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Iran Crisis Update, November 1
Nicholas Carl, Zachary Coles, Johanna Moore, and Frederick W. Kagan
November 1, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

American and Saudi officials have warned of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and possibly Erbil, according to the Wall Street Journal.<sup>1</sup> These warnings accord with CTP's previous forecasts that Iran may attack American, Israeli, or Saudi targets in retaliation for their alleged roles in stoking the protests and facilitating the Shiraz terror attack.<sup>2</sup> Iranian leaders will likely seek to externalize their responses to protests caused entirely by regime domestic policies as part of their refusal to accept that their policies alone have caused this much unrest.

Such attacks could threaten American servicemembers in the Middle East. Iranian officials have historically accused the US of cooperating with Israeli and Kurdish agents in Iraqi Kurdistan to undermine regime stability.<sup>3</sup> Tehran could use its drone and missile forces or its proxies to attack positions in Iraqi Kurdistan that it has accused the US and Israel of using to facilitate clandestine activities against the Islamic Republic. These positions could include the US presences at Erbil International Airport and the al Harir airbase.

The Iranians have more freedom to attack enemy targets in Iraq since the Iraqi government formation process ended. The newly approved Iraqi prime minister, Mohammad Shia al Sudani, is an Iranfriendly politician who will likely allow the IRGC and its proxies to expand their economic, political, and security influence throughout Iraq much more than his predecessor. Tehran risked derailing its efforts to install a friendly prime minister if it had escalated against the US in Iraq before the government formation process ended.

The regime could attack Saudi Arabia from Yemen, Iraq, or Iran itself. The IRGC has long furnished the all Houthi movement with advanced drone and missile systems to conduct attacks into Saudi Arabia.<sup>5</sup> The expiration of the UN-mediated truce to the Yemeni civil war on October 2 again allows Iran and the Houthis the opportunity to conduct attacks into the Gulf states.<sup>6</sup> The IRGC has increasingly instructed its Iraqi militias to conduct drone attacks into Saudi Arabia since May 2019 as well.<sup>7</sup> The IRGC also conducted a large-scale drone and missile attack on Saudi Arabia's Abgaig crude-processing

plant in September 2019, temporarily cutting Saudi oil production in half.<sup>8</sup> **Iran's support t**o the Houthis and Iraqi groups allows the IRGC to attack Saudi Arabia from multiple directions and thereby strain Saudi air defenses.

## Key Takeaways

- American and Saudi officials have warned of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and possibly Erbil, according to the Wall Street Journal.
- At least 30 protests took place in 15 cities across 11 provinces.
- Anti-regime outlet Iran International reported that the regime flew around 150 personnel from Kataib Hezbollah and other Iraqi proxies from Baghdad to Mashhad to support the protest crackdown. This report cannot be substantiated.
- Protesters have halted operations at some industrial and mining sites in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 30 protests took place in 15 cities across 11 provinces on November 1. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

## Dehloran, Ilam Province

- Several dozen protesters set fires in the streets and chanted anti-regime slogans.9
- Footage shows several dozen regime security personnel advancing towards a group of protesters and firing tear gas. Additional footage shows several protesters attending to people wounded by security forces.<sup>10</sup>

## Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province

- 25-75 Khayyam University students protesting and chanting "we don't want spectators! Join our ranks!" likely on campus grounds.<sup>11</sup>
- 50-100 high school students protested and chanted "Mullahs get lost" on the school grounds. <sup>12</sup> Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province
  - Several dozen Ibn Sina **High School students protested in the street and chanted** "death to the dictator." <sup>13</sup>
  - An undetermined number of protesters set a fire in the street and reportedly clashed with security forces.<sup>14</sup>

# Saghez, Kurdistan Province

• Several dozen Saghez University students protested in the street. 15

# Marivan, Kurdistan Province

- A dozen likely high school students protested in the street and blocked traffic. 16
- An undetermined number of protesters set fires in the street. 17

## Nurabad, Lorestan Province

• An undetermined number of protesters gathered in the streets. Protesters clashed with security forces to prevent security forces from conducting arrests. 18

# Romeshgan, Lorestan Province

• An undetermined number of protesters set a government building on fire. 19

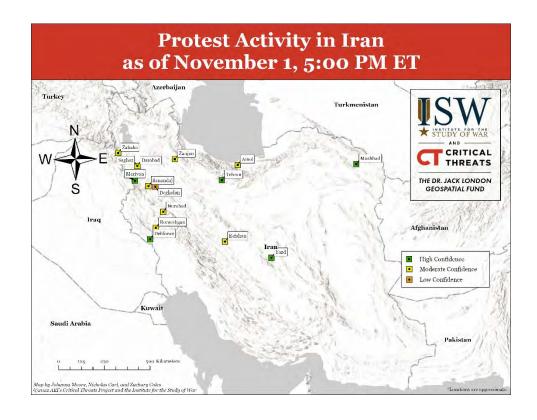
## Zabaka, Piranshahr Province

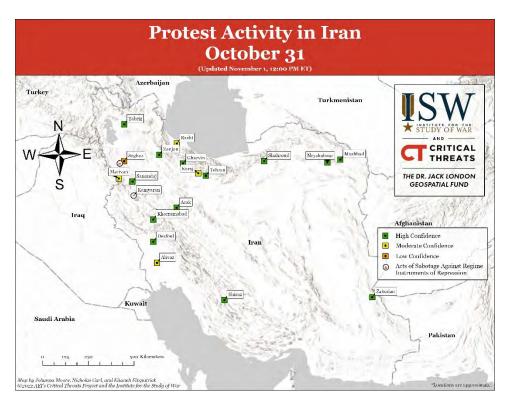
- Several dozen locals and outsiders attended a funeral for protest martyr Kumar Darfatade.<sup>20</sup> Tehran City, Tehran Province
  - Several dozen University of Tehran students protested on campus.<sup>21</sup>
  - Protesters hung a sign stating "We swear by the blood of our comrades, we will stand until the end" over Azadegan Highway in Tehran.<sup>22</sup>
  - At least a dozen faculty and students gathered to protest students being prevented from entering campus at Shahid Beheshti University.<sup>23</sup>
  - Several dozen student protesters held a sit-in at the Tehran al-Zahra University.<sup>24</sup>
  - 50-100 female students protest and chant "don't be afraid, don't be afraid, we are all together." 25
  - An undetermined number of protesters were heard chanting "this year, death of the army, death to the whole system" in Apadana.<sup>26</sup>
  - 50-100 student protesters gathered outside Allameh Tabataba'i University and threatened to shut down the university if any students were threatened.<sup>27</sup>
  - An undetermined number of students from West Tehran University chanted "You are the Basiji army of ISIS."<sup>28</sup>
  - Several dozen students from the University of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation Sciences gathered at the university and were seen chanting "freedom."<sup>29</sup>
  - 50-100 protesters gathered in Behest-e Zahrato to commemorate the 40-day anniversary of Siavash Mahmoudi's death as a protest martyr and chanted anti-regime rhetoric.<sup>30</sup>
- An undetermined number of protesters reportedly set up roadblocks and blocked traffic.<sup>31</sup> Zanjan City, Zanjan Province
  - One to two dozen students held a sit in at Zanjan University of Medical Sciences and chant "words, threats, advice are no longer effective." 32

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

## Darabad, Ardabil Province

- An undetermined number of protesters were heard chanting "death to the dictator." Dehgolan, Kurdistan Province
  - An undetermined number of students protested in the streets of Degholan.<sup>34</sup>





CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that university students participated in anti-regime sitins in the following location:

# Esfahan City, Esfahan Province

• 25-50 Esfahan University of Technology students chanted, held signs, and partially blocked the road.<sup>35</sup>

## Amol, Mazandaran Province

• One or two dozen protesters held a sit-in at Amol University.36

## Tehran City, Tehran

• 50-100 students and faculty protesters held a sit-in at the Amir Kabir University of Technology to protest Ali Baradran's arrest.<sup>37</sup>

# Yazd City, Yazd Province

• Two dozen students held a sit-in for the 150+ students suspended and arrested during protests.<sup>38</sup>

IRGC South Khorasan Provincial Corps Commander Brigadier General Mohammad Reza Mehdavi warned on October 30 that the Basij has restrained itself against protests but will stop doing so if protests continue.<sup>39</sup> Mehdavi commands the IRGC and Basij personnel in South Khorasan Province and is therefore responsible for overseeing the crackdown there. His remarks are consistent with the harsher rhetoric that Iranian political and security leaders have begun toward the protests in recent days.

Anti-regime outlet Iran International reported that the regime flew around 150 personnel from Kataib Hezbollah and other Iraqi proxies from Baghdad to Mashhad on October 31 to support the protest crackdown. <sup>40</sup> **Kataib Hezbollah is one of Iran's most loyal and** well-equipped militias in Iraq. Israeli media similarly reported on October 16 that the IRGC is using members of Lebanese Hezbollah and Iraqi proxies to suppress protests in Iran. <sup>41</sup> CTP cannot verify these reports and has not seen evidence to corroborate these claims.

If these reports are true, the regime is likely using these proxies to mitigate the bandwidth constraints of the security forces. <sup>42</sup> Incorporating foreign militias into the internal security forces would likely serve two primary functions: reinforcing the security apparatus with additional manpower and mitigating the risk of widespread dissent among the state security services. Iranian leaders fear disloyalty and insubordination among security personnel ordered to repress their fellow citizens. Foreign proxy fighters are less prone to insubordination because they lack the personal connections to Iran's neighborhoods that the native IRGC and LEC members have.

The Intelligence and Security Ministry announced on October 31 the arrest of six accomplices of the gunman who attacked the Shiraz shrine.<sup>43</sup> The ministry described the individuals as part of the gunman's "terrorist team." Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib later announced the arrest of a seventh individual.

Protesters have halted operations at some industrial and mining sites in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.<sup>44</sup> These sites include a gold mine and gold purification plant among other nearby industrial facilities. Protesters demonstrated against the regime crackdown in Zahedan. A

provincial official, Mahmoud Reza Rahmatian, called on the regime to end the protests and warned that the closure of the sites could reduce investor confidence.

# Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

Iran is likely supporting Russian-led efforts to reach a political settlement to the ongoing-conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. President Ebrahim Raisi hosted Armenia Prime Minister Nikol Pashinyan on November 1 to discuss these negotiations. 45 Pashinyan previously traveled to Sochi on October 31 and met with Russian President Vladimir Putin and Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev to discuss the conflict. 46 Iranian leaders likely aim for a political settlement to disrupt the Azerbaijani efforts to connect Azerbaijan proper to the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic via a land corridor. 47 Iran's opposition to this land corridor has fueled tensions between Baku and Tehran in recent weeks, as CTP previously reported.<sup>48</sup>

Azerbaijani's State Security Service announced the arrest of a group of citizens who received funds and training from Iranian intelligence on November 1, which will likely further strain Iranian-Azerbaijani relations. 49 The State Security Service identified the group as the Muslim Unity Movement.

¹ https://www.wsj.com/articles/saudi-arabia-u-s-on-high-alert-after-warning-of-imminent-iranian-attack-11667319274

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-6; https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-updateoctober-27

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> www dot tasnim dot ot com/fa/news/1400/06/30/2576194

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-21

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.aei.org/research-products/report/yemens-houthis-and-the-expansion-of-irans-axis-ofresistance/?utm source=twitter&utm medium=social&utm campaign=zimmerman

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/yemen-truce-expires-un-keeps-pushing-broader-deal-2022-10-03/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-saudi-pipeline-attacks-originated-from-irag-11561741133

<sup>8</sup> https://www.voanews.com/a/middle-east\_saudi-arabia-drone-attacks-halted-half-its-oil-production/6175830.html

<sup>9</sup> https://twitter.com/vahid 1987/status/1587521188208803840?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESryWw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://twitter.com/Iran Padeshahie/status/1587559663188733952?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESryWw; https://twitter.com/irannewsjavanan/status/1587553659918995458?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESryWw

<sup>11</sup> https://twitter.com/gholamkhshani/status/1587472071835222017?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESrvWw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> https://twitter.com/Mojahedineng/status/1587484612732796935?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESryWw

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587358575709519874?s=20&t=606I7-GPxDyUIvTjtBOZvg;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587418099376087040

<sup>15</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587409496686706688

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587415039736258561

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587466309809459201

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587383608876171266

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587463271992418305?s=20&t=q1NSdmn59T3c7u-PgbS3yQ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1587364494614925313

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1587418583382036482?s=20&t=f 8EUXTI7BKvgAYXC19jOg

<sup>22</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587317114184105984

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587352464512229376; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587380538494558208

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587352706062196736

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587379271860887553

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<sup>26</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587387278166564864
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- 34 https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587469841610457088
- <sup>35</sup> https://twitter.com/gholamkhshani/status/1587489118468145159?s=20&t=O3uX40pV4WNR1vtiESryWw; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587379972359987200
- <sup>36</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587480474112462849?s=20&t=Yi4wvI5DCwhm2myBfdyEjw
- <sup>37</sup> <u>https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587355870438084609</u>;

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587356327524945920

<sup>38</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1587363973216833543?s=20&t=f\_8EUXTI7BKvgAYXC19jOg; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587351696631635969

- <sup>39</sup> https://www.etemadonline dot com/%D8%A8%D8%AE%D8%B4-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C-9/580209-%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86
- 40 https://www.iranintl.com/202211012249
- <sup>41</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-17
- <sup>42</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/whatever-it-takes-to-end-it-irans-shift-toward-more-oppressive-governance
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- 45 http://www.president dot ir/fa/140532
- <sup>46</sup> https://www.euronews.com/2022/10/31/vladimir-putin-hosts-leaders-of-armenia-and-azerbaijan-for-talks-in-sochi
- <sup>47</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-17
- 48 https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-17
- <sup>49</sup> https://www.jpost dot com/international/article-721211

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587388659099205636

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587391992996192257

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587405312025321473

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587461925780307968

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587467693942349824

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587467098422394880

<sup>33</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587405973399945216



Iran Crisis Update, November 2 Nicholas Carl, Zachary Coles, Johanna Moore, Amin Soltani, and Frederick W. Kagan November 2, 6:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

Iran is signaling its readiness to attack Saudi Arabia and possibly Erbil ostensibly in retaliation for the Shiraz terror attack but primarily for the alleged role of the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia in stoking protests. The regime raised the red flag of Imam Hossein above the Shah Cheragh Mosque—the target of the terror attack—in Shiraz, Fars Province on October 30.¹ The red flag represents revenge for an unjust death in Shia Islamic tradition. The regime takes down the flag once it has taken revenge. The regime raised the red flag last in Qom after the US killed Qassem Soleimani and before the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) conducted a ballistic missile attack on US forces in Iraq in January 2020.² IRGC Telegram channels posted videos depicting a hypothetical Iranian drone attack on Saudi energy infrastructure on November 2.³

An Iranian proxy Telegram channel recirculated on November 2 the Iran International report claiming that the regime flew around 150 proxy fighters from Baghdad to Mashhad to suppress protests.<sup>4</sup> Iran International claimed on November 1 that the regime sent fighters from Kataib Hezbollah and other unspecified Iraqi militias.<sup>5</sup> The Iranian proxy account reported that the regime also flew in personnel from Harakat Hezbollah al Nujaba and did not deny the reports. The IRGC Quds Force used Kataib Hezbollah and Harakat Hezbollah al Nujaba extensively in its military intervention into Syria to defend the Assad regime.<sup>6</sup>

## Key Takeaways

- Iran is signaling its readiness to attack Saudi Arabia and possibly Erbil ostensibly in retaliation for the Shiraz terror attack but primarily for the alleged role of the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia in stoking protests.
- An Iranian proxy Telegram channel recirculated the Iran International report claiming that the regime flew around 150 proxy fighters from Baghdad to Mashhad to suppress protests.
- At least 22 protests took place in 14 cities across nine provinces.
- Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei reiterated his claims that the West and Israel are stoking the protests in a speech to a group of university students.
- Parliamentarian Mohammad Saleh Jokar accused the Iranian diaspora of organizing terrorist attacks in Iran and called for their punishment.
- Kurdistan Chief Provincial Justice Hossein Hosseini announced the seizure of a cache of 49 hand grenades in Baneh, Kurdistan Province.
- Unidentified individuals shot at a Law Enforcement Command (LEC) station in Khash, Sistan and Baluchistan Province, injuring one police officer.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 22 protests took place in 14 cities across nine provinces on November 2. CTP has begun adding approximate populations to cities and towns in which protests occurred to track the degree to which the movement shifts between large urban areas and small towns and villages. Population data is drawn from the 2016 census.<sup>7</sup> CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 2,000,000)

• Several dozen Karaj University students protested in Karaj streets.8

Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,500,000)

- 50-100 Tabriz University students protested on campus.9
- Several dozen protesters marched through Tabriz streets.<sup>10</sup>

Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 2,000,000)

- 25-50 Esfahan University of Art students protested on campus and chanted "we will stand until the end." 11
- Several dozen protesters marched through Esfahan streets and chanted antiregime slogans. 12
- An undetermined number of protesters marched through Esfahan streets in the dark after the regime reportedly cut electricity to parts of Esfahan City. 13

Dehloran, Ilam Province (population: approximately 30,000)

• An undetermined number of protesters marched through Dehloran streets and chanted "death to Khamenei" and other anti-regime slogans. 14

Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: approximately 3,000,000)

 An undetermined number of Azad University of Mashhad students protested inside a building on campus.<sup>15</sup>

Boukan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 200,000)

 An undetermined number of protesters marched through Boukan streets and set fires to obstruct traffic.<sup>16</sup>

Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 150,000)

- An undetermined number of protesters marched through Marivan streets and chanted "we are all Mahsa Amini." The protesters marched in the dark, indicating the regime may have cut electricity to parts of Marivan.<sup>17</sup>
- An undetermined number of Payam Noor University students clashed with security forces while protesting on campus. Footage from social media shows students fleeing security forces attempting to detain them. Security forces killed a teenager attending the protests.<sup>18</sup>

Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 450,000)

- More than 100 protesters marched through Sanandaj streets and chanted "we don't want a baby killing government."<sup>19</sup>
- Approximately a half dozen protesters set a fire in the streets of Sanandaj.<sup>20</sup>
- An undetermined number of protesters set a fire in the streets on Sanandaj and established barriers to prevent traffic flow.<sup>21</sup>
- Several dozen protesters clashed with security forces and chanted "from Kurdistan to Sistan, I sacrifice my life for Iran."<sup>22</sup>

Nowshahr, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 50,000)

• 500-1,000 protesters gathered at a protest martyr Hannanah Kia's funeral. Security forces reportedly fired tear gas and live ammunition at mourners.<sup>23</sup>

Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 600,000)

 25-50 Sistan and Baluchistan University students protested on campus and chanted slogans that warned the regime against abducting students who are protesting.<sup>24</sup>

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- 20-30 high school students protested in the streets of Tehran.<sup>25</sup>
- One or two dozen Tehran University of Medical Sciences students protested on campus.<sup>26</sup>
- An undetermined number of al-Zahra University students protested and chanted in the university cafeteria.<sup>27</sup>

• Several dozen Beheshti University students protested on campus and chanted "shout for your life students." 28

Shahriar, Tehran Province (population: approximately 300,000)

• Several dozen high school students protested on school grounds.<sup>29</sup>

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 150,000)

 An undetermined number of protesters reportedly demonstrated in Saghez streets.<sup>30</sup>

Babol, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 250,000)

• An undetermined number of protesters reportedly demonstrated and blocked traffic in Babol streets.<sup>31</sup>



Social media accounts reported that security forces conducted psychological operations in Tehran to deter and intimidate protesters on October 31. Security personnel fired sound bombs around residential areas.<sup>32</sup> A security officer threatened protesters over a loudspeaker, stating that "we would even behead our own wives and children if necessary."<sup>33</sup>

Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei reiterated his claims that the West and Israel are stoking the protests in a speech to a group of university students on

November 2.<sup>34</sup> Khamenei described the protests as part of the Western-Israeli hybrid war against Iran. Khamenei made his first explicit accusation that the US is waging a hybrid war against Iran in February 2022, though his advisors have made similar claims for many years.<sup>35</sup> Khamenei spent most of his speech criticizing the US and arguing that Washington has always sought to undermine the Islamic Republic. Khamenei continues to avoid addressing citizens' popular grievances.

Parliamentarian Mohammad Saleh Jokar accused the Iranian diaspora of organizing terrorist attacks in Iran and called for their punishment on November 2.<sup>36</sup> Jokar proposed revoking the citizenship of Iranians living abroad who instigated protests. Jokar is a former IRGC member who has historically supported harsh protest crackdowns.<sup>37</sup> The EU sanctioned Jokar in 2011 over human rights abuses.<sup>38</sup>

Kurdistan Chief Provincial Justice Hossein Hosseini announced on November 2 the seizure of a cache of 49 hand grenades in Baneh, Kurdistan Province.<sup>39</sup> Hosseini also announced the arrest of two individuals related to the case and stated that they smuggled the grenades into Iran. Anti-regime Kurdish militancy and smuggling is common around Baneh, which is close to the Iran-Iraq border.

Unidentified individuals shot at a Law Enforcement Command (LEC) station in Khash, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 2, injuring one police officer.<sup>40</sup> Anti-regime protests and attacks have occurred in the areas surrounding Khash in recent weeks, which CTP has closely reported. Large-scale protests occurred in Zahedan throughout October 2022.<sup>41</sup> Unidentified individuals killed an LEC officer in nearby Iranshahr on October 30.<sup>42</sup>

# Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

**Azerbaijan's Defense** Ministry announced that Azerbaijani air, artillery, and special forces began a multi-stage military exercise along the Iran-Azerbaijan border on November 2.43 The Azerbaijani exercise follows Iranian military exercises along the Aras River on the Iran-Azerbaijan border from October 17 to October 19.44 Azerbaijan is likely signaling resolve in response to Iran's recent military exercise and repeated threats to retaliate for alleged Azerbaijani interference in domestic Iranian affairs.

Pakistani Baloch tribal leader Malik Munir Sheikh Husseini released a video statement condemning the Iranian regime for its violent suppression of protesters in Sistan and Baluchistan Province. <sup>45</sup> Sheikh Husseini is based in Quetta, Pakistan, where the Afghan Taliban and various Baloch militant organizations

have a presence.<sup>46</sup> **Husseini's rhetoric could stoke attacks** against the regime from antiregime militants operating in Pakistan.

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<sup>1</sup> https://www.hamshahrionline dot ir/news/716240
<sup>2</sup> https://www.cnbc.com/2020/01/04/mourners-chant-america-is-the-great-satan-over-death-of-soleimani.html
<sup>3</sup> https://t.me/sepah pasdaran/115384
<sup>4</sup> https://t.me/Tura313/34917
<sup>5</sup> https://www.iranintl.com/en/202211016600
6 https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/profile-harakat-hezbollah-al-nujaba
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https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587748647483105280?s=20&t=00Gzm5 KOHAi6Cyda5BCRQ
9 https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587819083986219008?s=20&t=GJMAaoDQxiugil59HwNhqA
<sup>10</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587900721529327622?s=20&t=jll6lihgqjzXTTZto4bJDg;
https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1587906839190343680?s=20&t=rdVuEmnfD7VKyE534UiKYg
11 https://twitter.com/IranIntl/status/1587921362219585536?s=20&t=gcztLUgdEzYsCvl1IGiV9w
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# Iran Crisis Update, November 3

Nicholas Carl, Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Zachary Coles, and Frederick W. Kagan November 3, 6:00 pm ET

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Violent clashes erupted between security forces and protesters in Karaj, Alborz Province on November 3. Mourners and protesters gathered around Karaj, which is just outside Tehran City, to commemorate the 40th day since the regime killed Hadis Najafi.[1] Security forces blocked roads leading to the cemetery where Najafi is buried and fired live ammunition and tear gas at protesters.[2] Protesters attacked security forces stations and vehicles.[3] Protesters stabbed and killed a Basij member and injured five Law Enforcement Command (LEC) officers.[4] Protesters also severely injured a cleric.[5]

IRGC Telegram channels characterized the protesters as "domestic ISIS" to demonize them and frame them as rioters and terrorists to the rest of the population.[6] Iran similarly framed all the Syrian opposition as ISIS in the Syrian civil war to turn domestic and international audiences against the opposition and rally support for despot Bashar al Assad.[7] The IRGC is feeding the narrative that the US is stoking the protests by referring to protesters as ISIS because Iranian leaders frequently argue that the US created ISIS.[8]

Protesters coordinated extensively to respond to the regime crackdown in Karaj, possibly reflecting growing organization within the movement. Some transported stones via truck to throw at security forces.[9] Others made Molotov cocktails.[10] Protesters lined up behind barriers to throw stones and possibly Molotov cocktails at security personnel.[11] Protesters also built a wall of cinderblocks to block a street.[12] This organization to resist repression in Karaj resembles the tactics that protesters used against security forces in Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province on October 28.[13]

The regime may be struggling to reach a consensus on how to manage the protests at this stage. The regime has not seemingly deployed the full extent of its internal security services to the crackdown yet despite the warning from Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Commander Major General Hossein Salami calling for the immediate end of protests on October 30.[14] Some Iranian officials likely recognize that conducting an even more brutal crackdown will produce more secular martyrs and 40-day ceremonies around which protesters will rally. President Ebrahim Raisi also may lack the decisiveness to manage the crackdown competently, although he is not the only senior decisionmaker involved in the protest suppression.

American and Persian Gulf officials told the *Wall Street Journal* that the likelihood of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and other neighboring countries has decreased but is not gone entirely.[15] American and Saudi officials previously warned that Iran would attack Saudi Arabia and possibly Erbil in retaliation for the perceived role of the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia in stoking the ongoing protests.[16] Tehran will nevertheless likely conduct a dramatic attack abroad--likely with drones and missiles--in retaliation for the Shiraz attack in the coming days or weeks for the domestic Iranian audience.

#### Key Takeaways

- Violent clashes erupted between security forces and protesters in Karaj, Alborz Province on November 3.
- Protesters coordinated extensively to respond to the regime crackdown in Karaj, possibly reflecting growing organization within the movement.
- The regime may be struggling to reach a consensus on how to manage the protests at this stage.
- American and Persian Gulf officials told the *Wall Street Journal* that the likelihood of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and other neighboring countries has decreased but is not gone entirely.
- At least 22 protests took place in 17 cities across 12 provinces.
- The IRGC Intelligence Organization arrested three members of an "anti-security team" in Ilam City, Ilam Province.

- LEC Sistan and Baluchistan Provincial Commander Ahmad Taheri announced that unidentified gunmen shot and killed a Shia cleric in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province.
- Skirmishes may erupt between pro- and anti-regime protesters on November 4.
- The Artesh may have prepared its forces to participate in protest suppression in Zahedan.
- An IRGC Telegram channel circulated on November 3 an op-ed calling for the IRGC Quds Force to establish a 30-kilometer-deep buffer zone into Iraqi Kurdistan to counter anti-regime Kurdish militants there.
- Turkey reaffirmed its support for Azerbaijan amid the growing tensions between Tehran and Baku.

### Anti-Regime Protests

At least 22 protests took place in 17 cities across 12 provinces on November 2. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

\*Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• See above for protest characterization.

Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,599,000)

- Security personnel shooting at undetermined number of protesters. Security personnel fleeing from dozens of protesters throwing rocks. It is unclear if these interactions occurred in the same part of the city or at the same time.
- Undetermined number of protesters documented on a city street.[17]

Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

• One or two dozen protesters gathered in Esfahan streets and chanted "death to the dictator." Footage from social media shows many protesters who appear to be in high school. [18]

\*Fouladshahr, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 88,462)

• Large crowds gathered at an unspecified cemetery to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Mahsa Mougoui for participating in anti-regime protests and chanted anti-regime slogans. Hundreds—likely over a thousand--similarly protested on city streets. Footage circulating on social media shows security personnel running away from protesters. Some social media users reported that clashes between security personnel and protesters left two security officers unconscious. Security personnel reportedly shot a protester in the head. [19]

Fasa, Fars Province (population: approximately 104,825)

• Roughly 75-100 protesters chanted "you're the pervert, you're the sleaze, I'm a freethinking woman" and "death to Khamenei" on a city street. Gunfire is audible in later protest footage. [20]

\*Ghazvin City, Ghazvin Province (population: approximately 402,748)

• Large crowds gathered at an unspecified location in Ghazvin to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Javad Heydari for participating in anti-regime protests. Female protesters were documented dancing without their veils. An undetermined number of protesters similarly protested on city streets, including Khayyam Street, later that evening. Some protesters set fires on a city street. [21]

\*Bandar Anzali, Gilan Province (population approximately 118,564)

• Over 100 protesters gathered at an unspecified location in Bandar Anzali to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Amir Nowrouzi for participating in anti-regime protests and chanted anti-regime slogans. [22]

\*Rasht, Gilan Province (population approximately 679,995)

• Large crowds gathered at an unspecified cemetery in Rasht to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Behnam Laikpour for participating in anti-regime protests and chanted anti-regime slogans including "woman, life, freedom." An undetermined number of protesters similarly protested and lit

fires on city streets later that evening. Footage circulating on social media shows security personnel fleeing from protester throwing rocks. [23]

### \*Eslamabad-e Gharb, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 90,599)

• Large crowds gathered at an unspecified cemetery in Eslamabad-e Gharb to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Saeed Mohammadi for participating in anti-regime protests and chanted anti-regime slogans including "death to the dictator." [24]

### Baneh, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 115,325)

• An undetermined number of protesters gathered in Baneh streets and set fires in the road.[25]

#### Kamyaran, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 55,077)

 At least a dozen protesters gathered in Kamyaran streets and threw Molotov cocktails at security forces. [26]

### Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 136,654)

- One or two dozen Marivan Azad University students protested on campus and chanted "students will die, but they will not be humiliated".[27]
- An undetermined number of protesters reportedly set fires in Marivan streets and chanted "death to the Islamic republic." [28]

### \*Amol, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 237,528)

• Large crowds gathered at an unspecified cemetery in Amol to commemorate 40 days since security personnel killed Ghazaleh Chalavi for participating in anti-regime protests and chanted anti-regime slogans including "my dear Ghazaleh, I will avenge your blood." Over 100 mourners similarly protested on city streets. [29]

## \*Arak, Markazi Province (population: approximately 520,944)

• Hundreds gathered to commemorate seven days since security personnel killed Merhshad Shahidi for participating in anti-regime protests. Mourners chanted anti-regime slogans including "don't be scared, we're all in this together." Mourners additionally marched in the city streets. [30]

#### Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of protesters chanted "don't be scared, we're all in this together" on a city street in Nazi Abad in southern Tehran.[31]
- Unspecified number of protesters gathered in Tehran Pars in northeastern Tehran.[32]
- Roughly fifty protesters chanted "death to the dictator" in Sa'adat Abad in Northern Tehran. Social media users reported skirmishes between Iranian LEC personnel and plainclothes Basij. CTP cannot corroborate this rumor.[33]
- Footage circulating on social media suggests that security personnel shot birdshot at a two-year-old child at an unspecified location in Tehran. [34]

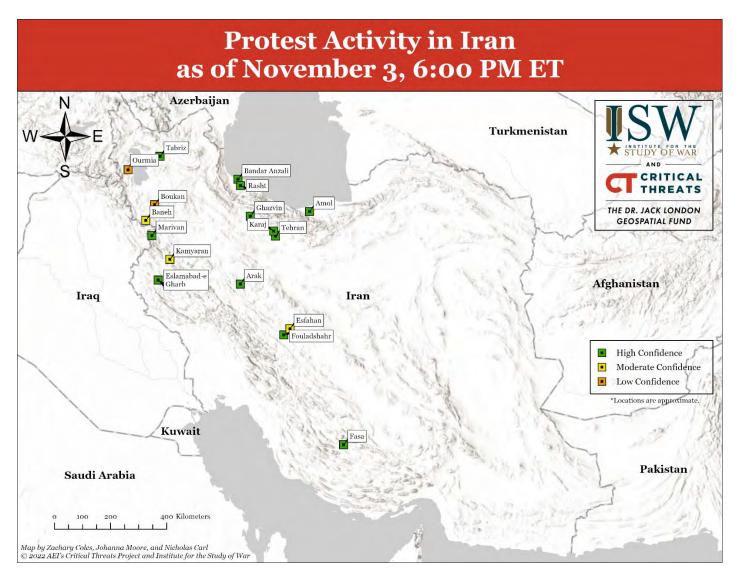
CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

#### Boukan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

• An undetermined number of protesters set fires and established obstacles with debris on a road that connects Boukan to Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province.[35]

#### Ourmia, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 736,224)

• Footage shows fires on city streets, possibly suggesting **protesters**' attempts to prevent security personnel from entering a future protest area.[36]



The IRGC Intelligence Organization arrested three members of an "anti-security team" in IIam City, IIam Province on November 2.[37] The IRGC Intelligence Organization claimed that the individuals were preparing hand grenades and incendiary weapons to attack military and security sites. The IRGC Intelligence Organization also accused the individuals of having ties to unspecified foreign countries. Protesters have attacked a Basij base in IIam Province with Molotov cocktails on at least one occasion on October 15.[38]

Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib issued a statement vowing to punish protesters on November 3.[39]

LEC Sistan and Baluchistan Provincial Commander Ahmad Taheri announced that unidentified gunmen shot and killed a Shia cleric in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 3.[40] This attack is part of an uptick in anti-regime militancy in Sistan and Baluchistan Province in recent days. Unidentified gunmen attacked LEC officers in Iranshahr and Khash on October 30 and November 2, respectively, as CTP previously reported.[41]

Skirmishes may erupt between pro- and anti-regime protesters on November 4. Anti-regime protest organizations have called for countrywide demonstrations on November 4, which marks the 40<sup>th</sup> day since the regime killed several protesters across Iran.[42] Large-scale protests have consistently erupted around the 40th-day memorial services for killed protesters in recent days. Large-scale and violent protests have become particularly common in Zahedan on Fridays as well and will likely occur again on November 4.[43] The regime has planned countrywide demonstrations for November 4 as well to condemn the US and commemorate the shah's brutal crackdown on student protesters in 1978.[44] The IRGC has described the planned demonstrations as signifying Iran defeating the Western-Israeli hybrid war against the Islamic Republic.

The Artesh may have prepared its forces to participate in protest suppression in Zahedan on November 4. Artesh Commander Major General Abdol Rahim Mousavi traveled to Zahedan on November 2 ostensibly to inspect air defense elements stationed there. [45] Mousavi condemned the protests during the inspection. The timing of his visit to Zahedan is noteworthy given the growing anti-regime militancy there and planned protests for November 4. The regime may seek to involve the Artesh in protest suppression to mitigate the security forces' bandwidth constraints or apply more extreme force against demonstrators.

## Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

An IRGC Telegram channel circulated on November 3 an op-ed calling for the IRGC Quds Force to establish a 30-kilometer-deep buffer zone into Iraqi Kurdistan to counter anti-regime Kurdish militants there. [46] The op-ed accused the US, Israel, Saudi Arabia, and other non-state actors of seeking to erode Iran's territorial integrity and exploit its natural resources. [47] The op-ed particularly noted the threat that anti-regime Kurdish militants in Iraqi Kurdistan pose to the Islamic Republic. Iranian officials have historically accused the US and Israel of supporting Kurdish militias against the regime and using them to stoke unrest. [48] The op-ed cited Turkey's efforts to establish a buffer zone in northern Syria to argue that Iran has the same right to establish a buffer zone in Iraq. It is unclear to what extent this op-ed reflects the calculus of IRGC leadership.

Turkey reaffirmed its support for Azerbaijan amid the growing tensions between Tehran and Baku. Turkish Army Major General Bahtiyar Ersay observed the ongoing Azerbaijani military exercise near the Iran-Azerbaijan border with Azerbaijani Defense Minister Zakir Hasanov on November 3.[49] Azerbaijan announced the exercise, which includes air, artillery, and special forces elements, on November 2.[50] Baku is responding to the recent IRGC military exercise and Iranian threats toward Azerbaijan.[51]

Nour News Agency tweeted on November 3 claiming that Israel has established a psychological warfare headquarters in Bahrain to stoke protests in Iran. [52] Nour News Agency is affiliated with the Supreme National Security Council—the regime body responsible for advising the supreme leader on defense and foreign policies.

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Iran Crisis Update, November 4
Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Zachary Coles, Amin Soltani and Frederick W. Kagan
November 4, 5:30 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Parents of Iranian youth spearheading ongoing demonstrations are increasingly describing protests as a revolutionary movement, mirroring **their children's rhetoric**. The father of one killed protester told mourners that his son **described Mahsa Amini's death as an impetus for change and stated that "there will be no revolution until blood is shed" at his 40-day commemoration ceremony on October 29.1 Another father of a killed protester similarly described his son as a martyr of freedom at his funeral on October 31.2 The mother of another killed protester described her son as someone who gave his life to the Iranian nation at his 40-day commemoration ceremony on November 4.3 The parent of a young Iranian protester told Reuters that she felt <b>compelled to "reclaim Iran" for her daughters and all Iranian girls in an article published** on November 3.4

Iranian youth participating in demonstrations have long described protests as revolutionary in nature and have expressed a readiness to die for their beliefs.<sup>5</sup> Disillusioned youth likely no longer view reform as a viable option—by some reformists' own admission—and young, arrested protesters allegedly told security officials that they aimed to overthrow the regime.<sup>6</sup>

Protesters are reclaiming revolutionary motifs, like martyrdom, leveraged by the regime to sustain protests. Funerals and ceremonies commemorating killed protesters have become prominent occasions of unrest within the past several days. Thousands of protesters gathered in Saghez, Kurdistan Province to commemorate the 40<sup>th</sup> day since the regime killed Mahsa Amini on October 26, as CTP previously reported.<sup>7</sup> Large crowds have similarly gathered to commemorate killed protesters on October 27, 28, 29, 31 and November 1, 2, and 3.8 CTP assessed that funerals and commemoration ceremonies sparked significant protest activity in eight of 17 documented protest

locations on November 3.9 Social media users have similarly begun referencing killed protesters as martyrs of a new, Iranian revolution. 10 Some protesters' tombs bear symbols connected to the Mahsa Amini protest wave, signaling their community's perception of their role as martyrs within the movement. 11

Protesters' growing efforts to reclaim the ideas of revolution, Iranian nationalism, and secular martyrdom from the regime for their own movement is a notable inflection. The regime has accustomed Iranians to use revolutionary phrases and nationalist images and ideas and to venerate martyrs for over four decades. If protesters are successful in repurposing these habits for their own movement, then they may be able to build considerable and sustainable momentum for their efforts.

## Key Takeaways

- Parents of Iranian youth spearheading ongoing demonstrations are increasingly describing protests as a revolutionary movement, **mirroring their children's rhetoric.**
- At least 14 protests took place in 11 cities across six provinces.
- Violent clashes erupted between security forces and protesters in Khash, Rask, Saravan, and Zahedan in Sistan and Baluchistan Province following Friday prayer sermons.
- President Ebrahim Raisi criticized US President Joe Biden for pledging to "free Iran" during a campaign rally in California.
- Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Commander Major General Hossein Salami warned that Iran will retaliate against the US and its allies for their purported role in fomenting ongoing unrest at a regime-organized rally.

# Anti-Regime Protests

At least 14 protests took place in 11 cities across 6 provinces on November 4. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• Security forces shot and killed a teenage boy while he was apparently protesting in Karaj streets. Security forces attempted to obscure the evidence by loading the dead teenage boy into a van and driving away.<sup>12</sup>

\*Shahin Shahr, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 173,329)

- An undetermined number of protesters marched through Shahin Shahr streets.
- Protesters gathered to commemorate 40 days since security forces killed protest martyr Mohammad Hassan Turkman for participating in anti-regime protests. Security forces fired tear gas and blocked roads to the cemetery to deter protesters from attending the ceremony.<sup>13</sup>

## \*Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

• Dozens of protesters gathered to commemorate 40 days since security forces killed protest martyr Shirin Alizadeh for recording footage of protests in Esfahan City. Footage from social media depicted protesters placing obstacles in the road to the cemetery apparently to prevent security forces from disrupting the ceremony. Separate footage shows security forces attempting to disrupt the ceremony. Iranian social media accounts circulated claims that security forces used live ammunition against protesters to disrupt the ceremony. 14

Podol, Hormozgan Province (population: approximately 1,250)

• One or two dozen protesters set fires on a Podol street. 15

Ahvaz, Khuzestan Province (population: approximately 1,185,000)

• An undetermined number of protesters set fires and established road barriers with debris in Ahvaz streets. 16

Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 587,730)

• Hundreds of protesters marched through Zahedan streets and chanted "death to the dictator," "death to the Basij," "death to Khamenei," and other anti-regime slogans following Friday prayers. Prominent Sunni cleric Maulvi Abdul Hamid reportedly called for an international referendum on the Islamic Republic during his sermon on November 4, likely sparking unrest in the following hours. Footage from social media depicts protesters fleeing security forces who reportedly opened fire on the crowd. Separate footage shows protesters hiding behind structures to take shelter from regime snipers firing at protesters.<sup>17</sup>

Khash, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 56,683)

• Several dozen protesters gathered in Khash streets and marched to the provincial governor's office. Security forces and protesters clashed in front of the building. Security forces killed at least four protesters, including a child, and injured likely dozens more. Protesters set fire to a security force vehicle.<sup>18</sup>

Saravan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 6,554)

- Several dozen protesters gathered in Saravan streets and chanted "death to the dictator." Security forces reportedly fired tear gas at the protesters.
- An undetermined number of protesters gathered after Friday prayer at a Saravan mosque. Security forces fired tear gas and reportedly shot and killed protesters near the mosque. 19

Rask, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 10,115)

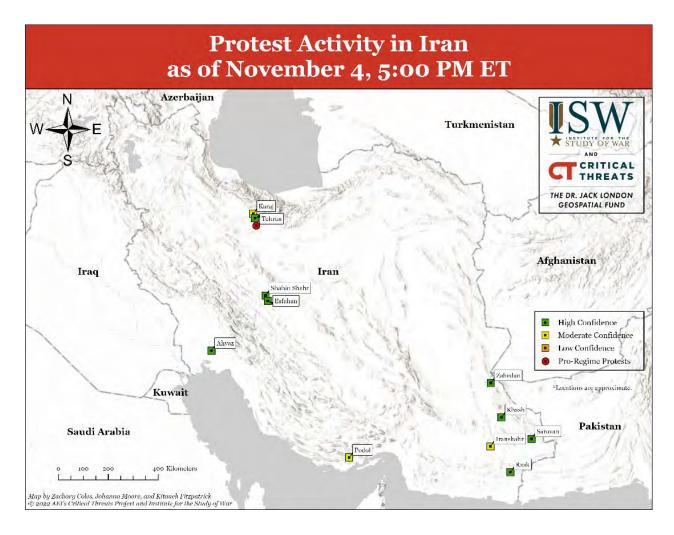
• Several dozen protesters marched through Rask streets. Security fired tear gas and reportedly used live ammunition against protesters near a Rask seminary. Footage from social media contains audible gunshots and shows protesters fleeing from likely security forces.<sup>20</sup>

Iranshahr, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 113,750)

• An undetermined number of protesters chanted "Kurdistan, Zahedan, I will sacrifice my life for Iran" in Iranshahr streets.<sup>21</sup>

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of protesters set fires and chanted anti-regime slogans in Javadiyeh streets in southern Tehran. Security forces fired tear gas and reportedly live ammunition to disperse the crowds.<sup>22</sup>
- Over 100 protesters lit fires and chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" on a city street.<sup>23</sup>



Pro-regime social media accounts and state-run television programs propagated alleged footage of pro-regime rallies in at least five cities across four provinces on November 4. A large-scale, pro-regime rally likely occurred in Tehran where President Ebrahim Raisi delivered a speech commemorating the 1979 seizure of the US embassy, but CTP cannot independently verify any of the other alleged pro-regime protests. One pro-regime social media user claimed massive pro-regime rallies occurred across nine hundred cities while other social media users circulated footage showing only a dozen pro-regime protestors in Amol and Robat Karim. One state-run outlet showed a Sanandaj pro-regime rally taking place in the rain although weather reports for Sanandaj did not indicate rain. Another state-run outlet purportedly showed footage from pro-regime rallies across three cities with the footage from two of the cities appearing to be identical.

Raisi criticized US President Joe Biden for **pledging to "free Iran" during a** campaign rally in California on November 3. Biden was quoted telling audience members "don't worry, we're gonna free Iran (...) "they're gonna free themselves pretty soon." Raisi condemned Biden's remarks and attributed them to "absent-mindedness"

in a regime-organized rally commemorating the 1979 seizure of the US embassy in Tehran. Raisi additionally claimed that the US supported terrorist groups, including the Islamic State, and was attempting to foment unrest in Iran. Raisi added that Iranian youth participating in anti-regime protests were unknowingly supporting US interests.<sup>29</sup>

IRGC Commander Major General Hossein Salami warned that Iran will retaliate against the US and its allies for their purported role in fomenting ongoing unrest at a regime-organized rally on November 4. Salami added that Iran's enemies were on high alert, likely referencing the *Wall Street Journal*'s November 1 report that American and Saudi officials warned of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and Erbil.<sup>30</sup> American and Persian Gulf officials have since told the *Wall Street Journal* that the likelihood of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and other neighboring countries has decreased but is not gone entirely.<sup>31</sup>

A Raisi administration official called for harsher protest suppression tactics. Parliamentary Affairs Vice President Mohammad Hosseini stated that appeasement was no longer an appropriate strategy to contain demonstrations and added that more security forces should be deployed to contain further unrest.<sup>32</sup> Hosseini's statements mirror senior regime officials' calls to violently crack down on protesters in recent weeks.<sup>33</sup>

Iranian media announced that Basij member Hamid Pournowrouz died in clashes with protesters in Lahijan, Gilan Province on November 3. The report described **Pournowrouz as a "defender of the shrine," a term used by the regime to** describe IRGC fighters who have deployed to Syria.<sup>34</sup>

# Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1588502217236979712?s=20&t=nPWd9eaSkfhSU4vvcka1cg

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> https://twitter.com/zriboua/status/1588649962769883137?s=20&t=U8bOVw5c0iA b7YtxoYldA

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# **IRAN CRISIS UPDATE, NOVEMBER 5**

Nov 5, 2022 - Press ISW



Dana Alexander Gray, Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Zachary Coles, Nicholas Carl, and Frederick W. Kagan

November 5, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Prominent Sunni cleric Moulana Abdol Hamid may begin regularly instigating protests throughout Sistan and Baluchistan Province rather than in just Zahedan. Protests occurred in at least five cities in Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 4. including Zahedan, where Abdol Hamid has instigated protests during his Friday sermons in recent weeks.[1] Abdol Hamid called for a referendum on the Islamic Republic during his Friday Prayer sermon on November 4.[2] Abdol Hamid's criticism of the regime may be resonating with a larger portion of the Sunni Baloch community, indirectly stoking additional demonstrations against the political establishment.

Abdol Hamid issued two statements criticizing the regime's violent protest crackdown and expressing support for protesters outside of Zahedan on November 5. Abdol Hamid condemned Iranian security personnel's November 4 protest crackdown in Khash, Sistan, and Baluchistan Province and referred to killed protesters as "martyrs." [3] Abdol Hamid similarly penned an open letter circulated by stateaffiliated media enumerating grievances against the regime. Abdol Hamid stated that government officials did not sufficiently investigate protest crackdowns in Zahedan, Sistan, and Baluchistan Province on September 30, when security personnel killed over 90 demonstrators and bystanders. [4] Abdol Hamid added that the regime had overstated the role of foreign influence in instigating unrest and stressed that the Islamic Republic had oppressed Baloch women.[5] IRGC-affiliated Tasnim News Agency criticized Abdol Hamid for his November 4 comments and accused him of fomenting unrest, [6]

The regime is attempting to mobilize its supporters around a religious holiday honoring a historic female Shia martyr and framing its policies as pro-women. A senior Iranian cleric presented the martyr as a model of female Islamic dignity on November 5.[7] A female Basij Organization member similarly denounced Western standards of gender equality at a pro-regime rally in Tehran.[8] Armed Forces General Staff Cultural and Propaganda Deputy Abol Fazl Sherkachi also claimed that the regime defended Iranian women against Western countries that sought to commoditize them on November 5.[9] A regime-affiliated cultural official additionally framed Western feminism as an information operation against Iranian women on November 5,[10] The regime is framing its policies as pro-women to undermine criticisms fueled by the Mahsa Amini protests.

#### **Key Takeaways**

- Prominent Sunni cleric Maulana Abdol Hamid may begin regularly instigating protests throughout Sistan and Baluchistan Province rather than in just Zahedan.
- . The regime is attempting to mobilize its supporters around a religious holiday honoring a historic female Shia martyr and framing its policies as pro-women.
- · At least 19 protests took place in 11 cities across nine provinces.
- · President Ebrahim Raisi called anti-regime protesters "rioters" who were helping foment
- · Senior Iranian officials discussed accelerating the prosecution of arrested protesters.

At least 19 protests took place in 11 cities across nine provinces on November 5. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

#### Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

 Dozens of Kharazmi University of Karaj students protested on campus and chanted "death to the dictator" and "we did not get killed to compromise and praise the murderous leader!"[11]

#### Neyshabour, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 264,375)

 Several dozen protesters gathered in Neyshabour streets and chanted "death to the dictator." [12]

#### Shiraz, Fars Province (population: approximately 1,556,572)

 An undetermined number of Shiraz University students protested on campus and chanted antiregime slogans.[13]

#### Rasht, Gilan Province (population: approximately 679,995)

Approximately 50 Gilan University students protested on campus and chanted "if the students
are suspended, the university should be closed" in response to security forces reportedly
detaining 110 students.[14]

#### Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: approximately 3,001,184)

- An undetermined number of Azad University of Mashhad students protested on campus and chanted "you are the sleaze; I am a free-thinking woman."
- One to two dozen high school students protested on school grounds and chanted "death to the dictator." [15]

#### \*Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 414,069)

- · Several dozen students gathered on an unidentified campus to protest.
- Several dozen protesters gathered where killed protester Momen Zandkarimi is buried at a cemetery outside of Sanandaj. Protesters chanted "death to Khamenei" and "death to Basijis."
- An undetermined number of protesters set fires in Sanandaj streets.[16]

#### Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

• An undetermined number of protesters set fires and blocked a Saghez street.[17]

#### Babol, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 250,217)

 Dozens of Babol Noshirvani University of Technology students protested on campus and chanted anti-regime slogans.[18]

#### Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- An undetermined number of Azad University of Tehran students protested and chanted antiregime slogans on campus.
- Several dozen Sharif University student protesters chanted "we do not want a corrupt system, we do not want a murderous leader."
- An undetermined number of Kharazmi University of Tehran student protesters chanted "the system is coming to an end!" at an undetermined location.
- An undetermined number of Tehran University students protested the arrests and suspensions
  of fellow students who previously participated in protests.
- An undetermined number of high school students chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" in the Bagh-e-Feyz area of Tehran.
- Social media users circulated footage of a confrontation between Amir Kabir University of Technology students and a university official threatening them with expulsion if they did not disperse.[19]

#### Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

 An undetermined number of protesters demonstrated in Boukan streets and chanted "death to Khamenei!"[20] Footage from social media does not directly show people protesting, but active fires and debris
spread across a Marivan road suggests that protests possibly occurred. Additional footage
features audible gunshots in the background. [21]



President Ebrahim Raisi labeled anti-regime protesters as "rioters" helping the perceived US-led efforts to foment unrest in Iran.[22] Raisi additionally discussed accelerating the prosecution of arrested protesters with Judiciary Chief Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei and Parliament Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf on November 5.[23]

State-run IRNA reported that security officer Morteza Gholamian died in Khash, Sistan and Baluchistan Province, on November 4.[24] IRNA described Gholamian as a martyr, suggesting that he died in clashes with anti-regime protesters. Iranian security personnel violently suppressed protests in Khash on November 4, as CTP previously reported.[25]

Unidentified gunmen attacked the office of a senior regime cleric in Shadegan, Khuzestan Province. A reformist-affiliated outlet reported that the attack followed threats against the cleric for criticizing local government entities of corruption.[26]

The Iranian rial has reached an all-time low amidst ongoing, anti-regime protests. Al Jazeera reported that the exchange rate declined to 362,000 per US dollar on November 5.[27] Economic issues will likely exacerbate anti-regime sentiment and could incite further unrest.

#### Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

- [1] https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-4 ...
- [2] https://twitter.com/AbdolhamidNet/status/1588621247516069889
- [3] https://t dot co/kytOwWDPsH
- [4] https://www.isna dot ir/news/1401081409275/%D9%85%D9%88%D9%84%D9%88%DB%8C-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%AF-%D8%A7%DB%8C%D9%86-%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF; https://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-63430246; https://www.rfer...
- [5] https://www.isna dot ir/news/1401081409275/%D9%85%D9%88%D9%84%D9%88%DB%8C%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%AF-%D8%A7%DB%8C%D9%86-%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF

# [6] https://www.tasnimnews.dot com/fa/news/1401/08/14/2799031/%D8%A2%D9%82%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%B9%D8%A8%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AD%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%AF-%D8%B1%D9%81%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D8%A8%D9%87-%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%DB%8C%DA%A9%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%B3%D8%B9%D9%88%D8%AF%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%BE%DB%8C%D8%B4%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%AF-%D9%86%D9%85%DB%8C-%D8%AF%D9%87%DB%8C%D8%AF-%D8%AA%D8%AD%D8%B1%DB%8C%DA%A9-%D8%A8%D9%87-%D8%A2%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%A8-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D9%BE%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%A8%D8%AF%D9%87 مقام-شفاعت-یکی-از -شئون-و-منزلت-حضرت-معصومهس-است/https://basijnews dot ir/fa/news/9466196 برگزارى-اجتماع-مادران-آرتين-در-امامزاده-صالح-بانوان-اقدامات-تروريستى-/https://basijnews dot ir/fa/news/9466291 شاهچراغ-را-محكوم-كردند زنان-پايه-افتدار-نظام-جمهوري-اسلامي-هستند/84933360/ او الماليه-افتدار-نظام-جمهوري-اسلامي-هستند/9] جنگ-امروز دشمنان-با-ايران-جنگ-ادراكي-و-شناختي-است/https://defapress dot ir/fa/news/554260 [11] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588862501999239170?s=20&t=WbQhWt... [12] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588924410563465216?s=20&t=InZvik... [13] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588908786248744962?s=20&t=Ja-5gs... [14] https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1588878528267059200?s=20&t=Wv8Q09C... [15] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588835852867997696?s=20&t=J9Y48L... ttps://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588795420746342400?s=20&t=iwdnYAZaciGJHc7Zwq2sZA [16] https://twitter.com/FSeifikaran/status/1588837868516282369?s=20&t=dTRaZ9... [17] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588931477651136514?s=20&t=wTqwnU... [18] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588891170427777024?s=20&t=105ndC... [19] https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1588891543414657024?s=20&t=-Nc8w2E... [20] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588892442971242496?s=20&t=P1yq02... [21] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1588931943491829760?s=20&t=DGBZqB... [22] https://president dot ir/fa/140579 تاكيد-سران-قواجر -ضرورت-تسريع-در -رسيدگي-به-پروندههاي-عوامل-اغتشاش-/https://defapress dot ir/fa/news/554317 و -ایجاد-ناامنی

[24] https://twitter.com/IRNA 1313/status/1588927019173416960?s=20&t=0E2mPE y...

[25] https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-4

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[27] ttps://www.aljazeera.com/news/2022/11/5/iran-currency-plunges-to-historic-lows-...

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Protest Map - November 5.png





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# Iran Crisis Update, November 6

Nicholas Carl, Zachary Coles, and Frederick W. Kagan November 6, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

The regime continued linking the ongoing protests with terrorism on November 6 as part of an information operation to delegitimize protesters and their grievances. Parliament Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf accused the US and Israel of stoking the protests to create a new ISIS in Iran.<sup>1</sup> A group of 227 parliamentarians signed a letter similarly blaming the US for the unrest and comparing protesters to ISIS militants, calling for harsh and rapid prosecutions.<sup>2</sup> Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Telegram channels previously characterized protesters as "domestic ISIS" on November 3, as CTP previously reported.<sup>3</sup>

The regime will likely use this framing of protesters as terrorists to justify brutal crackdowns and harsh judicial sentences in the days and weeks ahead.<sup>4</sup>

Iranian state media has claimed that the regime has arrested terrorists trying to support the protests throughout the country, including reporting that security forces arrested "terrorist teams" in Esfahan, Fars, Kermanshah, and Khuzestan provinces on November 6.5 Iranian state media claimed that these groups sought to organize and stoke protests and assassinate prominent Arab leaders in Khuzestan Province.6 Law Enforcement Deputy Commander Ghassem Rezaei claimed on November 5 that the regime has arrested dozens of individuals tied to the Shiraz attack.7 Rezaei stated that these individuals planned large-scale sabotage and suicide operations in Iran. CTP cannot verify whether the regime arrested anyone in these reported incidents.

A security officer killed four Law Enforcement Command (LEC) members at an LEC station in Bampour, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 6.8 Iranian state media framed the incident as a "personal dispute" between the officers. The brutality and intensity of the protest crackdown may be stoking tensions between security personnel, especially as they face bandwidth constraints, exhaustion, and low morale in the eighth consecutive week of protests.9 Anti-regime militancy has increased in the areas surrounding Bampour in recent days, as CTP previously reported.10 CTP has not yet observed large-scale defections or division among the state security services.

## Key Takeaways

- The regime continued linking the ongoing protests with terrorism as part of an information operation to legitimize protesters and their grievances.
- A security officer killed four LEC members at an LEC station in Bampour, Sistan and Baluchistan Province.
- At least 17 protests took place in 10 cities across eight provinces on November
   6.
- An unverified social media account alleged the presence of an Afghan proxy force member during a protest crackdown in Arak, Markazi Province.
- Security forces seized weapons shipments in northwestern and southeastern Iran.
- At least two unidentified gunmen attacked an IRGC facility in Mahshahr, Khuzestan Province.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 17 protests took place in 10 cities across eight provinces on November 6. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• An undetermined number of likely high school students marched and chanted "death to the dictator" and other anti-regime slogans.<sup>11</sup>

Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,599,000)

• An undetermined number of Tabriz University of Medical Sciences students heckled and chanted anti-regime slogans when Expediency Assessment Council official Mohammed Harandi attempted to speak at an event on campus.<sup>12</sup>

Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

• An undetermined number of Sheikh Baha'i University at Esfahan students protested on campus and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>13</sup>

Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 946,681)

- One or two dozen protesters gathered in Kermanshah streets and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>14</sup>
- Regime security forces reportedly broke up a protest being held by an undetermined number of Razi University students on campus. 15

Baneh, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 115,325)

- Security forces clashed with an undetermined number of protesters on a Baneh street. \*Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 136,654)
  - Protesters attempted to attend a funeral for protest martyr Nasreen Qadri, who was beaten to death by security forces during a protest in Marivan on November 5. One or two dozen people attended the ceremony. Security forces prevented others from attending.<sup>17</sup>

- One or two dozen protesters gathered, set fires, and built roadblocks with debris in Marivan streets. Security forces fired tear gas and used live ammunition against protesters, injuring or killing as many as 35 civilians.<sup>18</sup>
- Several dozen protesters occupied and ransacked a municipal government building. 19 Sanandaj, Kurdistan Provine (population: approximately 414,069)
  - An undetermined number of protesters set fires and chanted death to the dictator" in Sanandaj streets.<sup>20</sup>

Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 587,730)

• One or two dozen children walked through a Zahedan street chanting "death to the dictator" and other anti-regime slogans.<sup>21</sup>

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Several dozen protesters gathered outside a Cultural and Islamic Guidance Ministry building at an unspecified location in Tehran.<sup>22</sup>
- An undetermined number of Azad University of North Tehran students protested on campus.<sup>23</sup>
- Several dozen Tehran University students protested and chanted anti-regime slogans on campus.<sup>24</sup>
- An undetermined number of protesters gathered in Tehran streets and chanted antiregime slogans.<sup>25</sup>
- One or two dozen high school students from Shahyar Girls' School demonstrated on school grounds.<sup>26</sup>

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

Ourmia, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 736,224)

• An undetermined number of Ourmia University of Technology students protested and chanted anti-regime slogans on campus.<sup>27</sup>



Social media accounts tweeted a video of an individual claiming to have found the identification card of a member of the Fatemiyoun Division during a protest crackdown in Arak, Markazi Province on November 3.28 The Fatemiyoun Division is an Afghan Shia proxy that the IRGC has used extensively throughout the Syrian civil war to defend despot Bashar al Assad. The video suggests that the regime is using its foreign proxies to suppress demonstrations. Hundreds of protesters gathered in Arak on November 3, as CTP previously reported.29

The regime may have deployed its proxies for protest suppression, although CTP cannot verify these social media reports. The regime would likely use these proxies to mitigate the bandwidth constraints of the security forces, as CTP previously assessed.<sup>30</sup>

Security forces seized weapons shipments in northwestern and southeastern Iran on November 5. The IRGC Ground Forces announced the seizure of ammunition and unspecified weapons in Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province.<sup>31</sup> LEC Border Guard Commander Ahmad Ali Goudarzi announced the seizure of smuggled pistols in Jakigour, Sistan and Baluchistan Province.<sup>32</sup> Goudarzi noted that this shipment was the third seized in Sistan and Baluchistan Province since the protests began. These areas in northwestern and southeastern Iran are well-known arms trafficking routes where weapons seizures are common.

There are at least three possible explanations for the seemingly increased rate of weapons seizures in these regions: (1) smugglers are transporting more weapons into Iran amid the protests; (2) the regime is paying greater attention to seizing weapons shipments; and (3) the regime is cracking

down harder on weapons shipments to deter smuggling. These explanations are not mutually exclusive.

At least two unidentified gunmen attacked an IRGC facility in Mahshahr, Khuzestan Province on November 6.<sup>33</sup> CTP has not previously reported anti-regime militancy or protest activity during the current protest wave. The IRGC conducted a brutal crackdown in Mahshahr during the gasoline protests in November 2019.<sup>34</sup> The IRGC deployed military snipers and armored vehicles with machine guns and killed approximately 148 demonstrators, including some who retreated into a nearby marsh.

## Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589187046320779264?s=20&t=BR1FWfln6kDrF9uV1H3GRA;

https://twitter.com/KurdistanHRN/status/1589247750784561153?s=20&t=zEr6Pukgr3RCCBcU9SI6wA;

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589187759809646592?s=20&t=Q6Tbn4mk 5j-u6SSrzrPKA; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589183073970593792?s=20&t=lbaBmy4R2vXX5pIlfk9a7A;

https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/158918507397059379219=20&t=1888ITY4R2VXX5plink987A, https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589176172268556289?s=20&t=1888ITY4R2VXX5plink987A, https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589175514450710528?s=20&t=7st18x9m3Px2WxkKkKGGow;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> http://www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/15/2799598

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.eghtesadnews dot com/%D8%A8%D8%AE%D8%B4-%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C-57/532857-

<sup>%</sup>D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA-%D9%81%D9%88%D8%B1%DB%8C-

<sup>%</sup>D9%82%D8%B6%D8%A7%D8%A6%DB%8C%D9%87-%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1%D9%87-

<sup>%</sup>D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%AA%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B6%D8%A7%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D8%AE%DB%8C%D8%B1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-3

<sup>4</sup> https://www.wsj.com/articles/iranian-government-shifts-blame-for-terrorist-attack-to-protesters-11666880143

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/15/2799988; https://www.mehrnews dot com/news/5625953

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://www.irna dot ir/news/84934154/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://www.isna dot ir/news/1401081409715

<sup>8</sup> https://www.irna dot ir/news/84934144/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-

<sup>13;%20</sup>https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-september-28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-3

 $<sup>^{11} \, \</sup>underline{https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589285479882842113?s=20\&t=zqDffyewxG4a9QT4ouXGgg;} \\ \underline{https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589219488742113280?s=20\&t=zqDffyewxG4a9QT4ouXGgg;} \\ \underline{https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/$ 

<sup>12</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589270283386769408?s=20&t=nVgqPrLJIpI3nWfx0Ufzlw

<sup>13</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589220417390055424?s=20&t=tvrszpaB5NxEiCAzod9drQ;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589313842911539200?s=20&t=WKTBIPUI-A6wzyL7yJXvAg; https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589322712610226176?s=20&t=OPdKYZVtjEUDINQIhl-ubA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589195892103733248?s=20&t=6KevrhZtpJ1bq1oDnbp1-A

<sup>16</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589310949927706625?s=20&t=PIUEeOIRT9bHmrB9uUHQfA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589174068875792385?s=20&t=pbseYHieWpVSo5FOXZ5m w

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589235202211352576?s=20&t=nyp5C6fKyPc1aKWyvai0BA; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589235923568726016?s=20&t=909gDIJu2fm1NzMDn0289w;

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589219894176153600?s=20&t=QvHmRYGmglJHhaYwgQK8tA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589357908504236032?s=20&t=Z54S6WOWax CdxrHhV1QfA

- <sup>21</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589236858793635842?s=20&t=toPmQ0wDvc81aD1jfqQ4ZA
- <sup>22</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589174866225156096?s=20&t=3rQQQP\_tlo1pMop17vQGWg
- <sup>23</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589200759551250432?s=20&t=4wl2u9TTbj23GjZNtPBc-A
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## Iran Crisis Update, November 7

Nicholas Carl, Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Kathryn Tyson, Johanna Moore, Dana Alexandar Gray, Amin Soltani, and Frederick W. Kagan
November 7, 5:00 PM ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Some elements of the Iranian regime have suggested political reform to assuage **protesters'** frustrations, although such reform is highly unlikely. Hassan Khomeini—the reformist grandson of Ruhollah Khomeini—called **for a "majority-based democracy" in Iran on** November 7.[1] Khomeini also implicitly criticized the Guardian Council—the state body constitutionally responsible for approving and vetting electoral candidates—for disqualifying prominent moderates and reformists from running in recent elections.

The Raisi administration amplified Khomeini's remarks likely to placate disaffected citizens rather than support meaningful reform. The Islamic Republic News Agency (IRNA)—a Raisi administration mouthpiece—circulated Khomeini's remarks and emphasized his calls for democracy. [2] President Ebrahim Raisi uses IRNA to promote pro-regime narratives and positive framing around his administration. IRNA's circulation of Khomeini's remarks is surprising given that the Guardian Council played a prominent role in helping Raisi win the presidential election in June 2021. [3] Raisi likely circulated this idea of reform—knowing it is improbable—to reduce protest activity. He is likely seeking additional ways to curb the ongoing protests given that the brutal crackdown has largely failed to stop protests.

The regime will not likely implement any electoral reform. Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei often uses the Guardian Council to manipulate elections and install his preferred candidates. Khamenei has allowed the Guardian Council to intervene more aggressively in elections in recent years to ensure hardliner victories in key elections, including the February 2020 legislative elections and the June 2021 presidential election. [4] Khamenei has historically emphasized the need to establish a hardline presidential administration in Iran to achieve his grand strategic ambition of forming a transnational Islamic civilization. [5] He likely considers the Guardian Council an essential tool toward realizing this vision and will not reduce its role in influencing elections.

Iranian security services have begun linking the Shiraz attack, which the Islamic State (IS) claimed, to Azerbaijan and accusing the Azerbaijani military of supporting Salafi-jihadi terrorism. The Intelligence and Security Ministry announced on November 7 the arrest of 26 terrorists connected to the Shiraz attack and claimed that the lead coordinator of the attack was an Azerbaijani citizen who received guidance from extremist groups in Azerbaijan and Afghanistan. [6] The ministry accused this individual of cooperating with Islamic State's Khorasan Province (ISKP). A Telegram account affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) separately claimed on November 7 that the Azerbaijani military is promoting Wahabism and providing irregular warfare training to Salafi-jihadi militants who fought in Syria. [7]

This hostile rhetoric follows IRGC calls to annex parts of Azerbaijan. An IRGC-affiliated Telegram channel claimed that citizens of the Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic requested to join Iran on November 6.[8] IRGC Telegram channels called on the regime to economically and militarily support separatist movements in the Nakhchivan republic to join Iran on October 23, as CTP previously reported.[9]

IS central and ISKP have celebrated the Shiraz attack and called for more attacks against Shia targets in Iran.[10] It remains unclear whether IS central or ISKP had any role in preparing the attack or whether IS central and ISKP are celebrating the attack opportunistically. ISKP has used increasingly threatening rhetoric toward Iran since as early as June 2022.[11] IS central media outlets have begun increasingly translating Arabic-language propaganda into Persian since the Shiraz attack as well.[12]

#### Key Takeaways

- Some elements of the Iranian regime have suggested political reform to assuage protester frustrations, although such reform is highly unlikely.
- Iranian security services have begun connecting Azerbaijan to the Shiraz attack and accusing Baku of supporting Salafi-jihadi terrorism.
- IS central and ISKP have celebrated the Shiraz attack and called for more attacks against Shia targets in Iran.
- At least 14 protests took place in 12 cities across seven provinces.
- Jaish al Adl released a statement calling for protesters to organize armed resistance against the regime.

- Five Basij university student organizations in Tehran penned an open letter urging officials to take action against Western embassies—specifically the UK and Germany—for their alleged role in stoking the ongoing protests.
- Judiciary Chief Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei called on judicial authorities to expedite the prosecution and sentencing of arrested protesters.

Anti-Regime Protests

At least 14 protests took place in 12 cities across seven provinces on November 7. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below. Protest activity may increase on November 11. Protest organizations have called for protests through Iran and especially in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province, on November 11.[13]

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• An undetermined number of student protesters marched on a Karaj street.[14]

\*Siahkal, Gilan Province (population: approximately 19,924)

• Large crowds reportedly gathered at the cemetery where Erfan Zamani is buried at an undisclosed location near Siahkal despite rain. Crowds gathered to commemorate three days since Zamani was buried. Security personnel killed Zamani for protesting on November 3. Security personnel reportedly shot bullets and tear gas at mourners at the cemetery. Video footage shows dozens of protesters marching on a Siahkal street and crowds running from security personnel in multiple Siakhal streets. Some protesters reportedly drove from Lahijan, Gilan Province. [15]

Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

- Dozens of Payam Nour University of Saghez students chanted: "this is the year of blood; Khamenei will be overthrown" and joined hands.[16]
- Video footage showed purported clashes between an undetermined number of protesters and security personnel in the vicinity of Moalem Square. [17]

Sabzevar, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: approximately 243,700)

• Dozens of schoolgirls chanted "don't be afraid; we are all in this **together**" in front of a school entrance.[18] Babol, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 250,217)

• Dozens of Babol Noshirvani University of Technology student protesters joined hands and protested on campus. [19]

Shahriar, Tehran Province (population: approximately 309,607)

• Dozens of students chanted "death to the dictator" on a Shahriar street. [20]

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of Ershad Damavand University student protesters chanted "shameless" in front of plainclothes officers on campus. [21]
- An undetermined number of Sharif University students staged a sit-in demanding the release of arrested university student protesters in a university building. [22]

Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

Dozens of student protesters chanted anti-regime slogans in the Mirabad district. [23]

Ourmia, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 736,224)

• Over 100 Ourmia Industry University students sat down and chanted anti-regime slogans including "freedom, freedom, freedom." [24]

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the following locations:

\*Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 136,654)

• Video footage showed mourners chanting anti-regime slogans at a ceremony commemorating Nasrin Ghadri, whom security personnel killed for protesting in Tehran on October 4.[25]

Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 414,069)

• Video footage showed fires burning on a Sanandaj street, possibly suggesting impending protests. There is no protest footage available. [26]

Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 168,393)

• Footage showed fires burning on a Mahabad street, possibly suggesting impending protests. One social media account reported that protests occurred in an unspecified location in Mahabad. There is no protest footage available. [27]



Jaish al Adl, a Salafi-jihadi militant group operating around the Iran-Pakistan border, released a statement calling for protesters to organize armed resistance against the regime on November 5.[28] Jaish al Adl previously published a video expressing support for protesters and threatening to conduct attacks inside Iran on October 20, as CTP previously reported.[29]

Five Basij university student organizations in Tehran penned an open letter urging officials to take action against Western embassies—specifically the UK and Germany—for their alleged role in stoking the ongoing protests. The organizations called on Foreign Affairs Minister Hossein Amir Abdollahian to escalate against Western embassies in Iran, alleging that he was "duty-bound to confront enemy diplomats present on Iranian soil." [30] The Foreign Affairs Ministry has previously summoned the British and German ambassadors to condemn their perceived interference in protests in recent weeks. [31]

Judiciary Chief Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei called on judicial authorities to expedite the prosecution and sentencing of arrested protesters on November 7.[32] Ejei may have been indirectly responding to the letter from 227 parliamentarians on November 6 calling for harsh and rapid punishments for arrested protesters, which CTP previously reported.[33]

#### Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

[1] https://www.bayanfarda.dot.ir/%D8%A8%D8%AE%D8%B4-

%D9%87%D9%85%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%AF%DB%8C-

%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%AF%DA%AF%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%A8%D8%A7-

%D8%AC%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AE%D8%AA%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%86-

%D9%88%D9%82%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%B9-%D8%A7%D8%AE%DB%8C%D8%B1-%D9%87%D9%85-

%D9%86%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%85-%D9%87%D9%85-

%D8%A7%D9%85%DB%8C%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B1-

%D9%87%D8%B1%D8%AE%D9%88%D9%86%DB%8C-%D8%B1%DB%8C%D8%AE%D8%AA%D9%87-

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%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%AF-%D9%85%D8%AA%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%82-%D8%A8%D9%87-
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%D8%A7%DB%8C%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%84%D8%AA-%D8%AE%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AA-

%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA-%D8%A8%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%AF-

%D9%85%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%B1-%DA%AF%D9%81%D8%AA-%D9%88%DA%AF%D9%88-%D8%B1%D8%A7-

%D9%88%D8%A7%DA%A9%D9%86%D8%B4-%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C-

%D8%A7%D9%88%D9%84%DB%8C%D9%87-%DA%AF%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%AF-%D9%87%D9%85%D9%87-

%DA%86%DB%8C%D8%B2-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%B3%D8%A8%DA%A9-

%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%AF%DA%AF%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D8%A7-%D9%86%D9%88%D8%B9-

%D9%BE%D9%88%D8%B4%D8%B4-%D8%AA%D8%BA%DB%8C%DB%8C%D8%B1-

%DA%A9%D8%B1%D8%AF%D9%87-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA

[2] https://www.irna.dot.ir/news/84935390

[3] https://www.criticalthreats.org/briefs/iran-file/iranian-presidential-election-tracker-the-coronation-of-ebrahim-

<u>raisi</u>; <u>https://www.theguardian.com/world/iran-blog/2016/jan/19/iran-guardian-council-blocks-reformists-february-parliamentary-poll</u>

[4] https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/US-must-be-wary-as-irans-parliament-veers-hard-right;

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[6] www.defapress dot ir/fa/news/55498

[7] https://t.me/Sepah\_Ir/72253

[8] https://t.me/SEPAHCYBERY/55769

[9] https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-25

[10] SITE Intelligence Group, "Celebrating Attack in Shiraz, IS Demands Sunnis Execute Lone-Wolf Strikes on Shi'ites,"

November 7, 2022, available by subscription at www.siteintelgroup.com;

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[12] https://www.washingtoninstitute.org/policy-analysis/islamic-state-attacks-islamic-republic

[13] https://twitter.com/iran\_javanan/status/1589705927699365890

[14] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589609403871014915?s=20&t=lcgbXm9HEBbR OgpwfUfjw

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[16] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589675023681585157?s=20&t=G0csJ-

Wru2dOtZ59r7uvCw; https://twitter.com/Baban37/status/1589661118275780608?s=20&t=mc0JU2H-

OWSIwNidlJsOhQ

[17] https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589683019157483520?s=20&t=G0csJ-Wru2dOtZ59r7uvCw

[18] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589590583752130560?s=20&t=FntQrzwH88tGPd\_7pVUtNQ; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589593120391327744?s=20&t=FntQrzwH88tGPd\_7pVUtNQ

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[20] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589592243350142976?s=20&t=FntQrzwH88tGPd 7pVUtNQ

[21] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589641122565222405?s=20&t=PN1KMJXFHHt--5TfIDLVRw

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[25] https://twitter.com/hdagres/status/1589611627816550400?s=20&t=tStVKw1HzghO7hFoJGf1pQ

https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589677962324246528?s=20&t=G0csJ-

Wru2dOtZ59r7uvCw; https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589648287841538049?s=20&t=GOcsJ-

Wru2dOtZ59r7uvCw

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[27] https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589649374178873344?s=20&t=FntQrzwH88tGPd 7pVUtNQ; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/stat

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[33] https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-6



Iran Crisis Update, November 8 Nicholas Carl, Johanna Moore, Zachary Coles, and Frederick W. Kagan November 8, 5:30 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="https://example.com/here/">here</a>.

Protests may increase in the coming days to commemorate the regime's brutal crackdown in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on September 30. November 9 marks the 40<sup>th</sup> day since security forces indiscriminately shot and killed civilians, including children, as they gathered for Friday prayers and protested in Zahedan on September 30.<sup>1</sup> Protester death tolls from that day range from 66 to 96, although the actual number could be higher.<sup>2</sup> Iranian mourners and protesters have regularly gathered for 40-day commemorations for killed demonstrators in recent weeks and may do so again on November 9 for those killed in Zahedan.<sup>3</sup> This commemoration is primarily a Shia tradition, and most of Sistan and Baluchistan Province's population is Sunni. Protesters may still gather there and elsewhere throughout Iran on November 9 in solidarity with the people of Zahedan. Protest organizations have called for countrywide demonstrations, and especially in Zahedan, on Friday, November 11 as well.<sup>4</sup> Friday protests have become common across Sistan and Baluchistan Province since the September 30 crackdown.<sup>5</sup>

[The following paragraph was also published in ISW's Russian Offensive Campaign Assessment, November 8.] Iranian state-run outlet *Nour News Agency* reported that Russian National Security Council Secretary Nikolai Patrushev arrived in Tehran on November 8, likely to discuss the potential sale of Iranian ballistic missiles to Russia. *Nour News Agency* announced Patrushev's arrival in an English-language tweet, stating Iranian Supreme National Security Council (SNSC) Secretary Ali Shamkhani invited Patrushev and noted that Patrushev will also meet with other high-ranking Iranian political and economic officials to discuss Russo-Iranian cooperation. *Nour News Agency* is affiliated with the SNSC. The SNSC likely announced Patrushev's arrival in Iran to highlight the deepening

cooperation between Moscow and Tehran to an international audience (rather than domestically), as well as to implicitly highlight that a high-ranking Russian official turned to Iran for help in Ukraine. Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Quds Force Commander Qassem Soleimani notably traveled to Moscow in 2015 to appeal to Russia to intervene in the Syrian Civil War.<sup>8</sup> Tehran is likely eager to publicly signal this rebalancing of its strategic partnership with Moscow, especially to regional Iranian adversaries with which the Kremlin occasionally cooperates such as Israel and Saudi Arabia. Patrushev's visit to Iran notably comes amid reports that the Iranian regime is seeking Russian help with protest suppression, although it is unclear if this will be discussed by Patrushev and his Iranian counterpart.<sup>9</sup>

Patrushev's visit comes amid some domestic criticism of Iranian military support to Russia. Masih Mohajeri—the editor of Iranian newspaper Jomhouri Eslami—criticized on November 7 the regime's decision to support the Kremlin.<sup>10</sup> Mohajeri added that the regime should have told Russia not to use Iranian drones in Ukraine. Mohajeri's remarks reflect the reservations among some in Iran about pursuing the strategic partnership with Moscow that Supreme Ali Khamenei has supported.

## Key Takeaways

- Protests may increase in the coming days to commemorate the **regime's brutal crackdown in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan** Province on September 30.
- Iranian state-run outlet *Nour News Agency* reported that Russian National Security Council Secretary Nikolai Patrushev arrived in Tehran on November 8, likely to discuss the potential sale of Iranian ballistic missiles to Russia.
- At least 12 protests took place in nine cities across eight provinces.
- The Jaish al Adl spokesperson claimed that the regime crackdown in Zahedan on September 30 has increased the group's recruitment, according to UK-based Midstone Centre.
- The IRGC may have deployed some of its Iraqi proxies to support the protest crackdown.
- SNSC-affiliated *Nour News Agency* accused unnamed American and Mossad officials of meeting with anti-regime Kurdish militant groups in Iraqi Kurdistan over the past two months.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 12 protests took place in nine cities across eight provinces on November 8. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• Several dozen likely high school students chanted "death to Khamenei," "freedom, freedom, and other anti-regime slogans on Karaj streets.<sup>11</sup>

Najafabad, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 293,275)

• Several dozen Azad University in Najafabad students protested on campus and chanted anti-regime slogans. 12

Siahkal, Gilan Province (population: approximately 19,924)

• Security forces fired tear gas at an undetermined number of protesters on a Siahkal street.<sup>13</sup>

\*Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 136,654)

• Approximately 50 protesters gathered at a cemetery in Marivan to memorialize Nasrin Qadri, a protester killed by security forces on November 5.14

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of University of Science and Culture students protested on campus. 15
- Approximately two dozen University Beheshti students demonstrated on campus to protest against security forces arresting students for participating in protests.<sup>16</sup>
- 100-200 Sharif University students demonstrated on campus to protest against the university suspending students that participated in protests.<sup>17</sup>
- An undetermined number of Ershad-Damavand University students protested and chanted "death to the dictator" on campus. 18

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 414,069)

• An undetermined number of protesters set fires in Sanandaj streets.<sup>19</sup>

Ahvaz, Khuzestan Province (population: approximately 1,185,000)

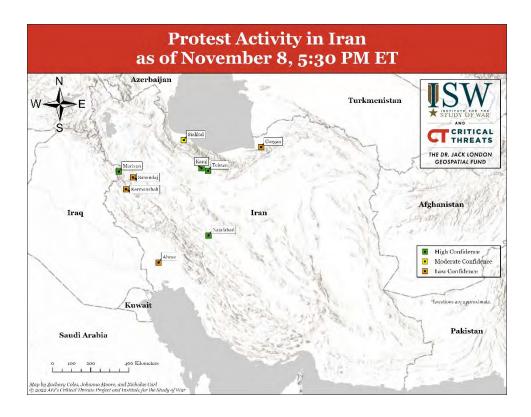
• A dozen likely high school students chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" and "death to the dictator."<sup>20</sup>

Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 946,681)

• An undetermined number of protesters set fires and chanted "death to the dictator" on a Kermanshah street.<sup>21</sup>

Gorgan, Golestan Province (population: approximately 350,676)

• Several dozen likely high school students chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" on school grounds.<sup>22</sup>



Jaish al Adl spokesperson Hossein Baloch claimed that the regime crackdown in Zahedan on September 30 has increased the group's recruitment, according to UK-based Midstone Centre.<sup>23</sup> Jaish al Adl is a Salafijihadi militant group operating around the Iran-Pakistan border. CTP cannot verify this report. Jaish al Adl has called for armed resistance against the regime and expressed support for the protests in recent weeks, as CTP previously reported.<sup>24</sup>

The IRGC may have deployed some of its Iraqi proxies to support the protest crackdown. Five buses carrying Iraqi militants crossed the border into Iran from Iraq on November 6, according to a UK-based human rights organization. The Iraqi militants allegedly traveled through the Mehran border crossing, which is also the location of a prominent IRGC Quds Force headquarters that oversees some operations in Iraq. CTP cannot verify the reports of Iraqi militants traveling to Iran.

SNSC-affiliated *Nour News Agency* accused unnamed American and Mossad officials of meeting with anti-regime Kurdish militant groups in Iraqi Kurdistan over the past two months on November 8.<sup>27</sup> Nour News Agency claimed that these parties met to plan operations against the regime.

Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib threatened the UK for hosting anti-regime outlet *Iran International* on November 8.<sup>28</sup> Khatib added that the regime now views communicating with Iran International as cooperating with

terrorists and threatening national security. **Khatib's remarks follow reports of an I**RGC threat to two British-Iranian journalists working for Iran International in London. The London Metropolitan Police informed them that the IRGC **posed an "imminent, credible,** and significant [threat] **to their lives and those of their families."**<sup>29</sup>

IRGC-affiliated Tasnim News Agency reported on November 8 that the IRGC Intelligence Organization has used drones to support the suppression of political dissent.<sup>30</sup> Tasnim News Agency published a video boasting about the IRGC Intelligence Organization's use of drones to identify and arrest disaffected citizens in Kouh Chenar, Fars Province.

Armed Forces General Staff spokesperson Brigadier General Abol Fazl Shekarchi emphasized the need for the regime to communicate its ideology and narratives to Iranian youth via the media on November 8.<sup>31</sup> Shekarchi accused the US of conducting a hybrid war against the Islamic Republic to create societal divisions and unrest. He added that pro-regime journalists are on the frontline fighting against the United States' "soft war" against Iran. The Iranians use this term, "soft war," to refer to the West's perceived use of nonmilitary means, such as economic and psychological pressure and information operations, to erode the regime's legitimacy, cultivate domestic opposition, and propagate Western values in Iran. Shekarchi made these remarks while meeting with media officials in Bushehr Province.

Economic Affairs and Finance Minister Ehsan Khandouzi stated on November 8 that the protests have contributed to the depreciation of the Iranian rial. The Iranian rial dropped to an all-time low of around 366,500 to the US dollar on November 7.32 Khandouzi stated that the Central Bank of Iran will try to stabilize the rial in the coming days, possibly by injecting hard currencies such as the dollar into the market.

# Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

https://twitter.com/nournewsen/status/1590048409213620224

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-september-30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.nytimes.com/2022/10/14/world/middleeast/iran-zahedan-crackdown.html

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> https://twitter.com/nournewsen/status/1590047857830002689

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://twitter.com/nournewsen/status/1590047857830002689;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-26

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<sup>10</sup> https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/nov/07/row-brews-in-iran-over-use-of-its-drones-in-ukraine-war-by-
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589929057214693377?s=20&t=OeLdnAAtZexFsA8onJkc5g; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590010933304524801?s=20&t=i uDgfaleMLoxqUXPjfElw <sup>12</sup> https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589923827047600129?s=20&t=ryv68tGblWf-iACYbEDCUg; https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589960720594395136?s=20&t=Hda2G- oPpyQ269UMuWQBQ <sup>13</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590044672432701440?s=20&t=0v5FjznNQm8d-UqrxvJJoA <sup>14</sup> https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589933654943629313?s=20&t=YfidPjNIU80O2Wha90ATGw; https://twitter.com/jilamostajer/status/1589951913667067905?s=20&t=AY-C8O4NxaJ0BweoELz9tQ; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589972983309041665?s=20&t=eP7TFXunrvh9EBafMkkzgg; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589974753455972352?s=20&t=NmbeBNcmtJhO1qyr2J9REQ <sup>15</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1589943819025645568?s=20&t=7WcTMd\_NoGxUFjGTiD4Avw; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1589946501375352833?s=20&t=cdqUbm4D9FShPOUQG2dTEw <sup>16</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589930869107458048?s=20&t=p-UawJRmAgc98tXl7o1N-Q; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589931869973270528?s=20&t=7s76MjaRypwWil8uCCJPFQ; <sup>17</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589972597252718594?s=20&t=uVSRZE9I9o8L9Ic5auqQAQ <sup>18</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589932886580346881?s=20&t=-1qPOYflbTZ2j-led44D5w; https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1589994476176830465?s=20&t=6Qw XLRuSm9lxgoUCEfzzw <sup>19</sup> https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1590045256221085696?s=20&t=5h5FpO J o7xPkoTMQLysw  $^{20}\ https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1589974107525115906?s=20\&t=yVn-li6zoQjMfnAllS-SAllered (line) and the status of the property o$ <sup>21</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590034745014222849?s=20&t=prKmyMFwN2\_S5\_tWkon38Q <sup>22</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590078823923879936?s=20&t=20mFg9D2XcUrT1aMZAcpYg <sup>23</sup> https://midstonecentre dot com/2022/11/exclusive-trouble-in-iran-an-interview-with-jaish-al-%ca%bfadl-of-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-7

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1589714145179447298?s=20&t= 2eIG4i-qHwtUUUxkqza-A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> See Michael R. Gordon and General Bernard E. Trainor's *The Endgame: The Inside Story of the Struggle for Iraq, from George W. Bush to Barack Obama* 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> https://twitter.com/nournewsen/status/1589885397542526981; https://twitter.com/nournews ir/status/1589845373069115397?s=20&t=SJlgpuCMTrJxJWxktFqshQ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> http://www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/17/2801260

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> https://www.iranintl.com/en/202211076450

<sup>30</sup> www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/17/2800910

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> http://www.defapress dot ir/fa/news/554766

<sup>32</sup> www.bonbast dot com/historical/usd/2022/11



Iran Crisis Update, November 9 Nicholas Carl, Johanna Moore, Zachary Coles, and Frederick W. Kagan November 9, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

Iran and its proxies may attack US positions in Iraq and Syria in retaliation for an Israeli drone strike on an Iranian convoy in eastern Syria on November 8. The Israeli strike killed at least 10 individuals including an unknown number of Iranians, according to the *Wall Street Journal*. The convoy was reportedly transporting missiles, munitions, and oil into Syria from Iraq. Media affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) and a senior official from Iranian proxy Kataib Hezbollah blamed the attack on the US and Israel.<sup>2</sup>

Iran has increasingly attacked US positions in Iraq and Syria as part of its cycle of escalation with Israel over the past year. A senior IRGC commander, Major General Gholam Ali Rashid, stated in December 2021 that the regime would attack "all centers, bases, routes, and spaces used as sources or routes for [Israeli] aggression," holding the US accountable for potential Israeli attacks.<sup>3</sup>

Artesh Ground Forces Commander Brigadier General Kiomars Heydari emphasized that the regime has the capacity to use more extreme force against protesters on November 9.4 Heydari referred to protesters as "flies" and stated that "they will have no place in the country" if Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei orders a more brutal crackdown. Iranian leaders have increasingly tasked the Artesh Ground Forces with some internal security missions, such as guarding sensitive facilities and locations to relieve other security forces, during protests in recent years.<sup>5</sup>

The potential involvement of the Artesh in protest suppression, even in a limited capacity, would provide Iranian authorities additional assets to quash internal unrest.<sup>6</sup> The Artesh Ground Forces has more than twice as many service members as the IRGC Ground Forces does, operates the bulk of the country's helicopter and tank arsenals, and has concentrated many of its units in border areas.<sup>7</sup> These qualities, combined with its use to relieve other security forces, make the Artesh a powerful instrument for protest suppression, particularly in the border regions where significant protest activity has been concentrated.

Raisi administration officials are threatening citizens who provide information to anti-regime outlet *Iran International* to deter protesters from speaking to it about the protests and regime crackdown. Culture and Islamic Guidance Minister Mehdi Esmaili **referred to Iran International as "terrorist media" and** stated that the regime will punish individuals cooperating with it on November 9.8 Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib stated that the regime views communicating with *Iran International* as cooperating with terrorists and threatening national security on November 8, as CTP previously reported.9

#### Key Takeaways

- Iran and its proxies may attack US positions in Iraq and Syria in retaliation for an Israeli drone strike on an Iranian convoy in eastern Syria.
- Artesh Ground Forces Commander Brigadier General Kiomars Heydari emphasized that the regime has the capacity to use more extreme force against protesters.
- Raisi administration officials are threatening citizens who provide information to anti-regime outlet *Iran International* to deter protesters from speaking to it about the protests and regime crackdown.
- At least 19 protests took place in 15 cities across 11 provinces.
- An unidentified individual drove a car into a group of security personnel and killed a Basij member in Bandar-e Kia Shahr, Gilan Province.
- Law Enforcement Commander Brigadier General Hossein Ashtari reappointed Brigadier General Mohammad Ghanbari as LEC Sistan and Baluchistan provincial commander.

### Anti-Regime Protests

At least 19 protests took place in 15 cities across 11 provinces on November 9. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,599,000)

• 25-50 Tabriz University of Art students protested on campus and chanted "the blood in our veins is the food of our leader." Protesters reportedly began the demonstration by removing the gender separation wall in the university cafeteria. 10

Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

- One or two dozen possibly high school-age protesters marched through an Esfahan street and chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom."
- \*Shiraz, Fars Province (population: approximately 1,556,572)
  - Several dozen protesters marched through Shiraz streets and chanted anti-regime slogans. The protesters reportedly held the demonstrations to commemorate protesters killed by regime security forces during the September 30 Zahedan massacre.<sup>12</sup>
  - One or two dozen Shiraz Chamran University students protested on campus and chanted "Khamenei is a murderer." <sup>13</sup>

Bandar Abbas, Hormozgan Province (population: approximately 526,648)

 25-50 protesters marched through Bandar Abbas streets and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>14</sup>

Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 946,681)

 An undetermined number of protesters chanted "death to Khamenei" and other antiregime slogans on a Kermanshah street.<sup>15</sup>

Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: approximately 3,001,184)

 One or two dozen possibly high school-age protesters marched through Mashhad streets with anti-regime banners and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>16</sup>

Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 414,069)

 An undetermined number of protesters set fires and reportedly established obstacles with debris in Sanandaj's Nayser and Hassan Abad neighborhoods. Footage from social media shows regime security forces watching the protesters but not attempting to disrupt or arrest them.<sup>17</sup>

Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

• Several dozen protesters set fires and established obstacles with debris on a Saghez street. Footage from social media shows smoke originating beyond where protesters set tires on fire, suggesting regime security forces possibly used tear gas.<sup>18</sup>

\*Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- One or two dozen Pars University of Art and Architecture students protested on campus and chanted anti-regime slogans. The students reportedly held the demonstration to commemorate protesters killed by regime security forces during the September 30 Zahedan massacre.<sup>19</sup>
- Several dozen University of Science and Culture students protested on campus and chanted "we don't have bread, we don't have a house, and the hijab is the [regime's] excuse." The students reportedly held the demonstration to commemorate protesters killed by regime security forces during the September 30 Zahedan massacre.<sup>20</sup>
- 25-50 protesters set fires and established obstacles with debris in Tehran streets. **Protesters chanted "we don't want spectators, join us" and other anti-**regime slogans. Protesters reportedly returned to the streets after security forces dispersed the initial wave of evening demonstrations.<sup>21</sup>

\*Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 168,393)

- A dozen protesters set a fire on a Mahabad street and chanted "death to the dictator." 22
- At least 100 protesters marched through Mahabad streets to mourn regime security forces killing protest martyr Faiq Mam Ghadri in Ourmia. Protesters held evening demonstrations in front of Mam Ghadri's house and chanted anti-regime slogans. Iranian social media accounts claimed more than 1,000 protesters attended to the evening demonstration.<sup>23</sup>

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Shahr-e Kord, Chaharmahal and Bakhtiari Province (population: approximately 190,441)

 An undetermined number of protesters marched through a Shahr-e Kord street and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>24</sup>

Ghadarijan, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 34,226)

• An undetermined number of protesters reportedly clashed with regime security forces in Ghadarijan streets. Footage from social media shows several explosions occurring along a roundabout. The explosions are possibly from regime security forces throwing flashbang grenades.<sup>25</sup>

Rasht, Gilan Province (population: approximately 679,995)

 One or two dozen possibly high school-age protesters demonstrated on a Rasht streetcorner.<sup>26</sup>

Ghorveh, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 78,276)

• An undetermined number of high school students marched through a Ghorveh street and chanted "we don't want spectators, join us." <sup>27</sup>

Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

 An undetermined number of protesters set fires and established obstacles with debris on a Boukan street.<sup>28</sup>



An unidentified individual drove a car into a group of security personnel and killed a Basij member in Bandar-e Kia Shahr, Gilan Province on November 8.<sup>29</sup> Around 44 security personnel have died in the protests since they began on September 16.

Social media accounts reported on November 9 that unidentified gunmen in a vehicle fired an automatic weapon at IRGC members driving on the Zahedan-Bam road in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.<sup>30</sup> Anti-regime militancy has increased

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throughout the province in recent days, as CTP previously reported.<sup>31</sup> Violence between protesters and security forces will likely increase throughout the province on November 11, when protest organizations have called for countrywide demonstrations, especially in Zahedan.<sup>32</sup>

Law Enforcement Commander Brigadier General Hossein Ashtari reappointed Brigadier General Mohammad Ghanbari as Law Enforcement Command (LEC) Sistan and Baluchistan provincial commander on November 9.33 Ghanbari had been the LEC Criminal Investigation Police Chief since September 2020 and was earlier the LEC Sistan and Baluchistan provincial commander.34 The Sistan and Baluchistan Provincial Security Council fired the former commander, Brigadier General Ali Taheri, and 16 of his subordinates for negligence on October 27, as CTP previously reported.35 Ashtari likely reappointed Ghanbari to the position to reinstall a trusted officer to manage the protests and growing anti-regime militancy in the province.

#### Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

There was nothing significant to report today.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.wsj.com/articles/israel-hits-suspected-iran-weapons-convy-in-syria-with-airstrikes-11668010435

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/18/2801849; https://t.me/abualaskary/99

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> http://www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1400/09/29/2629184/

<sup>4</sup> www.mehrnews dot com/news/5628440

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Whatever-it-takes-to-end-it.pdf

<sup>6</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/Whatever-it-takes-to-end-it.pdf

 $<sup>^7\</sup> https://www.dia.mil/Portals/110/Images/News/Military\_Powers\_Publications/Iran\_Military\_Power\_LR.pdf$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> https://www.ilna dot ir/fa/tiny/news-1295972

 $<sup>^9\</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-8$ 

 $<sup>^{10} \</sup>underline{\text{https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590358088284241921?s=20\&t=qj8eK5yJH3FYmD9WG4yfSg;} \underline{\text{https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590388454185058304?s=20\&t=sGY1mpCqND_91XPc9ekXVg;} \underline{\text{https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590388206230700034?s=20\&t=BTcaRBI4M4qxx7h09iHSlw}}$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590415180806385664?s=20&t=S3IX4ADIQ-BP1HCaWlko-A

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https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590293775435563008?s=20&t=N9F1FNJhlichVFksncrt7A

<sup>14</sup> https://twitter.com/chawshin\_83/status/1590429841454923776?s=20&t=KZh9MlZuLMRFsz7TdlDhbA; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590387038129307649?s=20&t=LTSqptMAUb8Usph1yvSq0g;

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<sup>20</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590291942474383360?s=20&t=iD5NJLgL6dYc2FwX6xmlOg; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590293056380899329?s=20&t=5YcoSKS1Q5QrPhfB7EXF8w; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590321610095226880?s=20&t=s3f9HA6Yr rJGr3RUuLX7w <sup>21</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590371219550765056?s=20&t=LblvKjUWnCDU5F71xLB1Vw; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590374752954494977?s=20&t=AtPTPyvnf1SpHW86WYmwXA; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1590389581719142400?s=20&t=Kj Jc3edhfMMhbgrdOknow; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590428454075633664?s=20&t=uaE\_34zJ8U60BFyCHXzDNA; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590441105665167360?s=20&t=uaE 34zJ8U60BFyCHXzDNA https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590356957054914560?s=20&t=H- MAUDXySjxlfbRel0MmQ; https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1590360610558341120?s=20&t=RjiwjM4NkaHj3X21pwlFzQ https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590452214719315969?s=20&t=uaE 34zJ8U60BFyCHXzDNA; https://twitter.com/chawshin 83/status/1590456107998535680?s=20&t=-qGTO6rcrVUdzR-gcw-HZA; https://twitter.com/goliammar/status/1590474845586092032?s=20&t=-qGTO6rcrVUdzR-gcw-HZA; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590459274639339520?s=20&t=uaE 34zJ8U60BFyCHXzDNA https://twitter.com/allahbakhshii/status/1590377114339258368?s=20&t=ttfXC9N7LnrNgqykq9bE8w <sup>25</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590397377688788995?s=20&t=QojYfw1pz3FBAsN3bXMj2A 26 https://twitter.com/ToukAlii/status/1590383089058213893?s=20&t=Zd8geWfcxlhVYs3eZVlLnw <sup>27</sup> https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1590302935040548866?s=20&t=HxYbzdbeuHFYWbanalCHIg 28 https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590371657654632450?s=20&t=gwSUKf3Oh1v8tZU0LohPjQ; 29 http://fna dot ir/1seh5q 30 https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1590335114709733376?s=20&t=sfbNa8J5DPcAsVvMczSSxA;

- <sup>32</sup> https://twitter.com/iran\_javanan/status/1589705927699365890
- <sup>33</sup> https://www.irna dot ir/news/84936939/
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- %D8%A2%DA%AF%D8%A7%D9%87%DB%8C-%D9%86%D8%A7%D8%AC%D8%A7-%D8%B4%D8%AF
- 35 https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-27

## Iran Crisis Update, November 10

Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Nicholas Carl, Johanna Moore, and Frederick W. Kagan November 10, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Contributor: LJ Trevette

The ongoing protests are creating fractures within the Iranian hardliner camp. Parliament Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf and his inner circle have clashed politically with other hardliners who have taken harsher stances against the protests, according to Iranian media. [1] Ghalibaf and his inner circle have blamed these hardliners—specifically Saeed Jalili and others in the Stability Front party—for stoking unrest among disaffected Iranian youth. [2] Jalili was the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council from 2007 to 2013. One parliamentarian reportedly close to Ghalibaf wrote an op-ed accusing parliamentarians close to Jalili of having inflexible and uncompromising views and calling media affiliated with the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) "harsh and violent" on October 25. Ghalibaf endorsed economic and sociopolitical reform in a parliamentary address on November 5, describing changes made within the parameters of the Islamic Republic as "legitimate and necessary." [3] Ghalibaf likely seeks to use such promises of reform to placate protesters. Ghalibaf will not likely support meaningful political reform, however.

Some senior Raisi administration officials have similarly called for limited political reform in recent days likely to appease protesters. Cultural Heritage, Tourism, and Handicrafts Minister Ezzatollah Zarghami suggested that the regime could lift mandatory veiling laws without damaging the foundation of the Islamic Republic on November 6.[4] He also expressed implicit support for easing censorship laws and internet restrictions and acknowledged that many Iranians do not trust state media. Zarghami previously headed state-run media conglomerate Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting. Raisi administration spokesperson Ali Bahadori Jahromi stressed the importance of political plurality in a meeting with university students and faculty in Mashhad on November 10, although he did not explicitly endorse reform. [5] President Ebrahim Raisi has yet to show any support for meaningful reform, and it is unclear whether there are divisions between him and some of his cabinet members. It is also unclear to what extent these cabinet members align with Ghalibaf and his inner circle. Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei is nevertheless unlikely to concede on political reform.

Some parliamentarians representing restive border regions are increasingly criticizing the **regime's** brutality, publicly, possibly reflecting division within the regime over ethnic and regional lines as well. Hardline parliamentarian Behzad Rahmini from Saghez, Kurdistan Province—where Mahsa Amini lived and was buried—criticized the 227 parliamentarians who signed a letter calling on the judiciary to harshly prosecute protesters. [6] A **parliamentarian from Chabahar, Sistan and Baluchistan Province similarly condemned the regime's protest suppression** response in a parliamentary address on November 6 and resigned on November 9. Chabahar Parliamentarian Moinuddin **Saeedi specifically criticized security forces' protest crackdown in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on September 30, which he referred to as "Bloody Friday."[7] Saeedi later reportedly gave a speech criticizing the regime in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.[8]** 

These parliamentarians may attempt to exploit the **regime's** violent protest suppression response and fissures within the hardline camp to increase their political capital within their communities. **These officials'** local connections to the marginalized communities where the regime has used the most force in its crackdown may be driving this wedge between them and the political establishment. Rahmini is a hardliner as well, further reflecting division within the hardline camp over how to manage the crackdown.

#### Key Takeaways

- The ongoing protests are creating fractures within the Iranian hardliner camp.
- At least six protests took place in five cities across four provinces, although protest activity will likely increase on November 11.
- Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib stated that foreign agents sought to spread protests throughout different parts of Iranian cities, thereby stretching security forces thin.
- IRGC Ground Forces Commander Brigadier General Mohammad Pak Pour met with Shia and Sunni leaders at an undisclosed location in Sistan and Baluchistan Province likely as part of regime preparations to suppress planned protests on November 11.
- Some Raisi administration officials have advocated for political reform in recent days, likely to appease protesters.
- Social media accounts reported that hundreds of citizens protested against the Saudi government in Qatif, Saudi Arabia on November 10.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least six protests took place in five cities across four provinces on November 10. Protest activity will likely increase on November 11. Protest organizations have called for protests through Iran and especially in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province, following Friday prayer sermons on November 11. [9] CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: approximately 3,001,184)

- Large crowd of Ferdowsi University students chanted anti-regime slogans in front of and in the university hall where Raisi administration spokesperson Ali Bahadori Jahromi gave a speech.[10]
- \*Marivan, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 136,654)
  - Dozens of mourners chanted "death to the dictator" at Mokhtar Ahmadi's forty-day commemoration ceremony at a cemetery in the Darsiran neighborhood in Marivan. Security personnel killed Ahmadi for participating in anti-regime protests. [11]

Muchesh, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 3,370)

• Dozens of protesters lit fires and chanted "death to the dictator" and "shameless" on a Muchesh city street. [12]

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Undetermined number of protesters chanting "death to the dictator" in Ekbatan in Western Tehran.[13]
- Dozens of protesters chanting anti-regime slogans in Tehran Pars in northeastern Tehran Province.[14]

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Qom City, Qom Province (population: approximately 1,200,000)

• Dozens of protesters chanting "don't be scared, we're in this together" on a Qom city street. [15]



Intelligence and Security Minister Esmail Khatib stated that foreign agents sought to spread protests throughout different parts of Iranian cities and thereby stretch security forces thin on November 9.[16] Khatib's remark accords with CTP's previous reporting that the extent and scale of the protests have strained the limited bandwidth of security forces.[17]

Security forces lethally suppressed crowds dancing in a public area in Rasht, Gilan Province. Social media footage shows men and some unveiled women dancing together at an unidentified public square in Rasht on November 10.[18] Iranian security forces reportedly violently dispersed crowds using tear gas, ran over some participants with motorcycles, and shot and killed one woman.[19] CTP has found no indication that the crowd was engaged in protest-related activity apart from the women not wearing hijab.

The Intelligence and Security Ministry arrested two individuals making explosives in Shiraz, Fars Province on November 10.[20] The Intelligence and Security Ministry seized explosive materials, firearms, and Molotov cocktails from the individuals.

Former IRGC Intelligence Organization Chief Hossein Taeb stated that **Iran's** foreign adversaries are conducting a hybrid war against the Islamic Republic to stoke instability in Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 10.[21] Taeb has been an adviser to IRGC Commander Major General Hossein Salami since Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei dismissed Taeb as IRGC Intelligence Organization chief in June 2022.[22] Taeb has historically maintained close ties with the son of Ali Khamenei, Mojtaba Khamenei.[23] Taeb has become an increasingly public-facing figure since his removal, regularly making public statements criticizing the US and Israel.[24]

IRGC Ground Forces Commander Brigadier General Mohammad Pak Pour met with Shia and Sunni leaders at an undisclosed location in Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 10 likely as part of regime preparations to suppress planned protests. [25] Pak Pour called on the Shia and Sunni leaders to promote security in the province and prevent the internet from influencing Iranian youth. Pak Pour also warned protesters from threatening public order and security.

Pak Pour traveled to Sistan and Baluchistan Province likely to prepare security forces to suppress planned protests across Iran and especially in Zahedan on November 11.[26] Protests have erupted every Friday in Sistan and Baluchistan Province since the regime crackdown in Zahedan on September 30.[27] Anti-regime militancy has increased in recent days as well.[28] Social media accounts reported an increased presence of security forces in Zahedan on November 10.[29] The 110th Salman Farsi Independent Special Forces Brigade is headquartered in Zahedan and could deploy to use extreme force against protesters if Iranian leaders decided to do so.[30]

A group called the **"Anonymous** Graves of **Baluchistan"** claimed a lethal drive-by-shooting on an IRGC truck in vicinity of Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 9.[31] The group alleged that the attack killed two IRGC members.[32] The group has claimed six attacks since April 2022.[33]

## Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

Social media accounts reported that hundreds of citizens protested against the Saudi government in Qatif, Saudi Arabia on November 10.[34] The population of Qatif is primarily Shia. CTP cannot verify the social media reports of protests.

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## Iran Crisis Update, November 11

Nicholas Carl, Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Johanna Moore, and Frederick W. Kagan November 11, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Overall protest turnout throughout Iran has diminished in recent days but surged in Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 11. Protests have occurred almost every Friday in Sistan and Baluchistan Province since the brutal regime crackdown in Zahedan on September 30.[1] The Friday protest activity on November 11 was the most geographically widespread yet, occurring in at least six cities in Sistan and Baluchistan Province. The previous Friday, November 4, saw protest activity in five cities in the province.[2]

This protest turnout across an increasing number of cities in southeastern Iran accords with **CTP's previous assessment that** prominent Sunni cleric Moulana Abdol Hamid and his supporters may begin inspiring protests throughout Sistan and Baluchistan Province rather than in just Zahedan. [3] Abdol Hamid again criticized the regime and expressed support for protesters during his Friday sermon in Zahedan on November 11. [4] Abdol Hamid also commended Chabahar parliamentarian Moinoddin Saeedi, who criticized on November 9 the regime protest crackdown. [5] Abdol Hamid's message may be resonating with a growing portion of the Sunni Baloch community in southeastern Iran.

US defense officials continue to warn of a potential Iranian attack into Saudi Arabia or Iraq in retaliation for the alleged roles of the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia in stoking the protests. Two Defense Department officials told Politico that Iran continues to plan to attack Saudi Arabia, likely targeting its energy infrastructure, and that Iran also poses an increased threat to targets in Iraq. [6] US and Saudi officials previously warned of an imminent Iranian attack on Saudi Arabia and Iraq in a *Wall Street Journal* report on November 1, though the disclosure of this intelligence may have delayed the Iranian attack. [7] Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Deputy Commander Brigadier General Ali Fadavi repeated the threat that the regime will retaliate against foreign and domestic actors who stoked the protests on November 11.[8]

Iran may have already tried and failed to attack US positions in Syria on November 9. Syrian media outlet *DeirEzzor24* reported that Russian military police arrested two individuals tied to the IRGC who were preparing to conduct a rocket attack on US forces at the Conoco gas field in eastern Syria. [9] Iranian-backed militias have attacked this location previously. [10] CTP previously assessed that Tehran and its proxies may attack US positions in Iraq and Syria in retaliation for the alleged US role in stoking protests and for an Israeli drone strike on an Iranian convoy in eastern Syria on November 8. [11] CTP cannot verify the report from *DeirEzzor24*, however.

Key Takeaways

- Overall protest turnout throughout Iran has diminished in recent days but surged in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.
- US defense officials continue to warn of a potential Iranian attack into Saudi Arabia or Iraq in retaliation for the alleged roles of the US, Israel, and Saudi Arabia in stoking the protests.
- At least 14 protests took place in 12 cities across six provinces.
- Reformist parliamentarian Gholamreza Nouri Ghazaljeh criticized the regime for allowing security and law enforcement personnel to enter university campuses.
- The IRGC Intelligence Organization issued a statement warning that anti-regime group Mojahedin-e Khalq is contacting citizens to incite protests and the destruction of public property.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 14 protests took place in 12 cities across six provinces on November 11. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

\*Deh Sefid, Lorestan Province (population: unknown)

An undetermined number of mourners chanted anti-regime slogans at Sepehr Beyranvand's funeral. Social
media users and protester chants framed Beyranvand as a martyr. Security personnel reportedly fired tear
gas to disperse crowds, although there is currently no available footage of this. Security personnel
reportedly killed Beyranvand for writing anti-regime slogans on public property. [12]

Chabahar, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 106,739)

• Dozens of protesters joined hands on a city street. Roughly 50 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans, possibly at another location. Security personnel fired what appears to be tear gas at protesters. [13]

Iranshahr, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 113,750)

Dozens of protesters fled from what appears to be tear gas on an Iranshahr city street. [14]

Khash, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 56,584)

• Hundreds of protesters chanted anti-regime slogans while protesting on a Khash city street. Security personnel fired tear gas and reportedly shot at protesters. Some protesters were documented destroying a sign featuring Qassem Soleimani's name. [15]

Rask, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 10,115)

• Footage shows dozens of protesters setting fire to and throwing rocks into an IRGC-operated building and throwing rocks at the Rask governorship building. Another dozen captured chanted "free Baluchistan" on a city street. It is unclear if this protest operated independently of groups throwing rocks at public property. [16]

Saravan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 60,114)

• An undetermined number of protesters chanted anti-regime slogans on a Saravan city street. Footage shows security personnel shooting at unidentified figures, whom some social media users claim are worshippers at the Nour Saravan Mosque.[17]

Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 587,730)

Hundreds of Zahedan residents participated in an anti-regime march following Friday prayer sermons.
 Many protesters held handwritten signs with anti-regime slogans like "death to the dictator" and "woman,
 life, freedom." Some protesters were pictured holding anti-regime signs in what is likely the vicinity of a
 mosque or another communal structure. Social media footage depicts security personnel armed with
 Kalashnikov-style weapons arresting protesters. Some social media users reported that live ammunition
 was fired at protesters.[18]

\*Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- An undetermined number of mourners chanted slogans comparing the Basij to ISIS at the 40-day commemoration ceremony of Amir Mehdi Farakhipour at the Behesht-e Zahra cemetery in southern Tehran. Security personnel killed Farakhipour for participating in anti-regime demonstrations days before his 17th birthday. Mourners framed Farakhipour as a martyr and played a nationalist Iranian song.[19]
- Dozens of protesters chanted "we don't want a government that kills children" on a street in Tehran Pars in northeastern Tehran. [20]
- Dozens of protesters chanted "death to Khamenei" in Nazi Abad in southern Tehran. [21]

\*Boyouran-e Sofla, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,261)

• Over 50 mourners chanted anti-regime slogans while attending Kolbar Hayman Hamzeh's funeral, whom security personnel killed. It is unclear if Hamzeh died participating in anti-regime protests. Mourners reportedly continued protests in front of the local governorship office. Security personnel reportedly shot at protesters, seriously injuring **Hamzeh's** sister. Protesters set fire to a local Basij base and a border patrol vehicle. [22]

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Bushehr City, Bushehr Province (population: approximately 223,504)

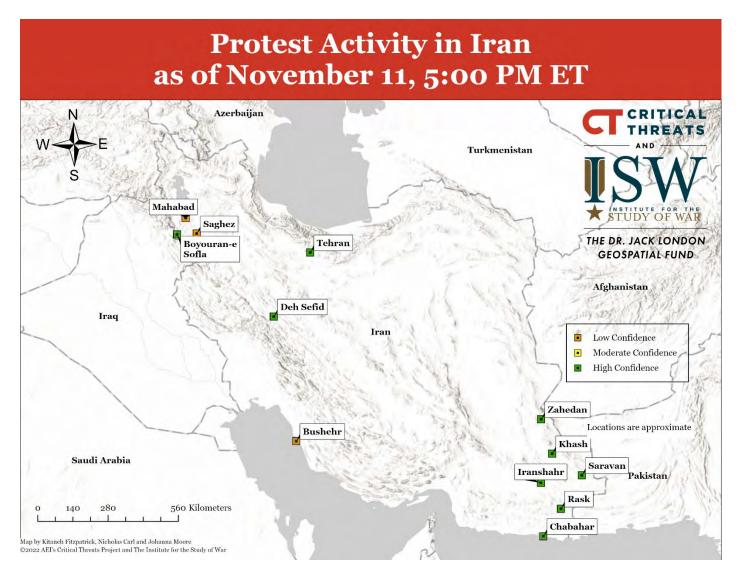
• Footage purportedly shows clashes between protesters and security forces, although available footage does not feature protests. These protests may not meet CTP's threshold for protest activity.[23]

Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

• Footage shows that protesters lit a fire on a Saghez city street, suggesting that protest activity may have occurred after the clip was filmed. [24]

Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 168,393)

• Footage shows that protesters lit a fire on a Mahabad city street, suggesting that protest activity may have occurred after the clip was filmed. [25]



A parliamentarian representing Chabahar, Sistan and Baluchistan Province denied reports that he had resigned from his post. Moinoddin Saeedi stressed his commitment to fighting for his **constituents' rights and improving** their quality of life. Some social media users reported that Saeedi had resigned from his post on November 10. [26] State-affiliated media circulated Saeedi's comments. [27] Saeedi had previously criticized security forces' protest crackdown in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on September 30 in a parliamentary address on November 6. [28][29]

Reformist parliamentarian Gholamreza Nouri Ghazaljeh criticized the regime for allowing security and law enforcement personnel to enter university campuses on November 11. Ghazaljeh emphasized that all students should be permitted to speak their minds and called on security forces who had entered university campuses to be held accountable. [30] Iranian university students have reported increased security presence in academic spaces throughout the Mahsa Amini protest wave, as CTP has previously noted. [31]

Parliament-affiliated Islamic Consultative Assembly News Agency (ICANA) published an article questioning the authenticity of a picture of a letter signed by 227 parliamentarians advocating for harsh protester sentencing. [32] ICANA cited factual inaccuracies—including the names of ex-parliamentarians listed as signatories—as evidence to its claim that the letter is fake. Social media users circulated a picture of the letter on November 11. Signatories signed the letter on November 6, as CTP previously reported. [33]

The IRGC Intelligence Organization issued a statement on November 11 warning that anti-regime group Mojahedin-e Khalq is contacting citizens to incite protests and the destruction of public property.[34]

#### Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

Azerbaijani President Ilham Aliyev emphasized the need to ensure the "rights, freedom, and security" of Azeris living outside of Azerbaijan—possibly a veiled reference to the Azeri communities in northwestern Iran although possibly referring in addition or instead to Azeris still in Armenian-controlled areas or in

the Azeri exclave of Nakhchivan—on November 11.[35] Aliyev expressed his commitment to "helping our compatriots, who have been separated from the Azerbaijani state by an unfortunate twist of fate..." Aliyev made these remarks at a summit of the Organization of Turkic States in Uzbekistan. Iranian authorities have repeatedly accused foreign actors of using the protests to drive separatism and erode the country's territorial integrity in recent weeks.[36] Aliyev's comments follow IRGC social media accounts calling for Iran to annex parts of Azerbaijan, as CTP previously reported.[37]

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Iran Crisis Update, November 12 Nicholas Carl, Zachary Coles, Dana Alexander Gray, and Frederick W. Kagan November 12, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

Protest coordinators and organizations have called for countrywide demonstrations from November 15 to 17 to commemorate the three-year anniversary of the Bloody Aban protest wave in November 2019. Citizens took to the streets in around 100 cities in the Bloody Aban protest wave in response to a sudden regime decision to cut fuel subsidies. Estimates of civilians killed by security forces during Bloody Aban range from 304 to 1,500.2 Some protest organizers have published instructions to "conquer" a main Tehran highway on November 15, blocking the road with cars to restrict security forces' movement.<sup>3</sup> Persian-language social media accounts have described the ongoing protests as the continuation of the Bloody Aban protest wave in recent weeks, as CTP previously reported.4 Invoking popular frustrations toward the regime about the Bloody Aban crackdown could reinvigorate this protest movement, which has seen reduced turnout in recent days.<sup>5</sup>

Iranian clerical, political, and security leaders are arguing to the domestic population that the collapse of the Islamic Republic would lead to chaos and civil war. Iranian authorities likely seek to convince the population that the protests will ultimately worsen the state of the country rather than achieve meaningful reform. Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) Political Deputy Brigadier General Yadollah Javani accused the West, Israel, and Saudi Arabia of stoking the protests to "Syrianize" Iran on November 11.6 This regime narrative has become increasingly prevalent in recent weeks. Iranian clerics, military commanders, parliamentarians, and state media have used similar rhetoric, asserting that the protests will create instability similar to the Syrian civil war in Iran rather than lead to a democratic, secular republic.<sup>7</sup>

## Key Takeaways

 Protest coordinators and organizations have called for countrywide demonstrations from November 15 to 17 to commemorate the three-year anniversary of the Bloody Aban protest wave in November 2019. Citizens took to the streets in around 100 cities in the Bloody Aban protest wave in response to a sudden regime decision to cut fuel subsidies.

- Iranian clerical, political, and security leaders are arguing to the domestic population that the collapse of the Islamic Republic would lead to chaos and civil war.
- At least 12 protests took place in 10 cities across nine provinces.
- Unidentified militants killed a member of the IRGC Ground Forces 25<sup>th</sup> Karbala Operational Division at an unspecified location in northwestern Iran.
- Senior Shia cleric Ayatollah Asadollah Bayat Zanjani issued a fatwa requiring Muslims to defend themselves and others if an armed stranger attacks them, according to anti-regime outlet *IranWire*.

## Anti-Regime Protests

At least 12 protests took place in 10 cities across nine provinces on November 12. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: 1,970,000)

 Around one or two dozen Kharazmi University students chanted anti-regime slogans and held demonstrations on campus to protest against security forces killing their fellow students during previous protests.<sup>8</sup>

Shiraz, Fars Province (population: 1,565,572)

• Several dozen protesters marched through Shiraz streets chanting "death to the dictator" and other anti-regime slogans.9

Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province (population: 3,001,184)

• An undetermined number of Azad University in Mashhad students chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" in a hallway on campus. 10

Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: 414,069)

• Several dozen likely high school-age students marched through a Sanandaj street and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>11</sup>

Arak, Markazi Province (population: 520,944)

• Around a dozen protesters held an evening demonstration on an Arak street and chanted "we do not want spectators; join us." 12

Babol, Mazandaran Province (population: 250,217)

• Around a dozen Noshirvani University of Technology students chanted anti-regime slogans at a courtyard on campus.<sup>13</sup>

Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: 8,700,000)

- An undetermined number of Khajeh Nasir University students chanted "by the end of the month of Aban, the dictator will fall" and other anti-regime slogans in a hallway on campus.<sup>14</sup>
- An undetermined number of Shahid Beheshti University in Tehran students chanted "free the imprisoned students" and "shout, shout for your rights" on campus. Iranian social media accounts posted images of several dozen students holding a sit-in inside a classroom.<sup>15</sup>

- Around one or two dozen University of Science and Culture students chanted anti-regime slogans on campus. Iranian social media accounts posted images that showed students attending the protest.<sup>16</sup>
- \*Sardasht, West Azerbaijan Province (population: 68,165)
  - Several dozen citizens marched through a village near Sardasht to the home of killed protester Heman Hamzeh. The protesters chanted "martyrs do not die," "as long as there is a Kurd, Heman will take revenge," and other anti-regime slogans.<sup>17</sup>

Zanjan City, Zanjan Province (population: 430,871)

• Around one or two dozen protesters demonstrated and sang protest songs on a Zanjan street.<sup>18</sup>

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

- \*Dehgolan, Kurdistan Province (population: 45,386)
  - Iranian social media accounts reported that people gathered on Dehgolan streets to condemn security forces for reportedly driving killed protester Hasti Panahi to commit suicide two days after being released. 19

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.



Unidentified militants killed a member of the IRGC Ground Forces 25<sup>th</sup> Karbala Operational Division at an unspecified location in northwestern Iran on November 12.<sup>20</sup> Iranian state media reported that the officer was guarding the border region. The 25<sup>th</sup>

Division is headquartered in Sari, Mazandaran Province and has previously deployed to Syria to fight for despot Bashar al Assad.<sup>21</sup>

Senior Shia cleric Ayatollah Asadollah Bayat Zanjani issued a fatwa requiring Muslims to defend themselves and others if an armed stranger attacks them, according to anti-regime outlet *IranWire* on November 12.<sup>22</sup> *IranWire* interpreted Bayat **Zanjani's fatwa** as calling on protesters to defend themselves against plainclothes security personnel, although it is unclear if this framing is correct. CTP cannot verify this reporting, and **Bayat Zanjani's website has not published this fatwa at the time** of this writing.<sup>23</sup> Bayat Zanjani has criticized security forces for the death of Mahsa Amini, as CTP previously reported.<sup>24</sup>

# Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments There was nothing significant to report today.

<sup>1</sup> https://twitter.com/iran javanan/status/1591422168910696448

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2020/05/iran-details-released-of-304-deaths-during-protests-six-months-after-security-forces-killing-spree;%20https://www.reuters.com/article/us-iran-protests-specialreport/special-report-irans-leader-ordered-crackdown-on-unrest-do-whatever-it-takes-to-end-it-idUSKBN1YROQR

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> https://twitter.com/neginsh/status/1591101670901309441/photo/1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-24# ednfd5b678c84318859ce365ec47f4b37bd2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-11

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> www.defapress dot ir/fa/news/555338

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> www.mehrnews dot com/news/5624362; www.snn dot ir/fa/news/1041801; www.irna dot ir/news/84937272; www.mehrnews dot com/news/5623203; www.irna dot ir/news/84907177

<sup>8</sup> https://twitter.com/RadioFarda /status/1591381743893889024?s=20&t=s FNSe6HkjP2pm6rBRRAmA; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591388729268371456?s=20&t=Y63CRCzz1da-4ayfey74wQ

<sup>9</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591518881004556293?s=20&t=ali27yUNGqVqm0lbqaQ Uw

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> https://twitter.com/ManotoNews/status/1591431246672179201?s=20&t=zdEf7jAWsEUsYPnG22lu\_g; https://twitter.com/RadioFarda /status/1591502289054814209?s=20&t=zWDpBgSs-xcM5cBTx-z3lA

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591391427426123777?s=20&t=jEpIHT4I7JHZWOFxs0Rb2Q; https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591390095537770496?s=20&t=jIXAQrJKeFqvYBsIEgVnhg;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> https://twitter.com/RadioFarda /status/1591520652791799808?s=20&t=pqXP4ngULr7pO45xD6aD0g

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> https://twitter.com/HengawO/status/1591381982797496320?s=20&t=JIP8O10VD52d66x7QYW7kA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> https://irna dot ir/xjKYYS

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> https://www.aei.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Irans-Reserve-of-Last-Resort.pdf

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> https://iranwire.com/en/politics/109726-defense-against-plainclothesmen-is-a-religious-duty-iranian-ayatollah-rules/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> www.bayat dot info

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-october-

<sup>2#</sup>\_edn24be60559121abfedca2de2f3579cd247



# Iran Crisis Update, November 13 Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Zachary Coles, and Frederick W. Kagan November 13, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is likely escalating against prominent Sunni Cleric Moulana Abdol Hamid, who has become increasingly critical of the regime in recent weeks. Iranian media reported that Khamenei dispatched a high-ranking delegation headed by Friday Prayer Leader Policy Council Chief Mohammad Javad Haj Ali Akbari to Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 13.1 Ali Akbari has previously advocated for harsh sentences for protesters and called people participating in anti-regime demonstrations "barbaric rioters." Ali Akbari had a meeting with Abdol Hamid and other local Sunni academics in which Abdol Hamid reportedly described the regime's recent protest crackdowns throughout Sistan and Baluchistan as an example of discrimination against the Iranian Sunni community according to an outlet claiming direct or indirect access to Abdol Hamid. Abdol Hamid additionally criticized the regime for failing to publicly condemn security forces' violent suppression of anti-regime demonstrations in Zahedan and Khash cities.3 Abdol Hamid has voiced similar criticisms of the regime in recent weeks, and some of his commentary has likely incited further unrest throughout Sistan and Baluchistan Province.<sup>4</sup> Social media users have documented hundreds of Zahedan residents participating in anti-regime protests following Abdol Hamid's Friday prayer sermons in recent weeks.<sup>5</sup> Ali Akbari's meeting with Abdol Hamid is likely intended to discourage him from further public criticism of the regime. Abdol Hamid faces a decision point to cease stoking unrest or disobey what was likely a directive from the supreme leader to stop doing so. Abdol Hamid's initial comments suggest that he may choose to do the latter.

Ali Akbari's visit could also signal Khamenei's disapproval of how local provincial leaders are responding to anti-regime protests throughout Sistan and Baluchistan Province. Ali Akbari's visit in and of itself is somewhat anomalous: Khamenei has representatives in each of Iran's 31 provinces, and therefore should not typically require further representation in Sistan and Baluchistan Province.<sup>6</sup> Ali Akbari insinuated that the Sistan and Baluchistan supreme leader representative and provincial governor had taken some measures to confront ongoing unrest, but that

his team would implement a "special plan" detailed by the Supreme Leader.<sup>7</sup> Ali Akbari's comments could suggest that the supreme leader blames provincial officials for failing to quell ongoing unrest in Sistan and Baluchistan or that Khamenei has lost confidence in them to do so.

**Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi met with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Tehran on November 12.** Raisi and Putin reportedly discussed bilateral cooperation on economic and political issues.<sup>8</sup> Iranian media did not appear to advertise the call. Russian Security Council Secretary Nikolai Patrushev additionally met with Iranian Supreme National Security Council Secretary Ali Shamkhani on November 8, possibly to discuss the potential sale of Iranian ballistic missiles to Russia, as CTP previously reported.<sup>9</sup>

Putin's continued engagement with the Iranian regime over security cooperation could indicate that Iranian negotiators may be asking for more than Putin is readily willing to offer in return for Iranian missiles and drones.

#### **Key Takeaways**

- Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei is likely escalating against prominent Sunni Cleric Moulana Abdol Hamid, who has become increasingly critical of the regime in recent weeks.
- Iranian President Ebrahim Raisi held a phone call with Russian President Vladimir Putin on November 12 and may have discussed Iranian ballistic missile sales to Russia.
- At least 12 protests took place in seven cities across five provinces.
- The mistreatment of imprisoned Iranian human rights activist Hossein Ronaghi may reinvigorate ongoing, anti-regime protests.
- The Iranian judiciary issued preliminary sentences against protesters arrested in Tehran Province, including one death sentence.
- Israeli combat aircraft conducted an airstrike against on a likely Iranian precision-guided munition cache at Shayrat Airbase, Homs Province, Syria.

### **Anti-Regime Protests**

• At least 12 protests took place in seven cities across five provinces on November 13. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

### Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• A dozen high school or college students marched through a Karaj city street and chanted "death to the dictator," "freedom, freedom, freedom," and other anti-regime slogans.¹º

## Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

• Dozens of senior citizens gathered on a street in Esfahan City to protest and chant "only by hitting the streets will we get our rights."

#### Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of protesters marched through Tehran streets and chanted "death to the dictator," "death to the police," "death to Khamenei," and other anti-regime slogans. Audio from footage circulated on social media suggests the protesters may be primarily high school students. 12
- Dozens of Allameh University students protested on campus and chanted anti-regime slogans.<sup>13</sup>
- An undetermined number of Tehran University students demonstrated on campus against regime security forces arresting protesting during previous protests on campus.<sup>14</sup>
- Dozens of Soura University students protested on campus and chanted "we will stand until the end by the blood of our comrades." <sup>15</sup>
- Dozens of protesters gathered in front of Dey Hospital to demonstrate against regime security forces for brutalizing arrested protester Hossein Ronaghi. Security forces prevented protesters from entering the hospital and then fired tear gas in an attempt to disperse the protesters. <sup>16</sup>

#### \*Sardasht, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 68,165)

• Dozens of protesters marched through a village on the outskirts of Sardasht for the third consecutive day to protest against regime security forces killing a local resident. Likely high school-age protesters chanted "we are the children of fire and blood, we will avenge the martyr.

### Ourmia, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 736,224)

• Dozens of Azad University at Ourmia students protested on campus and chanted "1,500 people killed in our November," "don't be afraid, we are all together," and other anti-regime slogans.<sup>18</sup>

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

### Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

• Iranian social media accounts circulated footage depicting cars honking in solidarity with high school students reportedly protesting on a Saghez street off-camera.<sup>19</sup>

### Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

• Iranian social media accounts circulated footage reportedly of a fire in a Boukan street set by an undetermined number of protesters.<sup>20</sup>

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.



The mistreatment of imprisoned Iranian human rights activist Hossein Ronaghi may reinvigorate ongoing, anti-regime protests. Social media users expressed increased concern for Ronaghi's safety on November 13.21 Ronaghi's brother stated that he had been transferred from Evin Prison to the Dey Hospital in Tehran, but that the regime may seek to kill him instead of providing him with medical treatment.22 Some protesters in Tehran gathered in the vicinity of the Dey Hospital on the evening of November 13 to express support for Ronaghi.23 Iranian authorities have imprisoned Ronaghi for participating in the Green Movement protests in 2009, condemning an internet restriction bill in February 2022, and for promoting the Mahsa Amini protests on an anti-regime outlet in September 2022.

The Iranian judiciary issued preliminary sentences against protesters arrested in Tehran Province, including one death sentence. This marks the first death sentence issued against a protester arrested during the 2022 Mahsa Amini protest wave. Five other protesters received five-to-ten-year prison sentences for participating in protests. <sup>24</sup>Judiciary Chief Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei called on judicial authorities to expedite the prosecution and sentencing of arrested protesters on November 7, as CTP has previously reported. <sup>25</sup>

The Wall Street Journal reported that the Iranian Foreign Affairs Ministry sent foreign embassies a report defending its human rights record and denying that its Law Enforcement Command killed Mahsa Amini on September 16. The report allegedly accused the US and other unspecified European countries of intervening in Iranian internal affairs by supporting protesters, thereby fomenting unrest. <sup>26</sup> The report coincides with news that the UN Human Rights Council will hold an emergency meeting on Iran's violent protest suppression tactics

on the week of November 21.<sup>27</sup> The regime often criticizes external actors for their role in stoking unrest, but rarely issues reports defending its human rights record to these actors.

IRGC Hamzeh Seyyed ol Shohada Headquarters Commander Mohammad Taghi Osanlou announced that his officers had arrested more than 100 members from "anti-revolutionary" groups and seized a significant number of weapons in recent weeks. Osanlou called on the Iraqi government to provide better security on the Iran-Iraq border. <sup>28</sup> Osanlou's comments may indicate that he has faced increasing pressure to quell unrest in recent weeks.

### **Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments**

Israeli combat aircraft conducted an airstrike on a likely Iranian precision-guided munition cache at Shayrat Airbase, Homs Province, Syria.<sup>29</sup> The Syrian Arab News Agency reported the airstrikes killed two Syria Arab Army soldiers and wounded three more.<sup>30</sup> Social media users circulated footage and images of multiple explosions after the initial airstrike, suggesting the airstrike detonated a large number of explosive munitions.<sup>31</sup> The Israeli Air Force also targeted and killed multiple IRGC and Iranian proxy personnel transporting likely precision-guided munitions and oil through eastern Syria on November 8, as CTP has previously reported.<sup>32</sup> Iran frequently retaliates against US forces for Israeli actions in Syria.<sup>33</sup> Iran may intensify retaliatory measures against US forces in response to increasingly frequent Israeli airstrikes.

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<sup>1</sup> https://irna dot ir/xjKZm8; https://www.yjc dot news/00Ykd2
<sup>2</sup> https://www.reuters.com/world/middle-east/iran-cleric-calls-tough-crackdown-protesters-2022-09-30/
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%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%AC%D9%85%D8%B9%D9%87/
4 https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-4; https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-
crisis-update-october-28
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https://twitter.com/Omid M/status/1585964374522478592?s=20&t=9xqWMgPaTenYSyTJo A8SA;
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<sup>6</sup> https://iranwire.com/en/special-features/65511/
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8 http://kremlin dot ru/events/president/news/69828; https://president dot ir/fa/140651
9 https://www.reuters.com/world/putin-ally-patrushev-iran-tass-2022-11-09/
<sup>10</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591811127985557505?s=20&t=jcnbF84fhTJ2Chl8J9QXBA
<sup>11</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591911065180323840?s=20&t=3drnUH7SS0rHTKbXIXdlCg
<sup>12</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591833275244371968?s=20&t=BGVPtEU9cukbgMfNixBcog;
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<sup>13</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591749071932624896?s=20&t=zKMpyIXf967fO33b1qQ6pw
<sup>14</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591750128968568832?s=20&t=6kBkmt9hrfA0kggYD0gnFQ
<sup>15</sup> https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591775262941011969?s=20&t=Ev-HxS6QmpeOHHzsr035Ag
<sup>16</sup>https://twitter.com/iranworkers/status/1591867388957528065?s=20&t=mpwq3mM4Y_PRVhtjMBdvXQ;
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<sup>21</sup> https://twitter.com/LeahRemini/status/1591856195824144384?s=20&t= Fr0c86ly pdc Z1Z7nVQ;
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> https://twitter.com/1500tasvir\_en/status/1591878783098929154?s=20&t=\_Fr0c86ly\_pdc\_\_Z1Z7nVQ; https://twitter.com/GEsfandiari/status/1591898282401632256?s=20&t=\_Fr0c86ly\_pdc\_\_Z1Z7nVQ; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1591904277303525378?s=20&t=\_Fr0c86ly\_pdc\_\_Z1Z7nVQ; https://twitter.com/1500tasvir/status/1591894198801907714?s=20&t=\_Fr0c86ly\_pdc\_\_Z1Z7nVQ;

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> https://www.tasnimnews dot com/fa/news/1401/08/16/2800415 ; <a href="https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-7">https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-7</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> https://www.wsj.com/articles/iran-issues-scores-of-new-indictments-against-protesters-11668356160

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> https://www.pbs.org/newshour/world/un-human-rights-body-to-hold-urgent-session-on-iran-amid-protest-crackdown

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> https://www.cbsnews.com/news/israeli-airstrike-syrian-base-kills-soldiers-wounds-others/

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> https://twitter.com/QalaatM/status/1591832059613687808?s=20&t=NIG1DW9nMsgg4K1PinvBzQ

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> https://www.criticalthreats.org/analysis/iran-crisis-update-november-9; http://www.tasnimnews.dot.com/fa/news/1400/09/29/2629184/

### Iran Crisis Update, November 14

Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Nicholas Carl, Amin Soltani, Dana Alexander Gray, Johanne Moore, and Frederick W. Kagan
November 14, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe here.

Protest activity and strikes will likely increase from November 15 to 17. Protest coordinators and organizers have reiterated their calls for protests and countrywide strikes on these days and also urged citizens to not pay their utility bills. [1] Social media accounts published videos on November 14 claiming to depict protesters traveling from Tabriz, East Azerbaijan to Tehran to demonstrate and "conquer" Tehran. [2] Other protesters have used similar rhetoric in recent days, calling for citizens to conquer a main Tehran highway during the upcoming protests, as CTP previously reported. [3]

Social media accounts are increasingly framing the ongoing protests as the culmination of past protest waves in Iran, which could increase protest turnout. Protest videos circulating on social media have connected the planned protests on November 15 to previous events, especially protest waves, in the Islamic Republic's history, such as the regime's mass execution of political prisoners in 1988 and the crackdowns on the student protests in 1999, the Green Movement in 2009, and the Bloody Aban protests in 2019. [4] This broadening message could resonate across the many different socio-economic classes and communities that have led past protest movements in Iran.

Former reformist President Mohammad Khatami called for reform in an Instagram post on November 14.[5] Khatami stated that the current governance in Iran is "wrong and erroneous" and called on Iranian authorities to empathize with and understand protester demands, especially the demands of the Iranian youth. Khatami stated that the collapse of the Islamic Republic is "not possible nor desirable" but warned that the regime failing to reform could lead to "social collapse." The Instagram post is Khatami's first major comment about the protests after he briefly criticized violence following the Shiraz attack on October 26.[6] The regime has banned state media from mentioning Khatami since at least 2010 to censor him and diminish his public presence.[7]

The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) resumed attacks on anti-regime Kurdish militants in Iraqi Kurdistan on November 14 in retaliation for their perceived role in stoking protests. The IRGC conducted a drone and missile attack on the Zirgwez region of Sulaymaniyah Province, reportedly killing at least two Kurdish militants and injuring several others. [8] IRGC-affiliated media referenced the IRGC statement from September 28 vowing to attack Kurdish militant positions until they no longer threaten the regime in its reporting on the attack. [9] IRGC Ground Forces Commander Brigadier General Mohammad Pak Pour reiterated the regime claim that Kurdish militants in Iraqi Kurdistan are stoking the protests and conducting terrorist attacks in Iran on November 14. [10] The IRGC previously attacked Kurdish militant positions in Iraqi Kurdistan for 12 consecutive days from September 27 to October 7. [11]

#### Key Takeaways

- Protest activity and strikes will likely increase from November 15 to 17.
- Social media accounts are increasingly framing the ongoing protests as the culmination of past protest waves in Iran, which could increase protest turnout.
- Former reformist President Mohammad Khatami called for reform in an Instagram post.
- The IRGC resumed attacks on anti-regime Kurdish militants in Iraqi Kurdistan in retaliation for their perceived role in stoking protests.
- At least 10 protests took place in nine cities across nine provinces.
- Hardline parliamentarian Morteza Mahmoudvand criticized the 227 parliamentarians who signed a letter calling for the harsh and rapid prosecution of arrested protesters.
- The *New York Times* published an article detailing human rights violations that the regime is committing against arrested children.

#### Anti-Regime Protests

At least 10 protests took place in nine cities across nine provinces on November 14. Protests will likely increase in size and scale on November 15. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Note: CTP is using asterisks to denote protests that included mourners commemorating killed protesters.

Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,970,000)

• Dozens of protesters chanted "death to the dictator" on a Karaj city street.[12]

Maragheh East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 175,255)

• Over 100 Maragheh University students chanted anti-regime slogans including "woman, life, freedom" on the university campus. [13]

Ghazvin City, Ghazvin Province (population: approximately 402,748)

• Dozens of Ghazvin University of Medical Sciences protesters chanted arrested Iranian activist Hossein Ronaghi's name in a protest on campus. [14]

Rasht, Gilan Province (population: approximately 679,995)

- Dozens of protesters, likely teenagers, chanted "death to the dictator" on Bistoun Street in Rasht.[15] \*Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 414,069)
  - Over 100 protesters chanted "death to the traitor" at the 40-day commemoration ceremony of Matin Nasri. Security forces killed 19-year-old Nasri for participating in anti-regime protests. Some social media accounts reported that security forces killed Nasri, a soldier, for refusing to suppress protests, defecting, and joining anti-regime demonstrations. CTP cannot corroborate these reports and it is unclear of what military institution Nasri may have been a member.[16]

\*Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Over 100 mourners chanted anti-regime slogans at Yalda Agha Fazli's funeral in a mosque in Saadat Abad in northern Tehran. Security forces detained Agha Fazli for participating in anti-regime protests. Agha Fazli committed suicide after being released. Protesters chanted "You took away our Yalda and brought back her corpse." Security forces reportedly fired tear gas, paint balls, pepper spray, and sound bombs into or in the vicinity of the mosque to disperse crowds. [17]
- An undetermined number of protesters chanted "death to the dictator" in Saadat Abad in northern Tehran this evening. Protesters appear to have lit a fire on the street. These protests were likely connected to or spurred by Yalda Agha Fazli's funeral. [18]

\*Sardasht, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 68,165)

• An undetermined number of protesters chanted anti-regime slogans at the third-day commemoration ceremony of Heyman Hamzeh. Over 100 protesters later marched on a city street in Sardasht county in Hamzeh's memory. [19]

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 946,651)

• Undetermined number of protesters chanted "death to the dictator" on a city street. It is unclear from the available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity. [20]

Arak, Markazi Province (population: approximately 520,944)

• An undetermined number of protesters chanted "death to the dictator" on a city street. It is unclear from the available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity. [21]



Qom Seminary Cultural Groups Coordination Council Secretary Mahmoud Moghaddami issued a statement on October 17 criticizing other senior clerics in Qom for supporting the protests, according to anti-regime outlet *IranWire*. [22] Moghaddami specifically criticized Ayatollah Asadollah Bayat Zanjani and Ayatollah Alavi Karaji. Bayat Zanjani previously criticized security forces for the death of Mahsa Amini on September 17, as CTP previously reported. [23] Karaji has similarly criticized the regime crackdown on protests. If true, this *IranWire* report further highlights the political divisions in Qom that the protest wave has exacerbated.

A Basij Organization member died on November 14 after unidentified gunmen shot him in Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province on October 14.[24] The Basij member was hospitalized and later succumbed to his injuries.

Hardline parliamentarian Morteza Mahmoudvand criticized the 227 parliamentarians who signed a letter calling for the harsh and rapid prosecution of arrested protesters on November 13.[25] Parliament Speaker Mohammad Bagher Ghalibaf cut off Mahmoudvand's microphone while he voiced his criticisms during a parliamentary session.[26] Mahmoudvand represents Chegani and Khorramabad, Lorestan Province in Parliament. Mahmoudvand is at least the third parliamentarian representing a border province to criticize the parliamentary letter or the regime crackdown in recent weeks.[27]

The New York Times published an article on November 14 detailing human rights violations that the regime is committing against arrested children. [28] Iranian security forces have reportedly sent 500 to 1,000 minors to detention centers, many of which might be adult detention centers. The regime is forcing children in juvenile detention centers to complete behavioral therapy under the supervision of a cleric and psychologist, who tell the arrested children to accept that they have committed acts of sin. Children who resist treatment are given psychiatric drugs. Education Minister Yousef Nouri previously stated on October 11 that the regime has sent arrested high schoolers to "psychological centers" to educate and reform them, as CTP previously reported. [29]

A high-ranking delegation dispatched by Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei continued to meet with local leaders in Zahedan, Sistan and Baluchistan Province on November 14. Friday Prayer Leader Policy Council

Chief Mohammad Javad Haj Ali Akbari stated that Khamenei considered protesters who were killed as a result of "human error" to be martyrs in a meeting with local Zahedan tribal leaders and clerics.[30] Meeting participants reportedly professed their loyalty to the Islamic Republic and repeated regime rhetoric blaming foreign actors for organizing antiregime protests.[31] It is unclear if prominent Sunni cleric Moulana Abdol attended the meeting.

#### Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments

Azerbaijani security services arrested five individuals accused of spying for Iran on November 14. The Azerbaijani State Security Service claimed that five arrested Azerbaijani nationals were collecting information relating to security, including Israeli and Turkish drones, and energy infrastructure to undermine Azerbaijani defense capabilities and sovereignty. [32]

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Iran Crisis Update, November 15 Nicholas Carl, Kitaneh Fitzpatrick, Johanne Moore, and Frederick W. Kagan November 15, 5:00 pm ET

The Iran Crisis Updates are produced by the Critical Threats Project (CTP) at the American Enterprise Institute with support from the Institute for the Study of War (ISW). To receive Iran Crisis Updates via email, please subscribe <a href="here">here</a>.

Contributor: Riley Simon

Protest activity increased significantly on November 15 to commemorate the three-year anniversary of the regime's brutal crackdown on the Bloody Aban protest wave. These current protests are the most reported in a single day since CTP began publishing daily updates on September 28.¹ Protest coordinators and organizations have called for protesters to sustain these demonstrations across Iran on November 16 and 17.² Protesters continue to demonstrate an extremely impressive amount of courage and determination despite the regime's brutality and expanding censorship. Iranian political and security leaders likely expected their use of force to quickly quell the protests after a few weeks as they did in November 2019 and other previous protest movements.³

The regime's abuse and mistreatment of children is likely one of the factors driving these enduring protests. The *New York Times* published an article on November 14 detailing human rights violations that the regime is committing against arrested children.<sup>4</sup> Security forces have killed at least 43 children in their crackdown as well.<sup>5</sup> The extent of the regime's cruelty toward children may be new information to many observers in the West but is likely not to the Iranian protesters.

The Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC) will likely resume its campaign to expel US military forces from the region in the coming months. IRGC Quds Force Commander Brigadier General Esmail Ghaani traveled to Baghdad on November 15 to meet with senior Iraqi political and proxy leaders. These Iraqi officials included President Abdul Latif Rashid and Prime Minister Mohammad Shia al Sudani. Ghaani discussed the presence of US troops in Iraq and the Iranian drone and missile attacks into Iraqi Kurdistan, among other issues. Forcing the American military from the region is one of Tehran's greatest strategic objectives, and the installment of an Iranfriendly government in Baghdad will likely facilitate this effort. The IRGC will likely organize militia attacks against US positions and pressure Iraqi officials to seek the exit of American troops in new rounds of the Washington-Baghdad strategic dialogue. The perceived role of the US in stoking the protests and supporting anti-regime Kurdish militant groups in Iraqi Kurdistan may increase the urgency Iranian leaders assign to this effort.

#### **Key Takeaways**

- Protest activity increased significantly on November 15 to commemorate the threeyear anniversary of the regime's brutal crackdown on the Bloody Aban protest wave.
- The regime's abuse and mistreatment of children is likely one of the factors driving these enduring protests.
- The IRGC will likely resume its campaign to expel US military forces from the region in the coming months.
- At least 54 protests took place in 36 cities across 24 provinces.
- Three security personnel may have died in the protests.
- President Ebrahim Raisi sent First Vice President Mohammad Mokhber to Qom likely to unite influential clerics behind the regime and especially the Raisi administration.

#### **Anti-Regime Protests**

At least 54 protests took place in 36 cities across 24 provinces on November 15, a significant increase from prior days. CTP assesses with moderate to high confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

### Karaj, Alborz Province (population: approximately 1,592,000)

• Dozens of high school students were documented protesting on a Karaj city street.8

### Bushehr City, Bushehr Province (population: approximately 223,504)

• Over 50 protesters chanted "woman, life, freedom" and lit a fire on a Bushehr city street. Protesters appear to have created a barricade on the street by forming cars in a circle.9

## Tabriz, East Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 1,599,000)

• Over 50 Azad University of Tabriz students chanted anti-regime slogans in vicinity of the university campus.<sup>10</sup>

## Khomeinishahr, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,599,000)

• An undetermined number of Azad University of Khomeinishahr students protested on campus.<sup>11</sup>

## Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

- Over 50 protesters chanted "woman, life, freedom" in what appears to be a local Esfahan mall.<sup>12</sup>
- Over 100 Esfahan Steel Company workers participated in anti-regime strikes and gathered in an unknown location in the vicinity of Esfahan city.<sup>13</sup>

### Abadeh, Fars Province (population: approximately 59,116)

• An undetermined number of protesters set a fire on a Abadeh city street.<sup>14</sup>

### Marvdasht, Fars Province (population: approximately 148,858)

• Over 100 protesters chanted "death to the IRGC" on a Marvdasht city street. One clip purportedly showing security personnel shooting inside a mosque. 15

#### Shiraz, Fars Province (population: approximately 1,566,000)

- Over 100 protesters chanted "this is the year of blood, Khamenei will be overthrown" on a Shiraz city square. Footage shows fires lit on other city streets. Other footage shows security personnel firing tear gas at protesters in different, undetermined locations in the city. 16
- Over 100—and likely over 200—protesters gathered in the Valiasr subway station.<sup>17</sup>

#### Bandar-e Anzali, Gilan Province (population: approximately 118,564)

• Dozens of protesters chanted "woman, life freedom" on a Bandar Anzali city street. 18

#### Lahijan, Gilan Province (population: approximately 101,073)

• An undetermined number of protesters chanted anti-regime slogans on a Lahijan city street.<sup>19</sup>

#### Rasht, Gilan Province (population: approximately 679,995)

 Roughly 50 Rasht University student protesters chanted anti-regime slogans on the university campus.<sup>20</sup>

#### Gorgan, Golestan Province (population: approximately 350,676)

• Dozens of protesters chanted "this is the year of blood, Khamenei will be overthrown" and marched down a Gorgan city street. Footage shows clashes shows young girls--likely protesters--screaming and running from security personnel.<sup>21</sup>

### Hamedan City, Hamadan Province (population: approximately 554,406)

Over 50 protesters marched on a city street.<sup>22</sup>

### Bandar Abbas, Hormozgan Province (population: approximately 526,648)

- Over 50 female high school or university students protested and waved their headscarves on a Bandar Abbas city street.<sup>23</sup>
- Roughly 50 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans on a Bandar Abbas street that evening.24

### Kerman City, Kerman Province (population: approximately 537,718)

• Dozens of high school students reportedly did not attend class and chanted anti-regime slogans at an undetermined location in Kerman city.<sup>25</sup>

### Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 946,651)

• Over 100 Razi University of Kermanshah students protested on the university campus.<sup>26</sup>

### Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi (population: approximately 3,00,000)

• Over 50 protesters chanted "this is the year of blood, Khamenei will be overthrown" and marched on a city street.<sup>27</sup>

## Ahvaz, Khuzestan Province (population: approximately 1,185,000)

 $\bullet$  Over 100 Shahid Chamran University of Ahvaz student protesters participated in anti-regime protests on the university campus.  $^{28}$ 

#### Izeh, Khuzestan Province (population: approximately 119,339)

• Over 100 protesters chanting "death to Khamenei." One still image shows female protesters gathered on an Izeh city street without headscarves. Security personnel seemed to have fired tear gas at protesters in attempt to disperse crowds.<sup>29</sup>

#### Saghez, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 165,258)

• Dozens of protests captured demonstrating on a city street. Some social media users reported that security personnel fired at protesters, although no available footage exists to corroborate this. Other footage shows fires lit on Saghez city streets.<sup>30</sup>

### Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province (population: approximately 461,000)

- Over 50 Kurdistan University students and marched chanting anti-regime slogans on what appears to be a university campus.<sup>31</sup>
- Dozens of protesters were captured lighting fires on a Sanandaj city street later that day.<sup>32</sup>

#### Babol, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 250,217)

• Dozens of protesters ran from sounds of audible gunfire in a Babol city street.33

#### Ghaem Shahr, Mazandaran Provine (population: approximately 204,953)

• Over 100 protesters chanted "death to the dictator" and lit fires on a Ghaem Shahr city street.<sup>34</sup> **Bojnourd, North Khorasan Province (population: approximately 228,931)** 

• Over 50 protesters chanting anti-regime slogans on a city street.<sup>35</sup>

## Damghan, Semnan Province (population: approximately 59,106)

 Over 50 Damghan University students chanted "Woman, life, freedom" and marched on a city street.<sup>36</sup>

### Konarak, Sistan and Baluchistan Province (population: approximately 28,685)

• An undermined number of protesters chanted "woman, life, freedom."37

## Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 193,501)

• Hundreds of protesters marched in a Boukan city street. Some social media users described the crowds as exceeding one thousand protesters.<sup>38</sup>

### Tehran City, Tehran Province (population: approximately 8,700,000)

- Dozens of protesters chanted anti-regime slogans in the middle of a street in the Shahrak-e Gharb neighborhood.<sup>39</sup>
- Over 100 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans in an unspecified Tehran subway station.<sup>40</sup>
- Over 100 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans at the Tehran Bazaar.<sup>41</sup>
- Over 50 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans and lit fires on the street near the Sadeghieh subway station.<sup>42</sup>
- Over 100 protesters in Sadaat Abad neighborhood chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" at an intersection.<sup>43</sup>
- Over 100 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans in an unspecified Tehran subway station.44

- An undetermined number of students from Parks Higher Education Institute of Art and Architecture chanted "this is the Aban movement; the dictatorship is over." 45
- Over 100 students from Islamic Azad University of Science and Research University chanted anti-regime slogans and protested on campus.<sup>46</sup>
- Over 25 people chanted "freedom, freedom, freedom" in a subway car.47
- Over 25 protesters seen joining hands and chanting "death to the dictator." 48
- Over 50 protesters chanted "you're a sleaze, you're the pervert, I am a free-thinking woman" in the Tehran Shabadad subway station.<sup>49</sup>
- Over 100 protesters blocked an intersection.<sup>50</sup>
- Over 100 protesters blocked a city intersection and set a fire in the street.<sup>51</sup>
- At least 25 protesters chanted anti-regime slogans in an unspecified metro station.<sup>52</sup>
- Over a half dozen protesters toppled a street sign in the vicinity of Sanat Square. 53

### Yazd City, Yazd Province (population: approximately 529,673)

• Over 50--and likely over 100--Yazd University students chanted anti-regime slogans on what appears to be the university campus or a surrounding area.54

CTP assesses with low confidence that protests occurred in the locations below.

#### Esfahan City, Esfahan Province (population: approximately 1,961,000)

• Footage shows an undetermined number of protesters running from audible sounds of gunfire on an Esfahan city street. Footage also shows under a dozen protesters throwing objects at security personnel and blocking a city street. It is unclear if these two videos are from the same location. It is also unclear from available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity.<sup>55</sup>

### **Ghazvin City, Ghazvin Province (population: approximately 402,748)**

• An undetermined number of protesters sang "Barayye" in a city street. It is unclear from the available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity.<sup>56</sup>

## Javanroud, Kermanshah Province (population: approximately 54,354)

• Footage shows heavy security presence, possibly suggesting that protests occurred on this date. One social media user circulated footage of security personnel firing live ammunition at their window for filming them.<sup>57</sup>

### Doroud, Lorestan Province (population: approximately 121,638)

• An undetermined number of protesters gathered on a Doroud city street. It is unclear from the available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity 58

### Arak, Markazi Province (population: approximately 520,944)

• Footage shows fire set to police car, possibly suggesting that protests may have occurred on this date.<sup>59</sup>

### Tonekabon, Mazandaran Province (population: approximately 55,434)

• Security personnel documented shooting at individuals who aren't featured in available footage. It is unclear from the available footage if this event meets CTP's threshold for protest activity.<sup>60</sup>

#### Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province (population: approximately 168,393)

• Protesters set fire and blocked a strategic beltway connecting to other Iranian cities, suggesting that protests may have occurred on this date.<sup>61</sup>



# CTP observed merchant strikes in the following locations:

- Karaj, Alborz Province 6263
- Bandar-e Ganaveh, Bushehr Province<sup>64</sup>
- Tabriz, East Azerbaijan 65
- Esfahan City, Esfahan Province<sup>66</sup>
- Najafabad, Esfahan Province<sup>67</sup>
- Shahr-e Kord, Esfahan Province<sup>68</sup>
- Shahin Shahr, Esfahan Province<sup>69</sup>
- Shirzaz, Fars Province<sup>70</sup>
- Marvdasht, Fars Province<sup>71</sup>
- Kazeroun, Fars Province<sup>72</sup>
- Rasht, Gilan Province<sup>73</sup>
- Bandar-e Abbas, Hormozgan Province<sup>74</sup>
- Kerman City, Kerman Province<sup>75</sup>
- Kermanshah City, Kermanshah Province<sup>76</sup>
- Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi Province
- Saghez, Kurdistan Province<sup>78</sup>
- Sanandaj, Kurdistan Province<sup>79</sup>
- Marivan, Kurdistan Province<sup>80</sup>

- Kamyaran, Kurdistan Province<sup>81</sup>
- Baneh, Kurdistan Province82
- Divandarreh, Kurdistan Province<sup>83</sup>
- Arak, Markazvi Province<sup>84</sup>
- Esfarayen, North Khorasan Province<sup>85</sup>
- Bojnourd, North Khorasan Province<sup>86</sup>
- Tehran City, Tehran Province<sup>87</sup>
- Garmar, Tehran Province<sup>88</sup>
- Parand, Tehran Province<sup>89</sup>
- Mahabad, West Azerbaijan Province90
- Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province91
- Oshnavieh, West Azerbaijan Province<sup>92</sup>
- Piranshahr, West Azerbaijan Province<sup>93</sup>
- Sardasht, West Azerbaijan Province94
- Yazd City, Yazd Province95

**Three security personnel may have died in the protests on November 15.** Iranian state media reported the protesters shot an IRGC colonel in Boukan, West Azerbaijan Province and another IRGC member in Kamyaran, Kurdistan Province.<sup>96</sup> Protesters also reportedly killed a Basij member with a Molotov cocktail in Shiraz, Fars Province.<sup>97</sup>

President Ebrahim Raisi sent First Vice President Mohammad Mokhber to Qom on November 15 likely to unite influential clerics behind the regime and especially the Raisi administration. Mokhber met with senior religious leaders to discuss economic and social issues. Mokhber's meetings come amid reports of disagreements within the clerical establishment over the regime protest crackdown, which CTP has reported previously. The Iranian clerical establishment is a core constituency of the Islamic Republic but is notably not a monolith nor do its leaders universally support regime policies.

Judiciary Chief Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei stated that citizens may constructively criticize the regime so long as they "do not insult, humiliate, and destroy" on November 15.<sup>101</sup> Ejei also emphasized the importance of "explanatory jihad," which refers to the regime communicating its ideology and narratives to Iranian youth to fight against the United States' "soft war." <sup>102</sup> The Iranians use this term, "soft war," to refer to the West's perceived use of nonmilitary means, such as economic and psychological pressure and information operations, to erode the regime's legitimacy, cultivate domestic opposition, and propagate Western values in Iran.

<u>Axis of Resistance and Regional Developments</u> There was nothing significant to report today.

<sup>20</sup> https://twitter.com/ToukAlii/status/1592440906430697473?s=20&t=h5D2nsLsREKKZ1JbtZ3oEg 
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