrink Washington Post Foreign Service January 1, 2011 http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/01/AR2011010101345_2.html?sid=ST2011010803608

64). IBID - 1

65). Part I Iran's Education Overhaul, Interview with Shervin Malekzadeh August 8, 2011 | <http://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2011/aug/08/part-i-irans-education-overhaul>

Clerical Commissars

"The Office of the Supreme Leader employs special advisors upon whom Khamenei can call regarding questions relating to fields such as culture, economics, military affairs, and the media. In addition, Khamenei has personally appointed or approved clerical 'representatives' (nemayandeha) in all important state ministries and institutions, as well as in most revolutionary and religious organizations. These 'clerical commissars' form an extended, nationwide network designed to enforcing the authority of the Supreme Leader and to extend his influence into the executive branch, armed forces, security services, and revolutionary and religious organizations,"

Page 3 Conference Paper Iran's Security Sector: An Overview

"On a day-to-day basis, the supreme leader exerts control through the Office of the Supreme Leader and a system of handpicked representatives who act as his commissars. Very little is known about the internal functioning of this office, but it probably controls at least 2,000 clerical commissars who permeate every bureaucracy and power center inside Iran and, quite possibly, a few Iranian embassies and cultural centers outside the Islamic Republic's borders. Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei's network of representatives allows him to manage the structure and trajectory of state policy without controlling every lever of power. Should any political or policy problem arise, Khamenei's network warns him long before the news would reach his level through the formal hierarchy of power. Khamenei can, therefore, maintain control through veto,"

Iran's Revolutionary Guards - A Rogue Outfit?
by Michael Rubin [66]

The Clerical Commissars are handpicked by Khamenei because of their expertise, knowledge capabilities in various fields. This makes them trusted advisors which Khamenei can consult without involving officials of state or government offices. The Clerical Commissars provide Khamenei with privileged communication and a layer of security through secrecy. They also act as his eyes and ears keeping Khamenei apprised of various persons, situations, events or occurrences. In this aspect they function as internal security, intelligence, and counter intelligence. Since they are found outside of the IRI, working in embassies and other matters of state, they act and function as external security and in the highest intelligence matters.

Based on IRI methodology and structure, I postulate Clerical Commissars external duties provide clandestine services have additional capacities for such operations. This furnishes Khamenei with dependable personnel and compartmentalized actives. These individuals are personally selected by Khamenei; Clerical Commissars can carry out the most sensitive and covert issues involving the highest levels of the Supreme Leader. In addition the Clerical Commissars provide Khamenei with a secret police that consolidates his dominance over the Islamic Republic's various intuitions, governmental agencies, the IRGC and other armed forces. [67]

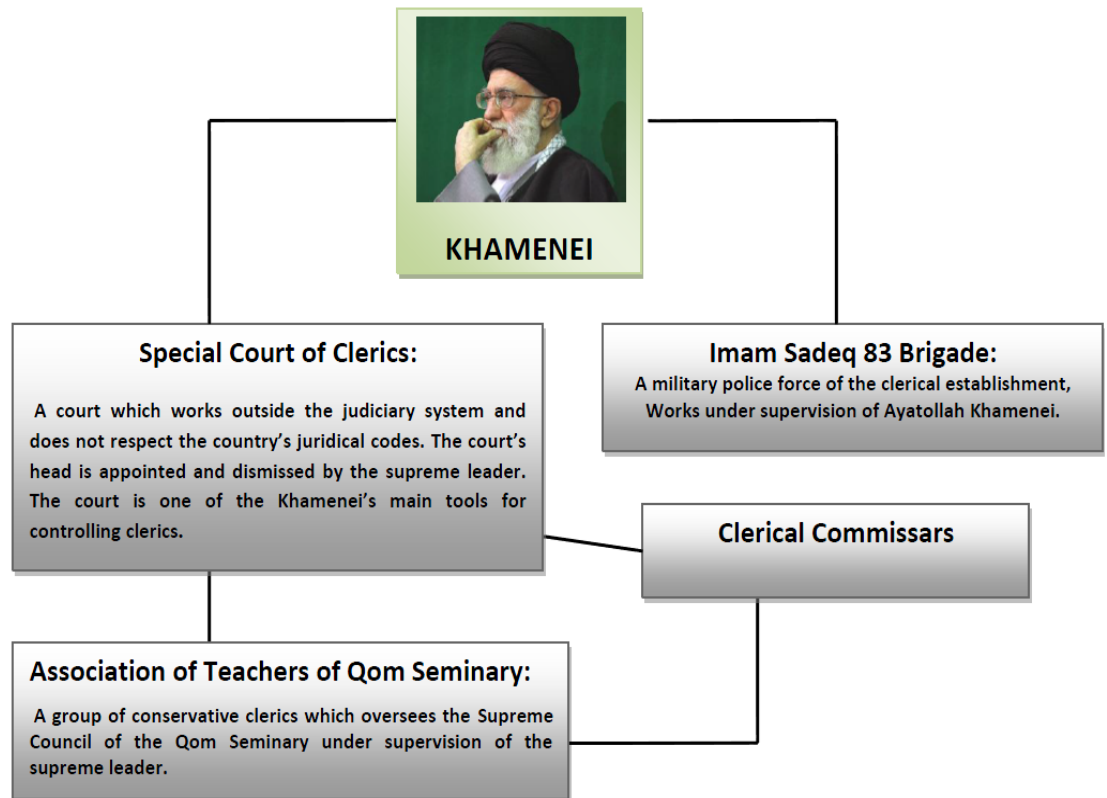
"According to the chief of the ideological-political bureau in the Office of the Representative of the Supreme Leader (ORSL) in the IRGC, the core concerns of ideological-political education in the Basij and the IRGC are: the religion of Islam (diyanat) and guardianship (velayat), the importance of purification of the soul (tazkiyeh) over training, the role of the ideological guard (pasdar), and the revolutionary value and culture of martyrdom."

The Ideological-Political
Training of Iran's Basij Dr.
Saeid Golkar page 6 Crown
Center for Middle East
Studies

<http://www.brandeis.edu/crown/publications/meb/MEB44.pdf>

66).Geneva Centre For The Democratic Control Of Armed Forces (DCAF) Conference Paper Iran's Security Sector: An Overview Wilfried Buchta Workshop On "Challenges Of Security Sector Governance in the Middle East", held in Geneva 12-13 July 2004, organized by the DCAF Working Group on Security Sector Governance and Reform in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) pg11 67).Iran's Revolutionary Guards - A Rogue Outfit? ,by Michael Rubin Middle East Quarterly Fall 2008, pp. 37-48 <http://www.meforum.org/1990/irans-revolutionary-guards-a-rogue-outfit>

**Silence of
the Clergy,
Enslavement
and Control**



- ✦ ***"The Khomeinist concept of "Islamic government" is rooted in an expressly modern ideology that has little basis within the religious and political traditions of Shi'ism. In 1979, when Grand Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini mobilized people to courageously come into the streets and risk their lives for the sake of the Islamic revolution, many traditional minded religious authorities stiffly resisted his political outlook and agenda."***
- ✦ ***"Khomeini chastised high-ranking ayatollahs who disagreed with his principle of velayat-e faqih. He called them "stupid," "blithering," "backward," and "monarchist clerics" who had been "deceived by colonialism," and were "enemies of Islam and its prophet" as well as loyal to "American Islam" (a phrase meant to describe a liberal and pro-Western understanding of Islam)."***

The Iranian Clergy's Silence by Mehdi Khalaji Published on Monday, July 12, 2010
currenttrends.org/research/detail/the-iranian-clergy's-silence

After the deaths of the grand ayatollahs, Mohammad Reza Gopayegani and Shahab Al-Din Marashi Najafi, Khamenei gradually began to consolidate his hold on power over the Clerical. Mohammad Reza Gopayegani and Shahab Al-Din Marashi Najafi had fought to guarantee the clergy's as an independent body from government and domination by Khamenei. Many of the Cleric's ran their own seminaries, had their own followings, and earned their own incomes. Khamenei methodically computerized and unified data on the clergy of all ranks to make information on their economic and intellectual lives accessible to his agencies. Khamenei also began monopolizing clerical establishments. He claimed direct responsibility for the day-to-day management of clerical institutions, and this fundamentally altered the clergy's access to financial resources He co-opted through hefty government stipends as well as other exclusive and profitable privileges. Clergy have relinquished their role as the exclusive managers of the sacred affairs of Iranian society and are pawns of the Supreme Leader. [68]

68). Politics and the Clergy Mehdi Khalaji <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/politics-and-clergy>

Iranian Clergy and their followers had been a hot bed of discontent and reform movements against Khomeini since 1979 Iranian Revolution. Many came to their senses after watching thousands of their brethren executed. Many even openly opposed an idea of a revolution to begin with. Ever growing and becoming more political powerful in the IRI, Khamenei realized that he needed to take control of them. From 2005 and in wake of the country's disputed presidential elections 2009, the Islamic Republic of Iran was fracturing. Ten of thousands of Basij, Law Enforcement, paramilitary units and even elements of the IRGC had to be deployed to quell the Iranian upheaval. Several thousand Iranians had to be arrested, hundreds (number depending on sources) had to be executed. The mass Iranian protests of 2009 had not been seen since the 1979 revolution. At the heart were the Iranian Clergy and the one time heir to Khomeini himself, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri. He and others like him was sick of the never ending slaughter of the Iranian People. It was only after the deaths of the grand ayatollahs, Mohammad Reza Gopayegani and Shahab Al-Din Marashi Najafi was the final wall removed from Khamenei pathway to undisputed control and power of the IRI. There is reason to believe that their deaths were anything but natural and in truth were covert assassinations.

"What we see is in Iran is a military government, not the rule of the Shiite jurist."

--Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri's 2009, open letter to Shiite religious authorities in Islamic countries.

"Traditionally, Shiite seminaries were rather unorganized, unstructured places, based on pre-modern styles of management. The concept of a decentralized religious establishment is difficult for Westerners to understand, given the highly structured administrative framework of Christian churches and ecclesiastical orders. But this fluid hierarchy, an absence of written rules and organizational order, allowed the various seminaries – and their different interpretive traditions – to survive despotic political regimes and resist intervention by different dynasties and monarchies."

Iran's Political Clerics

<http://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/iran-s-political-clerics> [69]

Special Court of Clerics (Dadgah-e Vizheh-ye Rowhaniyat)

To destabilize the difference of standing religious powers and opinions of the Clergy, Khamenei declared them all equal. To enforce his rule within the hierocracy, he formed the "Special Court of Clerics". This special court operates under the direct supervision of the supreme leader, and it does not follow the juridical procedures and laws of the rest of the country. Clerics can be arrested and judged before this court, where they have no rights or appeals. Since its establishment, the court has become well-known for its brutal and humiliating treatment of clerics of all ranks. [70]

Sadeq Brigade 83

This is paramilitary religious police type unit consisting of young radical clerics that is under the direct command of Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. This brigade functions as his main instrument of suppression against clerics and others that oppose the regime. Originally formed during the Iran-Iraq war, Khamenei reshaped and reorganized its structure and duties. [71]

69). Politics and the Clergy Mehdi Khalaj

<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/IranPrimer-Khalaji.pdf>

70). Politics and the Clergy Mehdi Khalaj [washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/IranPrimer-Khalaji.pdf](http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/IranPrimer-Khalaji.pdf)

71) IBID- 2

Khamenei's Web of Power to Control the Clergy

- **Special Court of Clerics:** A court which works outside the judiciary system and does not respect the country's juridical codes. The court's head is appointed and dismissed by the supreme leader. The court is one of the government's main tools for controlling clerics.
- **Imam Sadeq 83 Brigade:** A military unit whose members are clerics. This unit was created during the Iran-Iraq War but now serves as the police force of the clerical establishment and works under supervision of Ayatollah Khamenei.
- **Supreme Council of Qom Seminary:** A group of clerics who are in charge of policy planning in Iran's seminaries. Members of the council are appointed by the supreme leader and can be dismissed by him. The executive director of the clerical establishment is appointed by this council.
- **Center for Management of Seminaries:** The executive management body of the clerical establishment which oversees all educational, administrative and economic activities of the clerics.
- **Association of Teachers of Qom Seminary:** A group of conservative clerics which oversees the Supreme Council of the Qom Seminary under supervision of the supreme leader.
- **Association of Teachers and Scholars of Qom Seminaries:** A group consisting of former officials of the Islamic Republic, as well as a few middle-ranking reformist clerics. This reformist group is marginal and has little support from the grand ayatollahs.
- **Association of Militant Clerics of Tehran:** A group of clerics who participated in the revolution. It includes current and former members of the government. Along with the Bazaar – the traditional market – this group forms a pillar of old conservative establishment in Iran. The Bazaar important in the 1979 Iranian Revolution for their ability to hold work strikes shut down business and transportation services. However their economic political power base has been considerably eroded by the privatization and the entrance into business by the IRGC and Basij. More over IRGC black market smuggling of goods.
- **Al-Mustafa International University:** A university owned and run by Ayatollah Khamenei. It specializes in educating non-Iranian clerics and has branches in several other countries.

Politics and the Clergy Mehdi Khalaj washingtoninstitute.org/html/pdf/IranPrimer-Khalaji.pdf



Al Mustafa International University: Ayatollah Khamenei and his Clerical Commissars personally dominate and control the braches of this educational Institution. This University no doubt plays a pivotal role in the selection and recruitment for covert operatives. Agents could be rigorously tested before obtaining security clearance. Over the course of students education evaluations could be administered, trust acquired enough to take part in clandestine operations which could potentially implicate the highest levels of the regime's leadership in foreign countries.

- **Khamenei is the ultimate authority over all religious seminaries in the Islamic Republic of Iran. The clerical establishments have in essence become the central ideological apparatus of the Supreme Leader; Khamenei is a Religious actuary, capable of defining what will be sacred and what the Clergy will ultimately support.**

72). The Supreme Leader Karim Sadjadpour <http://iranprimer.usip.org/resource/supreme-leader>

73) AL MUSTAFA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY <http://www.4icu.org/reviews/13936.htm>

Emerging Militant Islamic Autocracy Republic of Iran

Autocracy: *An autocracy is a system of government in which supreme political power to direct all of the activities of the state are concentrated only in the hands of one person, whose decisions are subject to neither external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control* **Autocracy**

As we have seen, according to Khomeini, allegiance, in absence of the twelfth Imam, had to be given to the current Velayat-e faqih. Observers of the Shiite faith select the faqih by method of emulation (taqlid) of the jurist known formally as Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist. In this new system, the jurist (supreme Leader) now oversees all governmental affairs, divine ultimate authority, decides on all matters period.

Supremacy of Raison D'état:

"Justification of overriding state power, there are circumstances when the need to ensure the security or well-being of the state or the nation justifies governments ignoring the normal considerations of law or morality". Khomeini formalized the supremacy of raison d'état over the tenets of Islam, Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist.

The divine will moves, not by the external impulse or inclination of objects, but determines itself by an absolute autocracy. Absolute dictatorship, absolute power,

Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist - maintains that Guardianship should include all issues for which Prophet of Islam and Shi'a Imam have responsibility, including governance of the country. The idea of guardianship as rule was advanced by the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini now forms the basis of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The constitution of Iran calls for a faqih, or Vali-ye faqih (Guardian Jurist), to serve as the Supreme Leader of the government. In the context of Iran, guardianship of the jurist is often referred to as "rule by the jurisprudent," or "rule of the Islamic jurist".

It may appear the Islamic Republic of Iran has checks and balances in offices of government, but it does not it has a closed loop of power, controlled by one man, "The Supreme Leader ". The Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, appoints, the commanders of the armed forces, including the IRGC, Friday prayer leaders and the Head of state radio and television. He also confirms the President's election. The Supreme Leader, not the President, makes key decisions on security, defense and major foreign policy issues.



"An autocracy is defined as "rule by oneself," as in a dictator who, through the use of a party or the military, wants to hold absolute power of the state. Autocrats can be elected or assume power through military coups. It is common that once elected, autocrats will imprison or murder opponents and silence all forms of democracy while either upholding the facade of democracy through sham elections and different political parties or outlawing both. Hitler was an elected autocrat who, in 12 short years, turned Germany into a brutal dictatorship controlled by fear. Augusto Pinochet was the autocratic Chilean ruler who overthrew a democratically elected government to instill a military dictatorship."

**Tullock, Gordon.
"Autocracy", Springer
Science * Business,
1987. ISBN 90-247-3398-7**

74).Taking Stock of a Quarter Century of the Islamic Republic of Iran by Wilfried Buchta Islamic Legal Studies Program Harvard Law School Occasional Publications 5 June 2005 <http://www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications/buchta.pdf>

Autocracy Republic of Iran, Closed Loop of Power

Supreme Leader – The Supreme Leader is chosen by the **Clerics Assembly of Experts**, who are chosen by the **Guardian Council**, which is itself appointed by the supreme leader, rendering the assembly into little more than a vassal to the supreme leader.

Council of Guardians – This council is composed of 12 jurists – six appointed by the Supreme Leader, the other six by Parliament (from candidates selected by the Head of the Judiciary).

Head of the Judiciary – Khamenei, appoints the Head of the Judiciary

Council of Ministers – Members of the Council of Ministers (the Cabinet) are chosen by the President and approved by Parliament. However those who run for President or Parliament must be approved by the Supreme Leader.

Assembly of Experts - Though popularly elected, eligibility for election to the assembly is strictly regulated by the 86-member assembly of clerics (all clerics are appointed and or approved by Khamenei) are elected to eight-year terms with two responsibilities: to elect a Supreme Leader when necessary, and in theory to oversee the supreme leader's performance.

Expediency Council – This is an advisory body for the Supreme Leader with powers to resolve disputes over legislation between Parliament and the Council of Guardians. The Supreme Leader appoints its members, and in October 2005 gave the Expediency Council "supervisory" powers over all branches of government. The Leading Security is Major General Mohsen Rezaee; he was the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps Chief Commander between years 1981-1997,

In summary from President to Parliament, who will be in any Government Offices or agencies, to the Military Officers who are in control of IRI Armed Forces, Khamenei appoints or has the final say in the matter.

The 2012 Elections IRI

As Supreme Leader Khamenei has appointed many former Revolutionary Guards commanders to top political positions, blurring the line between military and civil authority

The most important aspect of this election was the first time since the disputed 2009 presidential elections there were virtually no protests or incidents. The reformists openly stated they would boycott these elections. However there is not much left of their movement. When this movement started, there were 18 political groups who called themselves reformists. Even with different political agendas, spectrum of ideas and opinions. The only thing they had in common was that they all supported former President Mohammed Khatami. [75]

Khatami has been a fierce opponent of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and has not yet acknowledged his re-election, citing alleged fraud in the June 2009 election. He has also debated hotly on issues with the Supreme Leader Khamenei. Currently he is unofficially under house arrest and not allowed to leave the country. Khatami during his terms as president advocated freedom of expression, tolerance and civil society, constructive diplomatic relations with other Nations including those in the Asia and European Union, and an economic policy that supported a free market and foreign investment. Khatami is known for his proposal of, "Dialogue Among Civilizations". The United Nations accepted his idea and in 2001 proclaimed it the year of Dialogue Among Civilizations. [76]

75). Assessing Iran's Parliamentary Election By Mehdi Khalaji 15 Mar 2012 22:49

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/03/>

76). Report: Former president Khatami barred from leaving Iran July 26, 2011

<http://www.haaretz.com/news/middle-east/report-former-president-khatami-barred-from-leaving-iran-1.375404>

The 2012 Presidential, Parliamentary (Majles) Elections

- ✧ *July 5, 2011 the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps announced that former president Mohammad Khatami was ineligible to return to Iranian politics,*
- ✧ *On July 7, 2011 Iran's highest judicial authority, Ayatollah Sadegh Larijani, stated he was giving the IRGC free reign to continue asserting its presence directly into Iranian politics. [77]*
- ✧ *In August of 2011 Basij Commander Mohammad-Reza Naghdi announced a program to enlighten the public for "electing the best", Revolutionary Guards (IRGC) and Basij authorities had dispatched thousands of "political messengers" across the country to influence public opinion and consequently the upcoming elections. [78]*

The election has been described "as a contest between" IRI's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei and President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad

Iran's 290-seat parliament has limited sway over key affairs, in these 2012 elections the Iranian people could only choose candidates from hardline parties. There were five main parties.

1). The United Principlists Front, 2). Persevering Front, 3). Resistance Front, 4). Critics of the Tenth Administration Front 5). Voice of the Nation Front Faith and Justice Front.

The United Front of Principlists: Composed loyalists to Khamenei. The IRGC all but abandoned President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, and threw their weight behind the Principlists. This group is also supported by bazaar merchants and influential clerics. They label themselves "Principlists" for their loyalty to the ideals of the Islamic Republic.

The United Front of Principlists is actually led by several former officers and commanders of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, most of their candidates for Parliament were IRGC or Basij-

The Persevering Front, the second most powerful group of the parliamentary elections, was officially established by those supporters of Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Taghi Mesbah Yazdi. Ayatollah Yazdi, had been a spiritual mentor and long time supporter of Ahmadinejad and an effective political figure, withdrew his support because of the conflict between Ahmadinejad and Khamenei. [79]

Forty-two of the IRI's most influential journalists are in prison,

The most popular and influential opposition groups have been outlawed or forced into silence.

The most important university and former university activists such as Bahareh Hedayat, Hassan Asadi Zeidabadi, Ali Jamali, and Shiva Nazar Ahari have been jailed. Their organizations, decimated

Most of the Human Rights attorneys representing the political prisoners such as Nasrin Sotoudeh and Abdolfattah Soltani have also been imprisoned.

Grand Ayatollah Bayat-Zanjani spoke out against political detentions, deeming them prohibited according to Islamic law.

Grand Ayatollah Ali-Mohammad known for his outspoken criticism of Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, also called for oversight of Khamenei's position, as stipulated in the Iranian Constitution

Iran's Parliamentary Elections, Part I: The Political Landscape By Muhammad Sahimi

25 Feb 2012

pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/02

77).Iranian Judiciary Gives Green Light to IRGC's Interference in Politics July 7th, 2011 <http://www.insideiran.org/media-analysis/iranian-judiciary-gives-green-light-to-irgc%E2%80%99s-interference-in-politic/>

78).Dispatch of IRGC's Political Messengers Across the Country Bahram Rafiei August 4, 2011 A Decade of Interference in Elections <http://www.roozonline.com/english/news3/newsitem/article/dispatch-of-irgcs-political-messengers-across-the-country.html>

79).Political road map of Iran before the Parliamentary (Majlis) elections 2 March 2012 / PINAR ARIKAN, ORSAM

<http://www.todayszaman.com/news-273077-political-road-map-of-iran-before-the-parliamentary-majlis-elections.html>

The 2012 Presidential, Parliamentary (Majles) Elections Continued

The Resistance Front: Backed by Ahmadinejad supporters, The Resistance Front political platform mission statement was that it is necessary to have an administration in line with the ideas of the leaders of Islamic Revolution in the country as implemented by the ninth and tenth governments under presidency of Ahmadinejad.

Incumbent President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was reelected; however the hardline Khamenei's supporters swept over 75 percent of the 290-seat parliament seats.

There has been a developing ideological struggle between the Supreme Leader and his once favorite Ahmadinejad. Ahmadinejad had sought to cut into the policymaking domain of the ruling clerics, (some handpicked by Khamenei) whom control all the key appointments and decisions. Which in reality Ahmadinejad was undermining Khamenei himself. The given situation which brought this power struggle to a head occurred in April 2011. [80]

President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad openly opposed Khamenei's order to reinstate the intelligence minister, who had been dismissed by Ahmadinejad. In the end he was forced to do so. However Ahmadinejad boycotted government meetings for more than a week in protest. The Current parliament, (which remains in session until the new chamber is seated in May 2012) approved a petition to summon President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad for public questioning over a long list of accusations, including corruption and his high profile feud with Khamenei. [81]

"Iran's power structure has fundamentally changed, away from its unique clerical model toward a type of military dictatorship. In other words, the Islamic Republic is no longer a semi-autocratic, clergy-led state which allows some form of citizen participation. The mass protests following the hotly contested June 12, 2009 election were indeed proof that the Islamic Republic has a vibrant civil society and that many Iranians still expect some level of electoral fairness. But Iran is now a military-led system or, in political-science terms, a "praetorian" state," The Militarization of Post-Khomeini Iran: Praetorianism 2.0 Elliot Hen-Tov The Washington Quarterly • 34:1 pp. 45-59

As early as 2007, Mehdi Khalaji, a fellow at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, wrote that *"the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps is the spine of the current political structure in Iran and a major player in the Iranian economy."* The Guards' political influence began its ascendancy as a counterweight to former reformist president Mohammad Khatami. The IRGC have openly threatened (with support of the Supreme Leader) members of government. For example, in 1999, Iranian conservative newspaper Jomhuri-e Eslami published a letter by twenty-four Islamic Revolutionary Guards senior officers addressed to the then reformist president Mohammad Khatami. Their letter openly threatened, *"cannot tolerate the situation anymore" and," would take action if Khatami did not change his policies,"*

Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps, Inc By Mehdi Khalaji
August 17, 2007 Policy Watch
#1273

<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/templateC05.php?CID=2649>

80). Iran Elections 2012: Ahmadinejad Rivals Rack Up Wins , By Ali Akbar Dareini And Brian Murphy 03/ 3/12
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/03/iran-elections-2012-ahmadinejad_n_1318370.html

81).Iran Elections 2012 Everything You Need To Know On Upcoming Parliamentary Vote, The Huffington Post Nasser Karimi And Brian Murphy F 03/ 2/2012 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/03/01/iran-elections-2012_n_1314653.html?Ref=World

Project Discerning Ambassadors, "Guard-Clerics"

After successfully setting up and running the Imam Hossein University, the IRGC established a seminary to raise its future cadres, and the best name for them would be "IRGC-Clerics". The project was called "Discerning Ambassadors" started more than 2 years ago and it has completed its first phase successfully. These religious students or "Discerning Ambassadors" who are also official IRGC members soon would become Ayatollahs and will replace any institutions or government bodies. The title of ayatollah, which means *sign of God*, is given to Shi'a clerics who have become experts in religious, ethical, philosophical, and jurisprudence matters. It is the highest rank of Shi'a theologians.

Discerning Ambassadors



The title, "Ayatollahs" is not bestowed in an official manner, and the Islam faith has not laid out any requirements that a cleric must meet before becoming an ayatollah. Instead, the title is earned by studying, teaching, and preaching over a period of time and also gathering followers and garnering the respect of other Shi'a clerics. After some years of studying, the cleric will begin to lecture on his interpretations of the Qur'an and other Islamic texts. Later he will write books about religious topic. He may become considered a *marja' at-taqlid*, which means "a source of emulation." After a while of this, the aspiring cleric will ideally have many followers, known as a *muqallid*, and be considered an ayatollah. While most are men, some women have become ayatollahs.

IRGC's agenda is to have a full control over religious clerics by decommissioning or retiring the existing clerics, and other ayatollahs. Discerning Ambassadors agenda seeks to build its own religious seminaries and training its own clerics and Ayatollahs. IRGC has also been planning for a day when Ayatollah Khamenei is dead or not in power. These "Discerning Ambassadors" could justify any crimes IRGC would imagine committing. They could also justify the Supreme Leaders actions no matter how brazen.

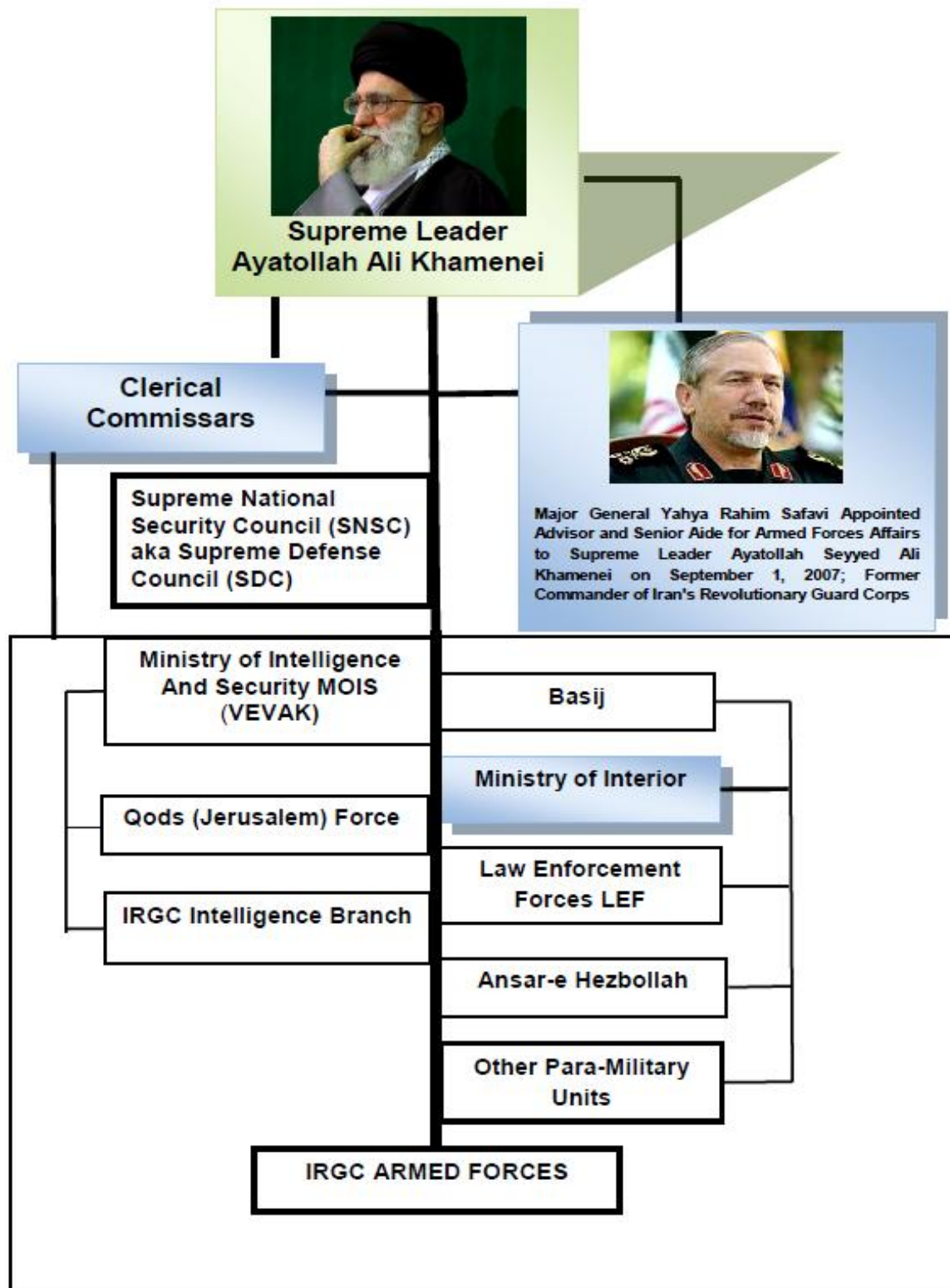
In addition young children of the IRGC enter the seminary so that in the future they will become prominent Islamic Revolutionary Guard members. Discerning Ambassadors project is grounded upon the belief that by raising and teaching new IRGC cadres from reliable IRGC families within their own ideological system, these trained children can occupy key posts after their fathers retire. In reality these "IRGC-Clerics" would become stone cold Waffen SS troopers. "IRGC-Clerics" are to superior and Islamic pure warriors. The Supreme Leader would be their God, and his every command is unquestionably followed.

Previously, this plan was executed in the core technology, engineering, and social science majors at the Imam Hossein University as well as in the Baghitallah School of Medicine. Alongside the Imam Hossein Military Academy, a variety of cadres are trained according to the IRGC's needs. These guard-clerics in the future will become "Ayatollahs" who will not only work in the IRGC but also with each governmental body and the highest echelons of power.

82). IRGC's Plan to Control the Middle East and Prepare for the Next War Posted on August 28, 2012 by iran1

<http://iranbriefing.net/?p=14921>

83). Discerning Ambassadors <http://iranbriefing.net/?p=13496>



How Khamenei became Supreme Leader

Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic Republic's constitution original requirement for a Supreme Leader was to be a Grand Ayatollah. There was a falling out with his only designated heir, Ayatollah Montazeri. Khomeini was totally dissatisfied with the pool of senior clergy, in April 1989 three months before his death Khomeini had the constitution revised so that the Leader needed only be an expert on Islamic jurisprudence and possess "the appropriate political and managerial skills." Khamenei, who did not know at that time that he would soon become Leader, argued that Khomeini's legitimacy derived not from the fact that he was an Ayatollah, but rather from his reputation as a courageous political leader and an expert on Islamic jurisprudence. Since Khamenei's religious credentials were inferior, and the decision raised stern criticism from Tehran's clerical elites in Qom, however the Islamic Republic's political elites rallied behind Khamenei. The head of the Assembly of Experts, Ayatollah Meshkini, declared that Khamenei's selection was based on the fact that he was close to Khomeini, had played an important role in both the revolution and the Iraq war, and was highly knowledgeable of "the contemporary problems facing the Muslim world. Shortly after Khomeini's death in June 1989, the Assembly of Experts the clerical body which has the constitutional authority to anoint and remove the Supreme Leader approved of Khamenei's succession by a vote of 60 to 14. Hence in the governing of the Islamic Republic anyone can become a Supreme Leader. [84]

Shia Muslims believe that just as a prophet is appointed by God alone, only God has the prerogative to appoint the successor to his prophet. They believe God chose Ali to be Muhammad's successor, infallible, the first caliph (Khalifa, head of state) of Islam. They believe Muhammad, before his death, designated Ali as his successor. Khomeini was not the sole creator of the notion of Velayat-e-Faqih. Shiites have always believed that Allah ordained that the Prophet Muhammad would be succeeded by divinely appointed imams who were his blood descendants. According to this belief, there were 12 such infallible imams. [85]

Khamenei initially moved slowly and cautiously to strengthen his position, fully aware that he lacked both the respect of the country's senior clergy and Khomeini's popularity. Moving cautiously he reassured the political and clerical elites that he did not intend to disrupt the status quo, but shrewdly set out to create what he lacked as president: an independent base of support and a personal network working as his "eyes and ears." Khamenei began covertly and methodically cultivating this network of "clerical commissars" estimated at several thousand stationed in strategic posts in every important state ministry and institution, including the clerical establishment and military.

The Islamic Republic's Shia clergy has historically been close to the corridors of power even when not directly ruling. Its financial independence from the state and influence over the educational and legal systems since the 19th century gradually facilitated its rise to power. While the ulama (religious scholars) were in the process of positioning themselves in Iran, the country was undergoing a constitutionalist movement (1905-1911) that sought to check the powers of the monarchy. It was not until the late 1960s when the founder of Islamist Iran Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini led a movement against the then-monarch Muhammad Reza Shah Pahlavi that the Iranian ulama began to seek a more direct governing role. In a series of lectures, Khomeini argued that a true Islamic government is led by those knowledgeable about Islam, i.e. the clerics. These lectures were published in 1971 in book a book entitled Velayat-e-Faqih: Hukumat-i-Islami (State of the Jurist: Islamic Government). Velayat-e-Faqih literally means state/government rule of the jurists. It is in essence a modern Shiite political system. But Khomeini was not the sole creator of the notion of Velayat-e-Faqih. Shiites have always believed that Allah ordained that the Prophet Muhammad would be succeeded by divinely appointed imams who were his blood descendants. According to this belief, there were 12 such infallible imams. What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam" Oxford University Press, 2002. ISBN 978-0-19-515713-0. p.40

84). Country of Origin Information Report Iran 26 January 2010 UK Border
<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/4b615f862.pdf>

85). What Everyone Needs to Know about Islam" Oxford University Press, 2002. ISBN 978-0-19-515713-0. p.40

Khamenei as Supreme Leader has been viewed by various officials and clergy as not having the true spiritual credentials to lead the Islamic Republic. This has forced him to reshape various institutions, governing bodies to Universities. As we have seen Khamenei has created a shadow bureaucracy its offices and officials oversee the Tehran's government. Article 110 of the constitution effectively sanctions the supreme leader to define and oversee the proper implementation of all major policies pursued by the Islamic Republic. The constitution of Iran gives the supreme leader sweeping powers, including the "delineation of the general policies of the Islamic Republic of Iran after consultation with the Nation's Exigency (Expediency) Council," and "supervision over the proper execution of the general policies of the system." The supreme leader is also the commander of the armed forces, has the power to declare war and peace, has the power to dismiss the president, and is the final arbiter in disputes before the Expediency Council, which decides disputes between the leader-appointed Guardians Council and the elected Majles or parliament. [86]

Office of President

Theoretically, the President is the second-highest ranking official and appoints his Cabinet. Notwithstanding the waves of protests that have shaken the Islamic Republic concerning presidential elections and proceedings, the men who have held the office has struggled against Supreme leader. All three of IRI's elected presidents since 1989 Rafsanjani, Mohammad Khatami and Ahmadinejad have had their own agendas and ambitions, and tried to uncut supreme leader's powerful office. Even the handpicked and once most beloved Mahmoud Ahmadinejad has become a bitter rival. Ahmadinejad had the supreme leader's support in both the 2009 and 2005 elections but the president has tried to build an independent power base. Iran's Constitution was revised in 1989 to create a powerful presidency as a counterweight to the supreme leader. The last president before those changes was Ayatollah Khamenei himself, and the prime minister office was abolished during this period.

Since 2009, Khamenei has systematically targeted reformists associated with Mousavi, Karroubi, and Khatami. He has also purged followers of Rafsanjani, stripping the former president of his remaining institutional levers as a Friday prayer leader in Tehran, chairman of the board of a collection of universities, and head of the Assembly of Experts—the elected clerical body that, under the constitution, is supposed to supervise the supreme leader and choose his successor. A key indicator that Khamenei recognizes the regime's shrinking legitimacy and seeks to ameliorate it came when he decided to allow Rafsanjani, seventy-seven, a "pillar of the revolution" who was once Khomeini's key lieutenant, to retain a final post as head of the Expediency Council, a body created to resolve disputes among government branches. [87] Currently Khamenei wants to dissolve the office of President and reestablish the prime minister office. One of the reasons why they may decide to eliminate the presidential system is precisely to avoid another presidential election and all of the political uncertainty and opportunities for popular unrest that come with it," said Karim Sadjadpour, an analyst at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington. Under the parliamentary system that Ayatollah Khamenei sketched out, legislators would elect a prime minister from their ranks. Khamenei, said *"changing Iran into a parliamentary system" in which voters no longer elected a president would not be a problem*".[88]

86). Iran <http://isis-online.org/country-pages/iran>

87). Iran's Internal Politics: The Supreme Leader Grows Ever Lonelier at the Top Yasmin Alem and Barbara Slavin he Iran Task Force is a project of the Atlantic Council's South Asia Center, http://www.acus.org/files/publication_pdfs/403/031912_ACUS_IranInternal.PDF

88). Supreme leader wants to eliminate the presidency Iran's Power Struggle Goes Beyond Personalities to Future of Presidency Itself By Robert F. Worth Published: October 26, 2011 http://www.nytimes.com/2011/10/27/world/middleeast/in-iran-rivalry-khamenei-takes-on-presidency-itself.html?_r=1&scp=4&sq=iran&st=cse

On Sept. 24, the Treasury Department submitted a report to Congress determining that the National Iranian Oil Company is an agent or affiliate of the Revolutionary Guards. The following is an excerpt from the report. The IRGC is Iran's most powerful economic actor, dominating many sectors of the economy, including energy, construction, and banking. The IRGC, long a target of U.S. sanctions, has a history of attempting to circumvent sanctions by maintaining a complex network of front companies. The IRGC and certain IRGC-related entities and individuals have been sanctioned for activities related to Iran's nuclear program, support for terrorism, commission of serious human rights abuses, and most recently for activities related to human rights abuses in Syria, including repression against the Syrian people. Recently, the IRGC has been coordinating a campaign to sell Iranian oil in an effort to evade international sanctions, specifically those imposed by the European Union that prohibit the import, shipping, and purchase of Iranian oil, which went into full effect on July 1, 2012. NIOC, which is owned by the Government of Iran through the Ministry of Petroleum, is responsible for the exploration, production, refining, and export of oil and petroleum products in Iran.

Under the current Iranian regime, the IRGC's influence has grown within NIOC. For example, on August 3, 2011, Iran's parliament approved the appointment of Rostam Qassemi, a Brigadier General in the IRGC, as Minister of Petroleum. Prior to his appointment, Qassemi was the commander of Khatam Al-Anbia, a construction and development wing of the IRGC that generates income and funds operations for the IRGC. Even in his new role as Minister of Petroleum, Qassemi has publicly stated his allegiance to the IRGC. As the IRGC has become increasingly influential in Iran's energy sector, Khatam Al-Anbia has obtained billions of dollars worth of contracts with Iranian energy companies, including NIOC, often without participating in a competitive bidding process.

Effects of Today's Determination

As a result of this ITRSHRA section 312 determination, NIOC now is also a person – the legal definition of an individual or an entity – described under section 104(c)(2)(E)(i) of the Comprehensive Iran Sanctions, Accountability, and Divestment Act of 2010 (CISADA) as an agent or affiliate of the IRGC whose property or interests in property are blocked pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA). This means that foreign financial institutions determined to knowingly facilitate significant transactions or provide significant financial services for NIOC will be subject to CISADA sanctions, including the prohibition or the imposition of strict conditions on the opening or maintaining of correspondent or payable-through accounts in the United States.

The Treasury Department's determination that NIOC is an agent or affiliate of the IRGC also implicates section 302 of ITRSHRA, which requires the imposition of sanctions on foreign persons determined to have knowingly provided certain material support to, or engaged in significant transactions with, the IRGC or its officials, agents, or affiliates whose property or interest in property is blocked. ITRSHRA Section 312 provides for an exception to these sanctions for those transactions or services involving NIOC for the purchase of petroleum or petroleum products from Iran if the Secretary of State has determined that the country is significantly reducing its purchases of Iranian oil. Because both NIOC and NITC are part of the Government of Iran, they are both blocked under Executive Order 13599.

Treasury Links Iran Oil to Elite Military September 25, 2012
<http://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2012/sep/25/treasury-links-iran-oil-elite-military>

Smuggling Activities and the Black Market IRGC
Among the most important revenue generating activities for the IRGC are illegal imports and exports and involvement in the black market. Revenues from IRGC black market activities exceeded 12 billion dollars last year.

Sixty-eight percent of the country's exports take place through illicit docks and ports controlled by the IRGC;

A major portion of clothing products from China are imported through the Rajai Port in southern Iran; From Rajai Port, the IRGC also smuggles cheap government gasoline abroad and reaps profits to the tune of 200 to 300 percent; The IRGC imports billions of dollars of luxury items, household products, pharmaceutical drugs, spare parts, mobile phones and SIM cards, various electronics equipment, and food products outside the confines of customs regulations and without paying any tariffs;

The IRGC has at least 60 exclusive docks in the country's ports, which lie completely outside the control of the country's official institutions;

At least 25 gates at the Tehran International Air port operate outside the control of the Customs Office and have been placed under the exclusive control of the IRGC.

IRGC's Dominance Over Iran's Politics and Economy – Part 1
11 May 2010
<http://www.iranfocus.com/>

The Destruction of Women's Rights

The participation of women in the Iranian revolution of 1979 was historically unparalleled, both in terms of the depth and breadth of their commitment. The most important division contributing to conflicting expectations from and outcome of the revolution is the division between secular and religious women. Secular women, mostly of middle and upper classes, were the major losers of this revolution. The religious policies of the Khomeini's government restricted their access to the public sphere, forced them to comply with Islamic dress codes, limited their occupational and educational activities, and were harassed or arrested if they opposed the emerging Islamic ruling ideology.



The Khomeini decade 1979-1989

"Under revolutionary leader Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Iran's new theocracy gave priority to Islamic tradition over modern mores. One of the revolutionary government's first acts was to suspend the Family Protection Law and dismantle Family Courts. Men were once again free to divorce their wives by simple declaration; they also gained exclusive custody of their children. Women could no longer file for divorce unless the right was stipulated in marriage contracts, and they lost the right to child custody. Restrictions on polygamy were also removed. The marriage age for girls was reduced to puberty, which is nine under Islamic law. In 1981, parliament approved the Islamic Law of Retribution, introducing flogging, stoning and payment of blood money for crimes ranging from adultery to violation of Islamic dress codes." The Womens' Movement in Iran, from the Iran Primer Aug 24, 2012 By Haleh Esfandiari <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/the-womens-movement-iran>



Ayatollah Khomeini theocracy systematically rolled back five decades of progress of women's rights in Iran. Women were purged from government positions. All females, including girls in first grade, were forced to observe the hijab, or Islamic dress code. Family laws were scrapped.

The Iranian reform movement also known as, "2nd of Khordad Front" which refers to the date of President Mohammad Khatami's 1997 landslide election victory in the Iranian Calendar) is a political movement by a group of political parties and organizations in Iran who supported President Mohammad Khatami's plans to change the system to include more freedom and democracy. Iran's "reform era" is sometimes said to have lasted from 1997 to 2005: the length of Khatami's two terms in office. In 2005, the Iranian women's rights movement took attempted to gain momentum during President Mohammad Khatami terms to raise sensitive issues. In a very public and egregious act of civil disobedience, about a hundred women managed to enter Tehran's soccer stadium (women are forbidden) to watch a game between the national teams of Iran and Bahrain. The women's rights movement declared June 12 to be Women's Solidarity Day and held an unauthorized demonstration in Tehran. It was the first such demonstration since 1979. [84]

The fact that the Islamic Republic of Iran, a barbarous feudal regime that buries women in the ground and stones them to death, sits on the board of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, provides an essential service to the regime by legitimizing and hence perpetuating vicious Islamic discrimination against women in Iran and Islamic world.[85]

84). Silencing the Women's Rights Movement in Iran: The Iran Human Rights Documentation Center (IHRDC) 2010 <http://www.iranhrdc.org/>

85). U.N. Elects Iran to Commission on Women's Rights <http://www.foxnews.com/world/2010/04/29/elects-iran-commission-womens-rights/#ixzz2AI4mk2Gz>

The 2005 Presidential election saw the defeat of President Mohammad Khatami and the emergence of hardline IRGC backed Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Women demonstrated on International Women's Day (March 8) in 2006, and were beaten and arrested by baton-wielding police. They attempted to gather again on June 12 of that year, but in a preemptive strike they were viscerously arrested before they could assemble. Some 70 leading members of the Women's Movement were incarcerated; they were charged them with crimes ranging from acting against state security to propaganda against the state. The Tehran's incarceration authorities regularly mistreated and tortured women's rights activists in violation of Iran's laws and its international obligations. Many activists were verbally abused and suffered from unsanitary and overcrowded prison conditions. Most endure months of solitary confinement; many are was severely beaten and raped.

■ **Rape: reports of rape and sexual violence of detainees by Iranian authorities surfaced after the June 12, 2009 presidential election**

It soon became public that many demonstrators both male and female who were detained and severely mistreated at the Kahrizak Detention Center outside Tehran. A former detainee reported hearing screams of younger and quieter detainees being raped. Mehdi Karroubi, a former speaker of the Majlis (Parliament), and a presidential candidate in 2009, published a letter to Ayatollah Rafsanjani, then-head of the Expediency Council, alleging torture and sexual abuse of post-election detainees, and the regime closed the facility. However, as noted by the Iranian lawyer Shadi Sadr, this wave of rapes was not an "incident." It was a continuation of practices that had existed since the 1979 revolution. [86]

"Allegations of rape and sexual violence of political prisoners began to emerge after the Islamic Republic of Iran was established in 1979 and have continued, to varying degrees, to the present. However, not surprisingly, there is no reliable estimate of the number of prisoners raped in the Islamic Republic's prisons. The reasons are simple: few rape victims are willing to speak about their experiences due to (1) government pressure and acquiescence, and social stigma. Iranian authorities have and continue to acquiesce to rapes of prisoners by guards and interrogators who use rape to crush detainees' spirit, inflict humiliation, discourage their dissent, force them to confess to crimes, and ultimately to intimidate them and others - all in violation of international human rights and Iranian law."

Rape In Irans Prisons Reports, New Report on Rape in Iranian Prisons June 29, 2011 The Iran Human Rights Documentation Center (IHRDC)
<http://iranprimer.usip.org/blog/2011/jun/29/new-report-rape-iranian-prisons>

During President Mohammad Khatami's Iranian reform period and up to 2009, women ascended to become more than 60 percent of the Islamic Republic's university students. This ascent of women is against regime of Khamenei and the late Khomeini harsh Shari'a laws and edicts for women. Women's advances in sciences and industrial production contradict misogynist dogma – woman's inferiority to man. Quran (2:223) - *"Your wives are as a tilth unto you; so approach your tilth when or how ye will..."* A man has dominion over his wives' bodies as he does his land. Men have one degree above women." Quran (2: 228) Women's engagement at universities generated a dynamic effect that paved the way for women's advance in all walks of life in the Islamic Republic. This was as un-Islamic and against Shari'a laws and it constitutes an immediate danger to the continued existence of political Islam and to Khatami's Islamic regime. [87]

86). Silencing the Women's Rights Movement in Iran: The Iran Human Rights Documentation Center (IHRDC) 2010 <http://www.iranhrdc.org/>

87). Violent Aftermath: The 2009 Election and Suppression of Dissent in Iran: The Iran Human Rights Documentation Center (IHRDC) 2010 <http://www.iranhrdc.org/>

The Systematic Repression of Women

After the 2009 uprising, Ayatollah Khamenei declared universities to be a breeding ground for subversive behavior, and called for a greater focus on Islamic principles "Islamization" of universities. In the space of less than a year by 2010, women's enrolment in university had been brought down to 50 percent by capping admissions for women. Gender segregation in universities has also expanded significantly: more than 600 degree programs in 60 universities are now divided by gender. "Islamization Gender Separatism" of universities aims at strict control of students not only by dividing people into sexual categories, but by dividing universities themselves into two parts, making students' political activities more difficult than before. In the regime's most recent step towards excluding women from higher education, 36 universities have closed 77 fields of study to women, including engineering, accounting, education, counseling, and chemistry, with the highest number of subjects closed to women being in the field of engineering. Several universities have closed almost all areas of study of the petrochemical industry to women.[88]



Rape Virgin Prisoners Before Executions

According to a special "religious decree" issued by Ayatollah Khomeini, virgin women prisoners must be raped before execution to prevent their going to heaven. A Guard conducts the rape the night before their murder. According to the penal code, a nine-year-old girl can be punished as an adult by flogging, execution and even stoning. Given the arbitrary punishments and the virtual lack of due process of law, large numbers of children have been executed, in many cases without being officially charged or even having their identities established. [89]

Young girls suffer the worst conditions in Iran today. According to the clerical regime's rules and regulations, a girl child can virtually be bought and sold with the consent of her male guardian. Article 1041 of the Civil Code provides that 'Marriage before puberty (nine full lunar years for girls) is prohibited. Marriage contracted before reaching puberty with the permission of the guardian is valid provided that the interests of the ward are duly observed. [90]

Islamic fundamentalism establishes its thesis on the differences between the sexes and the conclusion that the male is superior, and hence, the female is a slave at his service. A parliamentarian in Iran is on record as saying, "Women must accept the reality of men dominating them, and the world must recognize the fact that men are superior." Ultimately, the fundamentalists do not believe women are human. One of the Iranian regime's key ideologues says: *"Women and men are equal in their humane essence, but they are two different forms of humans, with two different sets of attributes and two different psyches..."* [91]

88). Association for Women in Development, 16 August 2012: Iran Obstructs Women's Access To Education, Moves Closer To Segregating University Classes And Bars Women's Entry To Certain Majors

<http://www.awid.org/Library/Iran-Obstructs-Women-s-Access-to-Education-Moves-Closer-to-Segregating-University-Classes-and-Bars-Women-s-Entry-to-Certain-Majors>

89) Caskets and Rape: The Prison in Iran's Islamic Republic, a review of Chahla Chafiq's "The New Islamist Man: The Political Prison in Iran" By George Tarabishi <http://www.aljaidid.com/> *Le Nouvel Homme Islamiste: La Prison Politique en Iran (The New Islamist Man: The Political Prison in Iran)* By Chahla Chafiq Paris, 2002, 248 pp. Report: Iranian Militias Marry, Rape Virgin Prisoners Before Executions Published July 21, 2009 FoxNews.com <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,534116,00.html#ixzz2AIHck1gP>

90). The Civil Code of the Islamic Republic Of Iran Preamble On the publication Effects and Execution of Laws in General page 103 <http://www.alaviandassociates.com/documents/civilcode.pdf>

91). Iranian Women and Girls - Victims of Exploitation and Violence, Sarvnaz Chitsaz and Soona Samsami <http://www.uri.edu/artsci/wms/hughes/mhviran.htm>

Closing the eyes and ears of the Iranian People

Since the 2009 crackdown satellite dishes have become illegal to own, IRGC authorities continue to shut down newspapers and target journalists and bloggers. Under the watchful eyes of the Supreme Leader and the iron hand of the IRGC there has been a systematic decapitation of public media. This has included the banning of publications and the mass arrests and imprisonments of journalists on little to no charges, some given sentences up to ten years. Imprisoned journalists are subject to horrible conditions including solitary confinement, physical abuse, and torture; families of journalists are also intimidated and harassed in a bid to keep them silent. Tehran maintains one of the world's toughest Internet censorship regimes, blocking millions of websites, including news and social networking sites; using sophisticated techniques to detect interference with anti-censorship programs; and intimidating reporters via social networks. These are the preliminary steps towards a nation-wide Halal Internet that would cut off a majority of citizens from the global web and replace it with

one that would effectively block all foreign sites and only allow state-controlled content to be accessed



The Death of Neda Agha Soltan

(January 23, 1983 – June 20, 2009) A 27-year-old student, her death drew international attention after she was gunned down by paramilitary police during the 2009 Iranian election protests. Her death was captured on video by bystanders and broadcast over the Internet and the video became a rallying point for the opposition. It was described as "probably the most widely witnessed death in human history".

within the Islamic Republic. [92] In 2011 the Islamic Republic of Iran carried out more than 760 judicial executions. True numbers are impossible to know because executions are frequently carried out in secret, but many others were conducted in noisy public spectacles. Tehran imprisoned more journalists and bloggers than any other country in the world, Human Rights Watch its *World Report 2012* Iran chapter. Tehran's judiciary works hand-in-hand with security and intelligence forces to harass, imprison and convict opposition and rights activists, their attorneys despite increasing international condemnation of the country's rights record. [93]

A Look at the 2005 United Nations Report

In November 2005, the UN General Assembly again passed a resolution condemning the human rights situation in Iran. It drew attention to Iran's "failure to comply with international standards in the administration of justice, the absence of due process of law, the refusal to provide fair and public hearings and right to counsel, " and forms of systematic discrimination.

Iranian Regime's Human Rights Record at a Glance

- Over 120,000 political prisoners executions
- Massacre of 30,000 political prisoners in 1988 over just a few months
- Use of brutal torture methods against prisoners – including eye gouging and amputation of body parts
- Persecution of ethnic and religious minorities
- Forced marriage of girls, some as young as nine years old
- Execution and public humiliation of minors
- Extra judicial Killing of dissidents and intellectuals

International Attention: Various organizations of the United Nations have on at least 52 separate documents condemned the Islamic Republic of Iran reprehensible and criminal behavior. [94]

92). 10 Most Censored Countries, Iran May 2, 2012 <http://cpj.org/reports/2012/05/10-most-censored-countries.php>

93). Iran Human Rights Center Oct 2012 <http://www.iranhrc.org/english/>

94). The National Coalition of Pro-Democracy Advocates (NCPDA) <http://ncpdacus.org/rights-and-liberties/>

**Report of the Special Rapporteur on
the situation of human rights in the
Islamic Republic of Iran**

On October 11, 2012, the report of Dr. Ahmed Shaheed, United Nations Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran, to the United Nations General Assembly was released to the general public.

Dr. Ahmed Shaheed was selected by the United Nations Human Rights Council in 2011 as a neutral party to investigate human rights violations in Iran and to write an official report based on these findings. Other special representatives and rapporteurs on Iran have preceded Dr. Shaheed, though with more specialized mandates. The report discusses what Dr. Shaheed found regarding a range of issues including capital punishment, fair elections, prison conditions, women's rights, freedom of the press, religious and racial discrimination, and recommendations for what can be done to fix the situation. The report mostly focuses on issues since the June 2009 Iranian Presidential election. His report describes patterns of human rights abuses in Iran and concludes that these violations are of a systemic nature. The United Nations General Assembly will use what the UNSR found in the report and his recommendations to take further actions to ensure the adherence to human rights norms in the Islamic Republic of Iran.



Paragraph 74: Recommends that the government of the Islamic Republic address inadequacies and inconsistencies in the rule of law as well as the impunity of institutions and individuals who violate human rights. Paragraph 75: Requests that his mandate be viewed as an opportunity for constructive dialogue on the human rights situation in Iran rather than a punitive measure.

Paragraph 76: Recommends the re-examination of legislation violating the country's human rights obligations.

Paragraph 77: Recommends the precise definition of national security crimes in such a way that does not conflate national security and the freedom of expression

Paragraph 78: Recommends that the government of the Islamic Republic endeavor to prevent discrimination on gender, ethnic, or religious grounds in public life and protect the freedom of association and the freedom of expression.

Paragraph 79: Recommends a thorough review of violations of prisoners' rights from allegations of torture to violations of the right to due process and reiterates the need for an independent investigation into the post-2009 election violence and the immediate release of political prisoners and prisoners of conscience.

Paragraph 80: Recommends a moratorium on the death sentence until fair trials for defendants can be ensured and urges the government of the Islamic Republic to consider restricting capital punishment and the prohibition of stoning.

Paragraph 81: Recommends that steps be taken to set up a national institution to investigate human rights violations and provide remedies to victims.

Report of the Special Rapporteur on the situation of human rights in the Islamic Republic of Iran
<http://www.iranhrdc.org/english/human-rights-documents/united-nations-reports/un-reports/1000000196-report-of-the-special-rapporteur-on-the-situation-of-human-rights-in-the-islamic-republic-of-iran-13-september-2012.html#.UISvzm-HLAI>

Reza Pahlavi is the last crown prince of the former Imperial State of Iran and current head of the House of Pahlavi. He is the older son of the late Shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi



✠ **Holding Iran's Supreme Leader Accountable Friday, March 09th, 2012:**

The subject of Iran currently sits quite prominently at the forefront of foreign policy discussions. 80% of all media coverage of Iran today focuses on the covert nuclear program. The remaining 20% focuses on provocative words and actions of President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. His actions might make for good television, and Iran's nuclear program might make for the stuff of brinksmanship, but the present discussion about Iran fails to focus on the root of the country's plaguing problem: the Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei.

"In late January, I submitted a report to the United Nations Security Council detailing the crimes against humanity perpetrated on the orders of Islamic Republic's Supreme Leader, Mr. Ali Khamenei. The report focuses on crimes against humanity committed during the suppression of popular dissent after Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's fraudulent re-election in June 2009. It also addresses various acts of Human Rights violations against ethnic communities and religious minorities since the clerical regime's inception. Since the Islamic revolution of 1979, Western nations have alternated between trying to isolate Iran or to engage Iran diplomatically. It makes no difference: the clerics ruling Iran -- Ali Khamenei, in particular -- have no real interest in engagement with the West, nor have they ever. In fact, animosity with the West -- for all the values it represents -- is the underlying premise on which the Islamic Republic of Iran was founded. This would ultimately explain why reasoning with them has been futile: the lack of a common sphere of rationality. The failing diplomacy seems to have led certain voices in the West to turn bellicose, and what were once whispers of war against my homeland are now growing louder. This concerns me for three reasons. First, because I am categorically opposed to any attack on my homeland due to the fact that it is not a viable solution, neither for stopping the nuclear program nor for the peace and the stability in the region; second, because Iran's armed forces will be forced into a position of defense and will be lost as potential allies to our democratic movement; and third, because the West has overlooked the most important tool to pressure the regime: the empowerment of the Iranian people. I have steadfastly stated in interviews and speeches that the best insurance against nuclear proliferation and securing regional peace would be to help Iranians establish a secular democracy. There has yet to be serious effort to engage the overwhelming majority of Iranians who oppose this regime, and render them assistance to rise and take back their land from their oppressors. The chief culprit behind all the evil that occurs within and emanates from Iran is Ali Khamenei in his role as Supreme Leader with nearly absolute power. A comprehensive study of the Iranian power structure and its constitution makes it clear that President Ahmadinejad is nothing more than a marionette in a corrupt puppet show run entirely by Ali Khamenei. Based on religious law, the constitution of the Islamic Republic gives virtually all political, military and economic power to the Supreme Leader, at the top of the regime's hierarchy. The powers Khamenei holds give him the ability to control and intervene without limitation in all aspects of the public and private life of Iranians. Numerous protestors arrested during the post-election protests in 2009 were brought before the Islamic Republic's revolutionary courts and judged for having committed the crime of "Moharebeh," which means "war against God." This charge can be made for any act that goes against the interests of the Islamic Republic. There is in fact no statutory definition of the crime of Moharebeh. It is a powerful tool that allows the regime to accuse any person and to condemn anyone with any sentence, including the death penalty. The charge of Moharebeh was used against numerous protestors arrested during post-election demonstrations of 2009. Their arrests, which for the most part took place when they were participating in peaceful demonstrations, subsequently led to them being brought before the courts and receiving severe sentences. In his Friday prayer sermon of 19 June 2009, Ali Khamenei confirmed the decision of the Islamic Republic to blindly and violently repress any person opposing the results of the presidential election of 12 June 2009. Security forces, invigorated by the Supreme Leader's address, dressed in civilian clothing to infiltrate the peaceful protesters and attacked them with guns, blades and knives. The image of Neda Agha-Soltan, the young woman who was shot in cold blood by a sniper, remains etched in our collective memories. Sadly, Neda was just one of many who died for freedom in Iran. For Neda, and for all those who have been killed, abused, raped, terrorized and sentenced in sham trials, not only since the protests of the summer of 2009, but for the entire existence of this regime in my homeland, I accuse Ali Khamenei of crimes against humanity. The record is clear and chilling; his orders and the actions that his forces have taken as a result of those orders clearly meet the definitions of crimes against humanity as defined by the Article 7 of the Rome Statute which established the International Criminal Court. The evidence in the report I filed with the United Nations Security Council provides sufficient cause for the United Nations Security Council to take up this matter and refer it quickly to the Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court in The Hague. These crimes include murder, torture, rape and other sexual violence, disappearance of persons, persecution of political, religious, and ethnic groups; and denial of liberty. It is time to bring Ali Khamenei to justice for his crimes against humanity. It is my sincere hope that whatever political motivations have previously guided nations in the past vis-à-vis Iran, they will do what is clearly right and side with the people of Iran by voting to refer this case to the International Criminal Court at once. Those of us fighting for a free Iran will remember our friends that helped us in our time of need. Under the tyranny of Ali Khamenei, Iranians cannot currently speak freely for themselves. We can be the voice for freedom and justice by pushing for unanimous passage of this complaint in the UN Security Council and try Ali Khamenei before the International Criminal Court. The international community will send a strong signal of solidarity with the Iranian people." <http://www.irandemocraticunion.org/Press-Room/Press-releases/94>

**Brigadier General Yadollah Javani, head of the
IRGC political bureau**



Javani is IRGC's most senior advisor to supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. He was one of the first high ranking officials to ask for reformist leaders Mousavi, Karroubi and Khatami's arrest. He has repeatedly supported the use of violence and harsh interrogation tactics against post-election protesters (justifying TV-recorded confessions) including instructing extrajudicial maltreatment of dissidents through publications circulated to the IRGC and Basij.

On the IRGC's role in Iranian politics, from a 2012 Interview: *Javani stated the IRGC is a "political, military, cultural, and security" institution. The corps also has official responsibility to confront moves by the counterrevolution in cities and to confront probable crisis resulting from the actions of the counterrevolution in all cities including Tehran. Of course the army has the mission of defending the borders. But if, heaven forbid, an enemy crosses the border, the mission of the corps begins as an offensive force to drive the enemy out of the country. Clearly, the most principal mission of the corps is ensuring and safeguarding the security and confronting the counter-revolution and internal threats".* He also quoted Khamenei, who has clarified the IRGC's function within the regime: "The mission of the IRGC is to overcome any kind of threat with any kind of essence. [95]

He referred to the Iranian constitution as a source of this understanding of the Guard's role:



"Article 150 of the Constitution says that the IRGC continues to exist to safeguard the revolution and its achievements...and does not explicitly state that the IRGC is a purely military institution."

Islamic Government: Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran

Islamic Government is designed on a basis of "religious guardianship" (VELAYAT FAQIYE) as put forward by Imam Khomeini at the height of the intense emotion and strangulation (felt) under the despotic regime. This created a specific motivation and new field of advance for the Muslim people; and opened up the true path for the religious fight of Islam, pressing forward the struggle of the committed Muslim combatants, inside and outside the country.

The Constitution, having regard to the Islamic contents of the Iranian Revolution, which was a movement for the victory of all the oppressed over the arrogant, provides a basis for the continuation of that revolution both inside and outside the country. It particularly tries to do this in developing international relations with other Islamic movements and peoples, so as to prepare the way towards a united single world community.

The Religious Army: In the organization and equipping of the countries defense forces, there must be regard for faith and religion as their basis and rules. And so the Islamic Republic's army and the corps of Revolutionary Guards must be organized in accordance with this aim. They have responsibility not only for the safeguarding of the frontiers, but also for a religious mission, which is Holy War (JIHAD) along the way of God, and the struggle to extend the supremacy of God's Law in the world. "Against them make ready your strength to the utmost of your power, including steeds of war, to strike terror into the hearts of the enemies of God and your enemies, and others beside". [96]

95). The IRGC's political chief talks Syria, the Guards' role in Iranian politics, and the future of the Reformist faction September 11, 2012 <http://www.iranpolitik.com/2012/09/11/news/irgc-commander-syria-proxy-war/>

96). Iranian Laws & Government The Constitution of Islamic Republic of Iran Monday, October 29, 2012 <http://www.iranchamber.com/government/laws/constitution.php>

**Dr Ali Akbar Velayati: Supreme Leader's Senior Adviser on
Foreign Affairs and Secretary General of the International
Islamic Awakening Conference**



Ali Akbar Velayati is an Iranian politician, academic and diplomat. He was the Foreign Minister of Iran from 1981 to 1997. Currently he is an advisor on International Affairs to the Supreme Leader Khamenei.

✧ ***Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati can be considered as the de facto spokesman for the supreme leader Ayatollah Khamenei. He has held a number of high-profile positions in some of the Islamic Republic's most powerful institutions.***

A physician by trade, he received degrees in medicine and pediatric medicine from the University of Tehran in 1971 and 1974. In 1976, Velayati traveled to the United States to study at Johns Hopkins University, where he completed a post-graduate program specializing in children's infectious disease. Born in Tehran in 1945, Ali Akbar Velayati received a doctorate in pediatrics from Tehran University in 1971. It is believed he joined the Islamic Republican Party, a political coalition of Khomeini supporters. After the 1979 Iranian Revolution, Velayati was appointed by Ayatollah Khomeini to various mid-level government posts including educational director of the Ministry of Health, Deputy Minister of Health, and a member of parliament for Tehran before becoming foreign minister in 1981. There are no records of military service in the Iran-Iraq War suggests that his role in the war was extremely limited. Velayati participated in talks in Moscow on February 14, 1987 and negotiated on the Islamic Republic's behalf at the UN following the signing of UN Security Council Resolution 598 in 1987. The resolution called for a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War. While this resolution was rejected by both sides, it ultimately formed the basis of the cease-fire which finally took effect in 1990.

Velayati served as top Iranian diplomat under Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani presidency 1989 – 1997. Velayati is a conservative pragmatist who helped to move Iran out of its revolutionary isolation and temper its adventurist foreign policies of the early 1980s. However, he opposes ties with the United States considered the, "Great Satan", an archenemy of the Islamic Republic and regards Israel as an illegitimate state in the heart-land of Islam. Internally, his tenure in the foreign ministry has been criticized for putting more emphasis on loyalty than on professional qualifications. He is regarded as a nonclerical protégé of the religious elite who owes his long presence in Iranian politics to his loyalty to the supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei. Since his departure from the foreign ministry, Velayati has been a member of the Expediency Council, serves as an adviser on international affairs to Ayatollah Khamenei and conducts foreign policy assignments, and continues to teach in the university and write articles and books on the history of Iran and the Iranian revolution for government publication. He also serves as the secretary-general of the Ahlul Bayt World Assembly a religious institution named after the descendants of the prophet Muhammad and established to advance the Shiite cause around the world. Velayati is also wanted by Argentina and Interpol for the Jewish community center bombing in Buenos Aires in 1994 that killed 85 people. In 1997 he was named by a German court as a member of the Special Operations Committee that approved the 1992 assassinations of three Kurdish Democratic Party leaders in the Mykonos Restaurant in Berlin.

Khamenei has personally appointed Velayati to several of these high-profile, sensitive positions. Khamenei retains Velayati as his own personal advisor is a trusted associate of the Supreme Leader and uses him to conduct diplomatic and informal or quasigovernmental public diplomacy efforts on his behalf. He reports directly to and messaging directly from Khamenei, helping to supervise and coordinate his parallel foreign policy.

A Window into the Foreign Policy of Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei
By Will Fulton November 16, 2011 <http://www.irantracker.org/analysis/fulton-window-khamenei-foreign-policy-november-16-2011>
Sharq's analytical report regarding composition and status of Iran's Foreign Affairs Strategic Council; the return of moderates to foreign policy," *Sharq*, July 18, 2006.
Iran: New Foreign Policy Council Could Curtail Ahmadinejad's Power By Bill Samii June 29, 2006
<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1069559.html>
Iran: Foreign Relations Strategic Council To Make Up for Foreign Policy-Making," *IRNA*, June 27, 2006

The Strategic Council on Foreign Relations (SCFR) (Shoraya- Rashordi-yi Ravabet- Khareji)

The new Strategic Council for Foreign Relations (Shora-yi Rahbordi-yi Ravabet-i Khareji) was created by a June 25, 2006 decree from Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei. The SCFR is supposed to facilitate the country's decision-making process, find new foreign policy approaches, and make use of foreign policy experts, according to the decree. In 2006, Khamenei appointed Ali Akbar Velayati to a newly-formed foreign policy commission known as the Strategic Council on Foreign Relations (SCFR). Though the SCFR's precise role is ambiguous, its remit seems to extend beyond general counsel and includes strategic planning, according to the Supreme Leader's decree establishing it: *"It is necessary that the SCFR should be formed to help global decision-making, and to seek new horizons and scopes in foreign relations of the Islamic Republic."*



Supreme Leader Khamenei assigned the SCFR to three main duties

- 1) To produce strategies, policies and solutions that help achieve favorable results in foreign policy;**
- 2) To review the dealings of the government and the private sector that concern foreign relations and compare them with the 20-Year Outlook (Tehran's long-term strategic economic & developmental plan) and report back to the leader from a long-term point of view of course;**
- 3) To coordinate all activities pertaining to foreign relations with strategies that help achieve our goals. As you know, there are various sectors involved in foreign policy and it is extremely important to coordinate and guide their efforts.**

It is also believed the creation of the SCFR is a parallel diplomatic organization under the control of the Supreme Leader, as well as its broad policy mandate, aligns with Khamenei's previous efforts to counter the executive branch's authority in the diplomatic sphere. The SCFR is a backdoor for indirect diplomacy especially concerning the Islamic Republic's nuclear program. Velayati appointment to the SCFR is yet another indication that Khamenei trusts his advisor to represent his views accurately at the highest levels. Velayati has consistently shown commitment to advancing Iran's position as vanguard of the Islamic Revolution and protector of Muslims, Palestinian Arabs in particular. He has also steadfastly opposed rapprochement with the United States. Both of these positions reflect fundamental principles of the Islamic Republic's politico-ideology and revolutionary foreign policy. His consistent public support for Khamenei's hardline views indicate that he plays a role in the Supreme Leader's foreign policy efforts. His diplomatic activity during his tenure as advisor to the Supreme Leader suggests that he is more than a mouthpiece and, in fact, is actively engaged in the implementation of Khamenei's foreign policy, although the extent of his influence remains unclear.

"Iran has a long history of informal and often opaque decision making. The modern Iranian state has lacked the type of procedural and legalistic system of government found in many advanced democracies. Prior to the Islamic Revolution, the strongman, quite often the reigning Shah, tended to make important state decisions behind closed doors, out of the public's view. He typically surrounded himself with a loyal informal personal network that played a key role in shaping policy and enforcing his authority." The Next Supreme Leader Succession in the Alireza Nader, David E. Thaler, S. R. Bohandy RAND 2011 page 11 www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2011/RAND_MG1052.pdf

Current and former members: Ali Akbar Velayati, who preceded Kharrazi as foreign minister and who currently, serves as Khamenei's foreign affairs adviser, and former Islamic Revolution Guards Corp admiral Ali Shamkhani, who served as defense minister from 1997-2005. These three officials have experience in the highest levels of foreign policy. Mohammad Shariatmadari and Mohammad-Hussein Taremi-Rad -- are not as well known. Shariatmadari's whole career, it seems, has been spent in the Commerce Ministry, and he served as minister from 1997-2005. Taremi-Rad is the only cleric on the council. Alumni of the hard-line Haqqani Seminary, he has headed the Iranian Center for Historical Studies since May 1997 but, more significantly, has served as ambassador to China and Saudi Arabia.

Ali Akbar Velayati: "The Islamic Republic of Iran is the backbone of Islamic resistance and Islamic Awakening in the world". [97]

A Window into the Foreign Policy of Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei By Will Fulton November 16, 2011 www.irantracker.org/ Sharq's analytical report regarding composition and status of Iran's Foreign Affairs Strategic Council; the return of moderates to foreign policy," *Sharq*, July 18, 2006.

97). Navideshahed: Supreme Leader's advisor in international affairs described Iran as the backbone of Islamic resistance and Islamic Awakening in the world. Sept. 30, 2012 <http://navideshahed.com/en/index.php?Page=definitionnews&UID=366559>

■ **Unlimited Warfare – Destruction Doctrine**

Before he died, Ayatollah Khomeini affirmed the Islamic Republic's authority to destroy a mosque or suspend the observance of the Five Pillars of Islam if such measures were rendered necessary by the "expediency" or "interests" of the regime. Khomeini formalized the supremacy of *raison d'état* over the tenets of Islam as the core principle guiding domestic and foreign policy decision making in Iran. The regime's principle of expediency elevates the survival of the Islamic Republic to a supreme religious value, since only by this means can revolutionary Islam triumph. It then becomes a justification for the often extreme means used by the regime to stay in power. This paved the way for mass executions, imprisonments and the heinous Islamic suicide bombing tactic which has killed thousands of innocent civilians. [98] We find decisions in the Islamic Republic on matters are grounded not in Islamic law but rather in the regime's doctrine of expediency, as interpreted by the Supreme Leader. In many aspects there are striking similarities to the Divine Right of Kings (*Rex Debet Esse Sub Lege, Quia Lex Facit Regem, Royal Prerogative*) a long-abandoned tenet of the law which formed the basis of the absolute authority of kings and queens in Europe especially in England and France. The divine right of kings is a theory of monarchical absolutism, claiming that kings derive their powers directly from God and are therefore above reproach and beyond the control by earthly bodies, including their own subjects. The concept mirrored the unchecked authority in spiritual matters enjoyed by the Papacy. [99] Fatwas are issued in response to specific circumstances and can be altered in response to changing conditions. Ayatollah Khomeini modified his position on a number of issues during his lifetime for instance, on taxes, military conscription, women's suffrage, and monarchy as a form of government. Thus, nothing would prevent Khamenei from modifying or supplanting his fatwa against nuclear weapons should circumstances dictate a change in policy. Shiite tradition permits deception and dissimulation in matters of life and death, and when such tactics serve the interests of the Islamic umma (community). Such considerations have almost certainly shaped Iran's nuclear diplomacy, though it should be kept in mind that nearly every proliferators has also engaged in deception to conceal his nuclear activities. Khamenei's fatwa against nuclear weapons and WMDS are consistent with a corpus of rulings in Islamic tradition that prohibit weapons that are indiscriminate in their effects. However, this is contrary concept and practice of Iran's suicide bombing doctrine let alone maintaining the military force of suicide bombers. In addition we have the Tehran's role with spreading the practice and belief of suicide bombing to Islamic World. Suicide bombs in Iraq have killed at least 12,000 civilians but only 200 coalition soldiers between 2003 and 2010. This disparity is extreme by any standard, and evidence that civilians are not just the "collateral damage" of suicide bombers in Iraq but an intended target. [100]

Iranian Ayatollah Affirms Legitimacy of Suicide Operations, Approves Killing Israeli Civilians –Including Children



Ayatollah Mesbah-e Yazdi: An inquirer asked him whether suicide bombing operations were considered suicide and were therefore forbidden, and whether Israeli civilians, especially children, were to be regarded as illegitimate targets, like civilians elsewhere. In his reply, Ayatollah Mesbah-e Yazdi expressed regret that the inquirer had apparently bought into the propaganda of the enemies of Islam, which presented martyrdom operations as suicide, and that the inquirer was wasting his time on this issue instead of focusing on "uprooting the Zionist regime" and its supporters. The Ayatollah ruled that when defending Islam and the Muslim ummah necessitated martyrdom, it was not considered suicide. [101]

A Window into the Foreign Policy of Iran's Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei
By Will Fulton November 16, 2011 <http://www.irantracker.org/analysis/fulton-window-khamenei-foreign-policy-november-16-2011>
98). Nuclear Fatwa Religion and Politics in Iran's Proliferation Strategy Michael Eisenstadt and Mehdi Khalaji Policy Focus #115 |
September 2011 <http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus115.pdf>
99). <http://www.duhaime.org/LegalDictionary/D/DivineRightofKings.aspx>
100). Casualties of suicide bombings in Iraq, 2003-2010 <http://www.iraqbodycount.org/analysis/numbers/lancet-2011/>
101). Iranian Ayatollah Approves Killing Israeli Civilians, including Children MONDAY, 30 MAY 2011 10:01 RIGHT SIDE NEWS
<http://www.rightsidenews.com/>

Khamenei

"In fact, the 'death to America' that is chanted by our people is similar to the phrase "I seek the protection of Allah against the cursed Satan," which is recited at the beginning of each Qur'an chapter before "In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful." What is the reason for seeking the protection of Allah from the cursed Satan? It is for the believers not to forget the presence of the Satan, not to forget even for a single moment that the Satan is ready to attack them and destroy the spiritual fortifications that protect their belief." (March 14, 2005)



During the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, Saddam Hussein's Western-backed army used chemical weapons, killing thousands of Iranians. Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini reversed his previous, doctrinal ban on indiscriminate weaponry and ordered the resumption of research into its development, including Nuclear Bombs

"Leader's Address to High School Students," The Islamic Revolution Cultural-Research Institute for Preserving and Publishing Works by Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Khamenei, March 14, 2005, <http://www.khamenei.ir/EN/Speech/detail.jsp?id=20050314A>

In April 1984 the then President of Iran, Ayatollah Khamenei declared, during a meeting of top-echelon political and security officials at the Presidential Palace in Tehran, that the spiritual leader Imam Khomeini had decided to reactivate the nuclear program. According to Ayatollah Khamenei this was the only way to secure the very essence of the Islamic Revolution from the schemes of its enemies, especially the United States and Israel, and to prepare it for the emergence of Imam Mehdi. Ayatollah Khamenei further declared during the meeting, that a nuclear arsenal would serve Iran as a deterrent in the hands of God's soldiers." [102]

- **The Doctrine of Taqiyya:** The word "Taqiyya" literally means: "Concealing or disguising one's beliefs, convictions, ideas, feelings, opinions, and/or strategies at a time of eminent danger, whether now or later in time, to save oneself from physical and/or mental injury." A one-word translation would be "Dissimulation."

Taqiyya is of fundamental importance in Islam. Practically every Islamic sect agrees to it and practices it. We can go so far as to say that the practice of Taqiyya is mainstream in Islam, and that those few sects not practicing it diverge from the mainstream. Taqiyya is very prevalent in Islamic politics, especially in the modern era. [103] History has shown that there is a potential payoff to be gained by using battlefield deception. Wise military planners throughout history have used deception. It is a low cost and effective way to cause the enemy to waste his efforts. Imaginative use of deception, coupled with aggressive training, improves combat effectiveness at all levels. Throughout our military history, though, commanders viewed deception only as a war-fighting need. Taqiyya propaganda is necessary to obfuscate Tehran's involvement in its nuclear activities.

The Islamic Republic nuclear Taqiyya propaganda crafted with glittering generalities relies heavily on emphasizing a higher religious ideology abhorrent of "collateral damage" and indiscriminate killing and destruction.

Glittering generalities: Glittering generalities are intensely emotionally appealing words so closely associated with highly valued concepts and beliefs that they carry conviction without supporting information or reason. They appeal to such emotions as love of country, home; desire for peace, freedom, glory, honor, etc. They ask for approval without examination of the reason. Though the words and phrases are vague and suggest different things to different people, their connotation is always favorable: "The concepts and programs of the propagandist are always good, desirable, and virtuous." [104]

102). ISIS Report April 2012 Internal IAEA information links the Supreme Leader to 1984 decision to seek a nuclear arsenal <http://isis-online.org/isis-reports/detail/internal-iaea-information-links-the-supreme-leader-to-1984-decision-to-seek/>

103) How Taqiyya Alters Islam's Rules of War Defeating Jihadist Terrorism by Raymond Ibrahim Middle East Quarterly Winter 2010, pp. 3-13 <http://www.meforum.org/2538/taqiyya-islam-rules-of-war>

104). <http://grammar.about.com/od/fh/g/Glittering-Generality.htm>

The 2011 November International Atomic Agency Report Iran [104] I am only briefly touching on the subject of Tehran's quest for nuclear weapons. (This issue is covered more in depth in CHAPTER 7: *The Nuclear Question, What We Are Not Seeing*)

- ***The IAEA's November report indicated that Iran had probably already tested a sophisticated detonation system for an explosive device suitable for use as a ballistic-missile warhead (albeit the tests are likely to have taken place before 2004).***



From the IAEA Report: G. Possible Military Dimensions of Iran's Nuclear Program

38. Previous reports by the Director General have identified outstanding issues related to possible military dimensions to Iran's nuclear program and actions required of Iran to resolve these.

- ***Since 2002, the Agency has become increasingly concerned about the possible existence in Iran of undisclosed nuclear related activities involving military related organizations, including activities related to the development of a nuclear payload for a missile, about which the Agency has regularly received new information.***

Between 2007 and 2010, Iran activities, by not informing the decision to construct or to authorize plant at Darkhovin¹⁶ and a third Fordow Fuel Enrichment Plant). The responses from Iran to Agency its announcements, in 2009 and 2010 construct ten additional enrichment which had already been identified)¹⁹ enrichment technology.



continued to conceal nuclear Agency in a timely manner of the construction of a new nuclear power enrichment facility near Qom (the agency is still awaiting substantive requests for further information about respectively, that it had decided to facilities (the locations for five of and that it possessed laser

32. Although it is obliged to suspend all enrichment related activities and heavy water related projects, Iran is conducting a number of activities at Uranium Conversion Facility: UCF and the Fuel Manufacturing Plant (FMP) at Esfahan which, are in contravention of those obligations, although both facilities are under Agency safeguards. [105]

Ayatollah Ali Khamenei has stated on many occasions to the International Community he does not believe in nuclear weapons. He also issued a fatwa issued against the atomic bomb as the supreme leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran. As recently as February 2012 he stated "*Nuclear weapons are not at all beneficial to us, from an ideological and juridical perspective, we consider developing nuclear weapons unlawful, we consider using such weapons as a big sin, we also believe that keeping such weapons is futile and dangerous, and we will never go after them.*" [106]

As tens of thousands were being killing and maimed from chemical warfare agents during the Iran-Iraq war of the 1980s, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, reluctantly reversed his previous, doctrinal ban on indiscriminate weaponry and ordered the resumption of research into its development, including nuclear bombs. [107]

104). Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran Report by the Director General GOV/2011/65 Date: 8 November 2011 http://isis-online.org/uploads/isis-reports/documents/IAEA_Iran_8Nov2011.pdf

105). IBID 1

106). Iran's nuclear theology Bombs and truth Muslim theological objections to nuclear weapons—real and imagined May 19th 2012 <http://www.economist.com/node/21555541>

107). IBID 106

"Tehran's Supreme Leader has the final say on nuclear decision making. He is not constrained by his previous fatwas, which he can alter or reverse, or the opinions of other mujtahids (Islamic jurists). And if he believes that expediency calls for the acquisition, deployment, or use of nuclear weapons, WMDs religious principles would not prevent or constraint him from doing so. In reality the Islamic Republic's true directions, conatus making, flows through one man's personality and politics unaffected by the will of other men, the decisions of other institutions, or even the moral scruples of religion."



Nuclear Fatwa Religion and Politics in Iran's Proliferation Strategy Michael Eisenstadt and Mehdi Khalaji
Policy Focus #115 | September 2011
<http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/pubs/PolicyFocus115.pdf>

The IAEA has serious concerns regarding possible military dimensions to Iran's nuclear after assessing carefully and critically the extensive information available to it, the Agency finds the information to be, overall, credible. The information indicates that Iran has carried out activities relevant to the development of a nuclear explosive device. The information also indicates that prior to the end of 2003, these activities took place under a structured program, and that some activities may still be ongoing. [107]

The survival of the Islamic Republic is the ultimate religious obligation, for the Islamic Republic of Iran is God's hand on earth, its supreme leader is God incarnate. Any extreme means that has been employed by the regime can be justified by a sacred end the preservation of the Islamic Republic since only the regime's survival can ensure the spread of revolutionary Islam. By this logic, then, religious prohibitions would not prevent the Islamic Republic from acquiring or even using nuclear weapons if the regime's leadership believed that these actions served its vital interests of God. In this regard raising a hand against Iran is paramount to raising your hand against God.

Then President Khamenei was present in the meeting where Supreme Leader Khomeini ordered the massacre of thousands of Iranians held in prison. Khamenei strongly supported Khomeini's order. From August 1988 until February 1989, under the chairmanship of Khamenei, held the "prison massacre" in which perpetrated the killings of thousands of political prisoners massive, (estimated over 30,000) men, women and children. According to Amnesty International, "it came to the biggest wave of homicides from those that took place during the first and second years following the Iranian revolution in 1979. Then President Khamenei was present in the meeting where Supreme Leader Khomeini ordered the massacre. Khamenei strongly supported Khomeini's order and persistently defended the fatwa when international condemnation mounted. As President and the highest ranking executive authority in 1988, Khamenei bears primary responsibility for the massacre. As President, he allowed unlimited governmental resources to be used in implementing Khomeini's order. Khamenei acknowledged his responsibility and defended the massacre of political prisoners *"With respect to executions, mass executions in Iran, have we banned capital punishment? No. We in the Islamic Republic have capital punishment for those who deserve to be executed. Do you think we should give sweets to a prisoner who has connections with the activities of the Monafeqin who attacked the Islamic Republic's borders? If his connection with that group is revealed, what should we do to him? He is condemned to execution and we will execute him. We do not joke with this"* (Tehran radio, December 12, 1988.) [108]

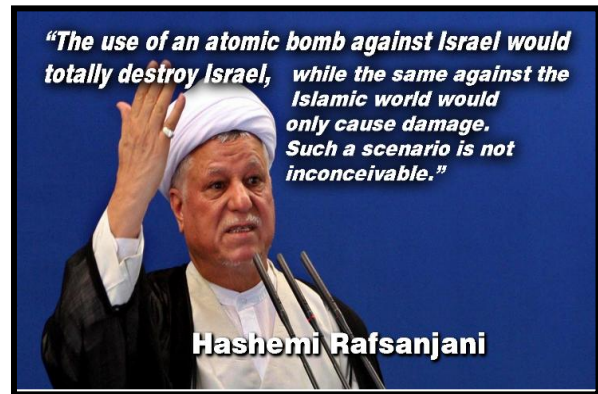
107).).Implementation of the NPT Safeguards Agreement and relevant provisions of Security Council resolutions in the Islamic Republic of Iran Report by the Director General GOV/2011/65 Date: 8 November 2011 http://isis-online.org/uploads/isis-reports/documents/IAEA_Iran_8Nov2011.pdf

108). The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988 Report of an Inquiry Conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC UK <http://www.unarts.org/H-II/ref/IMReport1988.pdf>

Nuclear War Threats from leading figures of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Destruction of Israel

 On December 14, 2001, then President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has been described as a centrist and a pragmatic conservative in Western circles, declared, "The use of an atomic bomb against Israel would totally destroy Israel, while the same against the Islamic world would only cause damage. Such a scenario is not inconceivable." During the Iran–Iraq War Rafsanjani was the de facto commander-in-chief of the Iranian military. Charismatic, he had a gift to simplify complex tactics and was an ingenious and pragmatic commander[109]



 Ayatollah Mohammad Baqer Kharrazi, secretary-general of Iranian Hezbollah, (Hezbollah means, "Party of God," not to be confused with the Lebanese Group with same name) said on February 14, 2005, "We are able to produce atomic bombs and we will do that. We shouldn't be afraid of anyone. [110]

"The Very Existence of the Iranian Regime is Contingent upon the Elimination of Israel"

Kharrazi believes in a Strategy for Reestablishing 'Greater Iran' as Prelude to Establishment of Global Government Led by the Mahdi. This Greater Iran would stretch from Palestine to Afghanistan and based on the pre-Islamic Persian Empire. It will include the various ethnic groups and peoples in the Middle East, Central Asia, the Caucasus, and Afghanistan, and create a union of Islamic states, led by Iran. There would be unification of the states and peoples of these regions into Greater Iran. He also said its formation would be a prelude to the reappearance of the Mahdi, a revered ninth-century saint known as the Hidden Imam, whom Muslims believe will reappear before judgment day to end tyranny and promote justice in the world. [111]

 On May 29, 2005, Hojjat ol-Islam Gholamreza Hasani, the Supreme Leader's personal representative to the province of West Azerbaijan, declared possession of nuclear weapons to be one of Iran's top goals. "An atom bomb must be produced as well," he said. "That is because the Qur'an has told Muslims to 'get strong and amass all the forces at your disposal to be strong.'" He is nevertheless the Supreme Leader's direct appointee and charged with carrying his messages.[112]

 On February 19, 2006, Rooz, an Iranian website close to the Islamic Republic's reformist camp, quoted Mohsen Gharavian, a Qom theologian close to Ayatollah Mohammad Taqi Mesbah-Yazdi, one of the regime's leading ayatollahs, as saying it was only "natural" for the Islamic Republic to possess nuclear weapons. [113]

 On June 14, 2008, Abdullah Ramezanzadeh, former President Muhammad Khatami's spokesman, debated advisers to incumbent President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad. Ramezanzadeh counseled Ahmadinejad to accept the Khatami approach: "We should prove to the entire world that we want power plants for electricity. Afterwards, we can proceed with other activities," Mr. Ramezanzadeh said. The purpose of dialogue, he argued further, was not to compromise, but to build confidence and avoid sanctions. "We had an overt policy, which was one of negotiation and confidence building, and a covert policy, which was continuation of the activities," he said.[114]

109). Nuclear Weapons - Iranian Statements <http://www.globalsecurity.org/wmd/world/iran/nuke2.htm>

109a). Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani Updated: March 15, 2012 <http://topics.nytimes.com>

110). Ayatollah Mohammad Baqer Kharrazi Muslim cleric calls for 'Greater Iran' By Associated Press Last Updated: 05/15/2010

111). Regressing on Iran by Michael Rubin Townhall Magazine August 2012 <http://www.michaelrubin.org/12071/regressing-on-iran>

112) > 114). Nuclear Weapons - Iranian Statements <http://www.commentarymagazine.com/2012/05/20/what-motivates-iran-nuclear-program/>

"It is naive to show mercy to Moharebs ("those who wage war on God"). The decisiveness of Islam before the enemies of God is among the unquestionable tenets of the Islamic regime. I hope that you satisfy almighty God with your revolutionary rage and rancor against the enemies of Islam. The gentlemen who are responsible for making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or concerns with detail. They must try to be "most ferocious against infidels". To hesitate in the judicial process of revolutionary Islam is to ignore the pure and holy blood of the martyrs,"

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini

The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988 Report of an Inquiry Conducted by Geoffrey Robertson QC Published by Abdorrahman Boroumand Foundation
Page 42 <http://www.unarts.org/H-II/ref/IMReport1988.pdf>

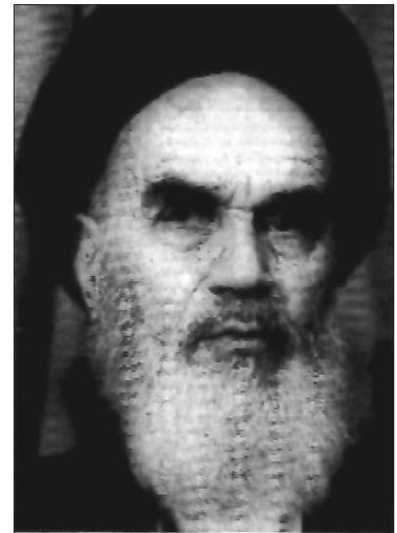
"There is always a war between Islam and non-Islam". It was, for Iran's theocracy, a war not only against the satanic west and the godless Soviets, but against any perspective on the world that opposed its own religious viewpoint "

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khomeini

Islam divides the world into the Dar-al-Islam (House of Islam), where the faithful rule, and the Dar-al-Harb (House of War), ruled by infidels. The inhabitants of the territory of war are divided between "People of the Book" (mainly Jews and Christians) and polytheists (Buddhists & Hindus). Note some Muslims see Christians as polytheists due to Christianity's belief in a God who can exist in three manifestations. The Moslem belief is that the latter should become the former. These "houses" are in a permanent state of war interrupted only by temporary tactical truces (Hudna). Although there was no mechanism for recognizing a non-Muslim government as legitimate, Islamic jurists allowed for the negotiation of truces and peace treaties of limited duration. There is no question as to whether actual war should be waged. The only question is when and the answer to that is a purely tactical one. This conflict will not cease until the whole world is brought into the Dar-al-Islam with institutionalized discrimination (dhimmitude) that targets Jews and Christians.

Ayatollah Khomeini contended that Islamic jurists, (Velayat-e faqih) "by means of jihad and enjoining the good and forbidding the evil, must expose and overthrow tyrannical rulers and rouse the people so the universal movement of all Muslims can establish Islamic government in the place of tyrannical regimes." The proper teaching of Islam will cause "the entire population to become mujtahids "strugglers for God." Iranian Revolution, considered jihad a necessary consequence of Islam's content: by having political aims, Islam must sanction armed force and provide laws for its use. The establishment of Israel, the dislocation of the Arab Palestinians, and the interference of a great oppressive power (the United States, or Great Satan) in Arab-Islamic political, economic, and social affairs leads some Muslims (e.g., militant groups) to consider themselves justified in using extreme force to achieve Islamic goals. [113]

"WE ARE WAGING A WAR OF IDEAS THAT IS NEITHER LIMITED BY GEOGRAPHY NOR BORDERS."



• فرزندان انقلاب، ای کسانی که
لحظه‌ای حاضر نیستید از غرور
مقدس‌تان دست بردارید،
بدانید که لحظه لحظه عمر من
درواه عشق مقدس خدمت به
شما می‌گذرد.

• جنگ ما
جنگ عقیده است
جغرافیا و مرز
نمی‌شناسد.

A speech by Khomeini in *Kayhan* newspaper, 21 July 1988.
Special Issue, page 1.

"There are two essential qualities in the believer; he executes justice whenever necessary, with the utmost force and decisiveness and without exhibiting the least trace of feeling," page 89

"Prepare against them whatever force you can muster, commands you to be as strong and well prepared as possible, so that your enemies will be unable to oppress you and transgression against you. It is because you have been lacking in unity, strength and preparedness that we suffer oppression". P 47

Writing and Declarations of Iman Khomeini (1941-1980) Hamid Algar Mizan Press 1981

Supreme Leader of Muslims

In line with Iran's ambitions as a nation, it is notable that on Khamenei's official website he is referred to not as the "Supreme Leader of Iran" but as the "*Supreme Leader of Muslims.*" While several years ago such a declaration appeared fanciful. [114] page 22 Reading *Khamenei: The World View of Iran's Most Powerful Leader* Karim



Khamenei holds the title of Sayyid: Khamenei holds the title of Sayyid, which means that he claims direct patrilineal descent from Ali. Ali was the fourth of the Rashidun (or The Rightly Guided Caliphs) of Sunni Islam and the first Imam of Shia Islam. He was a cousin of the Muslim prophet Muhammad as well as Muhammad's son-in-law. He had several children by Fatimah, Muhammad's daughter, as well as children by other wives. Some of his descendants through Fatima are still revered today in Shia Islam as Imams, Sharifs and Sayyids. [115]

The Shia are those who elevate the status of Imam Ali (& his descendant Imams), who was Prophet Mohammad's cousin and son in law. The way the Shia elevate the status of Imam Ali is very similar to the way Christians elevate the status of Prophet Jesus and worship him. Sunni Muslims highly respect Imam Ali as a Caliph, cousin, companion, & son-in-law of Prophet Mohammad. The Shia believes Imam Ali & his descendant Imams were sinless, similar to prophets. They believe the Imams have a divine mission to rule the Muslims and be God's representative on Earth. They believe Imams receive divine revelations, similar to prophets. The Shia believes their Imams have extra-ordinary abilities and attributes. The Imams have full knowledge of the past, present and the future. According to the most influential Shia scholar in modern time, Iran's Iman Khomeini, the Shia Imams used to be made of light, before being sent to Earth by God. Khomeini, who was the top religious figure of Twelver Shi'ism in Iran and around the World, said in his book *Al-Hukumah Al-Islamiyyah*: " *Our Imams occupy a rank unattainable by either an angel or a major Prophet before the creation of the universe, the greatest Prophet, and the Imams, peace be upon them, were in the form of light which Allah made orbit.*" Such beliefs have no basis in Islam and contradict Islam. For example, the Quran makes it clear that Prophet Mohammad was an ordinary human being. Khomeini is suggesting that Prophet Mohammad and the Imams existed before the creation of the universe and were in the form of light. The Shia are waiting for their 12th Imam called Imam Mahdi (they also call him "Al-Qa'im") whom they expect will appear before the Day of Judgment and will bring the full Quran.[116]

 ***"The Islamic Republic of Iran has made its own decision and in the nuclear case, God-willing, with patience and power, will continue its path." August 2006***

"In fact, the 'death to America' that is chanted by our people is similar to the phrase "I seek the protection of Allah against the cursed Satan," which is recited at the beginning of each Qur'an chapter before "In the Name of Allah, the Compassionate, the Merciful." What is the reason for seeking the protection of Allah from the cursed Satan? It is for the believers not to forget the presence of the Satan, not to forget even for a single moment that the Satan is ready to attack them and destroy the spiritual fortifications that protect their belief." March 14, 2005)

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei [117]

114). Reading Khamenei: The World View of Iran's Most Powerful Leader 2009
www.carnegieendowment.org/files/sadjadpour_iran_final2.pdf

115). Supreme Leader Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei, History of Iran www.iranchamber.com/history/akhamenei/ali_khamenei.php

116). Sunnis vs. Shia www.discoveringislam.org/sunnis_vs_shia.htm

117). Supreme Leader Ayatollah Sayyid Ali Khamenei In His Own Words <http://www.theisraelproject.org>

For Khamenei, Iran's Islamic Republic is the standard bearer of a just government, given the fact that it pursues "justice- driven policies," such as opposition to the United States and Israel, despite potential political and economic costs (sanctions and isolation).

- ***Iran, Khamenei once said, "prefers defeat to the victory that could be achieved through injustice or oppression.***

Khamenei: The World View of Iran's Most Powerful Leader 2009 page 13
www.carnegieendowment.org/files/sadiadpour_iran_final2.pdf

Khamenei: Muslim Hatred of the 'Enemies' is a 'Wonderful

"The seething reaction of the Muslim world, which pays homage to Islam's Prophet and reflects deep hatred toward the enemies is a wonderful and very important turn of events and demonstrates the enormous capacity of the Islamic Ummah," Ayatollah Khamenei [117]

Children in Combat

" When children are present, research has found conflicts tend to be easier to start, harder to end, and involve greater losses of life. They also lay the foundations for future conflicts, both within the state affected and through the spread of these now-trained and experienced fighters to other areas."

Western Militaries Confront Child Soldiers' Threat Jane's Intelligence
Review - January 01, 2005 P W Singer

The Islamic Republic of Iran schools teach their children war, hatred of Christians, Jews, and America.



Iranian textbooks reflect the ideology of the 1979 Islamic Revolution, which continues to spread its values to other nations in the Middle East and around the world. *"The war with the West is unavoidable and is part of the Islamic Revolution itself,"* a seventh grade book, Islamic Culture and Religious Instruction, states: *"Now, in order to continue the Islamic Revolution, it is our duty to continue with all our power our revolt against the arrogant ones and the oppressors."* Iranian children are taught to regard Jews in "Palestine" as garbage to be cleared. In the, Gifts of Heaven, a third grade picture storybook, depicts the inhabitants of a tidy town chasing away a repugnant creature that spreads garbage wherever he goes. The Star of David, the Jewish symbol, is on the creature's arm, and in one of the pictures it is seen as part of the garbage. Ayatollah Khomeini, the father of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, is quoted in an 11th grade textbook, Islamic Viewpoint, preaching confrontation with the non-Muslim world. *"I am decisively announcing to the whole world that if the world-eaters wish to stand against our religion, we will stand against their whole world and will not cease until the annihilation of all them,"* says Khomeini. *"Either we all become free, or we will go to the greater liberty which is martyrdom. Either we will shake one another's hands in the joy of the victory of Islam in the world, or all of us will turn to eternal life and martyrdom. In both cases, victory and success are ours."* [118]

2011 Tehran Demonstrations

The International Campaign for Human Rights reported Iranian troops aged between 14 and 16 have been armed with batons, clubs and air guns and ordered to attack demonstrators who have tried to gather in Tehran. The youths apparently recruited from rural areas were being deployed in regular riot police roles and comprise up to one-third of the total force, according to witnesses. "One middle-aged woman, who said she was attacked by the youths, reported that some were as young as 12 and were possibly prepubescent. They had rural accents, which indicated they had been brought in from villages far from Tehran, she said. [119]

117). Khamenei Muslim Hatred of the Enemies is a 'Wonderful' Thing (Kayhan, Islamic Republic of Iran) September 25, 2012 <http://www.worldmeets.us/kayhan000081.shtml#axzz2C3oFygP1>

118). Iranian Schools Teach Children Hatred of Christians, Jews, United States August 28, 2006 – New York – <http://www.ajc.org/site/apps/nlnet/content2.aspx?c=ijITI2PHKoG&b=849241&ct=2903231>

119). Iran Pits Child Soldiers Against Protesters March 15, 2011 <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/mar/13/iran-child-soldiers-tehran-protests>

**95,000 Iranian Child Soldiers Were Killed
In Iran-Iraq War**

The first modern use of child soldiers in the region was actually during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. Iranian law, based on the Koranic sharia, had forbid the recruitment of children under 16 into the armed forces. However, a few years into the fighting, the regime began to falter in its war against Saddam Hussein's Iraqi forces. In 1984 then Iranian President Ali-Akbar Rafsanjani said, *"all Iranians from 12 to 72 should volunteer for the Holy War."* Children were used to clear minefields by simply walking into them. Ettelaat, an Iranian daily, reported, *"Before entering the minefields, the children wrap themselves in blankets and they roll on the ground, so that their body parts stay together after the explosion of the mines and one can carry them to the graves."* Thousands of children were pulled from schools, indoctrinated in the glory of martyrdom, and sent to the front lines only lightly armed with one or two grenades or a gun with one magazine of ammunition. Wearing keys around their necks (to signify their pending entrance into heaven), they were sent forward in the first waves of attacks to help clear paths through minefields with their bodies and overwhelm Iraqi defenses. Ayatollah Khomeini delighted in the children's sacrifice and extolled that they were helping Iran to achieve *"a situation which we cannot describe in any way except to say that it is a divine country"*. [120]



"There is a perilous misconception implied in this reticence that the refusal to discuss the relationship between Islam and militant jihad (the bread and butter of radical Islamist propaganda) will in some way weaken their case and diminish their platform, instead of simply leaving the field open to them and unchallenged. Islamist radicals thrive on the opaqueness of the distinctions between Jihadism and Islam and it is the lack of public debate on these distinctions that is keeping them blurred."

Towards a Curriculum for the Teaching of Jihadist Ideology Part I: Introduction - Problems of Perception Stephen Ulph Senior Fellow The Jamestown Foundation Oct 2010

The Islamic Republic of Iran has progress unhindered on their ideological front, the hate / genocide indoctrination and dogma didactics has flourished and propagate not only in Iran's educational intuitions but circularize the global community as well. On the International stage it has allowed Tehran to pursue their strategy to establish Khomeini's Islamism (the effective springboard for militant jihadism). The global media destruction of Israel, for its holocaustic receives little criticism nor condemnation from the International community or the United Nations. Tehran's officials' threats are accompanied by their denial of the Holocaust and regular characterization of Jews and Israelis as nonhuman or subhuman: "bloodthirsty barbarians," "filthy bacteria," "wild beasts," "cattle," "cancer," "filthiest criminals," "a blot," "a stain," "wild dogs" and the like. Similar slurs were made in Nazi Germany and Rwanda; they are the precursors to genocide. Even owing to the fact On October 26, 2005, Iranian president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad at the "World without Zionism" conference in Tehran called for the State of Israel to be "wiped off the map." Such statements have only escalated throughout the years from political elite of Tehran, the IRGC to the Supreme Leader Khamenei himself. [121]

120). Child Soldiers, The New Faces of War By P.W. Singer <http://www.brookings.edu/views/articles/fellows/singer20051215.pdf>
Khomeini's Forgotten Sons: Story of Iran's Boy Soldiers Ian Brown Grey Seal Books (August 29, 1990)

121). Berman Calls for Action on Iran's Incitement to Genocide Against Israel September 10, 2012
http://democrats.foreignaffairs.house.gov/press_display.asp?id=998

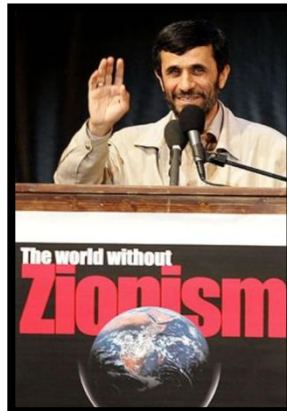
On December 9, 1948, the General Assembly of the U.N. adopted the Genocide Convention. The Convention, originally signed by 25 states, came into force on January 12, 1951. By January 1985, there had been 96 ratifications, adherences or successions deposited with the U.N. Secretary General. Today 138 states are parties to it, making it one of the most widely accepted treaties in the realm of international law. It is vital to note that one of these ratifications was that of Iran that ratified the treaty without attaching any reservations thereto. Thus, under the international law of treaties, Iran is bound by the Convention. The Convention defines the crime of genocide, and affirms the criminality of genocide in times of both peace and war. It also stipulates that the following acts are punishable: genocide, conspiracy to commit genocide, direct and public incitement to commit genocide, attempts to commit genocide, and complicity in genocide. Persons who committed any of these listed acts would be subject to punishment. [122]

Article 4 of the Genocide Convention provides that individuals committing any of the listed genocidal crimes shall be punished `whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

Khomeini's doctrine ("the destruction of Zionism is almost a necessary condition for solving the problems of Islam in our time") continues to guide the second generation of the revolution, a sort of delusional preoccupation about which there can be no deviation, questioning, or disagreement, and that one must constantly and actively strive to fulfill. This doctrine does not view the struggle against Israel as a separate matter but as part of the ongoing battle between the Wests, which, Iran asserts, "planted" the "Zionist entity" in the heart of the Muslim world, and the world of Islam. [123]

In February 2012, Iranian hosted Hezbollah leader Hassan the city declared that it is every *all the Jews gathered in Israel, it after them world-wide,* Nasrallah elimination of Israel and until the [124]

133 Member States of the United Convention and thereby have who violate its prohibition of as individuals who commit other



President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad Nasrallah in Tehran, as billboards in Muslim's duty to "wipe out" Israel. "If would save us the trouble of going has said. "It is an open war until the death of the last Jew on the earth."

Nations have ratified the Genocide pledged to prosecute those individuals incitement to commit genocide, as well acts of genocide.

The Tehran's Jihadist projection of Islam under siege develops seamlessly onto the validation of militancy as self-defense. The Religious dogma conspiracy of the great Satan, "America", the lesser Satan, "Israel", is to keep the supremacy of the incumbent fate of the ummah (the world Islamic community) which must be created so that these evils may be destroyed. Khamenei's mission is to overcome the Great Satan by expansion of a Greater Iran a Shiite Crescent, which ultimately growth may be affected by direct confrontation or by eroding the satanic society of Washington and Jerusalem. Essentially this depends on Iran's ability to transform itself into a world nuclear power that can protect and promote the interests of that community.

122). Gerhard Von Glahn, Law Among Nations: An Introduction To Public International Law, Fifth Ed., 303-304 (1981). 122a). Convention On The Prevention And Punishment Of The Crime Of Genocide, Dec. 9, 1948, 78 Unts 277; Available At: [Http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/B/P_Genoci.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/html/menu3/B/P_Genoci.htm)

123).Iran Ramps Up Its Genocidal Rhetoric Lt. Col. (ret.) Michael Segall, August 28, 2012 <http://jcpa.org/article/iran-ramps-up-its-genocidal-rhetoric/> 124).Inciting Genocide Is a Crime May 1, 2012, By Robert Bernstein, Irwin Cotler And Stuart Robinowitz Even if Iran's radicals could be deterred from attacking Israel, their actions are already illegal under international law. <http://online.wsj.com/>



"Genocides unlike hurricanes are predictable, and Iran is following the pattern and Iran has taken six of the eight steps on path to genocide. Iran has classified and symbolized Israel through exclusionary ideology and hate speech; dehumanized it "overcoming the normal human revulsion against murder" by portraying the potential victims as a "cancer" in need of eradication; organized fanatical militias (the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps); polarized the society by repressing dissent and arresting moderates; prepared for the killing by denying a past genocide and by constructing weapons of mass destruction; and, through global terrorism, even begun the seventh of his eight stages: extermination."

Gregory Stanton, founder of Genocide Watch, Dr. Gregory Stanton, the world's foremost expert on the matter. Stanton, the founder and director of Genocide Watch, the world's first organization to deal exclusively with the issue of Genocide
<http://www.genocidewatch.org/>

Al Quds Day (Jerusalem Day) Destruction of Israel and America

Shortly after the 1979 Iranian revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini, initiated the annual marking of 'Al Quds (Jerusalem) Day' on the third Friday of the month of Ramadan as a means of expressing the support of Iran and the Muslim world for the Arab Palestinian cause, the liberation of Jerusalem and the destruction of Israel. The Quds Day is a day in which Islam is to be revived; Khomeini decreed the Quds Day was Islamic universal day. It is not an exclusive day for Quds itself. It is a day for the oppressed to rise and stand up against the arrogant. This has become an International event marked by marches and demonstrations around the world observed not only in Muslim Countries, but western ones as well. [124]

Ayatollah Khomeini declaration (in part):

"Israel, the enemy of mankind, the enemy of humanity, which is creating disturbances every day and is attacking our brothers..., must realize that its masters are no longer accepted in the world and must retreat. They must give up their ambitious designs, their hands must be severed from all the Islamic countries and their agents in these countries must step down"

"The Quds Day which fall on the last days of the God's Great Month (Ramadan) is a proper day on which all Muslims be freed from the bondage of the Great Satan, America", and other superpowers and join the Infinite Might of God"

"Jerusalem belongs to the Muslims and must be returned to them" [125]

Statements calling for the eradication of Israel and hate language using dehumanizing medical metaphors to describe Jews and Israel became commonplace although Khomeini began substituting the word "Zionist" for "Jew." While Khomeini's image personifies radicalism in the West, it was his successor, Khamenei, who began to dehumanize Israel as a "cancerous tumor, a term he and his allies have continued to use through the years. [126] (Israel will be Covered to a greater extent in a subsequent 10 chapter)

4. Organization: Genocide is always organized, usually by the state, often using militias to provide deniability of state responsibility (the Janjaweed in Darfur.) Sometimes organization is informal (Hindu mobs led by local RSS militants) or decentralized (terrorist groups.) Special army units or militias are often trained and armed. Plans are made for genocidal killings. To combat this stage, membership in these militias should be outlawed. Their leaders should be denied visas for foreign travel. The U.N. should impose arms embargoes on governments and citizens of countries involved in genocidal massacres, and create commissions to investigate violations, as was done in post-genocide Rwanda.

**The Eight Stages of Genocide 15
July 2008 By Gregory H. Stanton,
President, Genocide Watch.org**

124). What is Al Quds Day? 24 JULY 2012 <http://www.ihrc.org.uk/activities/projects/9428-al-quds-day>

Genocides unlike hurricanes are predictable, says world expert. And Iran is following the pattern 18 September 2012

<http://www.timesofisrael.com/genocides-unlike-hurricanes-are-predictable-says-world-expert-and-iran-is-following-the-pattern/>

125). Imam Khomeini's Quotes: Palestine and Al-Quds <http://www.tebyan.net/newindex.aspx?pid=102287>

126). Tehran's Genocidal Incitement against Israel by Elihu D. Richter, Alex Barnea *Middle East Quarterly* Summer 2009, pp. 45-51

'Those who know nothing of Islam pretend that Islam counsels against war. Those who say this are witless. Islam says: Kill all the unbelievers just as they would kill you all! Does this mean that Muslims should sit back until they are devoured by the unbelievers? Islam says: Kill them, put them to the sword and scatter their armies.... Islam says: Whatever good there is exists thanks to the sword and in the shadow of the sword! People cannot be made obedient except with the sword! The sword is the key to Paradise, which can be opened only for the Holy Warriors! There are hundreds of other (Qur'an) psalms and Hadiths urging Muslims to value war and to fight. Does all this mean that Islam is a religion that prevents men from waging war? I spit upon those foolish souls who make such a claim.

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini page

"To Our Great Detriment": Ignoring What Extremists Say About Jihad Stephen Collins Coughlin Major, Military Intelligence, USAR NDIC Class 2007 PAGE 223
http://www.carlisle.army.mil/DIME/documents/20080107_Coughlin_ExtremistJihad.pdf

 Formation of an "International Islamic Army" Al Qods (Quds) Force (Jerusalem Force)

IRGC-QF: In 1990, the Islamic Republic consolidated all its intelligence agencies and extraterritorial institutions to form the Al Qods Force. The most experienced and veteran IRGC commanders were assigned to the Force. Brig. Gen. Ahmad Vahidi, the Qods Force's first commander, said, *"Our objective is the formation of an 'International Islamic Army'."* The Qods Force has more than 21,000 Iranian members and tens of thousands non-Iranian mercenaries, including in Lebanon, Afghanistan, Iraq, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Jordan and many European countries. The Force's representatives work in many embassies around the world as diplomats. The Qods Force has 12 directorates and several units called International Affairs Units. In addition to terrorist operations, the Qods Force also trains non-Iranian terrorist forces, including nations from Pakistan, Morocco, Lebanon, Iraq, Palestine and other Middle East countries. The training is provided to groups of 40 persons. The Force has dozens of garrisons across Iran in which it trains its non-Iranian operatives. The Al Qods (Jerusalem) Force became one of five branches of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps, and is the strongest military-security body in the country and the regime's main support base.

 The IRGC-QF became the main Iranian apparatus working secretly beyond Tehran's borders

While Khomeini's Islamic Revolution was a distinctly Shi'a one, in the more-than-three decades since its establishment, the Islamic Republic Universalist conception of its international role, aspiring to serve as the vanguard of Islamic revolution worldwide. Khamenei's regime today funds a broad range of both Sunni and Shi'a groups throughout the greater Middle East, Africa and beyond. The critical determinant appears to be the degree to which these movements and organizations can reinforce Tehran's leading role in the "Shi'a revival" through the Arab Spring that has been taking place in the Muslim world, building on their shared animosity toward the West, most directly Israel and the United States. [127]

The Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) is comprised of 16 Directorates, two organizations, five independent offices and 27 main departments for each province. Three of the most important Directorates are involved in spreading Islamic fundamentalism beyond Iran's borders, especially to regional countries. is one of the most secretive agencies in the world and is ranked by experts as one of the largest and most active intelligence agencies in the Middle East, having masterminded 450 acts of terrorism throughout the world since the 1980s, yet it has been shrouded in so much mystery that apart from the occasional revelations by the Iranian Resistance, little has ever been made public about its operations and functions. Its secret budget and unchecked power have turned it into one of the key pillars of the Supreme Leader's theocracy. [128]

➤ **The IRGC-QF and Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS) will be covered extensively in a subsequent Chapter 10: Tehran's Ministry of Intelligence and National Security (Iran) The Waging International Irregular Wars**

127). Iran's Revolutionary Guards, the Al Quds Force, and Other Intelligence and Paramilitary Forces Anthony H. Cordesman Arleight A. Burke Chair in Strategy August 16, 2007 http://csis.org/files/media/isis/pubs/070816_cordesman_report.pdf
128). The IRGC Strategic Brain Trust | Part 1: Ghasemi Suleiman and Ahmad Vahidi
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/tehranbureau/2012/08/the-guards-strategic-brain-trust-part-1-ghasem-soleimani-and-ahmad-vahidi.html#ixzz2CjFnxPuB>

The secretive nature of Tehran's military and intelligence institutions blends into their covert international operations. IRGC is a complex combination of institutions, military forces, intelligence services, covert action/special operations force, police, paramilitary forces, and Basij and business conglomerates. This IRGC nexus are woven into its worldwide proxies, Hezbollah, Hamas and others are its Islamic brothers in arms. Khamenei through his overseas intelligence services, the Islamic Republic has bridged with militant Islamist groups worldwide, but its influence is especially strong with those in the Middle East and Africa. During the reign of Khamenei he has overseen that the Iranian intelligence agencies are careful to insulate and compartmentalize these relationships with layers of plausible deniability that help protect the Islamic state from any blowback.

A history of ideology teaches us that modern conflicts, especially since the nineteenth century, are grounded in doctrinal roots. Nationalism is the earliest form of militant ideology in the contemporary West, followed by Marxism and fascism. In the Iranian, Arab and Muslim world, religious fundamentalism took the lead in the nineteenth century, followed by extreme nationalism, which alternated with socialism and Islamism throughout the twentieth century. Rulers have used ideas to persuade, mobilize, and lead their followers. These visions have been the real engines of history.

Khomeini's Islamic religious dogma legitimizes major decisions, strategies, conquests, sacrifices, and other collective endeavors, ideas had to be structured, grounded in Islamic Ideology. Religion is usually understood as a link between humans and the metaphysical realm; religions have been elevated to the highest levels of political inspiration. Monotheist faiths such as Judaism, Christianity, Islam, and Bahaim were transported worldwide, changing humanity's policies and forming the basis of what would become international relations. Religions, beyond economics, produced the politics of war, catastrophes and peace. Ideologies at the center of religions have moved people throughout history and have shaped and continually shape the world. For Humankind religious ideologies describe the world and prescribe actions; they serve as the engine for war or the philosophies for peace.

But the most dramatic developments in the history of ideas occur when communities actually act violently on the sole ground of differences in ideas, such as in theological wars, when, for example, adherents kill for the nature of Christ, for injunctions of the Quran, or for doctrinal claims.

Khomeini's totalitarian Islamic movement lead by Supreme Leader Khamenei seeks to impose tenets of Islam, and specifically Shari'a law, as a legal, political, religious and judicial authority both in Muslim states and in the West. It is generally composed of two wings that which operate, one violently, propagating irregular warfare, terrorism, suicide bombing and other related activities with its proxies. The other conducts a "soft jihad" within the International Community, media, the United Nations and even within western government and court systems. (Covered in chapter 10). The Arab Spring and its aftershock environment of the Middle East Region's forced backwardness and limited access to modern education, poverty, these societies of the greater Middle East and the wider Muslim world have been subject to the "explanations" from Tehran, the Muslim Brotherhood, and other radical Islamists. Muslim masses have been and are being taught to hate the other side of the world and blame it for all evil. In between the two worlds, a marriage of convenience has developed between oil interests and Khomeini's totalitarian state of Iran: the Islamic Republic's petro-jihadist connection. Spreading this Islamic Republic's petro-jihadist hydra aims at perpetuating conflicts into the heartland of non Muslim World, until only its brand of Islam dominates. The jihadists have been waging a war of ideology against democracies, using the influence of their petro-economies, and democracies are free falling to a "global civil war".

Washington and other democracies are imprisoned by fears of past historical religious wars. The America Republic was founded on freedom of religion and civilian Constitutional rights. However Washington along with other democracies is hamstrung by political correctness concerning the philosophical nature of the Islamic Religion. In the final analysis what may or not be the true Islamic meaning of Jihad or even holy war is irrelevant. Islam has become the driving engine to deliver war, an irregular war and a blurred soft war.

"The nature of today's jihadist enemies can only be understood within the context of their declared strategic doctrine to dominate the world. Just as we ignored Mein Kampf "to our great detriment" prior to World War II, so we are on the verge of suffering a similar fate today. The reason the Intelligence Community is unable to define the nature of the jihadi enemy, the Chairman implies, is because we have not "read what the enemy has said." In other words, we have failed to undertake an assessment of the threat based on the jihadi enemy's declared strategic doctrine".

"To Our Great Detriment": Ignoring What Extremists Say About Jihad Stephen Collins Coughlin Major, Military Intelligence, USAR NDIC Class 2007

http://www.carlisle.army.mil/DIME/documents/20080107_Coughlin_ExtremistJihad.pdf

In Islamic religious theory, the world was split into two divisions: *the territory of Islam* (the *dar al-Islam*), which may be called *Pax Islamica*, comprising Islamic and non-Islamic communities that had accepted Islamic sovereignty, and the rest of the world, called the *dar al-harb*, or *the territory of war*. The first included the community of believers as well as those who entered into alliance with Islam. Because the division is permanent, the world of unbelief remains the permanent object of Islamic conquest: The world surrounding the Islamic state, composed of *all other nations and territories* that had not been brought under its rule, was collectively known as the "territory of war." The territory of war was the object, not the subject, of the Islamic legal system, and it was the duty of Muslim rulers to bring it under Islamic sovereignty *whenever the strength was there's to do so*. Because Islam is obligated to make the entire world a part of the "abode of peace," a state of hostility exists between the *dar al-Islam* and *dar al-harb* until the abode of war is subsumed. Of course, the legal consequence of this doctrine is that countries from the *dar al harb*, the United States for example, remain in a permanent state of war with Islam: The *dar al-Islam*, in theory, was in a state of war with the *dar al-harb*, because the ultimate objective of Islam was the whole world. If the *dar al-harb* were reduced by Islam, the public order of *Pax Islamica* would supersede all others, and non-Muslim communities would either become part of the Islamic community or submit to its sovereignty as *tolerated* religious communities or as autonomous entities possessing treaty relations with it. From this last citation, the Islamic concept of toleration reappears. From the earliest Islamic authorities to contemporary Muslim jurists, a rule of law emerges that holds that, when the capability exists, that the Muslim world is required to prosecute *jihad* against the non-Muslim world where the term *jihad* means "war against non- Muslims to establish the religion." [130]

Not unlike other ideological movements throughout modern history, the Islamic Republic of Iran and jihadists of various doctrinal persuasions has rejected the international system that had been reached by International consensus, the political culture advocated by democracies, and the principles upon which human rights were declared to be universal and inalienable.

130). To Our Great Detriment": Ignoring What Extremists Say About Jihad Stephen Collins Coughlin Major, Military Intelligence, USAR NDIC Class 2007 pages 191- 192 http://www.carlisle.army.mil/DIME/documents/20080107_Coughlin_ExtremistJihad.pdf

Summary

Guardianship of the Jurisprudent

The Islamic Republic of Iran is a revolutionary theocratic Totalitarian state-

Stratocracy is a form of military government in which the state and the military are traditionally the same thing and government positions are always occupied by military leaders. The military's political power is supported by law and the society. As such a stratocracy does not have to be autocratic by nature in order to preserve its right to rule. An autocracy is a system of government in which a supreme political power is concentrated in the hands of one person. His decisions are neither subject to external legal restraints nor regularized mechanisms of popular control. Autocracy is any form of government in which one person is the supreme power within the state. It is derived from the Greek αὐτοκρατής: αὐτός ("self") and κρατεῖν ("rule"), and may be translated as "one who rules by himself". Iran.. Supreme Leader or Ayatollah Khomeini's theocratic government principle of guardianship of the jurisprudent was kept hidden until after the 1979 Iranian Revolution. The idea that the ruler of the state must be the person best qualified to interpret Islam and enforce Muslim law upon the people is enshrined in the constitution of the Islamic Republic, which vests full power in the jurisprudent (faqih) at its head in the position commonly known as "Supreme Leader"

The Supreme Leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is the most powerful and influential individual in the Islamic Republic of Iran. With the 2012 elections he has furthered consolidated his grip on power; in addition his base of autocracy domination is the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps and Basij. He has specially trained force of over 2,000 individuals, the Special Commissars. The religious military police Sadeq Brigade 83, Special Court of Clerics and the Special Commissars are powerful entities. They functions as his personal spies to making sure the Clerics, government officials, to the IRGC follow his mandates. However the Islamic Government of Iran which Khomeini fashioned required Machiavellianism treachery, and propaganda, "al Taqiyya" to come to power.

Khomeinism true nature was revealed, the Iranian People turned against it. For Khomeinism to form a government, even to stay in control requires mass executions and periodic purges. Even some of the foremost supporters and revolutionaries of Khomeini such as, Ayatollah Hussein Ali Montazeri's realized this dark form of government and turned against Khomeini. Khamenei the Supreme Leader developed and incorporated the emergence of a new generation of largely nonclerical, ideologically hardline politicians and military officials. IRGC core structure and policies are based on the values of the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Also the promotion of IRGC leaders has been expedited by the purge of reformists as well as pragmatic conservative politicians and officials in the wake of the contested June 2009 Presidential election.

In the Islamic Republic of Iran, there is no such thing as a political prisoner in Iran, there is no such legal definition.

Iran's judiciary is largely under the authority of the supreme leader, who appoints its head for five-year terms. The judiciary has played a key role in undermining political reform and suppressing dissent by prosecuting and imprisoning scores of reformist politicians, journalists, student activists, and human rights advocates on vague security-related charges.

The Artesh IRIA, there are still no representatives from the regular military in the parliament. IRGC representation outnumbers that of the clerics only in the cabinet and many clerics have been moved into more senior positions within the regime.

Summary: For years now the Iranian authorities have arrested and prosecuted political dissidents under fabricated charges such as possession of alcohol, drugs, or even weapons. Considering the increase in number of executions, the judiciary's lack of transparency and recent changes in the drug control laws, issuance of execution orders for political dissidents under such pretexts is of serious concern. The Iranian government crushes all voices of opposition while scoffing at the international community's growing concern over human rights.

Privatization Expansion

Khamenei's decision to transfer control of a large portion of Iran's commerce, industry, oil and gas and services sectors to the IRGC was to create front companies in a bid to conceal the nuclear and missiles program and facilitation of purchases and activities in this regard; To fund the nuclear weapon related projects and international militant fundamentalism.

- ***Privatization expansion formed covert economic resources to fund these hidden agendas, to move forward Khomeini's dream of an Islamic World ruled by Sharia Law. An Islamic world where the, "Great Satan", America is destroyed and not a single Jew is alive.***

The IRGC has long been an important Iranian institution. For at least two decades, it has played a leading role in the country's economic development. It has also used the Quds Force, its foreign operations branch, to bolster Iran's regional position. Former commanders and officers belong to the wider IRGC community; they form their own factions upon retirement. As an institution, the IRGC mostly has a unified stance on political issues. But individuals belonging to different institutions after retirement may dissent somewhat. As a result, the IRGC has gained an edge over other institutions, such as the Artesh, or the conventional armed forces; various clerical institutions; the executive branch, led by Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad; and the main civilian intelligence service, the Ministry of Intelligence and National Security. In recent decades the IRGC has further expanded to gain influence, control over domestic law enforcement, foreign intelligence operations, strategic military command and the national economy. Iran's Revolutionary Guard Corps, as restrictions on foreign investment in Iran have taken hold. The Revolutionary Guards' expanding role in the oil sector has also marginalized Iran's private sector in the most important part of the economy. This has in turn helped the Revolutionary Guards and the charitable trusts known as Bonyads capture a greater share of oil revenues, further undermining the private sectors.

- ***Over the last decade, Iran generated over a trillion dollars in rents from the oil and gas sector. Windfalls from oil represents almost 80 percent of the total.***

In 2000, Tehran began saving some of its oil revenues in an oil stabilization fund (OSF). It is estimate that the OSF should have received \$36 billion more between 2005 and 2011 than what the government has reported. Based on analysis of data from the Central Bank of Iran and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), it was also estimate that the government withdrew over \$150 billion from the fund between 2006 and 2011 without clear economic justification, Hezbollah -Israeli 2006 war, other supported irregular wars from Iraq to Afghanistan, from Yemen to Africa perhaps? According to IRI's Department of Statistics, 10 million Iranians over 13 percent of the population lived in absolute poverty in 2010. [131]

131). Iran's Oil and Gas Management Antoine Heuty A ticking time bomb ? 2012
http://dev.revenuewatch.org/revenuewatch2/sites/default/files/rwi_bp_iran2.pdf

■ **Summary: Where did the money go?**

Between 2005 and 2008, Iran earned as much from the oil and gas windfall (about \$220 billion) than in the previous sixteen years (from 1988 to 2004). But economic growth averaged 4.8 percent between 2005 and 2010, short of the 8 percent goal set in the 4th Development Plan (2005-2010). Tehran's fiscal policy also maintained inflation at about 15 percent a year between 2005 and 2010. Since 2005, oil exports generated over \$500 billion in government revenues, but Mahmoud Ahmadinejad government failed to translate this into economic gains. If Iran had adhered to the OSF rules, it is estimate that inflows to the fund would have totaled \$90 billion between 2005 and 2007. In practice the government deposited \$69 billion between 2005 and 2007. A 2009 report by Iran's State Audit organization found a series of inconsistencies in the amount of revenue recorded by different organs of Ahmadinejad's government. The discrepancies, totaling around \$66 billion, are equivalent to Iran's average oil revenues over an entire year. The largest of the discrepancies centers around \$35 billion worth of imported goods. While Iran's Central Bank reported almost \$220 billion worth of goods to have been purchased for import into the country between 2005 and 2008, the country's customs administration reports only \$185 billion worth of goods to have actually arrived in the country.

Between 2005 and 2011, the budget was based on a conservative oil price below its actual average, which should have led to significant additional savings in the oil stabilization fund and the National Development Fund of Iran (NDFI). In July 2007, President Ahmadinejad further restricted the flow of financial information by dissolving the Management and Planning Organization, the government body in charge of preparing and monitoring the annual budget and medium-term planning. Then in 2008 Ahmadinejad had the Central Bank of Iran stop disclosing information about money coming in and out of the OSF and NDFI. Despite this secrecy, it is calculate that deposits over the last four years should have totaled \$134 billion. That is, the funds should have received over \$36 billion more between 2005 and 2011. Ahmadinejad's government withdrew over \$150 billion from the two funds between 2006 and 2011 (*2006 saw the start of the Hezbollah -Israeli War) without clear economic justification. A comparison between the government's total revenues and expenditures underscores the magnitude of the money outside the state's budget control: Over the last decade the difference between revenues and spending reaches close to \$200 billion—an amount that, by any normal measure, remains unaccounted for. The lack of transparency makes it practically impossible to follow oil and gas money. There is also Tehran's government's regular practice to present its budget to parliament without details and not to release data to the public. With this ongoing lack of transparency we must consider the funds could have gone for the Islamic Republic convert nuclear research and facilities to international proxies, such as Hamas and Hezbollah.

The state-owned National Iranian Oil Company (NIOC), under the supervision of the Ministry of Petroleum, is responsible for all upstream oil projects, encompassing both production and export infrastructure. The National Iranian South Oil Company (NISOC), a subsidiary of NIOC, accounts for 80 percent of oil production covering the provinces of Khuzestan, Bushehr, Fars, and Kohkiluyeh and Boyer Ahmad. Nominally, NIOC also controls the refining and domestic distribution networks, by way of its subsidiary, the National Iranian Oil Refining and Distribution Company (NIORDC), although functionally there is a separation between the upstream and downstream sectors. The Iranian constitution prohibits foreign or private ownership of natural resources. The government permits buyback contracts that allow international oil companies (IOCs) to enter into exploration and development contracts through an Iranian affiliate. The contractor receives a remuneration fee, usually an entitlement to oil or gas from the developed operation, leaving the contractor to provide the necessary capital up-front. Once development of a certain field is complete, however, operatorship reverts back to NIOC or the relevant subsidiary. [135]

132). Iran's Oil and Gas Management, A ticking time bomb? Antoine Heuty 2012

http://dev.revenuewatch.org/revenuewatch2/sites/default/files/rwi_bp_iran2.pdf

133). International Monetary Fund (2011) Islamic Republic of Iran: 2011 Article IV Consultation- Staff Report. IMF Country Report No. 11/241 www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2011/cr11241.pdf

134). Ahmadinejad's Administration Accused Of Stealing Billions The Media Line Staff October 27th, 2009 <http://www.gantdaily.com/news/36/ARTICLE/64089/2009-10-27.html>

135). Oil Gas Facts 2012 Iran <http://www.eia.gov/countries/cab.cfm?fips=IR>

The Islamic Republic of Iran chaotic and complex character of hybrid threats, its irregular warfare and military operational and strategic planning has proven difficult for analysts who aggrievedly adhere to traditional threat methodologies. Forecasting the IRGC-QF hybrid threat has been elusive due to the complex and broad nature of its capabilities, covert and compartmentalization it employs. A hydra practicing unpredictable and unrestricted warfare, its hybrid threat concept has been dismissed by many because of oil addicted economies, and exploited by others to suit parochial political agendas.



- ***"But those who study Islamic Holy War will understand why Islam wants to conquer the whole world. Those who know nothing of Islam pretend that Islam counsels against war. Those who say this are witless."***
- ***"Establishing the Islamic state world-wide belong to the great goals of the revolution."*** Quotes from Ayatollah Khomeini By Dr. Jalal Matini Translated by Farhad Mafie, July 25, 2003

"Perhaps the most important obligation in the ongoing war on terrorism is to define the enemy. Short of such a political declaration, the massive efforts to win that conflict will be hampered and the final outcome will be remote in time and costlier in resources."

Future Jihad, Terrorist Strategies Against America by Walid Phares page 247

"A wave of Islamic revival has swept through the Islamic world, and Muslim nations are expressing a strong desire to return to Islam and practice this lofty religion. This awakening has stemmed from the great Islamic revolution of the Iranian people under the leadership of our late magnanimous Imam.... The enemies told us not to export our Islamic revolution! We said that revolution could not be exported, since it is not a commodity! However, our Islamic revolution, like the scent of spring flowers that is carried by the breeze, reached every corner of the Islamic world and brought about an Islamic revival in Muslim nations"

Reading Khamenei: The World View of Iran's Most Powerful Leader Karim Sadjadpour 2009 Carnegie Endowment for International Peace