

# IRAN

## THE NUCLEAR TALKS GAME PLAYED BY THE REGIME



BI-PARTISAN LAWMAKERS,  
NATIONAL SECURITY EXPERTS  
REJECT SANCTIONS RELIEF AND  
IRGC'S FTO DELISTING

# IRAN:

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*Bi-partisan lawmakers, national  
security experts reject sanctions  
relief and IRGC's FTO delisting*

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## **IRAN: The Nuclear Talks Game Played by the Regime**

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# Table of Contents

<b>1. Introduction — What's at stake. . . . .</b>	<b>5</b>
The National Council of Resistance of Iran — U.S. Representative Office	
<b>2. IRGC's terrorist DNA . . . . .</b>	<b>9</b>
Honorable David Shedd, former Acting Director, Defense Intelligence Agency	
<b>3. IRGC's countless merciless attacks on American civilians . . . .</b>	<b>11</b>
Ambassador Paula Dobriansky, former Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs	
<b>4. Delisting IRGC the worst possible message . . . . .</b>	<b>14</b>
Honorable Michael Mukasey, 81 <sup>st</sup> Attorney General of the United States	
<b>5. Time to support Madame Rajavi's 10-point plan. . . . .</b>	<b>17</b>
Ambassador Lincoln Bloomfield, Jr., former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs	
<b>6. Resounding NO to lifting of IRGC's FTO designation. . . . .</b>	<b>20</b>
Honorable Robert G. Torricelli, former Democratic Senator from New Jersey	
<b>7. Deal with Iran from a position of strength . . . . .</b>	<b>22</b>
Dr. Steven Bucci, visiting fellow at The Heritage Foundation	
<b>8. FTO designation not open to debate. . . . .</b>	<b>24</b>
Ambassador Mitchell Reiss, former Director of Policy Planning at the State Department	

<b>9. Tehran will neither cease nor desist its rogue behavior. . . . .</b>	<b>.27</b>
Ambassador Joseph DeTrani, former Special Adviser to the Director of National Intelligence	
<b>10. The Iranian regime will never give up its nuclear weapons pro- gram. . . . .</b>	<b>30</b>
Ambassador Robert G. Joseph, former Undersecretary of State for Arms Control & International Security	
<b>11. JCPOA 2.0 far worse than JCPOA 2015 . . . . .</b>	<b>.34</b>
Mr. Jonathan Ruhe, JINSA Director of Foreign Policy	
<b>12. Ballistic missile development must be included in JCPOA . . . .</b>	<b>.37</b>
General (ret.) Chuck F. Wald, former Deputy Commander of U.S. European Command	
<b>13. Appendix I. . . . .</b>	<b>.39</b>
Bipartisan Congressional Opposition to Undue Sanctions Relief, Removal of IRGC from FTO List	
<b>14. Appendix II . . . . .</b>	<b>44</b>
Iran: Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) The Machinery of Terrorism	
<b>15. List of publications . . . . .</b>	<b>.63</b>
<b>16. About the NCRI-US . . . . .</b>	<b>.70</b>

# Introduction — What's at stake

After one year, negotiations over the Iranian regime's nuclear program appear to be at a standstill. One of the major sticking points is Tehran's insistence that the United States remove the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) from its list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO).

Since the start of 2022, senior Iranian regime officials have repeatedly upped the ante in the negotiations in Vienna over Tehran's nuclear weapons program.

While the talks occurred in Vienna, the regime increased its uranium enrichment level to 63%, illegally used advanced centrifuges, and limited access to inspectors of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), in addition to testing advanced missiles and firing rockets into Iraqi territory.

Members of Congress, in a bi-partisan way, are opposed to U.S. Government's potential compliance with Tehran's demands to lift the IRGC designation as a FTO, as they recognize that the IRGC conducts terror operations around the globe.

Over the years, the Iranian Resistance, with detailed statements, reports, and press conferences, has repeatedly warned about the terrorist threats, plots, and operations of the IRGC and its notorious extraterritorial arm, the Quds Force.



In addition, since last year, the U.S. Representative Office of the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI-US) has further shed light on the terrorist nature and heightened activities of the Iranian regime, particularly those conducted through the IRGC and the Quds Force.

The IRGC has supplied its proxies in the region with deadly drones, along with necessary training and supplies. Most recently, NCRI-US released a report on the formation of naval proxy terror units by the IRGC, consisting of Yemeni, Lebanese, Iraqi, Syrian and other nationals who have engaged in attacks on ships and commercial vessels to wage terror in the Red Sea, the Arabian Sea, and elsewhere.

Tehran clearly wants to project power and hide its incurable weaknesses inside Iran. In reality, compared to 2015 when the nuclear talks concluded, the Iranian regime is in a much weaker position inside Iran and in the region. There have been eight major uprisings in Iran since 2017, as the Iranian people have been calling for change. Regionally, the Iranian regime is isolated among the Muslim and Shiite populations in the region, and can only rely on its terror proxies.

The Iranian regime has never been as weak in its 43-year rule. The economy is bankrupt. Inflation is officially pegged at 41 percent and 70 percent of Iranians live below the poverty line. The institutionalized corruption that spans from the Supreme Leader's office to the IRGC has engulfed the entire regime, leaving the Iranian economy to be run by mafia-like gangs. There are now no prospects of economic improvements under the current regime.

Most importantly, within Iranian society, the spirit of popular resistance against the regime has never been more powerful.

The Iranian regime's Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei decided to install Ebrahim Raisi, a mass murderer, as president to consolidate power and to prevent more uprisings. For Khamenei, the presidency of Raisi and providing absolute power to the IRGC with more funding, are the two sides of the same coin.

Raisi is hated by the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people for his direct role in the execution of political prisoners, especially during the 1988 massacre of 30,000 political prisoners, a majority of whom belonged to the main Iranian opposition, the People's Mojahedin Organization of Iran (PMOI), also known as the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK). Raisi has relied heavily on the IRGC for his cabinet, his foreign policy teams, and to empower terror proxies abroad.

However, Raisi has failed. In 2021, Iran was the scene of major anti-regime uprisings every four months, including those waged by farmers, workers, teachers, nurses, defrauded investors, steel workers and fuel porters. This was coupled with the expanding activities of the Resistance Units, a nationwide network of mostly young activists affiliated with the MEK.

In a daring act of defiance, the Resistance Units disrupted no less than 25 state-run TV and Radio networks on January 27, 2022. Chants of "Death to Khamenei, Viva Rajavi," and messages of the Iranian Resistance's Leadership were broadcast on these channels. The channels were not fully functional for more than a month. Since then, similar campaigns have been undertaken in at least a dozen cities across the country. These activities have demonstrably rattled the regime.

The regime's inability and unwillingness to resolve the underlying economic, political, and social problems plaguing Iranian society, in addition to its failure to extinguish the flames of resistance, the expansion of popular protests, and the activities of the Resistance Units nationwide, lead to only one conclusion: Iranian society is like a powder keg, ready to explode at any moment with the slightest spark.

One thing has become very clear. Regardless of the outcome of the Vienna talks in 2022, the mullahs will never stop their bomb-making program, nor will they abandon their terrorism, or the production and launching of ballistic missiles and drones against other countries in the region. Indeed, on March 10, Khamenei insisted that he will not abandon the nuclear program even after the sanctions are lifted.



The mullahs want a nuclear deal only to secure financing to pay for repression and warmongering, while they complete their nuclear bomb-making program. The regime's entire nuclear weapons program must be dismantled, period. There is no half-way solution for the Iranian regime's threats.

There was sufficient evidence in 2019 to designate the IRGC as a FTO, however, the actions of this terror machine over the past three years have represented additional proof to maintain the FTO designation and increase accountability.

Instead of thinking which designations should be removed from the terror machines of the Iranian regime, including the IRGC and the Quds Force, the U.S. and western nations should look for ways to hold the regime responsible for its decades of ongoing repression, genocide, and terrorism. The regime's leaders must face justice for four decades of crimes against humanity and genocide.

The international community should recognize the Iranian people's struggle to overthrow the clerical regime and establish a democratic, secular, non-nuclear republic in Iran. Nothing can stand in the way of victory by the Iranian people, who have demonstrated incredible courage, resilience and resolve in the face of intolerable adversities.

This manuscript, which includes the views of Members of U.S. Congress from both sides of the aisle, as well as those of several former cabinet members, undersecretaries, assistant secretaries, U.S. military generals, and experts from various think tanks—including the Heritage Foundation, the Atlantic Council, the Stimson Center, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, National Institute for Public Policy, JINSA and INSA—makes it clear that this regime is a threat to the world, and the IRGC is a tool to keep the theocracy in power and so it must remain on the FTO list.

Any sanctions relief would benefit the IRGC and the world's foremost state sponsor of terrorism. Every dollar in the hands of the IRGC would prolong the rule of the ayatollahs and enables the regime to force more repression at home and terrorism and mayhem abroad.

# IRGC's terrorist DNA

**Honorable David Shedd, former Acting  
Director, Defense Intelligence Agency**



As an intelligence professional, I have always looked at the facts. Facts are unemotional and speak for themselves. And from the unemotional, fact-based perspective, even thinking of delisting an organization that for 40 years has been the vanguard of the revolution is unfathomable to me. The Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' DNA is to use terrorism as an instrument of national power, against the Iranian people, and around the globe.

This terrorism — at a strategic level and tactical level — is a central pillar of the Iranian regime. It has been and will continue to be, because it is philosophically completely committed to the use of terrorism in order to stay in power and to promote the Shia revolutionary aspects of the regime. To believe that being soft on the IRGC and obtaining compliance in exchange for delisting it from the FTO is equivalent to asking someone to change their DNA.

When I think of the U.S. policy of delisting the IRGC, I think about the hundreds of Americans who have been killed or maimed in the

war in Iraq, Khobar Towers, Syria and elsewhere, where the IRGC has actively engaged in terrorist acts against the American people, specifically killing our men and women in uniform.

I also think more broadly about what kind of message this sends to other nations that might use terrorism as an instrument of national power. By removing the IRGC and organizations that associate with it from the FTO list, what message does it send to those who commit terrorist acts only to be written off in an agreement that is non-enforceable at its very core? Finally, how is it possible to even contemplate another round of an enormous amount of financial support to the Iranian regime that will very quickly go into the vanguard of the revolution, which is the IRGC and the Quds Force?

So again, with my background as a facts-driven intelligence officer if I'm looking across the table at a regime that does not understand anything other than strength and force, why would they commit to softening their line in the use of the IRGC for terrorism? I believe any contemplation of delisting the IRGC and the Quds Force and the individuals and/or the organizations associated with them as a terrorist organization is unthinkable, bad policy, and ultimately will hurt the United States and its global interests.

We need to stand with the Iranian people in not delisting the IRGC and not acceding to any demands made through a third party — i.e., the Russians and the Chinese and other members of this negotiating team — that have been in Vienna while we sat outside in the ante-room waiting to see what comes out.

# IRGC's countless merciless attacks on American civilians

**Ambassador Paula Dobriansky,  
former Under Secretary of State  
for Global Affairs**



On this special occasion of Nowruz (Iranian New Year), I hope for a new day. A new day in Iran that is built on those foundational principles of human rights, freedom, and democracy. There is an ancient Persian poet by the name of Saadi Shirazi who once wrote, "Thank God the pleasant Nowruz breeze returned and freed us from the cold." I wanted to share and remind you of that quote, as your ancient beloved country is still held in the cold captivity of the ayatollahs'

brutal regime.

First, I want to say a few words about the human rights situation in Iran today. The Iranian regime continues severe repression of the Iranian people. Iranians who seek economic rights, fight corruption, and have protested the brutal regime have been persecuted. They've been imprisoned and sometimes executed, as well. Last year, Iranian security forces killed hundreds — hundreds! — and they arrested

thousands in a series of anti-government protests against the corruption and the suppression of rights. Now, according to the United States State Department's annual human rights report, "The government of Iran severely restricted freedom of speech and the press and used the law to intimidate or prosecute persons who directly criticized the government or raised human rights problems."

Another area of egregious human rights violations is women's rights and dignity. They're also heavily restricted in Iran. Married women cannot get a passport or leave the country without their husband's permission. And a woman considered disobedient or for no reason at all could be beaten and injured. Her children could be taken away from her. The regime has failed miserably in addressing the real epidemic of domestic violence. So, human rights violations have been systemic to Iran.

In fact, the Freedom House, the oldest American organization devoted to the support and defense of democracy around the world, has highlighted that the Iranian regime has suppressed the work of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that track human rights violations. One of the NGOs, for example, the Center for Human Rights Defenders, is closed and some of its members are imprisoned.

As we look at other current events, it was recently reported that the Biden administration is considering removing the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, the IRGC, from the U.S. State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations in return for a public commitment from Iran to pursue a de-escalation in the region. The possible removal comes when these JCPOA negotiations are ongoing. The IRGC is responsible for countless merciless attacks on American civilians and allied forces throughout the Middle East. Furthermore, they also have been very responsible for the killings of thousands in Syria and Lebanon. My message on this is that the IRGC should not be delisted from the State Department's foreign terrorist organization designation.

I also want to say a word about the JCPOA. The administration seeks to revive the JCPOA with a bad deal. And actually, I think it's worse

in many respects than the original JCPOA. It will not prevent Tehran from acquiring nuclear weapons or engaging in terrorism, or for that matter regional aggression.

Finally, being of Ukrainian descent, I'd like to address what the global community is witnessing, Russia's war on Ukraine and the ongoing massacre of Ukrainians. The Iranian regime has absolutely supported the revisionist narrative of Vladimir Putin, as well as the Russian invasion of Ukraine, a scorched earth attack on innocent civilians. One of Putin's first phone calls after he ordered the invasion was to the Iranian president. And this comes also right after Iran asserted earlier this year its commitment to boost and strengthen its ties to Russia in a new long-term bilateral cooperation agreement.

So, as we come together to celebrate the new year, let us be reminded of the strength of those freedom-loving peoples in Iran and around the world, and hope for a new day.



# Delisting IRGC the worst possible message

**Honorable Michael Mukasey,  
81<sup>st</sup> Attorney General  
of the United States**



Even as we discuss matters like the dangers that the regime in Tehran poses in the world, and the way of overcoming those dangers, there are negotiators in Vienna who are having a discussion of a very different kind. According to news reports, they are considering a demand by the regime that the Iranian Revolutionary Guards Corps, the IRGC, be removed from the list of foreign terrorist organizations that is maintained by the United States. And that's supposed to be part of the price for

Iran entering into a resurrected version of the JCPOA, an agreement that is supposed to keep Iran at least temporarily from completing the steps toward developing a nuclear weapon. And that price is said to also include lifting sanctions on the regime.

It's hard to know where to begin in breaking down what's wrong with this picture, so let's take it one step at a time. As to whether the JCPOA can or should be revived at all, I offer simply the plain and documented fact that, despite the regime's claims that it seeks only

a peaceful use for nuclear technology, the development of a nuclear weapon has been the goal of Iran's program from the outset. Evidence of this was obtained in 2018, when Israel seized and shared with the world documents from an archive in Tehran that described Iran's nuclear weapons program in detail. Those documents showed that Iran has been working on that program non-stop since 1979. And when I say nonstop, I mean even during the time when the JCPOA was supposedly in force.

And Iran, even under the new deal being discussed, so far as we know, would remain as one of the four countries designated by the United States as a state sponsor of terrorism, along with North Korea, Cuba, and Syria. Now there are two entities that Iran uses to conduct its terrorist activities. One is Hezbollah, the other is the IRGC. In fact, the IRGC has taken credit for a missile that hit a facility in Iraq just a few days ago and has been shown to have distributed explosive devices that were used to kill American soldiers in Iraq and elsewhere. And this is the entity that Iran is asking to be removed from the list of foreign terrorist organizations as part of the price of entering into an agreement that it is certain to cheat on, just as it did the earlier version of the agreement.

I submit to you that removing the IRGC from the list of foreign terrorist organizations would actually be worse than not having placed the organization on the list in the first place. As a practical matter, being on the list exposes people and entities that deal with the IRGC to financial and even criminal penalties under U.S. law. But since it's been difficult for the United States to actually lay hands on anyone who is dealing with the IRGC, that may not be much of an obstacle. But being on the list does make some entities, and some people, reluctant to deal openly with the IRGC. But think of the effect of taking the IRGC off the list. That would in effect be the United States saying that the IRGC — which, again, is one of the two entities responsible for Iran's status as a state sponsor of terrorism — is not itself a terrorist organization. The IRGC, in essence, will have been given the "Good Housekeeping seal of approval" by the U.S. government, such that no person or entity need have the slightest hesitation in providing resources or financing to the IRGC. This would in-

clude banking services material to construct weapons because the United States government has certified that it is not, or at least that it is no longer, a foreign terrorist organization.

And of course, this deal is being negotiated for the United States, not by United States representatives directly. Iran's negotiators in Vienna have refused to meet directly with United States negotiators. It's being negotiated by the regime of Vladimir Putin, who the president has already said is himself a war criminal.

And further, Iran has asked that the United States guarantee this new agreement cannot be renounced by any subsequent administration, which the United States cannot do because the agreement will not be a treaty. A treaty must be approved by a two-thirds vote of the United States Senate. The administration is not going to put this agreement to such a vote because it knows it doesn't have the votes to support it. So, the administration has offered "inherent guarantees" that the agreement will be permanent, which apparently means that Iran will be given the right to go ahead with its nuclear weapons program with no restrictions at all if sanctions are reimposed or any other advantage that Iran agrees under this agreement is withdrawn by a later administration.

If the mullahs are not to be given a runway to a nuclear weapon, whether through violation of an agreement like the one it has already violated, or even through compliance for the brief period that restrictions will be in effect, it will take bold action of the United States Congress, and in particular by the United States Senate, to assert its authority to review the agreement as a treaty and to vote it down. All we can do at this point is to wait and see what agreement comes out of Vienna, if any, and hope that there will be no further empowerment of the mullahs and that the terrorist label on the IRGC will remain in place.

# Time to support Madame Rajavi's 10-point plan

**Ambassador Lincoln Bloomfield, Jr.,  
former U.S. Assistant Secretary  
of State for Political  
Military Affairs**



I've been focused on the current crisis in Europe and keeping an eye, obviously, on the negotiations in Vienna, and what is happening around the Middle East with Iranian aggression. And it seems to me they are related.

This is a difficult time for the U.S. government. They're trying to juggle many things. I sympathize with people who want to stop nuclear proliferation; it's a very important task. But I also recognize that when Iranian-supplied sophisticated mis-

siles are hitting oil and gas targets in Saudi Arabia with precision, and they are coming from Iran, that this too cannot be overlooked. And the question is what to do about it. It's been frustrating.

I think that the very horrific events in Ukraine, with Russia's mass murder of the Ukrainian people, are a pivotal moment in history that will affect the future of Iran and the future of U.S.-Iran relations. Here's what I mean. It has mobilized the West. It has reminded Amer-

icans, who have been debating each other from the left and the right, that we all share very important principles and the need for peace in the world. The Ukraine crisis could escalate to the nuclear level. Let's hope it does not. But the point is, when this is over, I believe the West will be more reinforced. They will have come together to stand against aggression, to stand against wrong, against criminal violations of the Geneva Conventions, the laws of war. I think Russia will be weakened for some time. I think China will have to think very hard about the lesson of this event. And I think the same thing is true of the mullahs of Iran, although I don't think they think very much. They simply do what they do and have done for 42 years.

Let me share with you a thought experiment. I don't want to shock you, but it will keep you awake. What would happen if the United States and other countries lifted all sanctions on Tehran? All of them? Sanctions for terrorism, human rights violations, all sanctions. And then said, here, now you should give up your nuclear program, and I mean give it up in a verifiable way, but with one condition: If you violate any of these principles of human rights, terrorism, and so many other things, you will be punished.

I think the challenge, ironically, for the West would be our intelligence community. Our CIA Director, William Burns, in his confirmation hearing acknowledged very well all of the aggressions that Iran has been doing in the Middle East. So where is the policy? I've heard people in the White House say, "None of this would really be happening if President Trump hadn't pulled out of the JCPOA." I testified on behalf of keeping the JCPOA because we had already paid for it. I didn't think it was the greatest deal, but be that as it may, before President Trump withdrew from the JCPOA, Iran was planning a mass casualty attack in Albania. Iran was planning to kill me and many of you in Paris. And that, was while the JCPOA was being fully abided by, according to then CIA Director Mike Pompeo.

So, what this tells us is that the Iranian regime has been proceeding with what they call "the revolution" unceasingly. They've been committing terrorist acts around the world. They murdered Alberto Nisman in Argentina (an Argentine lawyer who worked as a federal

prosecutor, and the chief investigator of the 1994 car bombing of the Jewish center in Buenos Aires, which killed 85 people, in the worst terrorist attack in Argentina's history), who was about to brief his legislature on who set off the major bombings in the 1990s. They've had MOIS (Iran's Ministry of Intelligence and Security) Section 312 teams chasing down Mujahedin-e-Khalq members all over the world, surveilling them, threatening them, blackmailing their families. We don't hear about any of this, unless they end up in court as they did in Antwerp and now in Sweden and in Spain. We need to hear a lot more about the Revolutionary Guards, the Quds Force, the Ministry of Intelligence operatives. Think of it, former Foreign Minister Zarif, who was so well-received by the West, so graciously received, his ministry allowed a mass casualty bomb to be placed on a commercial airline from Tehran to Vienna in a diplomatic pouch. We never heard about any repercussions.

Iran continues to violate international norms. The crisis in Ukraine reminds us that international norms are what we must live by in a peaceful world. So, when this is over, mark my words, it's time to have a major conversation about the return of democratic countries, the freestanding world. And about groups like the NCRI. It's time to support Madame Rajavi's 10-point plan, which is perfectly consistent with all of our values. And to stand for these things not just because it makes us feel good, but also because we need to push back against the deep danger of authoritarians, from Moscow to Beijing to Tehran and elsewhere. This is my hope for the new year.



# Resounding NO to lifting of IRGC's FTO designation

**Honorable Robert G. Torricelli,  
former Democratic Senator  
from New Jersey**



If there is one thing different this year, of all the times we've gathered in the past, I am left with an overwhelming sense of optimism, but also frustration watching the tragedy unfold in Ukraine: The Russian invasion, the loss of freedom, the disappearances, the tragic loss of life. And it occurs to me that as the world rises to defend the Ukrainian people, for 40 years the Iranian people have been experiencing the same thing, just in slow motion: their children disappearing, the loss of the

most basic freedoms, the imposition of an alien ideology, the imposition of leaders that they cannot choose, the loss of any economic opportunities, living in abject poverty and destruction.

We've been saying for 40 years, why the Iranian people? And many have rallied to our side around the world. But as we now see the international community in almost lockstep putting sanctions on the

Russians for the destruction they've brought the Ukrainian people, we ask ourselves, how about Iran? Why is it different? And do the people of Iran frankly deserve less simply because they're not in the heart of Europe? Do we not all have the same standards and the same rights?

It's a timely message, it's a timely thing to think about as the Biden administration thinks about sanctions on Iran, whether they might be lifted in a new nuclear deal as they're imposed on Russia. The right answer is, the administration is right in Ukraine. No sanction is too tough until the Ukrainian people have their freedom back and their children have a future and they're safe and secure. That's the same policy for Iran. It is the same thing.

And so, my message for this Nowruz (Iranian New Year) would be for the world to see us in the same light. And as the administration negotiates with Tehran and the mullahs insist that the Revolutionary Guard be lifted from the terrorist list, we resoundingly say no. What has changed? How is the Revolutionary Guard any less terrorist today than they were yesterday or when they were killing American soldiers in Iraq? How are they less terrorist?

Why? Because the possibility of bringing Iranian oil onto the market further squeezes the Russians? What kind of stand would that be for freedom in Europe? What kind of solidarity with the freedom of the Ukrainian people if we did it at the sacrifice of the Iranian people, and hypocrisy besides? If we can't deal with the terrorist list honestly, we shouldn't have it at all.

The right decision is the same policy, and to hold firm. As surely as these sanctions will break the will of the Russians invading Ukraine, they will break the will of the mullahs. The idea isn't to have one nation free at the expense of another being enslaved. It is for all nations to be free.

On this Nowruz, to everyone in the Iranian community everywhere, solidarity always. Those of us who care about Iran but are not Iranian are no less determined that the Iranian people will be free and this nightmare will end.

# Deal with Iran from a position of strength

**Dr. Steven Bucci, visiting fellow  
at The Heritage Foundation**



The original JCPOA was a huge mistake. It was driven by an irrational desire by the Obama team to realign America's policy foundations in the Middle East. Thinking that somehow the regime in Tehran, as it exists now and as it did during the Obama administration, would be a partner for the United States and somehow improve the way we work, was ridiculous. The idea that that regime would change its terrorist stripes and suddenly be nice was ludicrous and ignorant then, and

still is today. The money released from the frozen accounts and outright gifted to Iran did nothing but fuel terrorism and the continued development of the other weapon systems that Iran is counting on to bring even more destruction to the region.

The lack of any aspects that would have restrained the IRGC made the United States look weak, feckless, and frankly clueless.

The stricter policies of the Trump administration were in fact moving Iran to a degree towards compliance. It was at least looming on the horizon as a possibility. And we knew that by how stridently the

mullahs were squealing under the pressure of those policies. Now President Biden has abandoned the concept of dealing from strength and is basically giving Tehran exactly what it's been praying for.

Tehran has supported Russia in its illegal invasion of Ukraine from the day it started in defiance of the will of the rest of the civilized world. And at the same time, Russia adds its own demands to the negotiations and says it won't get the deal signed unless it is given completely free reign for its trade relations with Iran.

The Biden administration now wants to lift the foreign terrorist organization designation for the IRGC. As a former Army Green Beret, I used to chase these people around the world. The IRGC is the most dangerous terror organization in the world. They are the ones who empower the other important terrorist organizations like Hezbollah, like the Syrian government, like different parties in Lebanon, around Iraq. And why do we want to lift this designation? Not because the IRGC has changed a whit. It's because we just want to sweeten the pot to try to get Tehran to buy into this deal.

So, we're going to flood Tehran with money at the same time repeating the blunder of putting no restrictions on IRGC activity. We take off restrictions on Tehran. We again give them literally boatloads of money. All the while, they are unrepentant, undeterred, and blatantly proclaiming that they will continue their terrorist operations in support of all of these other terrorist factions around the world. These actions cannot even be considered a policy. When you lump them together, they are so schizophrenic that the internal conflicts within them can hardly stand up.

The IRGC is still a foreign terrorist organization and the murderous leaders in power in Tehran will never be a viable negotiating partner for any responsible nation, let alone for the United States. We must stop this foolishness of trying to work with the mullahs, return to operating from a position of strength and maximum sanctions, and do our best to end this horrific regime and work toward true freedom for the Iranian people.

# FTO designation not open to debate

**Ambassador Mitchell Reiss,  
former Director of Policy Planning  
at the State Department**



Since 2018, there have been eight major uprisings in Iran involving 200 cities and hundreds of thousands of people. The protests have continued in 2022. Resistance Units, organized by the main Iranian opposition, the MEK, and consisting of all sectors of the Iranian society, have been leading the protests and targeting symbols of repression all across Iran. They torched and destroyed the statue of Qassem Soleimani the same day it was erected. They publicly burned

pictures and posters of the Supreme Leader and Ebrahimi Raisi, who is directly implicated in the mass murder of 30,000 political prisoners in 1988.

These protests have been cheered and hailed by the Iranian people. They give hope to all Iranians that the long nightmare of the ayatollahs is almost over, and that we can see a new Iran based on the principles of “freedom, democracy and equality.” The opposition

leader, Madame Rajavi, has used these three words to express her hopes and dreams for a brighter future for all the Iranian people.

The courage and bravery of the Resistance, in service to these principles, promise brighter days ahead. But the United States also has an important role to play. Others will address the possible revival of the nuclear deal, the JCPOA, and its dangers. For me, the bottom line is that the criminal regime in Tehran can never be allowed to develop nuclear weapons.

There also should be no debate over removing the Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designation for the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (the IRGC). First, there is no indication that the IRGC has halted its support for terrorism. In fact, the IRGC took responsibility for a dozen missiles fired into Erbil, Iraq, near the U.S. consulate, just a few days ago.

Second, delisting the IRGC would send exactly the wrong message to Tehran and only lead to more terrorism in the region, and perhaps beyond.

And third, delisting the IRGC would rehabilitate Iran across the region at exactly the wrong time. The Iranian regime has never been less popular in the Middle East. Recent public opinion polls show that nearly 2/3rds of young Arabs now view Iran as an adversary; that a majority of all Arabs want Iran to withdraw its support for its regional proxies like Hamas and Hezbollah; and that more than half of Arab Shiites hold an “unfavorable” view of Iran. And, of course, the Iranian regime has alienated its own population through economic mismanagement, corruption, hostility to the United States, adventurism across the region, and brutal repression.

It should surprise no one then that Tehran is supporting Russia in its invasion and bombing of Ukraine, while the Iranian Resistance has sided with the Ukrainian people and their resistance. The brave men and women of Ukraine are being cheered and supported by everyone around the world. They have become living symbols of resistance to aggression.



The freedom fighters in Ashraf 3, the symbol of Resistance for the Iranian people, have been in the same situation for decades. Whether in Ukraine or Iran, the cause is the same — the fight is for freedom, for democracy, and for equality. In both Ukraine and Iran, these brave men and women are showing the world that these principles are worth fighting and even dying for.

These principles of freedom, democracy, and equality are enshrined in Madame Rajavi's platform for Iran, which calls for the universal right to vote, free elections, and a market economy, and advocates gender, religious, and ethnic equality, and a foreign policy based on peaceful coexistence. As we celebrate the start of a new year, we hope to see Madame Rajavi and these principles triumphant in a new Iran for all the Iranian people.

# Tehran will neither cease nor desist its rogue behavior

**Ambassador Joseph DeTrani,  
former Special Adviser to the Director  
of National Intelligence**



Over the years, we've seen Iran's behavior. We've seen what they've done with Hezbollah and Lebanon. We've seen what they've been doing with the Houthis in Yemen. We see very clearly the IRGC, the Quds Force, and their activities in Iraq, in Syria. It is blatant, it's out there. And this preceded the JCPOA and subsequent to the JCPOA in 2015. I think we should remember this, when we were talking about the JCPOA and talking about implementing it: there was hope, some sense that with this, Iran would

moderate its behavior. It would cease its terrorist activities, its intrusive threatening behavior, whether it be in Yemen, whether it be in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, etc. But this has not happened. Subsequent to the JCPOA 2015 it continues—not only did it continue,

it intensified. So, I think we have to be realistic on the geopolitical side of the equation. Iran is on a path and all indications are they will not change what they are doing with their Quds Force, they will not change with the IRGC, and they will not change what they're doing with a few of their proxies. So, I totally agree with my colleagues when they talk about taking the IRGC off the list of foreign terrorist organizations. What a message that would be; it would be profound.

Let me move to the nuclear side of the ledger, because that's such an important side. Because we could see in the Middle East, certainly we're seeing some of this in East Asia with North Korea, we could see in the Middle East if Iran persists with their programs—let's be very candid about it—up until 2003 we have definitive proof that Iran was pursuing a nuclear weapons program. What the Israelis discovered in 2018 show that this not only goes back, it goes back to the 1970s. But certainly, up until 2002, they were pursuing a nuclear weapons program, with great vigor.

And then prior to the JCPOA in 2015, Iran was enriching uranium to the 20% purity level. What does that mean? That means if they are taking the enrichment to the 20% purity level, it would not take much time to move to 90, 93%, which is weapons-grade enriched uranium. And this is what we were seeing prior to the JCPOA. So, with the JCPOA there was a sense there that Iran would then cease and desist, come down to approximately 3.2, 3.6% purity of enrichment. But up until that time, we saw problems with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) getting their monitors to visit facilities in Iran. We saw that prior to the JCPOA, and we certainly saw it subsequent to the JCPOA.

The U.S. withdrew in 2018 from the JCPOA, but that didn't change anything. Iran, in fact, intensified its efforts to enrich uranium to a higher level, enrichment up to 60%. Problems with the IAEA getting inspectors, monitors, into facilities. Building advanced centrifuges that would take fewer hours, fewer days, fewer months to enrich to a level of purity that would permit a nuclear weapons program. Iran is at a threshold as a nuclear weapons state as we speak now.

The logic here now is coming back to the JCPOA, Iran will cease and desist its nuclear defiance and would move in a different direction. Well, we know from the JCPOA that there are sunset clauses, sunset clauses for building more sophisticated centrifuges so that they can spin that much faster so that much quicker you could have high purity enriched uranium for nuclear weapons. And that's with a ten-year period, that means up to 2025. The same thing with enrichment, 15 years, which means up to 2030. In 2030, Iran could cease and desist and say we can enrich up to 90%. This is the point.

So, I think there's a cry: if we can't moderate their geopolitical behavior, at least on the nuclear side of the ledger, because it's a message to all the countries in the region and the world, let's at least edit, moderate, change, amend the JCPOA. Amend it accordingly and prohibit enrichment.

And that's why I applaud what Senator Menendez has been doing with his colleagues in the Senate with Senate Resolution 511, that reads, just a small section of it, that reads "Establish original fuel bank that would assist international efforts to avoid a destabilizing arms race in the Middle East and would promote the peaceful use of nuclear power." This is where we need to be going. Because if Iran persists with their program, and they can remain a threshold nuclear weapons state, other countries, whether they be Egypt, whether they be Saudi Arabia, whether they be Turkey, will say well maybe we need to also be threshold nuclear weapons states. And that's significant. And as we see this with the tragic war going on in Ukraine, and with Putin putting on the table his nuclear weapons at a high alert level, we need to be moving in a different direction with nuclear weapons and nuclear technology.

We have a task in front of us. And we have to prevail with Iran.

# The Iranian regime will never give up its nuclear weapons program

**Ambassador Robert G. Joseph,  
former Undersecretary of State for Arms  
Control & International Security**



Today the world's attention is focused on Putin's war in Ukraine, bringing both heartbreaking images of civilian deaths and inspirational images of Ukrainian resistance fighting the Russian invaders. This may be a transformational event, one that could change the course of history not only in Europe but well beyond, as we can no longer escape the reality that evil exists in the world without regard to the idealism of the rules-based international order.

And as we think about Ukraine, another potentially transformative event is taking place, and that is the fight for freedom from the re-

ligious dictatorship in Iran. But this war is being played out without constant images of death and destruction or the concentrated attention of the media. Instead, the focus is on diplomatic negotiations to bring the United States back into the JCPOA, the 2015 nuclear accord. The unintended consequences of such an agreement, which some press reports indicate is imminent, risk the very opposite of what the West rightly seeks in support of Ukraine's heroic struggle.

Little is known about the agreement and what has been conceded by the United States in the negotiations. Even Senator Menendez, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, stated recently that he doesn't know what's been agreed. We've received press reports in the nearly year-long Vienna talks that the U.S. had made concession after concession and that the Iranian side, never willing to take yes for an answer, has pocketed each one only to come back and demand more. While press reports are not definitive, we know for sure that at least one negotiator on the U.S. side has resigned in protest of the U.S. position as too weak. I can assure you that's an extraordinary occurrence.

We've seen in recent press reports that the U.S. may have already offered to delist the terrorism designation of the Revolutionary Guard, described as the last remaining issue, if Iran agrees not to target Americans and to rein in regional oppression. You might ask yourself, how is this even possible? We know that these are empty promises that would never be fulfilled.

The IRGC is a terrorist organization. Terrorism is in their DNA. The organization has the blood of hundreds of Americans on its hands dating back decades and continuing until today. It commits terrorism every day throughout the region, directly and through its proxies in Syria, in Lebanon, in Iraq, and the list goes on and on. How can this administration believe that Iran would keep such commitments? How can this administration believe that rejoining the JCPOA will bring détente with Iran and a more stable region? Never mind that these dangerous fantasies were proved false in 2015 when the tens of billions of more dollars given to Iran were used to do just the opposite. Yet they still seem to guide the ad-

ministration's grand policy. Little wonder why our friends and allies in the region are reassessing their security relationship with the United States and looking to Beijing and in some cases even to Moscow for support. Little wonder why their leaders won't pick up the phone when the president calls.

So, how should we assess the agreement once it is made public? Senator Menendez has suggested three very reasonable criteria. First, it should roll back Iran's nuclear capabilities and close the pathway to a nuclear weapon. Second, it should provide for effective verification. And third, it should constrain Iran's missile force. Yet none of these have any prospect for being met. The Potemkin constraints on the nuclear program, even if observed, will begin to expire in 2026. Iran will, without doubt, fail to come clean on its weaponization program, despite longstanding promises, and Iran has rejected all constraints on its missile forces. What we do know, because we've seen the movie before, is that Iran will take the windfall it receives from the lifting of sanctions and use it to further its aggression in the region, to fund terrorist activities, to expand its missile and nuclear programs, and to repress the people of Iran who seek their freedom and dignity. Statements that we will negotiate follow-on agreements to deal with these issues simply insult one's intelligence.

So why is the administration seeking an agreement at any cost? Is it that the administration is comprised of the same policy team that struck the fatally flawed agreement in 2015 and are acting to preserve their legacy? Possibly. Is it that the administration has learned nothing from Iran's actions following the 2015 agreement? Possibly. Is it that the administration fails to see how the world has changed in the last seven years, including the expansion of Iran's nuclear program, making it today a virtual nuclear weapons state? Possibly. Is it that the president and his team are deeply inflicted with the Trump syndrome and insist on reversing his withdrawal from the JCPOA? Undoubtedly.

But most of all, I believe the main reason is the administration's failure to understand one basic point: the Iranian regime will never give up its nuclear weapons program. It is a weak regime. It is a desper-



ate regime at war with its people. It seizes the lesson from Gaddafi and Libya and likely now from Ukraine, that it must have a nuclear weapons capability as a guarantee to deter outside intervention in the civil conflict that is certain to come as the Iranian people rise up in their demand for freedom and dignity. It is this basic fact that should guide U.S. policy, providing hope and assistance to the Iranian opposition, not a lifeline to the mullahs.

# JCPOA 2.0 far worse than JCPOA 2015

**Mr. Jonathan Ruhe, JINSA Director  
of Foreign Policy**



The new nuclear deal, which certainly appears imminent, will be sold by its proponents as a straightforward return to the original JCPOA of 2015, but in reality, I think this deal is something rather different and in fact far worse. Rather than the longer, stronger deal pledged by the Biden administration, this new agreement is actually weaker and shorter.

Assuming that like with the JCPOA, Iran will again be permitted to keep its advanced centrifuges in the country, and because this centrifuge program is much more extensive than it was seven years ago, this means that under the new deal, the regime will be something like six months away from producing enough fissile material for a bomb compared to the stated 12-month breakout timeline under the original JCPOA. Additionally, this breakout time will start shrinking long before the deal officially sunsets. Just four years from now, compared to a decade under the original deal, the Iranian regime is permitted to steadily expand its enrichment capacity using more and more advanced centrifuges.

Another way this new deal will be different is in terms of the consequences on the ground in the Middle East. Like in the original deal, the Iranian regime will receive something roughly on the order of a hundred billion dollars in various forms of sanction relief, which as we've read from others would be an unmerited lifeline of cash for a weak regime. Just as it did when the original deal came out, the regime can be expected to spend most of this money on fomenting instability abroad, especially around the Middle East, as opposed to spending it at home where the money is desperately needed to reverse and address the regime's incredible mismanagement of Iran's economy, natural resources, and its human capital.

What's worse, compared to the 2015 deal, the regime's missile and drone capabilities are much more advanced now and it can proliferate these capabilities much more effectively around the Middle East than it could in 2015. My organization closely tracks the regime's missile and drone attacks around the region. And just to give a brief snapshot, I'll note that in 2015 when the original deal was agreed, Iran and its proxies used roughly 100 total projectiles in attacks around the Middle East. Most of these projectiles were simple, relatively rudimentary, unguided short-range rockets. By comparison, just last year that number was up to 750, compared to 100 seven years ago, and these were mostly advanced, longer-range, and much more precise drones and ballistic missiles. This represents a major upward trend in Iranian capabilities, and it will only get worse with sanctions relief. In fact the regime and its proxies are on pace to break that record of 750 this year.

So what this all means is that far from putting Iran in a box, as the Biden administration said last year, the new deal actually paves the way for this regime to build up a large-scale nuclear weapons program in the near future and to further ramp up its already high aggression around the Middle East, and that will begin almost immediately.

But to close, I want to highlight I think an additional underappreciated aspect of this nuclear deal, which is the profoundly undeserved legitimacy it will grant the Iranian regime. Obviously, the hot topic right now which we've been discussing is the lifting of the IRGC sanctions, which I would just reiterate have nothing to do with what's required of

the United States to rejoin a nuclear deal and it would be a completely unmerited unilateral gift to the regime. And it would confirm for Iranian negotiators the wisdom of sticking by their red lines, especially red lines that have nothing to do with the deal, and would confirm for them the United States' willingness to cave on any number of Iranian demands regarding its nuclear program or more generally.

I would add there's the issue of the Nonproliferation Treaty or the NPT. Under the treaty, the Iranian people have every right to peaceful nuclear technology for energy and medical purposes. But the regime has consistently violated the NPT through its covert activities on a nuclear weapons program. Many of those activities the National Council of Resistance of Iran (NCRI) has helped reveal to the world. These illegal actions initially led to UN Security Council sanctions on the regime, which in turn helped form the basis for U.S., EU, and other sanctions. However, just three years from now, under the terms of the nuclear deal, these sanctions will be eliminated as will the legal basis for them, even though the regime has done nothing to come clean about its past work on nuclear weapons. So, in essence, this deal legitimizes the regime's lies about its so-called peaceful nuclear intentions and its declared but unfounded right to enrich uranium. Again, that's a right the Iranian regime claims with no basis under international law or given its long record of violating its safeguards agreements.

I summarize the three overarching negative consequences of this deal. First, it does not prevent a nuclear-armed Iranian regime, but rather does the opposite in a shorter period of time than a lot of people appreciate. Second, through sanctions relief, it will supercharge the regime's increasingly dangerous program of military expansion around the Middle East, which is again the opposite of putting Iran in a box. And third, it will give the regime's nuclear weapons program undeserved legitimacy, which will, in turn, have serious consequences for the broader nonproliferation regime more globally.

This nuclear deal will not encourage the regime in Tehran to become more moderate, as the deal's supporters have long advocated, but it will rather empower, enrich, and entrench this regime.

# Ballistic missile development must be included in JCPOA

**General (ret.) Chuck F. Wald,  
former Deputy Commander of U.S.  
European Command**



I'd like to put into military context the significance of a JCPOA agreement in the terms and structure that we're looking at today, and the significance of that agreement allowing Iran to still move toward becoming a nuclear nation.

I don't think anybody in the world today has missed what's happening in Ukraine and the significance of that not only from the standpoint of Europe but from the global standpoint.

One of my biggest frustrations over the past several years has been the poor definition of what the United States should do as a foreign policy when we said we need to pivot towards China. I fully agree China is a threat and we need to focus on that. But when you say the word in English, pivot, it means you turn your back on something. And in that case, we turned our back on the Middle East to a certain extent. The Middle East and its

importance is not going away for a lot of reasons. And we need to stay focused on that.

The issue in Ukraine that's held the U.S. administration back primarily, I think, has been the threat by Putin that he would use nuclear weapons if forced into that corner. That is a significant issue for any country that has that type of weapon and leverage, which is how we need to be thinking about Iran having a nuclear weapon. How would it change the dynamic in the Middle East if Iran were to get a nuclear weapon? It would handcuff the United States' ability to participate and negotiate with other countries in the Middle East and change our stature with our allies.

The number one issue is that the world would change significantly if Iran had a nuclear weapon, not just from an Israeli standpoint but in the rest of the Middle East. Number two, I echo the concerns with the IRGC being taken off the terrorist list. There's no way that should be allowed to happen. It would be a huge mistake and actually immoral. And then lastly is the ballistic missile development and testing by the Iranians, which sometimes gets lost in the discussion, is a significant issue for the United States.

## Appendix I

# Bipartisan Congressional Opposition to Undue Sanctions Relief, Removal of IRGC from FTO List

During the Iran nuclear negotiation in Vienna, it became clear that the Iranian regime has been insisting on the removal of the IRGC from the State Department's list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO). IRGC is the main source of suppression of the restive Iranian population, but also the main machinery of terrorism of the mullahs.

The one area where there are increasingly more bi-partisan voices in the U.S. Congress, is the opposition to the Iranian regime's appalling demand for the removal of this terror machine from the FTO list. In addition, there is widespread congressional reaction both for Congress having oversight on a potential agreement as well as ensuring that other rogue behavior of the regime is included in any agreement. Below are some examples of this bi-partisan effort in both chambers of the U.S. Congress.



**Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ), Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, *Bloomberg News*, March 24, 2022:**

“Another challenge to a deal could come from within Biden’s own party once he submits the text for Congressional oversight as required by a 2015 law. As well as broad Republican opposition it could meet resistance from some influential Democrats including Robert Menendez, who



chairs the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and has warned the administration not accept a bad deal or interim agreement. “I have no question in my mind that the Iranian Revolutionary Guard is a terrorist organization,” said Menendez.

**Senator Robert Menendez (D-NJ), Chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, senate floor speech, February 1, 2022**

“Today I call on the Biden administration and the international community to vigorously and rigorously enforce sanctions, which have proven to be among our most potent tools for impacting Iran’s leaders and the IRGC. We cannot allow Iran to threaten us into a bad deal or an interim agreement that allows it to continue to build its nuclear capacity. Nor should we cling to the scope of an agreement that it seems some are holding on to for nostalgia’s sake.”



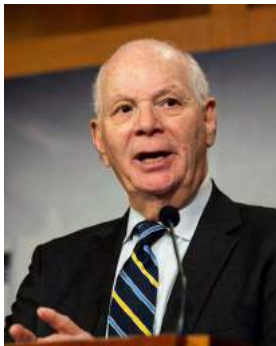
**Senator Jim Risch (R-ID), Ranking Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, SFRC website, March 31, 2022**

“My recent conversations with our allies in the Middle East clearly underscore unanimous opposition to delisting the IRGC as an FTO and deep concerns over this administration’s approach to Iran.

“As our partners confirm, the IRGC is the long-standing leader of Iranian efforts to fuel terrorism across the region. The IRGC actively supports terror proxies in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Bahrain, and Yemen, has conducted numerous attacks against U.S. troops and diplomats, routinely attacks our Gulf and Israeli partners, and threatens tens of thousands of Americans across the Middle East. In addition to the IRGC’s terrorism in the Middle East, the group is plotting active assassination attempts against former U.S. officials and has been implicated in plots to kidnap Americans on U.S. soil.

“Delisting the IRGC would whitewash the group’s ongoing terrorism, discount the IRGC’s terror victims, and dangerously politicize terror designations moving forward. President Biden should heed the warn-

ings from our partners on the front lines of Iran's terrorist activity and abandon this ill-advised concession to the Iranian regime."



**Senator Ben Cardin (D-MD), *Politico*,  
March 22, 2022**

In particular, some lawmakers are worried about the possibility of the U.S. lifting sanctions on the Revolutionary Guard Corps, the Iranian regime's militia, as part of any agreement with Tehran. Reports have indicated that the U.S. is considering removing the IRGC from its formal list of foreign terrorist organizations.

"I certainly would very much like to maintain that they are a terrorist organization, because they are a terrorist organization," Cardin said. "...that designation should remain."



**Senator Chris Coons (D-DE), *Iran International*, March 28, 2022**

Iran's Revolutionary Guard is a "dangerous and destabilizing actor" and it is not clear why the United States would remove their terrorist designation, Senator Chris Coons told Iran International on Monday.

Regarding the Islamic Republic in general, Coons said it is doing at least three bad things: Consistently and at large scale repressing the human rights of the Iranian people; exporting violence in the region through support for Hezbollah, for Houthis, through the IRGC and other groups... and continuing to develop ballistic missile technology that threatens the whole region.

"A successful deal should address a whole spectrum of what they do, all of them. That does not seem to be on the agenda of what Iran is willing to discuss," the Senator added.

**49 Republican Senators letter to President Biden, SFRC website, March 14, 2022**

Forty-nine Republican Senators today told the Biden Administration they will not support the revived Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action with Iran, which, according to public reports, will weaken sanctions and lessen restrictions on Iran's nuclear program.

We strongly urge the administration, our Democrat colleagues, and the international community to learn the lessons of the very recent past. A major agreement that does not have strong bipartisan support in Congress will not survive."



**House Majority Leader Steny Hoyer (D-MD), Iran International, March 29, 2022**

"IRGC is a terrorist organization. And I'm for continuing it being designated as a terrorist organization. I'm also in favor of dealing in this agreement with the non-nuclear malign activity pursued by the Iranians to destabilize the Middle East."

**21 Member of House of Representative from both parties, letter to President Biden, March 10, 2022**

"Among other issues, we are highly concerned about reports indicating the potential lifting of the Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) designation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and of the sanctions placed on members of the office of the Supreme Leader. Without adequately addressing Iran's role as the world's leading state-sponsor of terror — which was noticeably absent from the 2015 JCPOA — and simultaneously providing billions of dollars in sanctions relief, the United States would be providing a clear path for Iranian proxies to continue fueling terrorism."

**87 Republican Member of the House of Representative, letter to Secretary Blinken, March 22, 2022**

“We are deeply concerned about reports that the Biden Administration intends to remove the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) within the confines of a new Iran Nuclear Deal. We are united in strong opposition to any move to legitimize the IRGC’s reckless, destabilizing, and antisemitic actions throughout the Middle East.”

## **Appendix II**

# **Iran: Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) The Machinery of Terrorism**

## **Why Tehran Wants the IRGC Off U.S. Terror List**

### **TABLE OF CONTENTS**

#### **Introduction**

#### **IRGC: A History of Terrorism**

- The IRGC and Its tasks
- IRGC and Yemen
- IRGC and Syria
- IRGC and Iraq
- IRGC and Hezbollah

#### **Continued Terrorism Since the 2019 FTO Designation**

- IRGC's Formation of Proxy Naval Terror Units
- IRGC'S Drone Terror
- IRGC's Terror and Assassination Attempts on US soil

#### **Funding Terrorism**

- IRGC Dominates Iran's Economy
- IRGC's Official Budget Grows by 240%

#### **Waging Terror on the Iranian People**

- IRGC Protects, Keeps Theocracy in Power
- IRGC Suppresses the Iranian People

#### **Conclusion**

# 1. Introduction

In the ongoing nuclear negotiations in Vienna, the Iranian regime has insisted on removing the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) from the United States' list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO). The four-decade-long involvement of the IRGC and its extra-territorial arm, the Quds Force (IRGC-QF), in terrorist operations ultimately led to their designation as an FTO in April 2019.

The IRGC was first added to the Specially Designated Nationals and Blocked Persons List (SDN List), in December 2007, for supporting Tehran's effort to secure weapons of mass destruction. Additional sanctions designations followed under separate legal authorities for the IRGC's human rights abuses and acts of terrorism and, in October 2017, the U.S. government designated the IRGC as a Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT). This SDGT designation was imposed under Section 105 of the Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act of 2017 (CAATSA), which required the U.S. Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) to extend terrorism-related sanctions under Executive Order 13224 to "foreign persons that are officials, agents or affiliates of the IRGC."

Since 1979, the use of institutionalized terrorism as a tool of statecraft has been a pillar of the clerical regime's survival strategy. From using the *Hezbollah* in Lebanon to bomb the U.S. Marine Barracks in 1983, the *Khobar Towers* bombing in Saudi Arabia in 1996, the *Jewish Community Center* bombing in Argentina in 1994, using drones to target the *Saudi-Aramco refinery* in 2019, the downing of a *Ukrainian Passenger flight* in 2020, to name a few, the IRGC's role in direct or by-proxy state-sponsored terrorism is well documented. In many of the above examples, a common thread is the role of proxy groups recruited, funded, trained, and dispatched by the IRGC and its Quds Force. IRGC is the heart of the development of technology in nuclear, ballistic missiles, drones, and the training of proxy forces in the region.

The FTO designation has handicapped many of the IRGC-related foreign financial transactions. That is why Tehran has reportedly made IRGC's exclusion from the FTO list one of its main demands in the

Vienna talks; the designation has been effective. It could have been even more effective if it was augmented by other punitive measures and sanctions.

The IRGC's *involvement* in research & development of weapons of mass destruction, ceaseless terrorist activities to foment mayhem, destruction, and instability across the Middle East, its financial empire to fund its nefarious activities inside Iran and abroad, make this terror outfit a serious global threat. Stopping this threat without clipping the terrorism wings of the IRGC will not be very effective. If money flows into the IRGC unhindered, it will end up in the hands of Hezbollah, Yemeni's Houthis, Iraqi Shiite militias, and other proxies.

The IRGC's other main function is to serve as the regime's main arm of crushing internal dissent and to suppress the Iranian people as well as engineering assassination of Iranian dissidents abroad. Suppression at home and terrorism abroad are the two sides of the same IRGC coin and the foundations of the regime's survival.

It is useful to recall the list of various terrorism, human rights, nuclear, and missile development-related sanctions the IRGC is currently subjected to. The partial list below comes from the *Office of Foreign Asset Control* of the United State:

- IRGC
- IRGC AEROSPACE FORCE
- IRGC AIR FORCE AL-GHADIR MISSILE COMMAND
- IRGC COOPERATIVE FOUNDATION
- IRGC GROUND FORCES
- IRGC JANGAL ORGANIZATION
- IRGC MISSILE COMMAND
- IRGC NAVY
- IRGC-QF
- ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY GUARD CORPS(IRGC)-QUDS FORCE

The point to notice is the variety of militarily and financial involvement of the IRGC in Tehran's rogue behavior. All aspects of military



and financial institutions in the form of foundations and civilian entities are part of the IRGC's vast network to fund its terrorist activities and plunder Iranian people's national wealth.

In addition to the organizations, there are many individuals and "civilian" entities which do the bidding for the IRGC's malign activities. A potential IRGC exclusion from the FTO list and taking these individuals off the terror blacklist, as requested by Iran's ruling theocracy, will no doubt heighten terrorism and mayhem in the region.

This report will show different aspects of IRGC's systemic involvement in terrorism and will highlight how it has continued since 2019.

## 2. IRGC: A History of Terrorism

### *IRGC and Its Tasks*

Article 151 of the Iranian regime's Constitution specifies the duties of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) as "protecting the Revolution and its accomplishments." To put it another way, the IRGC is the backbone of the apparatus established to preserve the dictatorship, which itself rests on three pillars: suppression within Iran; export of terrorism and fundamentalism beyond Iran's borders; the program to manufacture a nuclear bomb and nuclear-capable missiles to threaten other countries.



The Revolutionary Guards is involved in military and terrorist interference in several countries of the region. Within the borders of Iran's neighbors, extensive terrorist operations and military meddling are carried out simultaneously. The IRGC also organizes terrorist networks and conducts terrorist operations throughout the world.

The IRGC has created a large directorate within its extraterritorial arm, the Quds Force, to expand its training of foreign mercenaries as part of the strategy to step up its meddling abroad in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Bahrain, Afghanistan, and elsewhere. The directorate has dozens of training camps across Iran. The camps have been assigned based on the nationality of the trainees and the type of training. Both terrorist training and military training for militias are provided, enabling them to better infiltrate and advance the regime's regional objectives. They are then dispatched to countries where the regime is engaged in wars, to escalate the warmongering.

The training directorate of the Quds Force is one of the most important sections of this terrorist force. The directorate is codenamed 12,000 in the internal correspondence of the IRGC. The headquarters of the directorate is in Imam Ali Garrison 20km from the Tehran-Karaj Highway.

Nuclear negotiations happening in Vienna are a "sequel" to what has already transpired in 2015 when the first version of JCPOA was agreed upon. We already know how the regime made use of "sanction relief" from the first set of agreements. The tens of billions of dollars and other resources provided to the Iranian regime following the JCPOA did not alter the rogue behavior of the regime, nor did it improve the economic situation of the population. On the contrary, the terror abroad intensified, as did the suppression of the Iranian people.

The mullahs' regime has funneled billions of dollars to finance its belligerent agenda in the Middle East while the majority of Iran's people are living in poverty. As the regime's officials have conceded, if the regime fails to ignite wars outside Iran's borders, it would have to fight for survival within Iran's borders.

Tehran is setting up the necessary facilities and equipment for missile development and launch capabilities. In addition to firing missiles into regional countries, it exports the necessary missile technology and constructs missile factories outside Iran's borders to supply its proxies. This export of missiles to Yemen and elsewhere contravenes UN Security Council resolutions.

### ***IRGC in Yemen***

IRGC uses an existing conflict to spread terror and instability by supporting the warring parties. IRGC-QF support for the Ansarullah proxy group in Yemen, known as the Houthis, is widely reported. But the involvement in Yemen has also brought about a wider terror capability, drones, and naval attack units.

### ***IRGC in Syria***

The Syrian war provided the basis for the regime to spread its war-mongering and meddling in the region. The regime spent over 15 billion dollars annually at the height of the Syrian conflict. The total is estimated at more than 100 billion dollars.

Thousands of foreign forces including the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, Afghan Fatemiyoun, the Pakistani Zeynabiyoun, various Iraqi militia groups, the Lebanese Hezbollah took part in the war in Syria under the IRGC. More than 100 senior IRGC commanders ranked higher than colonel have been killed in Syria.

### ***IRGC in Iraq***

The destructive influence in Iraq and elsewhere is evident. The IRGC and the IRGC-QF played a key role since 2003 in dominating the affairs in Iraq by recruiting, training, funding militias in Iraq. The Quds Force has been involved with the production and utilization of the Explosively Formed Projectiles (EFP) targeting Americans and Iraqis, taking tens of thousands of lives. The IRGC not only meddles

in the internal affairs of the country and rejects the will of people but it has participated in terror and assassination inside Iraq, even murdering Iranian regime's critics.

## ***IRGC and Hezbollah***

IRGC's relationship with Hezbollah is deep and old. In Lebanon, the destructive nature of Hezbollah in Lebanese civil society is now obvious. Hassan Nasrallah has bragged that as long as the Iranian regime has money, so will they. So, the IRGC money gets spread among "friends." The IRGC has further extended its reach beyond the immediate Middle East and the Islamic countries to South and Central America through its proxy groups like Hezbollah. A combined effort of narco-terrorism for financial reasons in addition to the traditional terrorism describes its push into the Americas.

The regime's network of terrorism and mafia gangs in South American countries have emerged as a result of decades of corruption and underdevelopment in those countries. In recent years, the IRGC and its proxy terrorist group, Hezbollah, have been able to circumvent international sanctions and earn hard currency by strengthening their foothold in Latin America.

## **3. Continued Terrorism Since the 2019 FTO Designation**

It is noteworthy to examine the continued and the new terror initiatives by the IRGC since its Foreign Terrorist Organizations (FTO) designation in 2019. The IRGC terror activities have stepped up unabated.

The mullahs have openly increased their aggression and terrorism in Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and Lebanon. The IRGC took responsibility for firing a dozen ballistic missiles from Iran into Erbil on March 13, 2022.

## ***IRGC's Formation of Proxy Naval Terror Units***

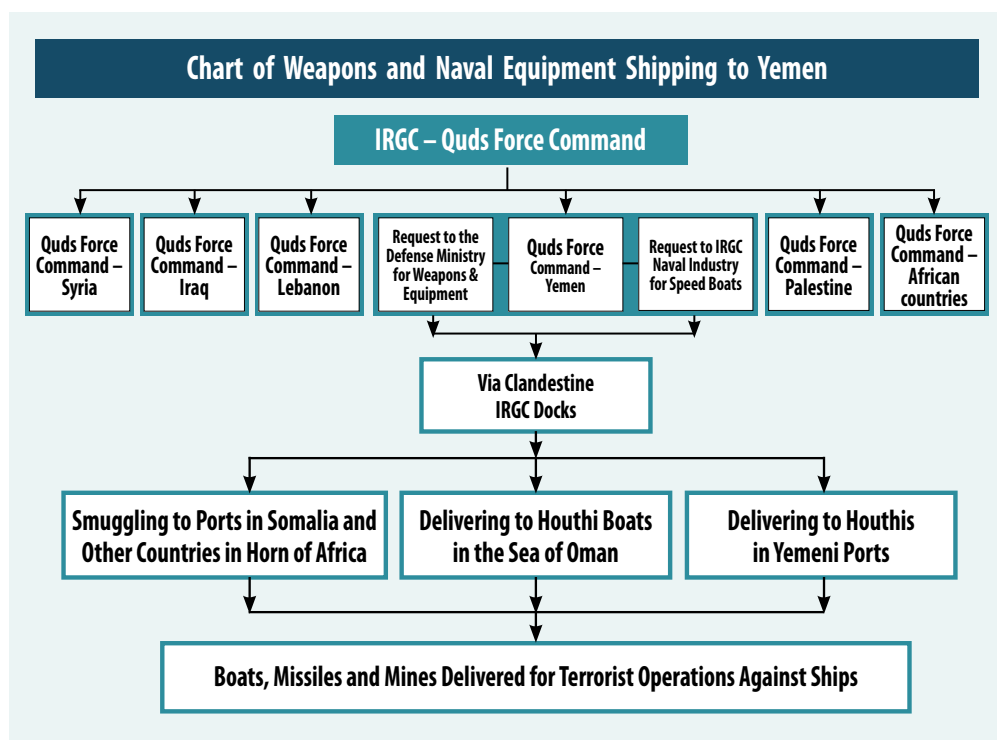
The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps' Quds Force (IRGC-QF) has been recruiting mercenaries for newly created, armed, and trained terrorist units to attack ships and maritime targets in the region. Naval attacks directly and indirectly by the IRGC have increased since 2019.



The port city of Jask in the Sea of Oman is home to Imamate Garrison, the base of the independent command headquarters of the IRGC Navy

After the elimination of Qassem Soleimani in January 2020, which weakened the Quds Force's ability to directly encroach in the countries of the region, the IRGC's capacity to intrude in Iraq, Lebanon and Syria has been on the decline. To compensate for this failure, the IRGC has turned to intervention in Yemen, especially escalating naval terrorist activities and threatening the international shipping on its shores.

The command headquarters of the Quds Force in Yemen recruits Houthi forces and sends them to Iran for training, where the IRGC-QF conducts training in specialized naval courses for its Yemeni, Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese, and African mercenaries, who



**Chart of Weapons and Naval Equipment Shipping to Yemen**

are then dispatched to their home countries to form proxy naval units.

The primary location for naval commando training for these proxy naval units is called the Khamenei Academy of Naval Sciences and Technology in Ziba Kenar on the Caspian coastline. There is a section in the Khamenei Academy dedicated to the six-month training course of foreign mercenaries affiliated with the Quds Force. In January 2020, for example, one such course in naval science and technology was launched for about 200 Yemeni mercenaries.

Several Persian Gulf islands are being used for maritime training for IRGC-QF mercenaries, including Farur and Qeshm islands.

The Quds Force has set up a smuggling network to provide weapons and equipment to its proxies for naval attacks. The Quds Force has equipped the Houthis with speedboats, missiles, mines, and other

weapons. It employs tactics that utilize speedboats and asymmetric warfare to expand conflicts into the Arabian Sea, Bab al-Mandab, and the Red Sea. Many terrorist operations in this region targeting ships have been carried out by these proxy naval units.

Since early 2021, and more so since August 2021, when Ebrahim Raisi took office as the new president of the Iranian regime, Tehran has stepped up its maritime terrorist operations using its foreign mercenaries, especially the Houthis. This escalation is in line with its stepped-up drone attacks against the Persian Gulf countries, as well as its nuclear defiance.

## ***IRGC's Drone Terror***

In that the clerical regime in Iran lacks the military capability to build advanced weaponry, it has resorted to the production of weapons and equipment that can be used for terrorist and war-mongering activities.



Locations of 8 sites used for manufacturing and 7 sites used for keeping and launching UAVs



One such weapon, in the production and export of which the regime has invested heavily in recent years, is a variety of drones, or unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs). The IRGC *smuggles* these UAVs abroad for its proxies to ignite war and terrorism.

Prominent examples of drone attacks are the 2021 drone attacks into the Saudi-Aramco refinery and the 2021 drone attacks into cargo ships resulting in 2 fatalities.

The UAV Command under the IRGC Aerospace Force has various UAV centers across Iran. It is the most important entity for training and using UAVs. Local mercenaries from these countries receive training at IRGC Aerospace Force locations in Iran.

The Quds Force Intelligence and Training directorates have dedicated certain sections to the production as well as training and export of UAVs to other countries in the region.



The IRGC's drone command center was directly involved in the attack on the Saudi Aramco oil refinery. The IRGC also

One of the Mohajer-6 UAVs delivered by the Iranian regime to Al-Nujaba group in Iraq, one of the mercenary groups of the Quds Force, on display during a parade organized by the Popular Mobilization Front in June 2021.

continues to export drones to Syria, Iraq, Lebanon, and Yemen. UAV parts are flown to these countries in IRGC planes as well as shipped through the land crossing and are subsequently assembled in the host countries.

The findings make clear that the reason for the IRGC's focus on the production and use of drones lies in the fundamental military weaknesses of the regime when it comes to modern warfare. On the oth-

er hand, the IRGC has used drones, much like its missile program, as an instrument to instigate conflict and terrorism in the region in order to keep the clerical dictatorship in power.

### ***IRGC's Terror and Assassination Attempts on US soil***

The commander of the Quds Force, Esmail Qaani, has openly been threatening the US officials with violence. The Washington Examiner on March 7, 2022, reported that at least two Iranian members of the IRGC's Quds Force were plotting to assassinate former national security advisor John Bolton. According to the Examiner's Justice Department sources, the FBI agents and the intelligence officers disrupted the assassination plot against Bolton.

In 2011 Treasury Department sanctioned 5 IRGC-Quds Force individuals connected to assassination attempts on the Saudi Arabian Ambassador to the US.

## **4. Funding Terrorism**

Where does all the money come from? The IRGC is not just a military organization. It also has an extensive financial arm. It has the resources of a relatively wealthy country like Iran at its disposal. The entire Iranian economy is largely controlled one way or another by Ali Khomeini and the IRGC. IRGC's financial empire is the lifeblood of IRGC. Any money that goes into this regime is swallowed by this financial monster.

The Iran nuclear deal, finalized in July 2015 between the P5+1 world powers and Tehran, encouraged some in the West that the Iranian economy would finally turn a corner and be set on a path of gradual progress. Its implementation since January 2016, which brought the lifting of some international sanctions, strengthened these hopes, and Western companies initially expressed eagerness to ink deals

with Tehran. That optimism never materialized, because international sanctions were never the cause of Iran's economic ills.

Economic development constantly coalescing with the pillars of political power, hides the origins of the current crisis, only heightened — not produced — by international sanctions.

Article 44 constitutionally splits the entire economy into three sectors: "state, cooperative, and private." The regime is granted legal justification to seize property by claiming adherence to "Islamic law," protection of "public interests," and "social justice." Article 49, for example, grants the regime "the responsibility of confiscating all wealth" that the state considers being obtained through illegitimate means. As such, regime officials are unleashed in their large-scale and lucrative confiscation campaigns.

## ***IRGC Dominates Iran's Economy***

Over the past decade, this has been billed as "privatization," and is how a significant portion of Iran's economic institutions have been handed off to the office of the Supreme Leader as well as the IRGC and its affiliate entities.

The beneficiaries of the bulk of these transfers were the Supreme Leader's office and its various tentacles, including the dominant SETAD, the armed services, and the infamous bonyads or foundations.

The consequent economic configuration is defined by at least 14 major economic powerhouses either directly or indirectly controlled by Khamenei, the IRGC, or a combination of their affiliates.

When it comes to banks, financial and credit institutions, insurance, the stock market, domestic and foreign commerce, real estate, and the financial instruments market, Khamenei's office (along with the IRGC) has taken control of virtually everything that matters. This has been done through the so-called cooperatives (ta'avoni), some of the most important of which are among the 14 economic blocks.

These three policies, namely seizure of public property creating economic powerhouses, near-absolute control over financial markets, and elimination of subsidies, are all means to a single end: the wholesale and sweeping confiscation of public wealth and assets for the benefit of Khamenei and the IRGC.

But where do the astronomical profits go? The money ends up funding the IRGC mercenaries and its terror operations in Syria, terrorism and sectarianism in Iraq, the war in Yemen, the nuclear weapons and missile programs, the security apparatus in Iran, and terrorist operations around the world.

Foreign investors cannot in practical terms avoid entanglement by affiliation in the Iranian regime's support for terrorism, continued aggressive policies towards regional countries, manufacture, and testing of ballistic missiles, and egregious human rights violations inside Iran.

In reality, the back-breaking control of the Supreme Leader and the IRGC, over the economic system and the astonishing growth of extremely disruptive and obstructive rules and regulations leaves little or no room for genuine free-market competition in Iran.

Western companies engaged in economic and financial deals with Iran would like to portray their activities as transactions with the "private sector." However, behind the official banks and companies lies a web of institutions controlled by the theocracy, and specifically the IRGC.

Western companies, governments, and the citizens they represent cannot avoid the reality that today the gatekeepers to Iran's economy are those who suppress the Iranian population and export the very terrorism and fundamentalist ideology that threaten the West.

There are important conclusions here. First, the vast and interconnected network of wealth and power in the hands of the Supreme Leader is indicative of a sophisticated monopoly over the Iranian economy. Put simply, to do business with Iran is to do business with Khamenei and the IRGC.

Second, the disastrous economic situation — unemployment, inflation, near-destruction of the manufacturing sector, wide-scale corruption, stagnant wages, is the most enduring long-term source for social discontent. It is a major source of instability for the regime at home, casting a long shadow of uncertainty over its future. Since December 2017, there have been 8 major uprisings in Iran, some engulfing 200 cities and all 31 provinces, shaking the very foundation of the clerical regime, as people have been chanting “Death to the dictator; Death to Khamenei” and “Our enemy is right here, they lie when they say it is America.”

Sanctions relief will not change these deeply entrenched factors. As social demands grow in breadth and depth, the regime’s ability to respond to them becomes increasingly limited. That presents a recipe for a major social transformation, one that sees no future role for Tehran’s theocratic rulers.

### ***IRGC’s Official Budget Grows by 240%***

You would think that the regime would cut the IRGC budget when the economy is not going well, and the regime cannot even pay for the wages of the teachers and workers. But on the contrary, in Raisi’s budget, there was a 240% increase in the IRGC budget for the Iranian fiscal year starting March 2022.

## **5. Waging Terror on the Iranian People**

### ***IRGC Protects, Keeps Theocracy in Power***

IRGC was initially formed to protect the clerical regime and its fundamentalist ideology, serving directly the Vali-Faghih (Ali Khamenei). It is the instrument used by Ali Khamenei to suppress the population. Over time it has also become the sole military/financial powerhouse in Iran.

They are not just another center of power in Iran, they are the military arm to keep Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei in power with unlimited authority in the regime.

## ***IRGC Suppresses the Iranian People***

IRGC is brought in to suppress the protests when they cannot be handled by the regular security forces. This happened in November of 2019 when people protested the gasoline price increase across Iran. More than 1,500 people were reported killed in these protests. Many of the IRGC officers were directly sanctioned for participating in killing the protesters. The money that flows in will ultimately be used to suppress the Iranian people, in addition to funding terrorism.

## **6. Conclusion**

The Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC), and its extraterritorial arm, the Quds Force (IRGC-QF) continue to sponsor and fund terrorism. The fiscal year (starting March 2022) shows a 240% increase in the budget allocated to the IRGC. This is in addition to special funds directly controlled by the Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, which would help fund terrorism by the IRGC-QF.

IRGC-QF has stepped up its terror operations in the region, especially after the 2018 uprisings in Iran, to make up for its lack of popular support, and in order to project power and cover its fundamental weakness inside Iran.

Since the 2019 designation of the IRGC and the IRGC-QF as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO), the stepped-up terror operations have proven that the well-warranted designations need to remain in place.

The IRGC smuggles UAVs abroad for its proxies to ignite war and terrorism. The UAV Command under the IRGC Aerospace Force has

various UAV centers across Iran, used for training and utilization of the UAVs. The IRGC has used drones, much like its missile program, as an instrument to instigate terrorism to keep theocracy in power.

The IRGC-QF has been recruiting mercenaries for newly created, armed, and trained terrorist units to attack ships and maritime targets in the region. Naval terrorist attacks directly and indirectly by the IRGC have increased since 2019.

The Quds Force has set up a smuggling network to provide weapons and has equipped the Houthis with speedboats, missiles, and mines to expand conflicts into the Arabian Sea, Bab al-Mandab, and the Red Sea. Many terrorist operations in this region targeting foreign and Arab ships have been carried out by these proxy naval units.

In 2021, and more so since Ebrahim Raisi took office as president, Tehran has stepped up its maritime terrorist operations using its foreign mercenaries, especially the Houthis.

Tehran has recently stepped-up terror plots on U.S. soil. The commander of the IRGC's Quds Force, Esmail Qaani, has openly threatened the US officials with violence. According to a Justice Department official at least two Iranians belonging to the IRGC-QF have been plotting to assassinate former national security adviser John Bolton.

The continued offers of concessions by Western countries and lack of accountability for the regime's terrorism, have emboldened Tehran to step up its terrorism in the region.

Since 2018, there have been eight major uprisings, as well as successive protests by various sectors of Iranian society seeking fundamental change. Yet, the Iranian regime has been investing lavish amounts of money and resources for training, funding, and arming proxies, while a vast majority of the Iranian people live below the poverty line.

Tehran's repeated demands during the Vienna talks for lifting sanctions on the IRGC, Supreme Leader Khamenei, and other officials in-

volved in decades of terrorism, aims to provide additional resources to these entities for funding terrorism in the region.

The vast monopoly of the Supreme Leader and the IRGC over the Iranian economy, means doing business with Iran is doing business with Khamenei and the IRGC.

The disastrous economic situation — unemployment, inflation, near-destruction of the manufacturing sector, wide-scale corruption, stagnant wages, are not going to be resolved by sanctions relief. On the contrary, the empowered IRGC would exert more pressure on the population and suppress them more, while funding terror proxies.

Removing the terrorism designation (FTO) of the IRGC, as demanded by the Iranian regime, would send a wrong signal to the regime, as well as its victims. Instead of holding the regime accountable for its stepped-up terrorism, once again, the West would be rewarding the regime for its terrorism, leading to even more violence.

Given the behavior of the Iranian regime which heavily relies on the IRGC to carry out terrorism in the countries of the region, none of the sanctions against the regime should be lifted. On the contrary, additional sanctions are particularly warranted for the regime's escalation of violence and terrorism in the region.



# List of publications

List of Publications by the National Council of Resistance of Iran,  
U.S. Representative Office

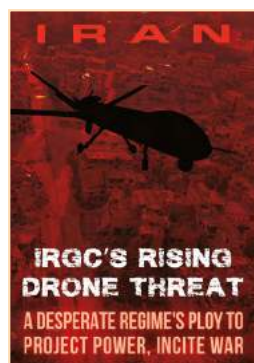


## **IRAN: Exposing the Latest Terrorist Game Plan of the IRGC-Quds Force**

Formation of Proxy Naval Units

*February 2022, 59 pages*

This book, for the first time, unveils details of how the IRGC's Quds Force has been recruiting mercenaries for newly created, armed, and trained naval terrorist units.



## **IRGC's Rising Drone Threat**

A Desperate Regime's Ploy to Project Power, Incite War

*December 2021, 70 pages*

This book provides details of the most important organs of production, use and export of UAVs by the IRGC as well as 15 front companies used to provide parts.

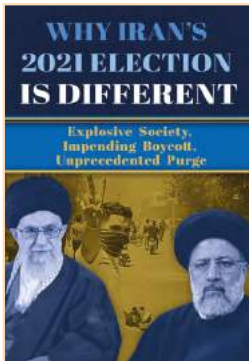


## **IRAN: Call for Justice**

The Case to Hold Ebrahim Raisi to Account for Crimes Against Humanity

*September 2021, 108 pages*

This manuscript makes the case for bringing the clerical regime's president Ebrahim Raisi to justice before an international tribunal for the 1988 massacre, a clear case of crimes against humanity.

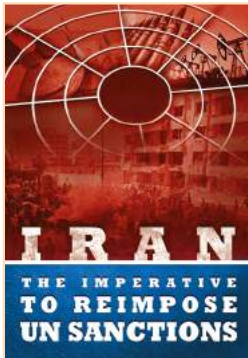


## Why Iran's 2021 Election Is Different:

Explosive Society, Impending Boycott, Unprecedented Purge

*May 2021, 80 pages*

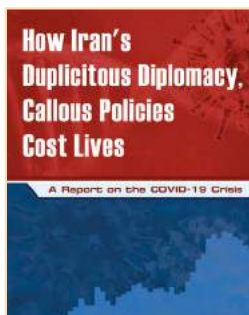
This report highlights the difference between the 2021 election and all prior 12 presidential elections in Iran.



## IRAN - The Imperative to Reimpose UN Sanctions

*August 2020, 108 pages*

This report shows how the Iranian regime is involved in procuring and manufacturing weapons and military equipment with the objective of exporting terrorism and warmongering, regional meddling by sending weapons and missiles to expand terrorist attacks, and resorts to terrorism.

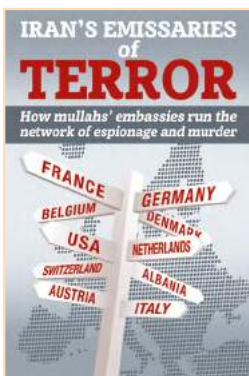


## How Iran's Duplicious Diplomacy, Callous Policies Cost Lives

A Report on the COVID-19 Crisis

*April 2020, 84 pages*

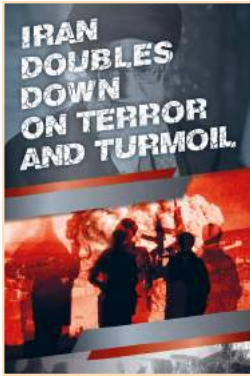
This report seeks to show that the Iranian Foreign Ministry's campaign to lift sanctions is replete with lies and misleading claims, with the goal of cynically exploiting the coronavirus pandemic to the regime's benefit. In effect, the mullahs are causing the death of thousands of Iranians to preserve their own rule.



## Iran's Emissaries of Terror

*June 2019, 208 pages*

This book explains the extent to which Tehran's embassies and diplomats are at the core of both the planning and execution of international terrorism targeting Iranian dissidents, as well as central to Tehran's direct and proxy terrorism against other countries.



## Iran Doubles Down on Terror and Turmoil

*November 2018, 63 pages*

This book examines the regime's political and economic strategy, which revolves around terrorism and physical annihilation of opponents. Failing to quell growing popular protests, Tehran has bolstered domestic suppression with blatant terrorism and intimidation.

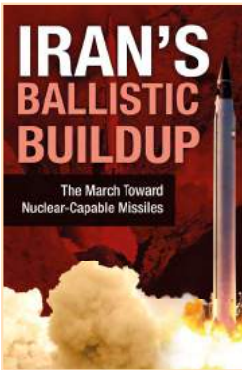


## Iran Will Be Free:

### Speech by Maryam Rajavi

*September 2018, 54 pages*

Text of a keynote speech delivered by Mrs. Maryam Rajavi on June 30, 2018, at the Iranian Resistance's grand gathering in Paris, France explaining the path to freedom in Iran and what she envisions for future Iran.

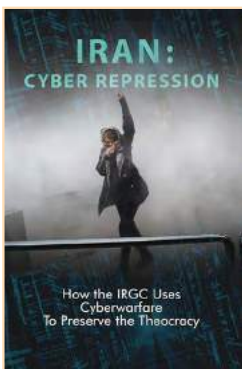


## Iran's Ballistic Buildup:

### The March Toward Nuclear-Capable Missiles

*May 2018, 136 pages*

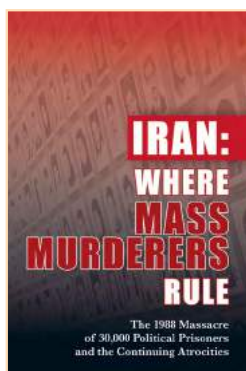
This manuscript surveys Iran's missile capabilities, including the underlying organization, structure, production, and development infrastructure, as well as launch facilities and the command centers. The book exposes the nexus between the regime's missile activities and its nuclear weapons program, including ties with North Korea.



## Iran: Cyber Repression: How the IRGC Uses Cyberwarfare to Preserve the Theocracy

*February 2018, 70 pages*

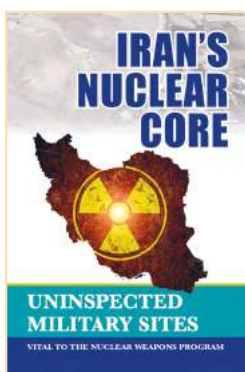
This manuscript demonstrates how the Iranian regime, under the supervision and guidance of the IRGC and the Ministry of Intelligence and Security (MOIS), have employed new cyberwarfare and tactics in a desperate attempt to counter the growing dissent inside the country.



## **Iran: Where Mass Murderers Rule: The 1988 Massacre of 30,000 Political Prisoners and the Continuing Atrocities**

*November 2017, 161 pages*

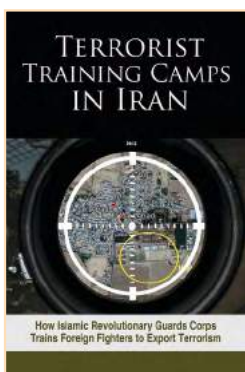
Iran: Where Mass Murderers Rule is an expose of the current rulers of Iran and their track record in human rights violations. The book details how 30,000 political prisoners fell victim to politicide during the summer of 1988 and showcases the egregious political extinction of a group of people.



## **Iran's Nuclear Core: Uninspected Military Sites, Vital to the Nuclear Weapons Program**

*October 2017, 52 pages*

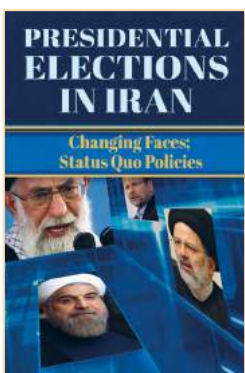
This book details how the nuclear weapons program is at the heart of, and not parallel to, the civil nuclear program of Iran. The program has been run by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corp (IRGC) since the beginning, and the main nuclear sites and nuclear research facilities have been hidden from the eyes of the United Nations nuclear watchdog.



## **Terrorist Training Camps in Iran: How Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps Trains Foreign Fighters to Export Terrorism**

*June 2017, 56 pages*

The book details how Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps trains foreign fighters in 15 various camps in Iran to export terrorism. The IRGC has created a large directorate within its extraterritorial arm, the Quds Force, in order to expand its training of foreign mercenaries as part of the strategy to step up its meddling abroad in Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Bahrain, Afghanistan and elsewhere.

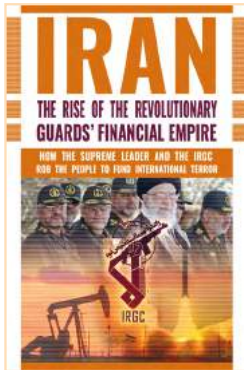


## **Presidential Elections in Iran: Changing Faces; Status Quo Policies**

*May 2017, 78 pages*

The book reviews the past 11 presidential elections, demonstrating that the only criterion for qualifying as a candidate is practical and heartfelt allegiance to the Supreme Leader. An unelected vetting watchdog, the Guardian Council makes that determination.

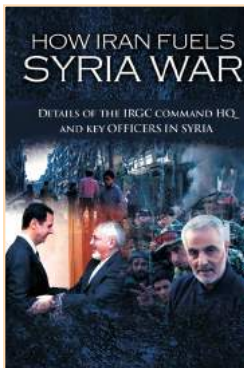




## **The Rise of Iran's Revolutionary Guards' Financial Empire: How the Supreme Leader and the IRGC Rob the People to Fund International Terror**

*March 2017, 174 pages*

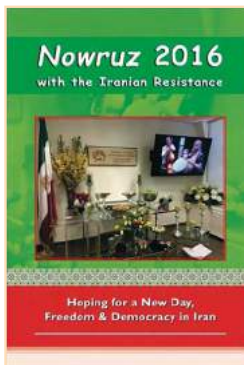
This study shows how ownership of property in various spheres of the economy is gradually shifted from the population writ large towards a minority ruling elite comprised of the Supreme Leader's office and the IRGC, using 14 powerhouses, and how the money ends up funding terrorism worldwide.



## **How Iran Fuels Syria War: Details of the IRGC Command HQ and Key Officers in Syria**

*November 2016, 74 pages*

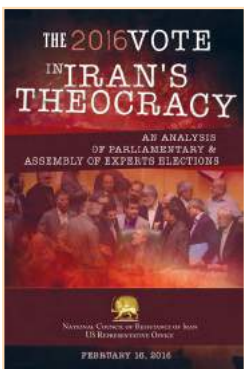
This book examines how the Iranian regime has effectively engaged in the military occupation of Syria by marshaling 70,000 forces, including the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and mercenaries from other countries into Syria; is paying monthly salaries to over 250,000 militias and agents to prolong the conflict; and divided the country into 5 zones of conflict, establishing 18 command, logistics and operations centers.



## **Nowruz 2016 with the Iranian Resistance: Hoping for a New Day, Freedom and Democracy in Iran**

*April 2016, 36 pages*

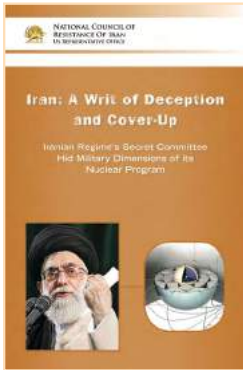
This book describes Iranian New Year, Nowruz celebrations at the Washington office of Iran's parliament-in-exile, the National Council of Resistance of Iran. The yearly event marks the beginning of spring. It includes select speeches by dignitaries who have attended the NCRIUS Nowruz celebrations.



## **The 2016 Vote in Iran's Theocracy: An analysis of Parliamentary & Assembly of Experts Elections**

*February 2016, 70 pages*

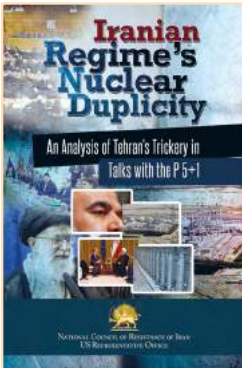
This book examines all the relevant data about the 2016 Assembly of Experts as well as Parliamentary elections ahead of the February 2016 elections. It looks at the history of elections since the revolution in 1979 and highlights the current intensified infighting among the various factions of the Iranian regime.



## **IRAN: A Writ of Deception and Cover-up: Iranian Regime's Secret Committee Hid Military Dimensions of its Nuclear Program**

*February 2016, 30 pages*

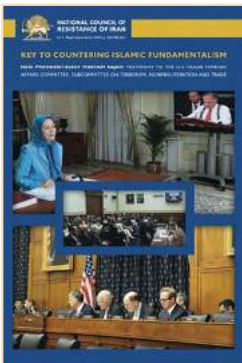
The book provides details about a top-secret committee in charge of forging response to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) regarding the Possible Military Dimensions (PMD) of Tehran's nuclear program, including those related to the detonators called EBW (Exploding Bridge Wire), an integral part of developing an implosion type nuclear device.



## **Iranian Regime's Nuclear Duplicity: An Analysis of Tehran's Trickery in Talks with the P5+1**

*January 2016, 74 pages*

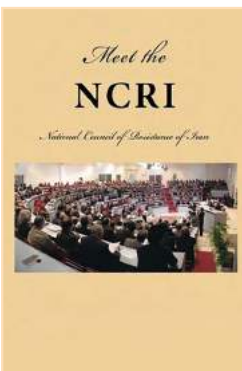
This book examines Iran's behavior throughout the negotiations process in an effort to inform the current dialogue on a potential agreement. Drawing on both publicly available sources and those within Iran, the book focuses on two major periods of intense negotiations with the regime: 2003-2004 and 2013-2015.



## **Key to Countering Islamic Fundamentalism: Maryam Rajavi? Testimony To The U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee**

*June 2015, 68 pages*

Testimony before U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee's subcommittee on Terrorism, non-Proliferation, and Trade discussing ISIS and Islamic fundamentalism. The book contains Maryam Rajavi's full testimony as well as the question and answer by representatives.



## **Meet the National Council of Resistance of Iran**

*June 2014, 150 pages*

Meet the National Council of Resistance of Iran discusses what NCRI stands for, what its platform is, and why a vision for a free, democratic, secular, non-nuclear republic in Iran would serve world peace.



## **How Iran Regime Cheated the World: Tehran's Systematic Efforts to Cover Up its Nuclear Weapons Program**

*June 2014, 50 pages*

The monograph discusses the Iranian regime's report card as far as it relates to being transparent when addressing the international community's concerns about the true nature and the ultimate purpose of its nuclear program.

# About the NCRI-US

The National Council of Resistance of Iran-US Representative Office (NCRI-US) acts as the Washington office for Iran's parliament-in-exile, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, which is dedicated to the establishment of a democratic, secular, non-nuclear republic in Iran.

NCRI-US, registered as a non-profit tax-exempt organization, has been instrumental in exposing the nuclear weapons program of Iran, including the sites in Natanz and Arak, the biological and chemical weapons program, as well as the ambitious ballistic missile and drone programs.

NCRI-US has also exposed the terrorist network of the regime, including its involvement in the bombing of Khobar Towers in Saudi Arabia, the Jewish Community Center in Argentina, its fueling of sectarian violence in Iraq and Syria, and its malign activities in other parts of the Middle East.

With information gathered by the MEK intelligence network inside Iran, NCRI-US has also revealed crucial information about the vast financial empire run by the IRGC and Khamenei.

Our office has provided information on the human rights violations, extensive anti-government demonstrations, and the movement for democratic change in Iran.

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The Iranian Revolutionary Guard Corps' DNA is to use terrorism as an instrument of national power, against the Iranian people, and around the globe. ... To believe that being soft on the IRGC and obtaining compliance in exchange for delisting it from the FTO is equivalent to asking someone to change their DNA.

– **Hon. David Shedd, former Acting Director, Defense Intelligence Agency**

The IRGC should not be delisted from the State Department's Foreign Terrorist Organization designation.

– **Amb. Paula Dobriansky, former Under Secretary of State for Global Affairs**

Removing the IRGC from the list of foreign terrorist organizations would actually be worse than not having placed the organization on the list in the first place.

– **Hon. Michael Mukasey, 81st Attorney General of the United States**

It's time to support Madame Rajavi's 10-point plan, which is perfectly consistent with all of our values.

– **Amb. Lincoln Bloomfield, Jr., former Assistant Secretary of State for Political Military Affairs**

As surely as these sanctions will break the will of the Russians invading Ukraine, they will break the will of the mullahs in Iran.

– **Hon. Robert G. Torricelli, former Democratic Senator from New Jersey**

The IRGC is the most dangerous terror organization in the world. We must ... return to operating from a position of strength.

– **Dr. Steven Bucci, visiting fellow at The Heritage Foundation**

Whether in Ukraine or Iran, the cause is the same – the fight is for freedom, for democracy, and for equality. In both Ukraine and Iran, these brave men and women are showing the world that these principles – enshrined in Madame Rajavi's platform for Iran – are worth fighting and even dying for.

– **Amb. Mitchell Reiss, former Director of Policy Planning at the State Department**

Iran is at a threshold as a nuclear weapons state as we speak now. ... I applaud what Senator Menendez has been doing with his colleagues in the Senate.

– **Amb. Joseph DeTrani, former Special Adviser to the Director of National Intelligence**

Senator Menendez has suggested three very reasonable criteria. First, (any agreement) should roll back Iran's nuclear capabilities and close the pathway to a nuclear weapon. Second, it should provide for effective verification. And third, it should constrain Iran's missile force.

– **Amb. Robert Joseph, former Undersecretary of State for Arms Control & International Security**

The ballistic missile development and testing by the Iranians, which sometimes gets lost in the discussion, is a significant issue for the United States.

– **Gen. (ret.) Chuck Wald, former Deputy Commander of U.S. European Command**

This nuclear deal will not encourage the regime in Tehran to become more moderate, as the deal's supporters have long advocated, but it will rather empower, enrich, and entrench this regime.

– **Mr. Jonathan Ruhe, JINSA Director of Foreign Policy**



NATIONAL COUNCIL OF RESISTANCE OF IRAN  
U.S. REPRESENTATIVE OFFICE

