

## **Introduction:**

In the latest revelation about Tehran's increasing meddling in Iraq through its proxy groups, Iraq's national intelligence chief Mohammed al-Shahwani accused Iran's Baghdad embassy of masterminding an assassination campaign that has seen 18 intelligence agents killed since mid-September.

Shahwani told the French news agency on October 14 that a series of raids on three Iranian "safe houses" in Baghdad on September 29 had uncovered a treasure trove of documents linking Iran to plots to kill members of the intelligence service and using the Badr former militia of the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq's (SCIRI) as its tool.

Since mid-September, 18 Iraqi intelligence agents have been killed in Iraq, 10 of them by the Badr organization on orders from Iran and the rest by Al-Qaeda-linked foreign militant Abu Mussab al-Zarqawi, Shahwani charged. "Badr and Zarqawi have assassinated 18 of my men," Shahwani said from his heavily-guarded villa in central Baghdad.

Shahwani's claims of huge caches of documents seized in the September raids were the most explicit charges to date against Iran and the first time an Iraqi party has been publicly named as Tehran's proxy. He said that during the raids, "Documents were obtained ... (showing) the Iranian regime ... is seeking to embroil some of the SCIRI members in subversive acts to exacerbate Iraq's wounds and dominate it."

The intelligence director said the documents showed Iran had a 45-million-dollar budget for sowing chaos in Iraq and had recruited members of Badr and a subsidiary party, Hezbollah, to kill Iraqi intelligence agents. He claimed his intelligence service had obtained the names and addresses of Badr members working directly for Iran.

This following brief deals with how the Badr Corps (also known as the Badr Brigade) was formed and where it received the training and the finances to make it a viable force. The brief was prepared in September 2001 and deals with the status of the Badr Corps before it relocated to Iraq following the ouster of the previous Iraqi government after the invasion by the U.S.-led coalition.

## **A BRIEF ON THE 9<sup>TH</sup> BADR CORPS (BRIGADE)**

**September 2001**

### **History:**

1. The Badr Corps (complete name is the Ninth Badr Corps of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps) is not an Iraqi entity but an Iranian grouping affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps.
2. The 9<sup>th</sup> Badr Corps was formed by the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps during the Iran-Iraq war in the 1980s. Its forces primarily consisted of repatriated Iraqis and POWs who were either coerced or enticed into collaborating with the Iranian regime. The first commander of the Badr Corps was a Revolutionary Guards officer by the name of Daghayeghi, from the Iranian city of Behbahan. He took over the forces of the Iraqi Supreme Council of Iraq's Islamic Revolution in 1984 and combined them with the Badr Corps. The mullahs and Revolutionary Guards continue to control and direct this entity. Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has even appointed his own man, a cleric by the name of

Salak, a former commander of Komiteh (urban security bases) in Tehran, to oversee the publication of the group's weekly, *Badr*.

3. Members of the 9<sup>th</sup> *Badr* Corps are on the Revolutionary Guards payroll and are covered by the same administrative and employment regulations as the Guards Corps. These forces were first organized in the form of brigades and took part in the Iranian regime's offensives against Iraq during the war. In 1987, the *Badr* Brigade became the Ninth *Badr* Division. During National Liberation Army's<sup>1</sup> Operation Eternal Light<sup>2</sup> in July 1988, the *Badr* forces were deployed by the Revolutionary Guards in Kermanshah Province to repulse the NLA offensive. In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf War, the Iranian regime sought to take advantage of the chaotic situation in Iraq and dispatched the *Badr* Corps into Iraq to wreak havoc in the county and establish "The Islamic Republic of Iraq."
4. The *Badr* Corps acts as the military wing of the "Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI)," formed in 1981 by Ayatollah Khomeini. Now Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei was given the task of drafting its constitution. The group's leader, Baqer Hakim told the *Badr* daily on June 20, 1998: "The by-laws and the constitution of the Supreme Council of Iraq's Islamic Revolution" has been drafted under the personal supervision of the *vali-e faqih* (Ali Khamenei) and the Imam of *Ummat* (Khomeini)." Khomeini originally appointed Mahmoud Hashemi Shahroudi, Iran's current Judiciary Chief, as the first Chairman of the SCIRI and Baqer Hakim as its spokesman.
5. As the Iran-Iraq war intensified, Khomeini assigned the *Badr* Corps to the task of mobilizing Iraqis who were living in Iran for the war effort. Another agency, SCIRI support office, was formed. This organ worked closely with the Revolutionary Guards Corps, the Interior Ministry and other government ministries and agencies to provide the SCIRI's financial, logistical and administrative needs. Abu-Ammar, the current commander of the *Badr* Corps' training center in Varamin (south of Tehran) told the weekly *Lava as-Sadr* (the weekly organ of Hakim's group) in April 1999, "The first Iraqi's who went to the war fronts as regular forces were the Bassijis who had joined the Imam Hassan Brigade. After that, the military units of the Supreme Council of Iraq's Islamic Revolution was formed as the *Badr* force. From the outset, as a matter of principle, the *Badr* force relied on the experiences of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps."

### **SCIRI leadership:**

6. Mohammad Baqer Hakim, the current leader of SCIRI was born in 1939 in Najaf, Iraq. He has been living in Iran since 1980. When he first went to Iran, Khomeini stationed him close to his own residence and used him as a pawn to export revolution to Iraq. Following Khomeini's death, Hakim's star began to rise. In 1991, Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei dissolved the Committee to Address Iraqi Affairs, which was run by the SCIRI, and set up a new organ, called the Nasr Headquarters (or the Headquarters to Assist the Iraqi people). He appointed one of his confidants, Ali Agha Mohammadi as the head of the Nasr Headquarters. Since then, as the representative of the SCIRI, Hakim is

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1. The National Liberation Army of Iran (NLA), a force of several thousands of dissident Iranians, including members of the People's Mujahedeen opposition group, was formed in 1987 and soon evolved into a mechanized military outfit. The Resistance Leader Massoud Rajavi formed the NLA one year after he relocated to Iraq from France. Women comprise one third of NLA's combatants and seventy percent of its commanders.

2. On July 25, 1988, ten divisions and 35 support and combat brigades of the National Liberation Army penetrated 170 kilometers into Iran. The NLA advanced to the gates of Kermanshah, the largest city in western Iran. In the course of four days of intense fighting, the regime suffered 55,000 casualties. NLA lost 1,300 men and women soldiers.

receiving the guidelines for SCIRI's activities and its administrative and financial needs. When the Nasr Headquarters was formed, Agha Mohammadi made some changes in the organization and activities of SCIRI, combining the council's military units with the Ninth Badr Corps. He also dissolved the command staff of the Ninth Badr Corps and appointed its commander, Abu-Ali Nassiri, as a member of the central council of SCIRI. In 1992, the Badr Corps, which was until then affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps Qods (Jerusalem) Force, was linked to the Nasr Headquarters. Changes were made in its command structure as well.

### **The Badr Corps & PMOI**

7. From the outset, one of the primary tasks of the Ninth Badr Corps was to confront the PMOI. In 1988, during Operation Eternal Light, the Iranian regime dispatched the Corps to Kermanshah to fight against the NLA forces. Twelve years later, on July 31, 2000, Hakim's agents wrote in "Leva As-Sadr [Sadr's Flag]," which publishes the "statements of the office of Seyyed Baqer Hakim," that "109 of them were killed in Mersad operation in 1988, in which the Badr Corps played a significant role." As part of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, these mercenaries also took part in the Iranian regime's attacks against the Mujahedeen in Iraqi territory in March and April 1991.
8. In the 1990s, the Iranian regime used the Badr Corps in dozens of terrorist and diversionary operations against the PMOI in Iraq. From January 1993 until July 2001, at least 127 terrorist operations were carried out against the PMOI in Iraqi territory. In many of them, agents of the 9th Badr Corps took part directly on the scene of the operations or provided cover, intelligence gathering and logistical support for the Revolutionary Guards.
9. In an interview with official news agency, ISNA, on September 19, 2000, Baqer Hakim said, "Since 1991, our policy toward the Mujahedeen changed and we consider them as an apparatus within the suppressive organs of the Ba'ath regime." He reiterated that since then, his group has taken military action against the Mujahedeen.
10. Subsequently, the PMOI issued a statement on September 20, 2000, which said in part, "In this way, Hakim acknowledged that the "Supreme Council of Islamic Revolution in Iraq," an entity set up by the Iranian regime and the '9th Badr Corps,' which operates under the command of the Revolutionary Guards Corps, were involved in terrorist operations against the Iranian Resistance in Iraqi territory. Since 1993, there have been 98 terrorist operations against the Iranian Resistance in Iraq.
11. Hakim, who has openly expressed allegiance to Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei, is despised by even those Iraqi nationals who live in Iran because of his mercenary role and participation in the atrocities of the mullahs' regime. In many instances, Iraqis have protested his actions but have been suppressed by the Intelligence Ministry and the Revolutionary Guards Corps.
12. On August 23, while referring to the operations of the Mujahedeen inside Iran, Intelligence Minister Ali Younessi said, "We will retaliate against the Mujahedeen through the people of Iraq... The Mujahedeen will sustain heavy blows in the future."
13. In a statement on February 24, 1998, the Mujahedeen's Command HQ in Iran charged, "In order to carry out its terrorist attacks in Iraqi territory, the mullahs' Intelligence Ministry has used agents of the 'ninth Badr Corps' who are commanded by the Revolutionary

Guards Qods Force. Hassan Ameri, in charge of the Guards Intelligence Directorate, works closely with a senior Intelligence Ministry official by the name of Haj Hamed and recruits suitable persons for terrorist operations by the Intelligence Ministry.”

14. Previously, the Mujahedeen had revealed the role of the agents of the 9<sup>th</sup> Badr Corps in a car-bomb attack against a passenger bus carrying the Mujahedeen. Six Mujahedeen were killed, 21 were wounded and dozens of Iraqi civilians were injured on June 9, 1999. This group was also involved in the attack with 120mm mortars on National Liberation Army's Habib camp on August 19, 2000.
15. Khamenei and the Revolutionary Guards' total control over the Badr Corps and the SCIRI created a backlash among Iraqis living Iran. Numerous reports indicated that most were vehemently opposed to the Badr Corps and Hakim. The daily Khordad reported on February 2, 1999, “When Baqer Hakim entered the grand mosque in Qom to take part in ceremonies commemorating the death of Ayatollah Mohammad Sadeq Sadr, a number repatriated Iraqis began to chant slogans against him and hurled their shoes at him, causing the cancellation of his scheduled speech.”

### **Badr Corps' terrorist assaults:**

16. As an arm of the Revolutionary Guards' terror machine, the Badr Corps has carried out dozens of terrorist operations, killing several PMOI members. In other cases, it planted bombs in public places, or fired at residential areas and killed hundreds of Iraqi civilians, including women and children. Below are some examples:
  - Iraqi Islamic Intifada television, June 12, 1999, “Several days ago, an explosion north of Baghdad destroyed a bus carrying Monafeqin [PMOI] members. Six people were killed. Questions were raised as to the identity of the perpetrators. It was established that the people of Iraq had carried out this operation.”
  - The civilian bus was carrying a number of the Mujahedeen when a car bomb exploded near a Baghdad hospital, destroying the bus.
  - Iraqi Islamic Intifada television, September 28, 1999, “The Monafeqin claimed that a car bomb near their main base in Baghdad had been neutralized. A car bomb, which blew up near another base of the Monafeqin in Basra, killed four of their members and destroyed one of their vehicles. These explosions were carried out by our people against this grouping.”
  - Islamic Intifada television, November 4, 1999, “The Martyr Sadr II youth organization issued a statement and took responsibility for the explosion at the Iranian Monafeqin camp north of Basra on Tuesday evening. Some 90 people were killed or wounded as a result of the explosion.”
  - Radio Badr, December 27, 1999, “The daily An-Naba', published by the Mujahedeen of Iraq's Islamic Revolution, wrote, 'A team of combatant forces attacked a car carrying a number of Monafeqin members on December 5, 1999. The attack took place in the highway between Al-Amara and Basra and three members of the organization [PMOI] were killed.’”

- Jam-e Jam television, January 27, 2000, "In continuation of their attacks against the terrorist Monafeqin group, Iraqi insurgents blew up a bomb on the Basra highway as five of the group's cars were passing by."
- Iraq's Revolutionary Radio, March 14, 2000, "Two bases of the Monafeqin who reside in Iraq were hit by missiles."
- Iraq's Revolutionary Radio, July 29, 2000, "An attack was launched against a nest of the Monafeqin organization in the city of Al-Amara. Sources of the Combatants of Iraq's Islamic Revolution explained that last Monday, a team launched a missile attack using Katyusha rockets at the new base of the Monafeqin terrorist group on the road from Meimoneh to Al-Amara. Ten missiles hit the base and inflicted many casualties."
- Iraq's Revolutionary Radio, August 21, 2000, "The Islamic Resistance attacked one of the bases of the Monafeqin, mercenaries of Saddam Hussein in Basra. Iraq's Islamic Intifada Television announced that a team of the Islamic resistance fired twenty 120mm mortars at the Monafeqin base located in Az-Zia region north of Basra. The television said that the attack occurred at 1:45 am on Friday and hit the targets."
- Iranian state radio, Kurdish broadcast, August 23, 2000, "Iraq Voice of Solidarity said that Iraqi insurgents fired mortars at the base of the People's Mujahedeen Organization of Iran (Monafeqin) in Iraqi territory."
- Nahrain website, September 1, 2001, "In a statement issued by the Intifada Martyrs Group, Camp Habib, which belongs to the Monafeqin in north of Basra was hit with ten 122mm Katyusha rockets.... This group had previously attacked the another base of the Monafeqin in Dowjeilah, south of the Iraqi city of Kut on August 9, 2001, in which ten 122mm Katyusha rockets were used and dozens of members of this grouping were killed or wounded."