Mr. President, first let me

compliment my colleague from Connecticut,

who is largely responsible for

the idea of this amendment and much

of the text of it, for his leadership over

the years in trying to ensure we take

appropriate action against Iran as it

confronts America, both with regard to

its nuclear program development as

well as, more currently, its activities

against our forces in Iraq. He has been

truly inspirational, and I appreciate

that leadership.

The Senator from Connecticut has

well laid out the case for this sense-ofthe-

Senate amendment that the U.S.

Government should designate specifically

the Islamic Revolutionary Guard

as a foreign terrorist organization and

include it on the list of Specially Designated

Global Terrorists. In addition,

this sense-of-the-Senate amendment

urges the use of our diplomatic and

economic tools to pressure the Iranian

regime not only to abandon its nuclear

program but also to stop the use of its

surrogates against our forces in Iraq.

There have been only two questions

raised about this amendment. I am

hoping and expecting that it will receive

very strong bipartisan support

tomorrow, assuming we are able to

vote on it tomorrow. The only two

questions were, first of all, Can this be

read in any way as an authorization of

military action against Iran? I will assure

my colleagues that is absolutely

not our intention—in fact, quite the

opposite. This is intended to obviate

the necessity for such military conduct.

Nobody wants to have to engage

in military action against Iran directly,

but what we would like to do is

get them to stop killing our troops.

One way to do that is to put economic

pressure on the organization that is

doing the killing, and that is what this

amendment would ask the administration

to do.

Secondly, there is the question of

whether the Islamic Revolutionary

Guard is the appropriate entity to list

on the Specially Designated Global

Terrorists, and the answer to that is

clearly yes. As I will point out in a moment,

we have incontrovertible evidence

that this is the group, as Senator

LIEBERMAN pointed out, that is causing

the trouble.

Some have said: Well, we should just

designate the Quds Force of the Islamic

Revolutionary Guard as the terrorist

entity. That is like saying the Mafia

isn’t really responsible for what the

Mafia does; it is only their hit men.

The Quds Force is the group of hit men

for this entity. This entity is clearly

the overall entity responsible for this

action, and it is the entity that engages

in the economic activity which

supplies the financial resources to the

Quds Force. So it would not be adequate,

obviously, just to designate the

Quds Force, which is an arm of the

Revolutionary Guard, as the terrorist

entity.

What evidence do we actually have

that this is the entity of the Iranian

Government that is doing all the dirty

work? Well, there are many public

statements, and I will quote from some

of them. Senator LIEBERMAN quoted

some of them. There is also other information,

as one might imagine, and my

colleagues should be encouraged to

consult with terrorist agencies if they

have any questions about the specific

involvement of the Islamic Revolutionary

Guard. But it is clear that this

is the entity on which we should be focusing.

Senator LIEBERMAN quoted one of

General Petraeus’s statements in his

testimony before the Committee on

Foreign Affairs and the Committee on

Armed Services on September 10 that

it is apparent Iran, through the use of

the Iranian Republican Guard Corps—

Quds Force—is causing this proxy war.

Here is something else General

Petraeus also recently stated:

And his full name is BG Qassem

Suleimani—

There is a specific reference to the

IRGC.

In addition, Brigadier General

Bergner, who is a spokesman for the

Multi-National Force-Iraq, recently

talked about the Quds Force operation

in three camps near Teheran, and he

said:

Now, Senator LIEBERMAN also referred

to General Odierno. When I was

in Iraq last, I was ushered into General

Odierno’s office to have a very candid

discussion with him, and what an impressive

military officer he is. He said:

Come look at what I have on the table

here, and he proceeded to show us a

great deal of military hardware and described

to us what it was. Essentially,

it was all of the things—examples of

many of the things they had found supplied

by Iran, the weaponry that is

killing American troops. On one, he

said: Here, look at this. He said: You

probably can’t read Farsi, but this

says, ‘‘Made in Iran.’’ Well, I accept his

statement of what the Farsi says:

‘‘Made in Iran.’’

He also showed us the earth

penetrators. Before we went to Iraq, we

were in Kuwait at the base from which

a lot of our equipment has come back

out of Iraq for repair or disposition,

and I say ‘‘disposition’’ because some

of it has been so devastated by the explosion

of these weapons smuggled in

from Iran that there is nothing much

left of them. What was so impressive—

or depressive—to see was to see the

biggest, heaviest tank in the world, an

Abrams tank, blown apart by these

things as if it were a stick of dynamite

in a tin can. The force and the destructive

capability was almost beyond belief.

We saw examples of that in General

Odierno’s office—a canister about

this big with a concave shape in the

middle that he said is the shaped

charge that explodes up into the tank

or the humvee or whatever the military

vehicle is and devastates it. In

any event, they have no doubt whatsoever

that this equipment which is killing

American troops is coming from

Iran.

The Department of Defense report to

Congress entitled ‘‘Measuring Stability

and Security in Iraq’’ that was just released

on September 18 of this year

states:

The equipment to which I just referred—

There is a very interesting story in

Time magazine, a recent issue, quoting

a former CIA explosive expert who still

works in Iraq as saying that these explosively

formed projectiles we are

finding in Iran, that:

His argument is that only a state is

capable of manufacturing these EFPs.

In other words, these are manufactured

by people officially connected with the

government. They have access to the

equipment and material and technology

to make them. It is a complicated

process that is involved in the

making of the weapons I described.

Incidentally, this same individual is

convinced that the IRGC is helping

Iraqi Shia militias sight in their mortars

on the Green Zone, helping them

to make sure they actually land on the

Green Zone:

The investigations into these particular

attacks, incidentally, were also

discussed in an August 2005 Time report

about an Iranian operative who

headed a network of insurgents created,

again, by the Islamic Revolutionary

Guard Corps and that they

began introducing these EFPs into the

country at the beginning of that year.

Abu Mustafa al-Sheibani, an Iranian

operative who headed a network of insurgents

created by the Islamic Revolutionary

Guard Corps, introduced the

EFPs into the country in early 2007.

U.S. military sources claimed to have

captured EFPs that displayed the hallmarks

of Iranian-manufactured weaponry.

This is all IRGC. This is the entity

which would be declared the terrorist

group under our amendment.

Ray Takehy, of the Council on Foreign

Relations, recently said this—I am

speaking of the IRGC:

I am going on to quote him:

This makes the point Senator

LIEBERMAN made before—that this Revolutionary

Guard Corps is deeply involved

in economic activity. They rely

on financing for a lot of their activity.

It is this vulnerability which causes us

to believe that if they are listed as a

state-sponsored terrorist group, we

can, through the use of the sanctions

that are available to us, inhibit and

impede and ultimately stop their activity.

The Revolutionary Guard Corps plays

a key role in the military industries in

Iran. According to Anthony

Cordesman, who is a distinguished expert

in this area and who is currently

with the Center for Strategic and

International Studies, they have been

involved in the attempted acquisition

of nuclear weapons and surface-to-surface

missiles, among other things.

Interestingly, also, the unanimously

passed U.N. Security Council resolutions

sanctioning Iran have listed several

IRGC entities as being involved in

Iran’s nuclear and ballistic missile activities.

Finally, the UNSCR resolutions list

high-ranking IRGC personnel for their

involvement in these programs, including

the deputy commander of the

IRGC, the chief of the IRGC joint staff,

the commanders of IRGC ground

forces, the commander of the IRGC

Navy, the commander of the Basij Resistance

Force, the commander of the

Quds Force, and the Deputy Interior

Minister for Security Affairs, who is

also an IRGC officer.

I note that these resolutions, 1737 and

1747, which were immediately implemented

by our European partners, have

not yet been fully implemented by our

own Treasury Department.

I cite all of this evidence and these

quotations to simply make the point

that there is absolutely no doubt that

it is the IRGC that is involved in these

activities against our American forces

and is responsible for their deaths in

Iraq. It is the IRGC that needs to be

named to the Specially Designated

Global Terrorist list. I misspoke before

and said the state-sponsored list. I

meant the Specially Designated Global

Terrorist list.

By being so listed, we can employ our

financial and immigration sanctions,

which could include them potentially

blocking assets and even the prosecution

of supporters who would provide

funding to them. It could also involve

refusal of visas and deportations of

members. It would allow us to block

the assets—in the United States—of

any foreign company doing business

with them, in effect, cutting them out

of American markets.

Any lesser sanctions, such as focusing

on the Quds Force, would not in

any way solve the problem. That is like

the hit men for the Mafia; you have to

get to the Mafia.

We cannot settle for symbolism. This

is serious. As I said, finally—and this is

my last point—our resolution should

not be read as an authorization for the

use of force. I think we might even be

changing a couple words in it to make

that crystal clear. That was not our intention.

To the extent that anybody

might try to use that as an excuse for

not supporting it, you will not have

that excuse. We took out a couple of

phrases that were pointed out as potentially

offering that degree of support.

This is not such an authorization for

the use of military action. This is designed

to prevent that. So if your concern

is that we might ultimately be

forced—or some people might believe

we might be forced—to take action

against Iran, and you want to void that

result, this kind of economic sanction

is within our power as Americans. We

don’t have to rely upon anybody else in

the world to do it; we can do that. We

know it can hurt them, and it goes to

the entity causing harm to our forces

and, therefore, we believe it is an appropriate

action for the administration

to take.

This would put the Senate on record

as urging the administration to take

this action as soon as possible, so we

can end the actions of the IRGC.

I compliment my colleague from

Connecticut again for his leadership

and sponsorship of the resolution. I

hope tomorrow we will vote on it and

our colleagues will be supportive of it.