

The Khamenei Report

Summer 2019

Spiritual Leader or
Business Tycoon?

The
Backstory

The Khamenei
Empire

Conclusion





The Myth of An Ascetic Life

Iran's official media depicts Supreme Leader Khamenei as a humble ascetic man, presumed to own little more than a simple home and a *hussainiya* (Shia congregation hall).

A Doublethink investigation shows a different picture.

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The Backstory

According to Iran's official media, Khamenei has no personal wealth. Yet he can access funds that belong to the country's institutions as an "overseer."

Some of these institutions are called bonyads.

Doublethink research takes a deep dive into these bonyads, how they work and how they are connected to Khamenei and a vast network of his extended family.

Bonyads

Case Studies

Bonyads

Bonyads are institutions converted during the early days of the Islamic Revolution into "charitable organizations."

Over the years, they've grown to control the lion's share of Iran's economy. They pay no taxes and operate without transparency.

Khamenei oversees all bonyads, which are shrouded in secrecy. Iran's political system offers few checks and balances on bonyads.

Khamenei, as the spiritual leader, is considered "infallible" and, therefore, above scrutiny.



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Bonyad Mostazafan



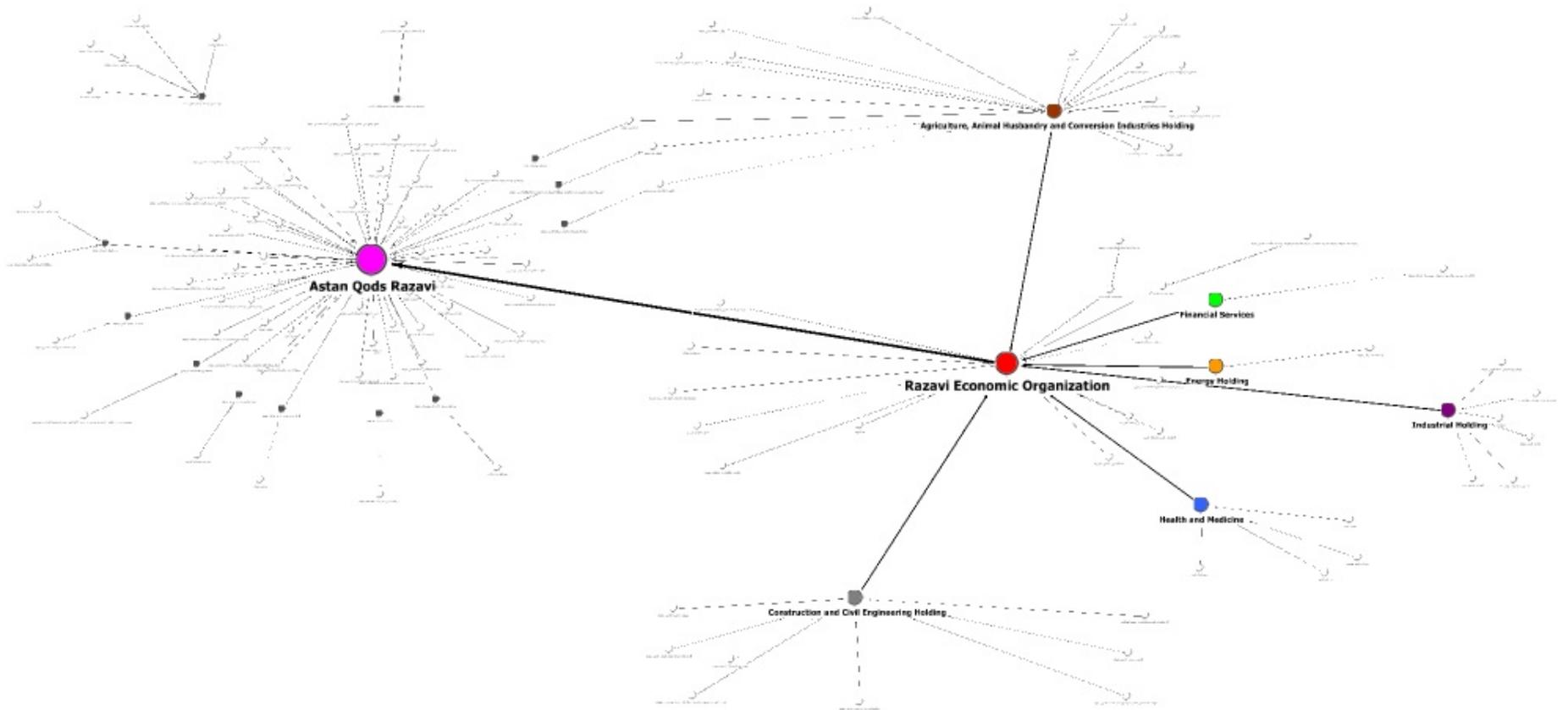
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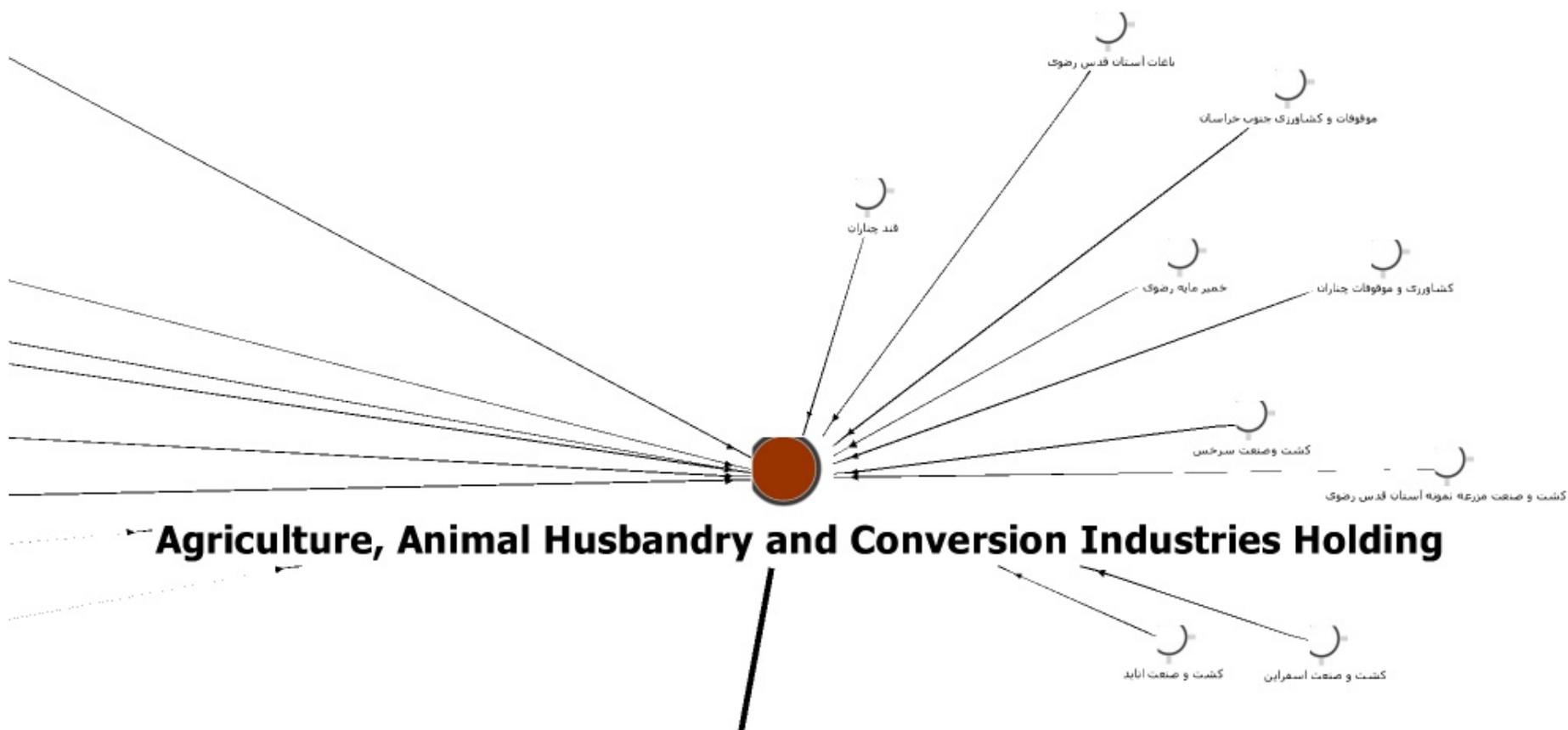


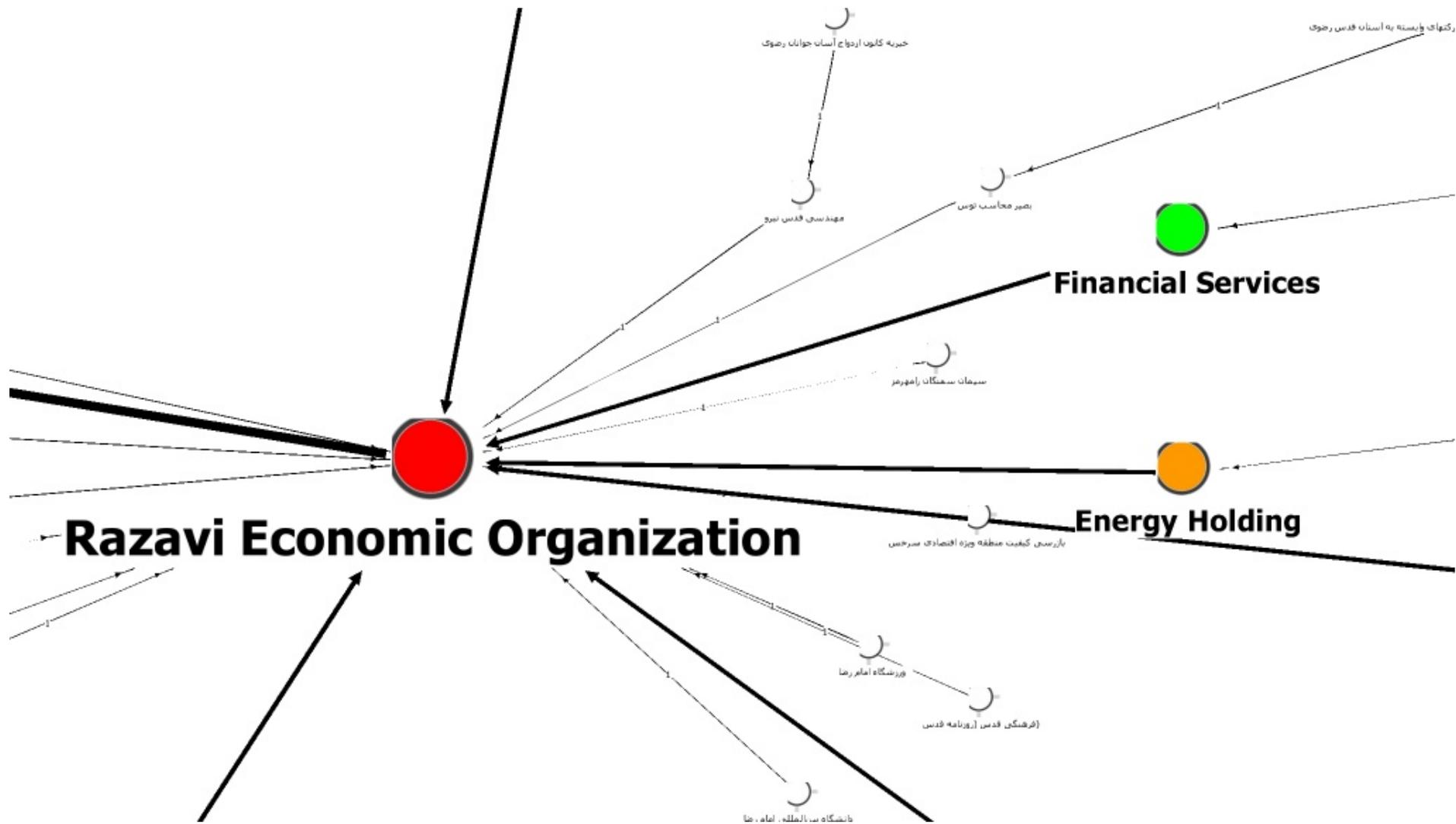
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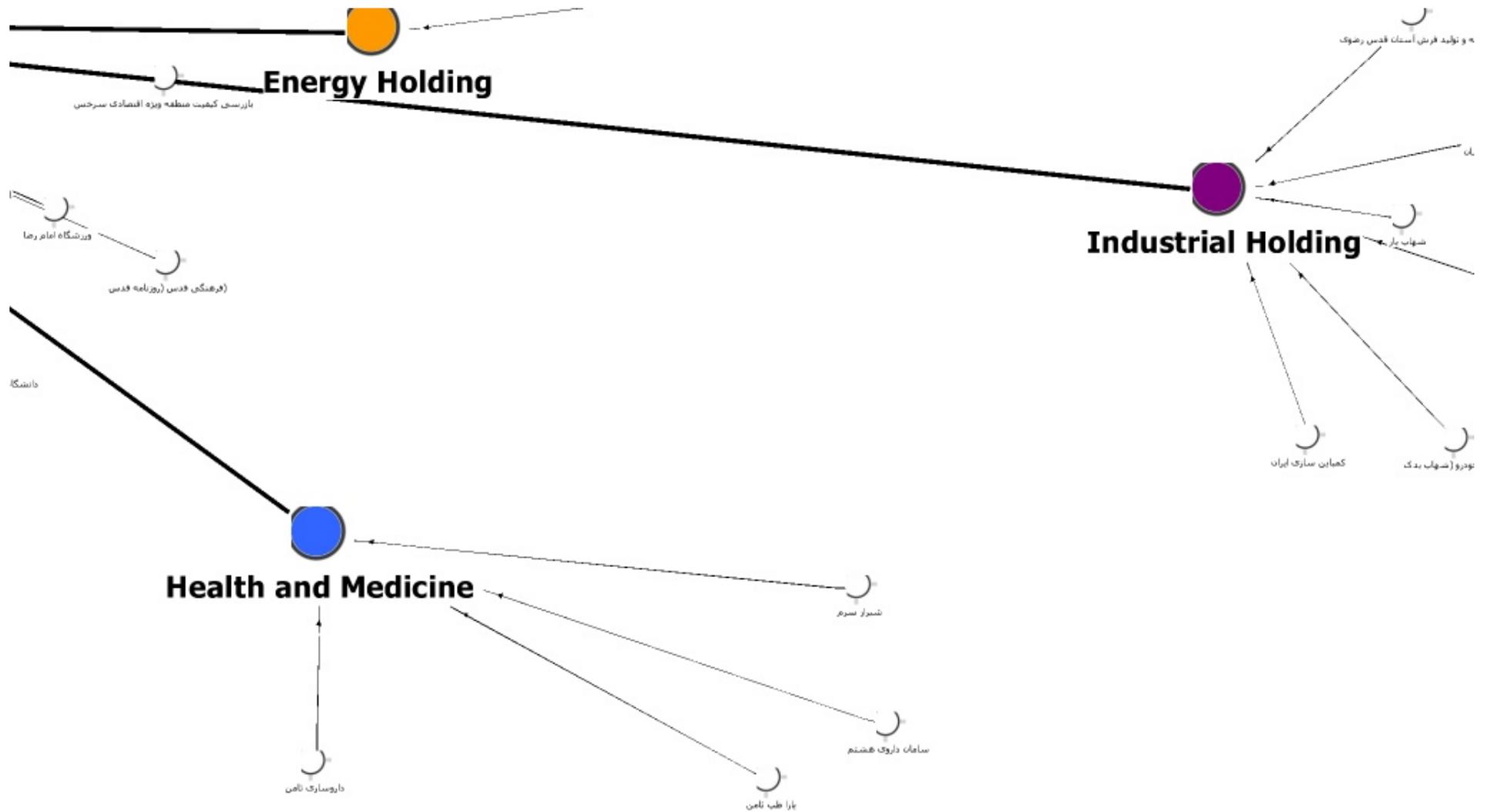
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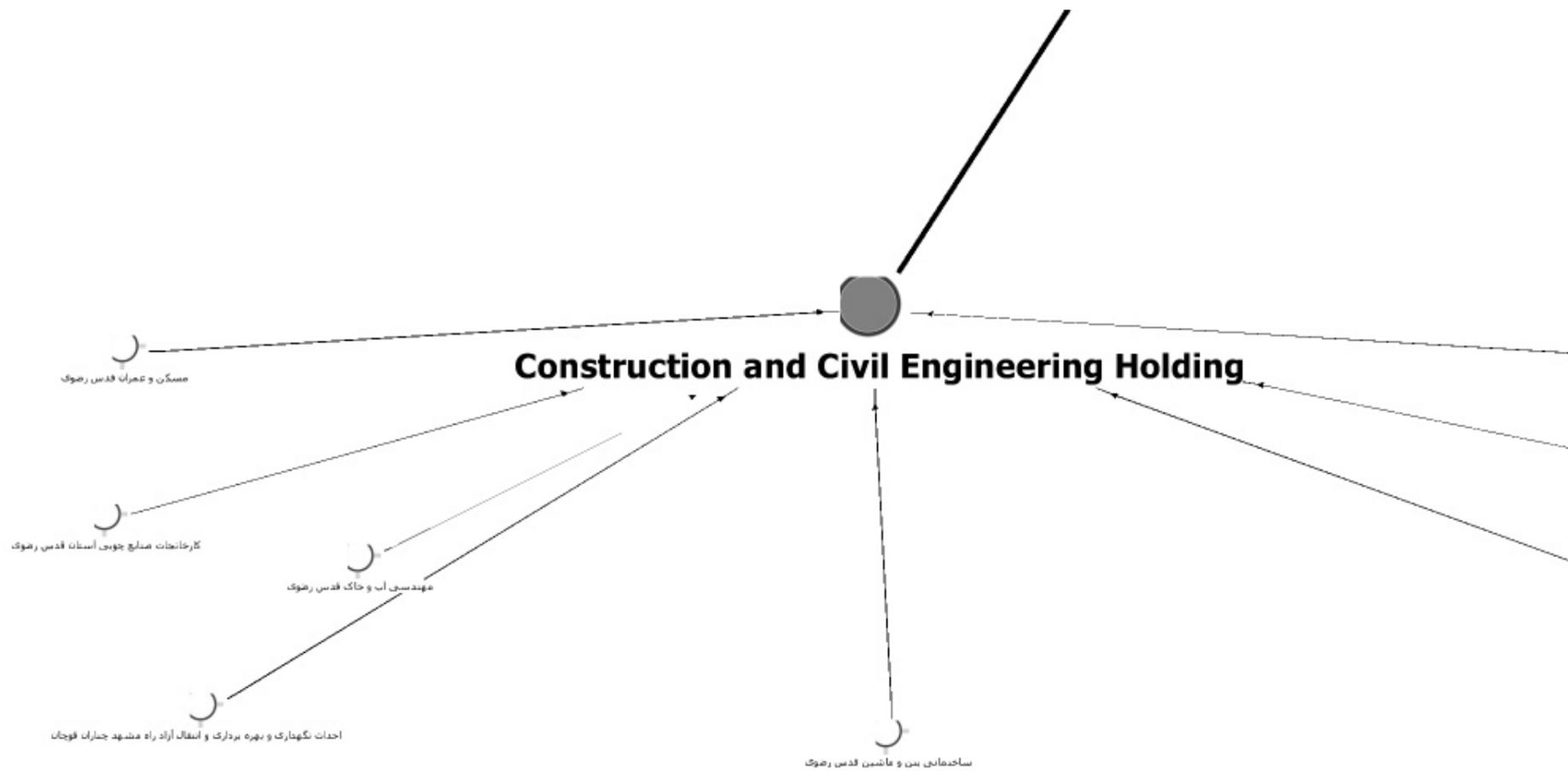














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Bonyad Mostazafan



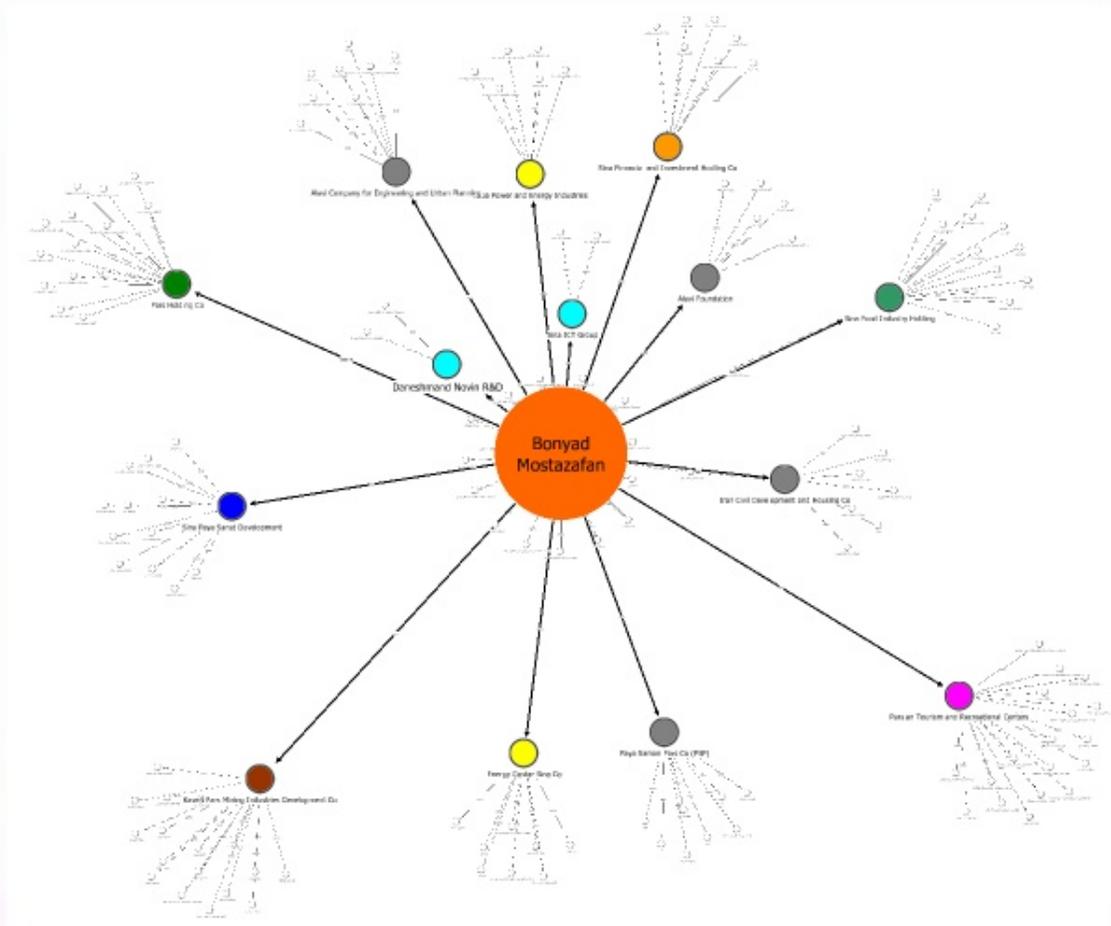
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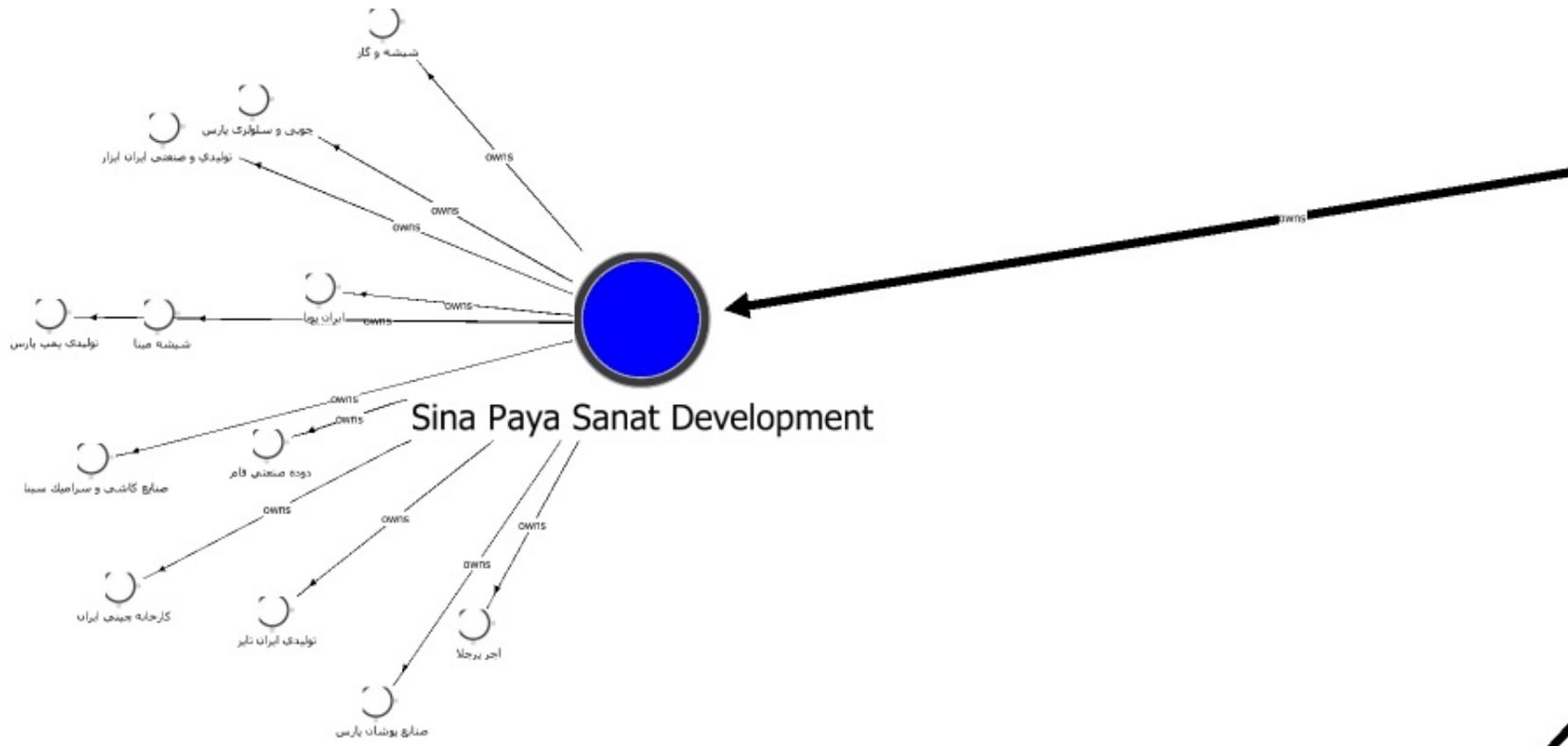


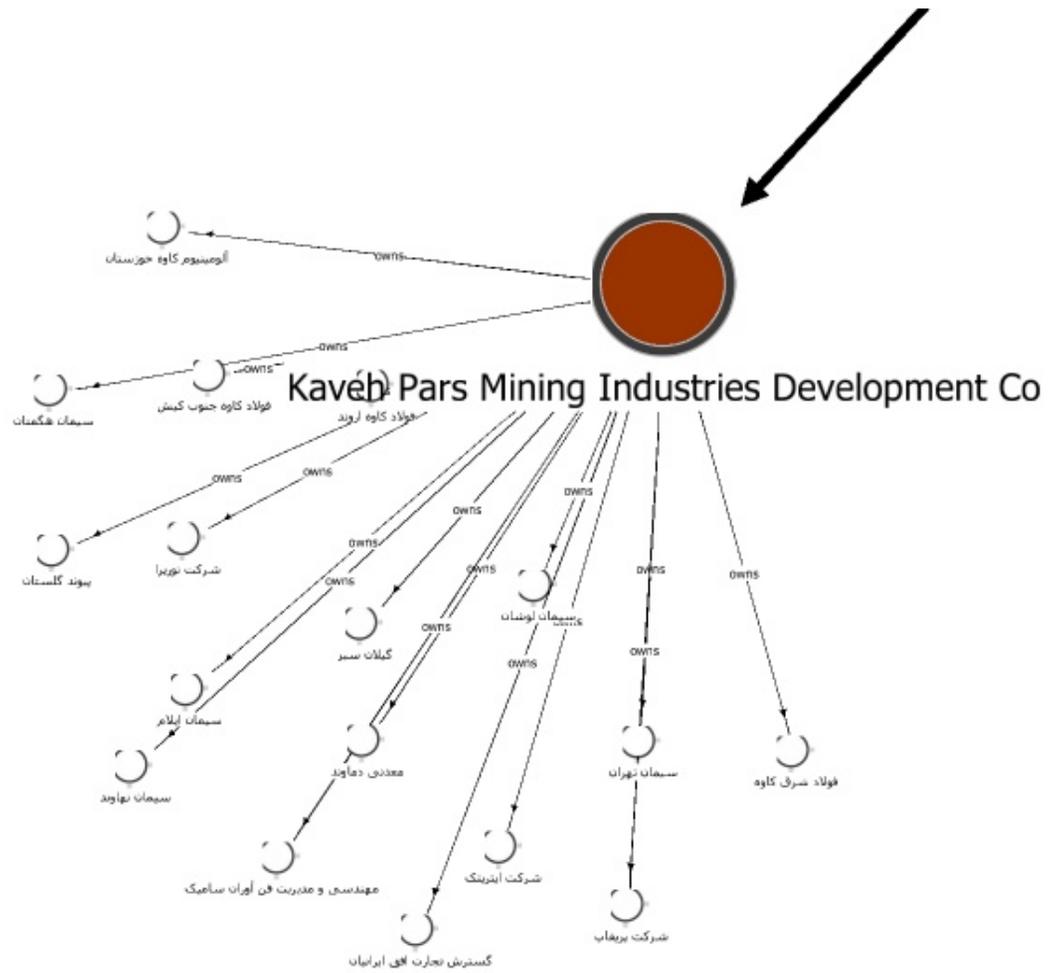
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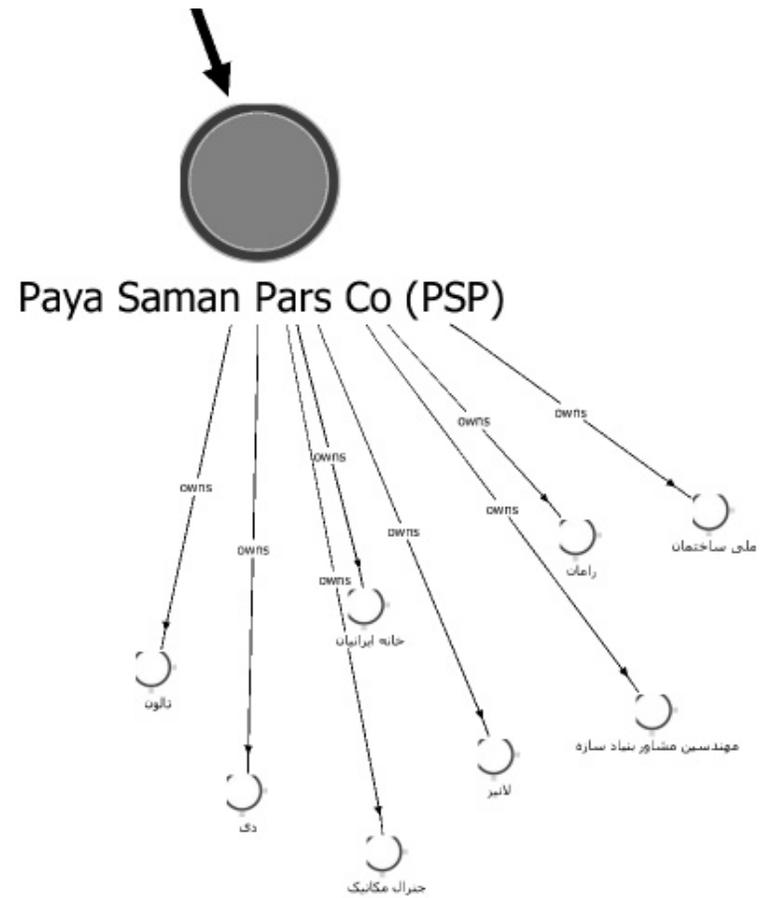
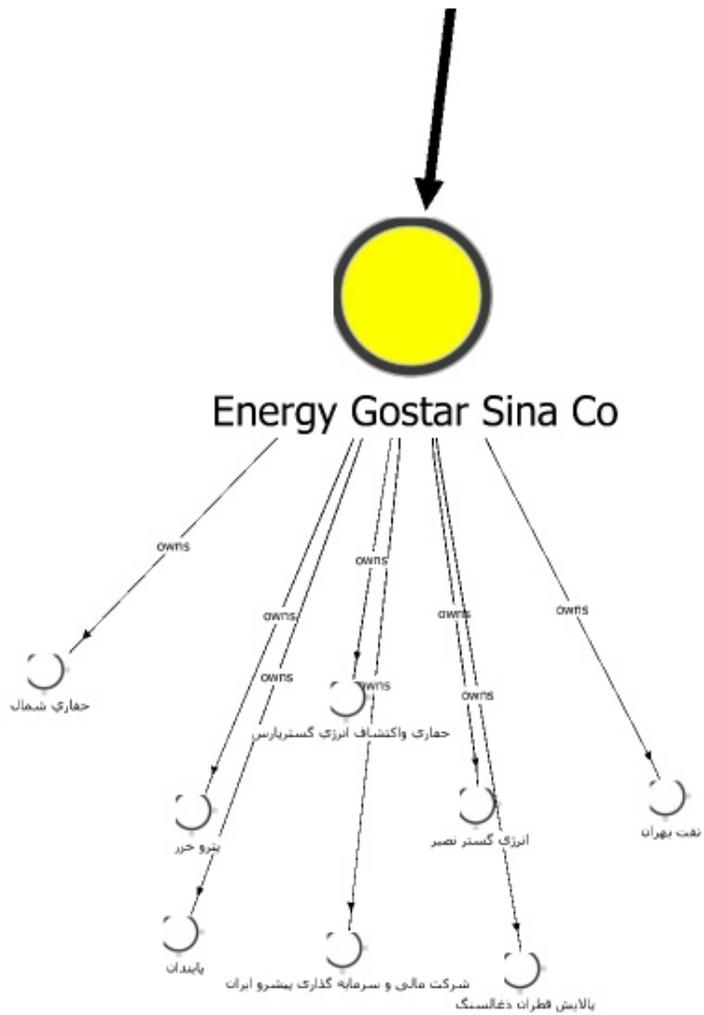
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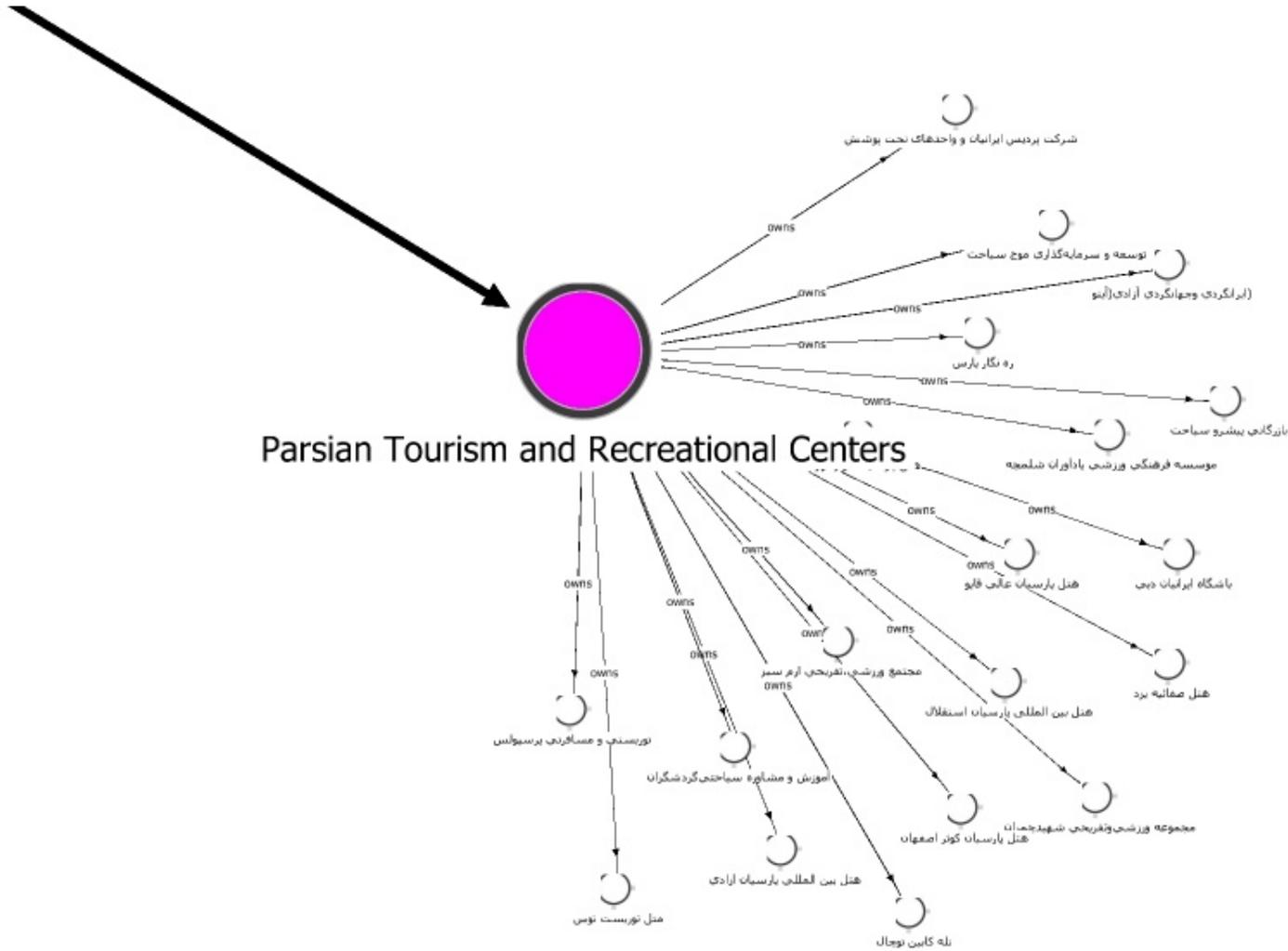














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Bonyad Mostazafan



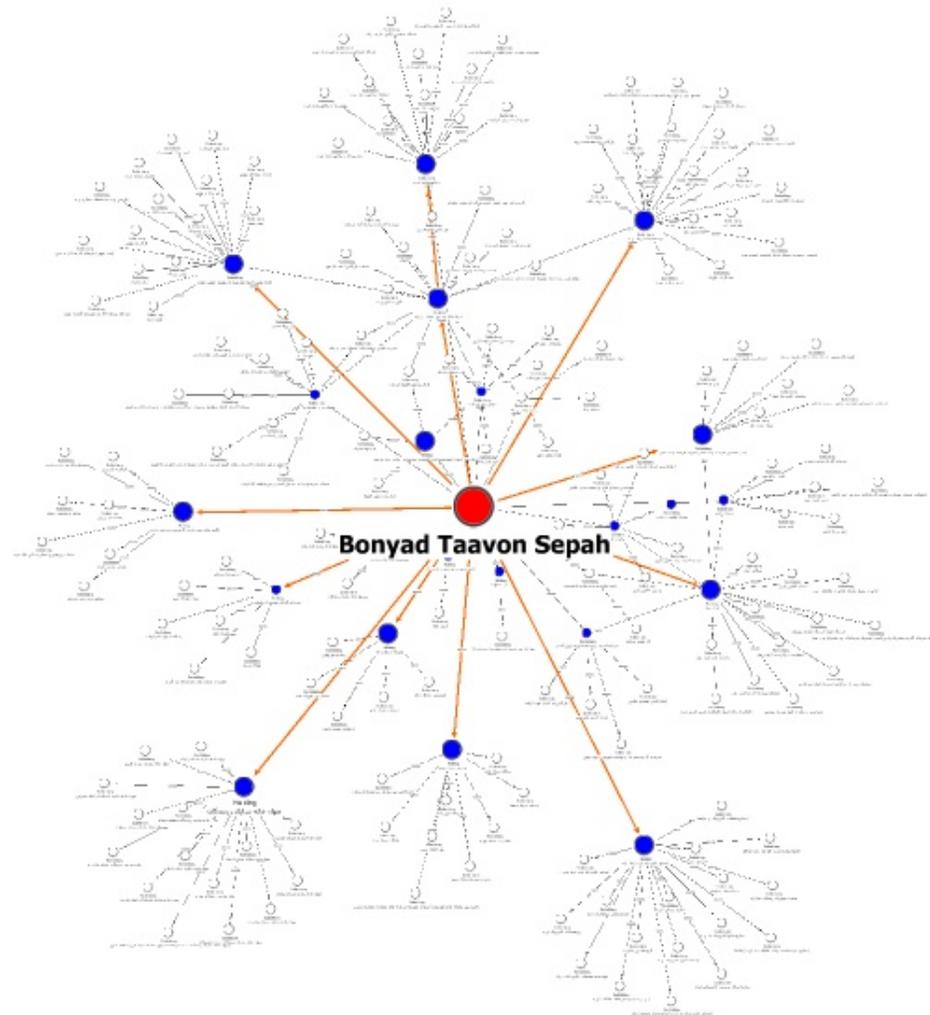
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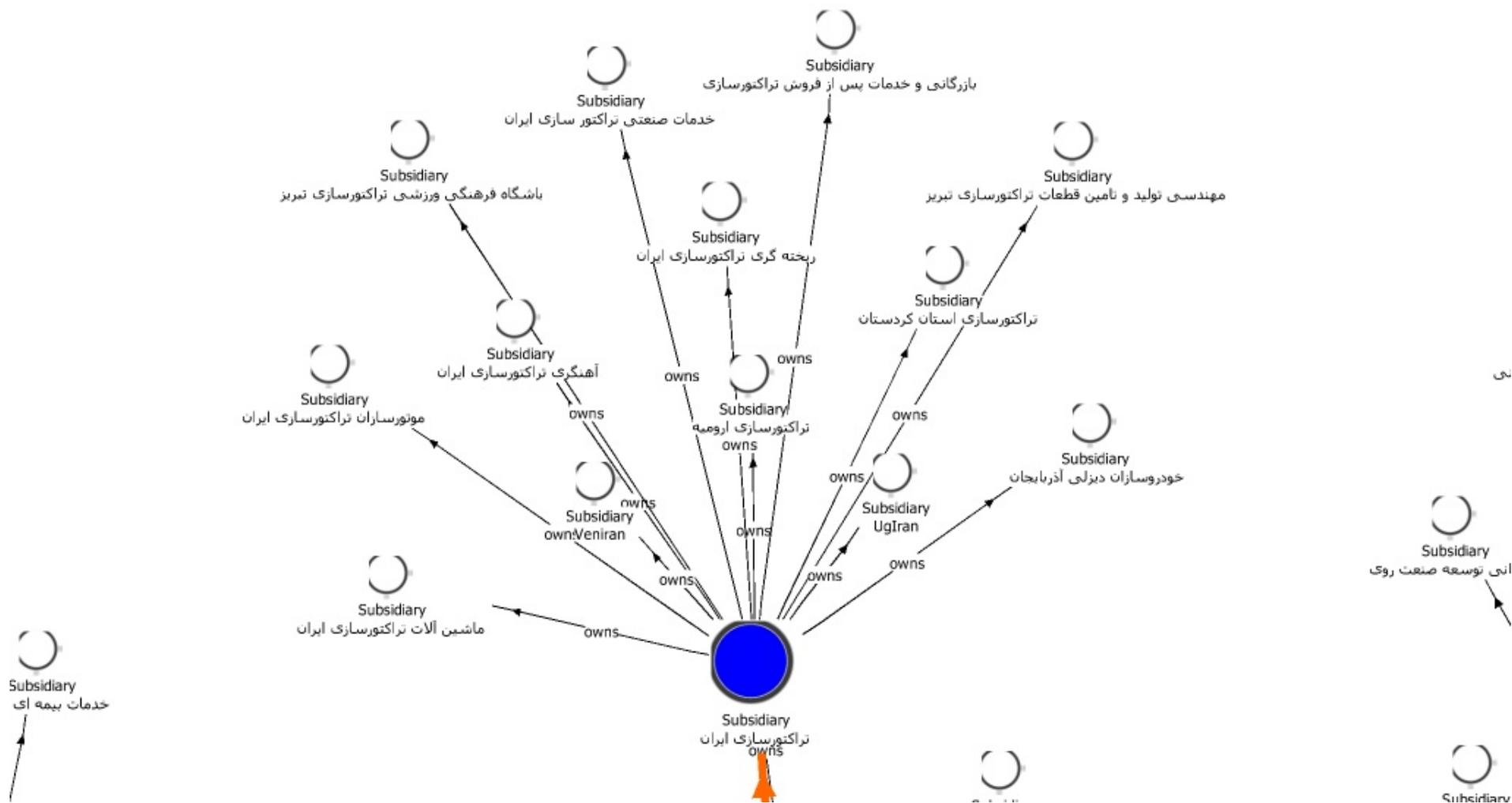


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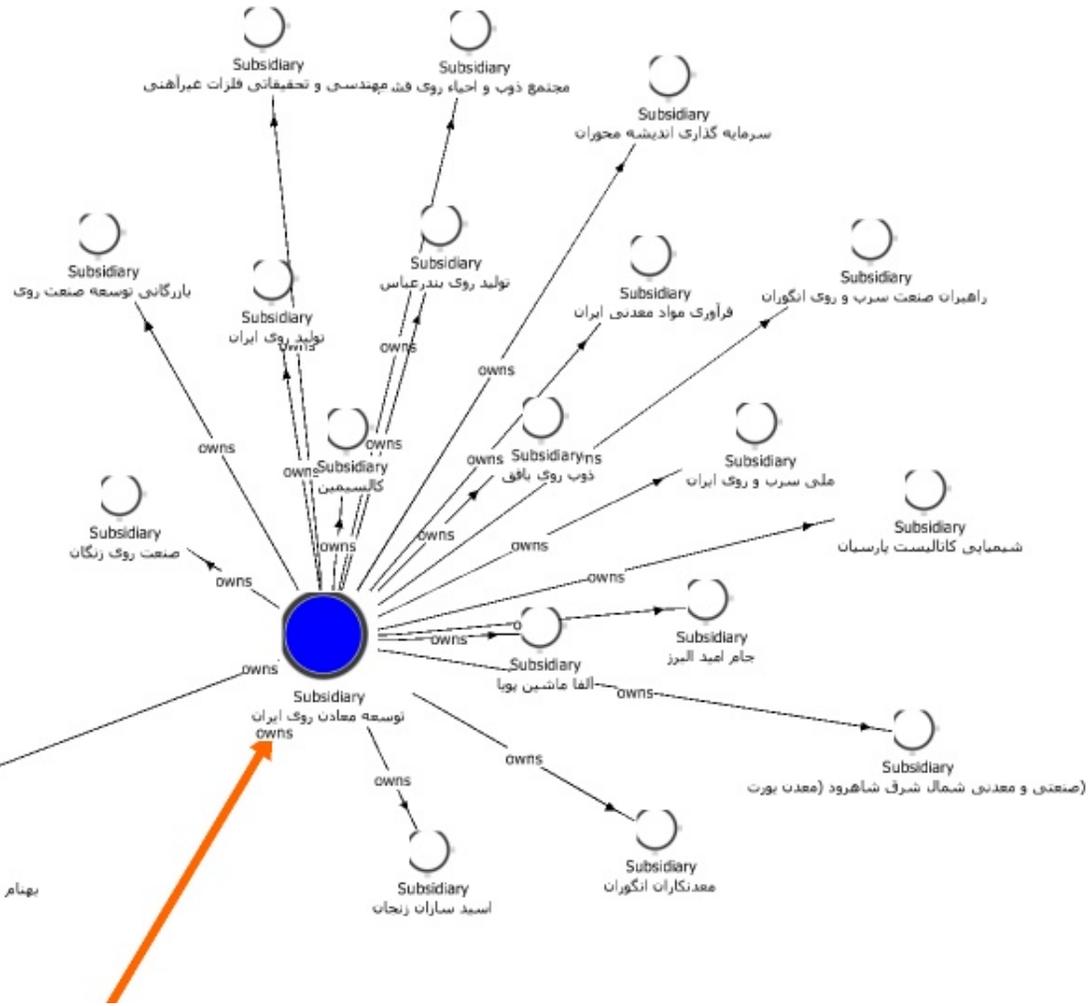
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Subsidiary
خودروسازان دیرلی آذربایجان

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(فراز انرژی دنا (ساحل آبی درنا

خدمات بیمه
Subsidiary
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Bonyad Mostazafan



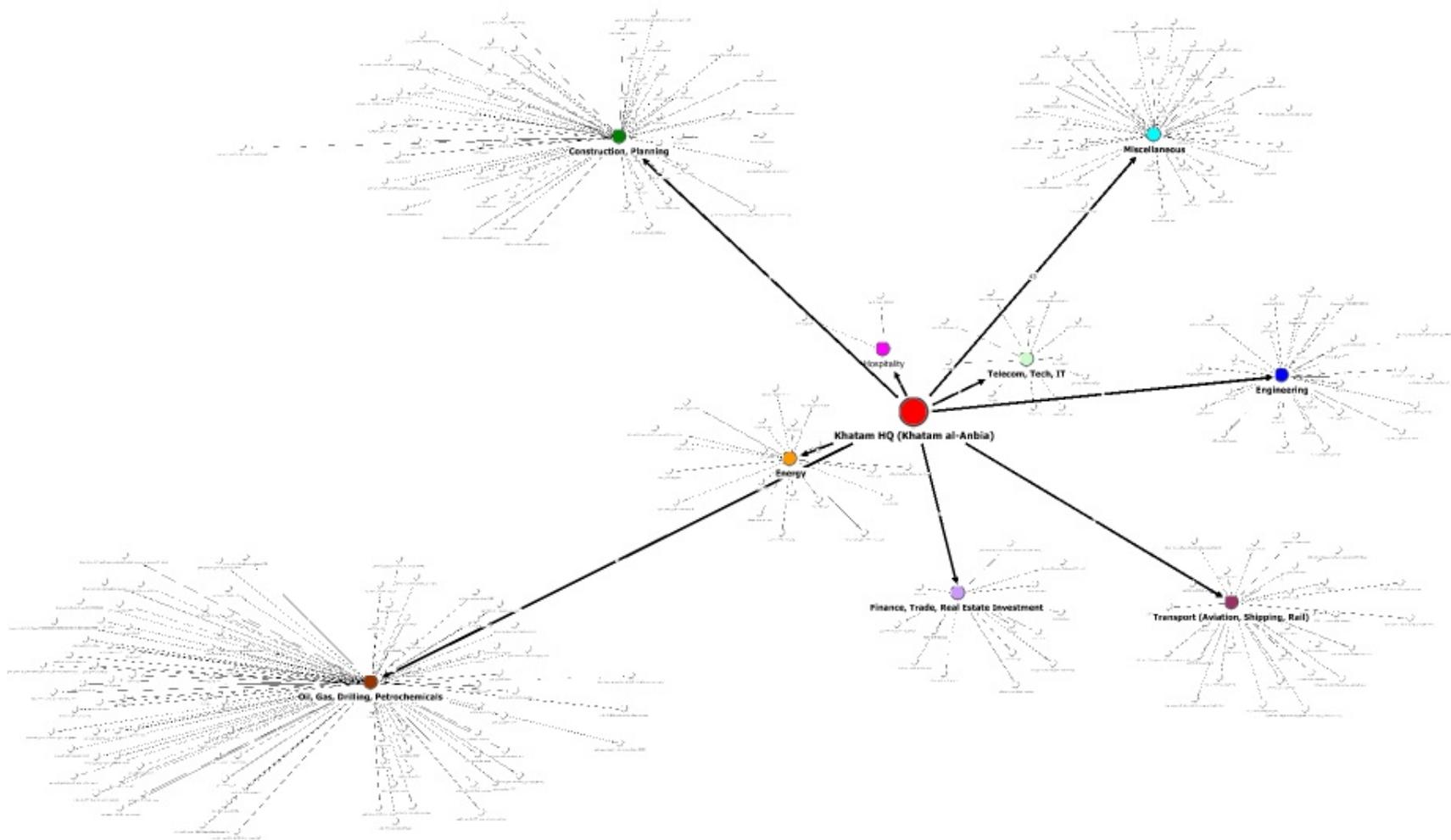
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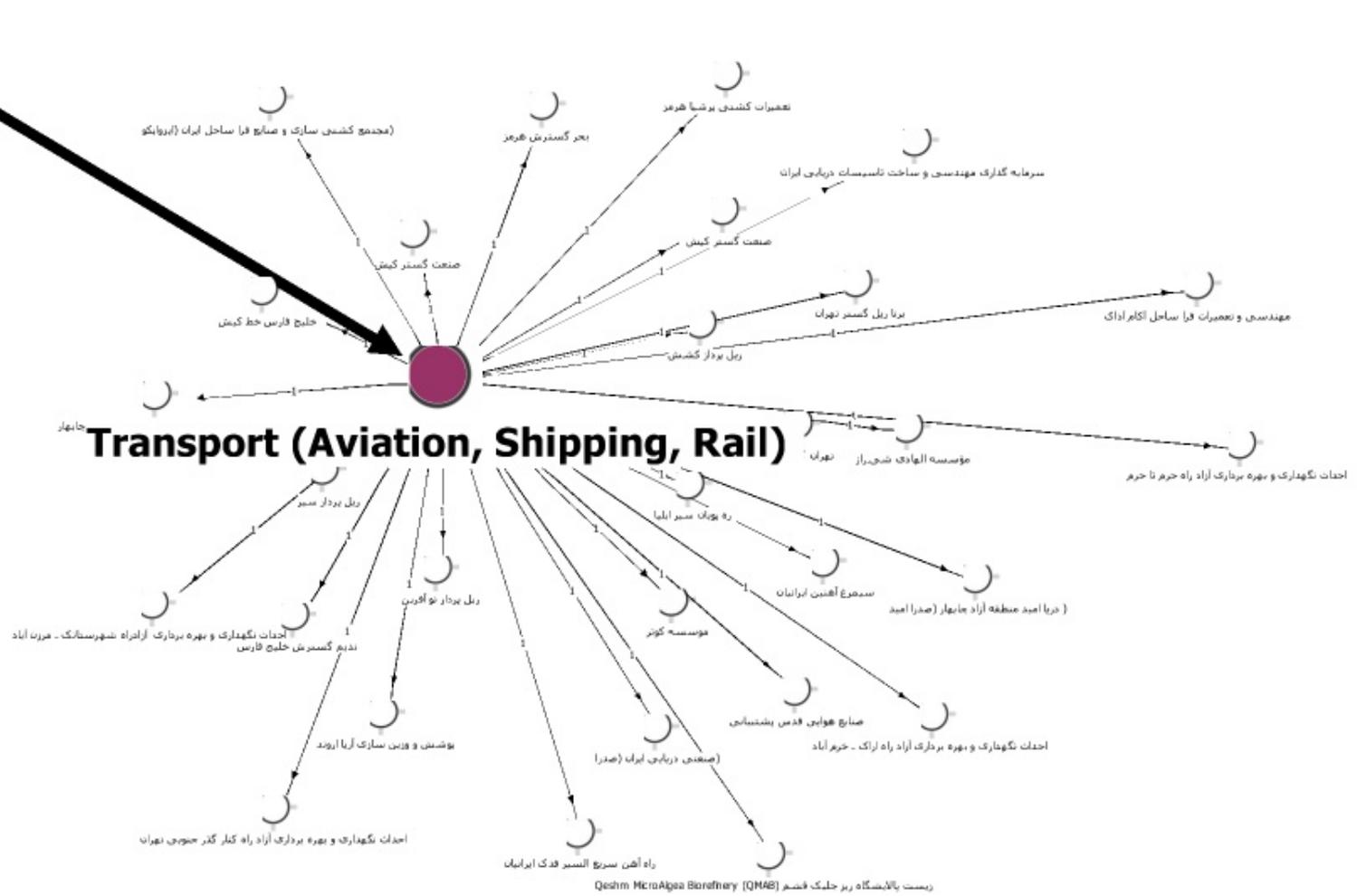
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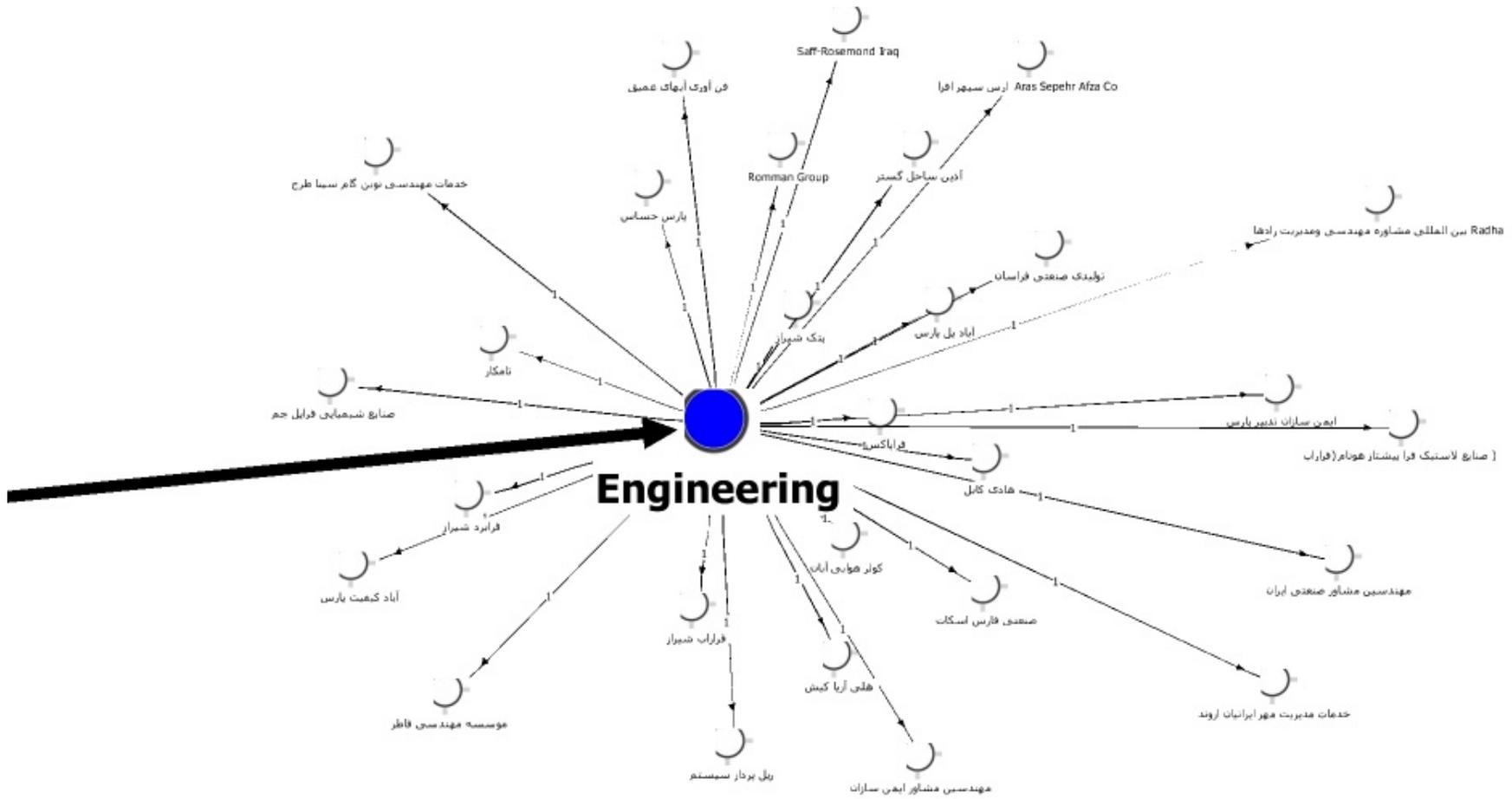
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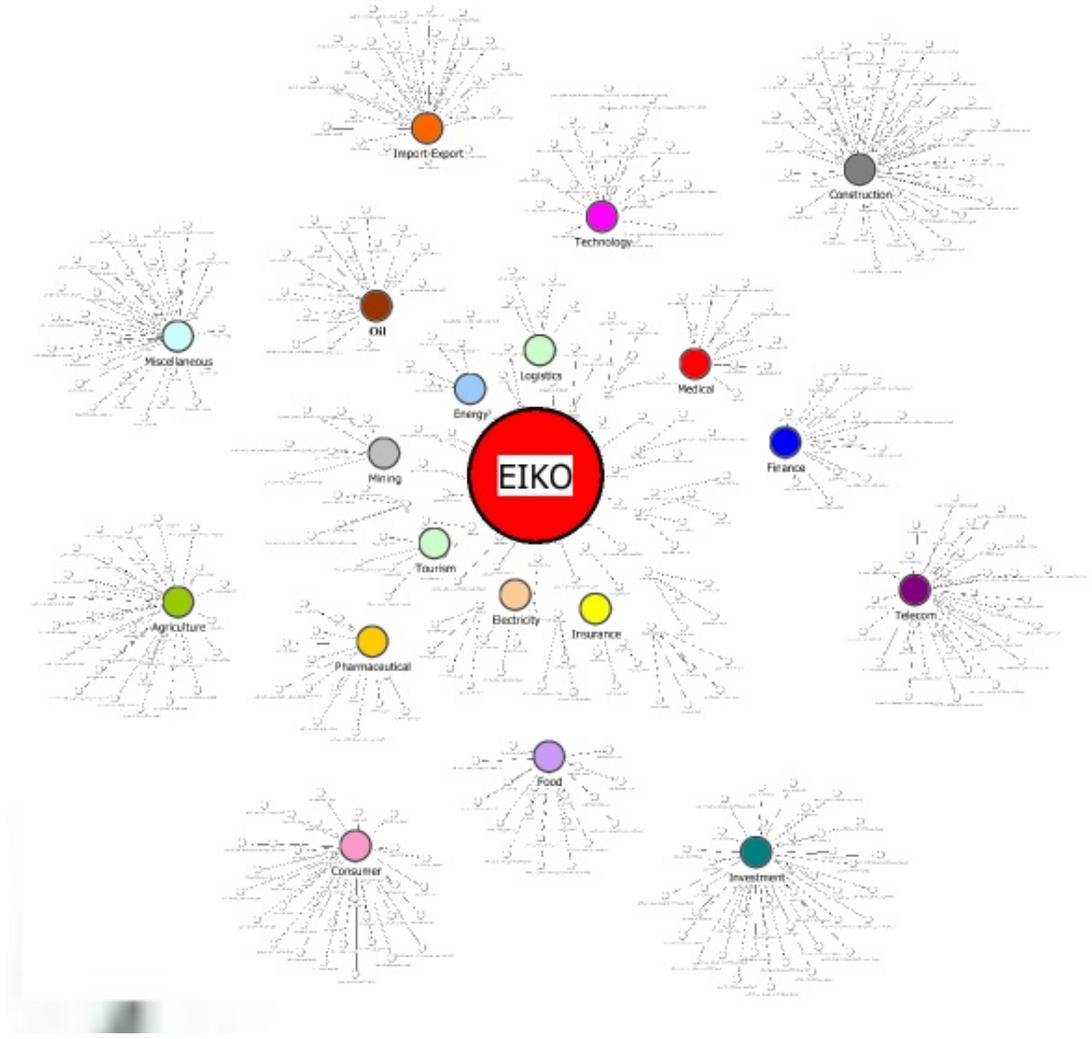
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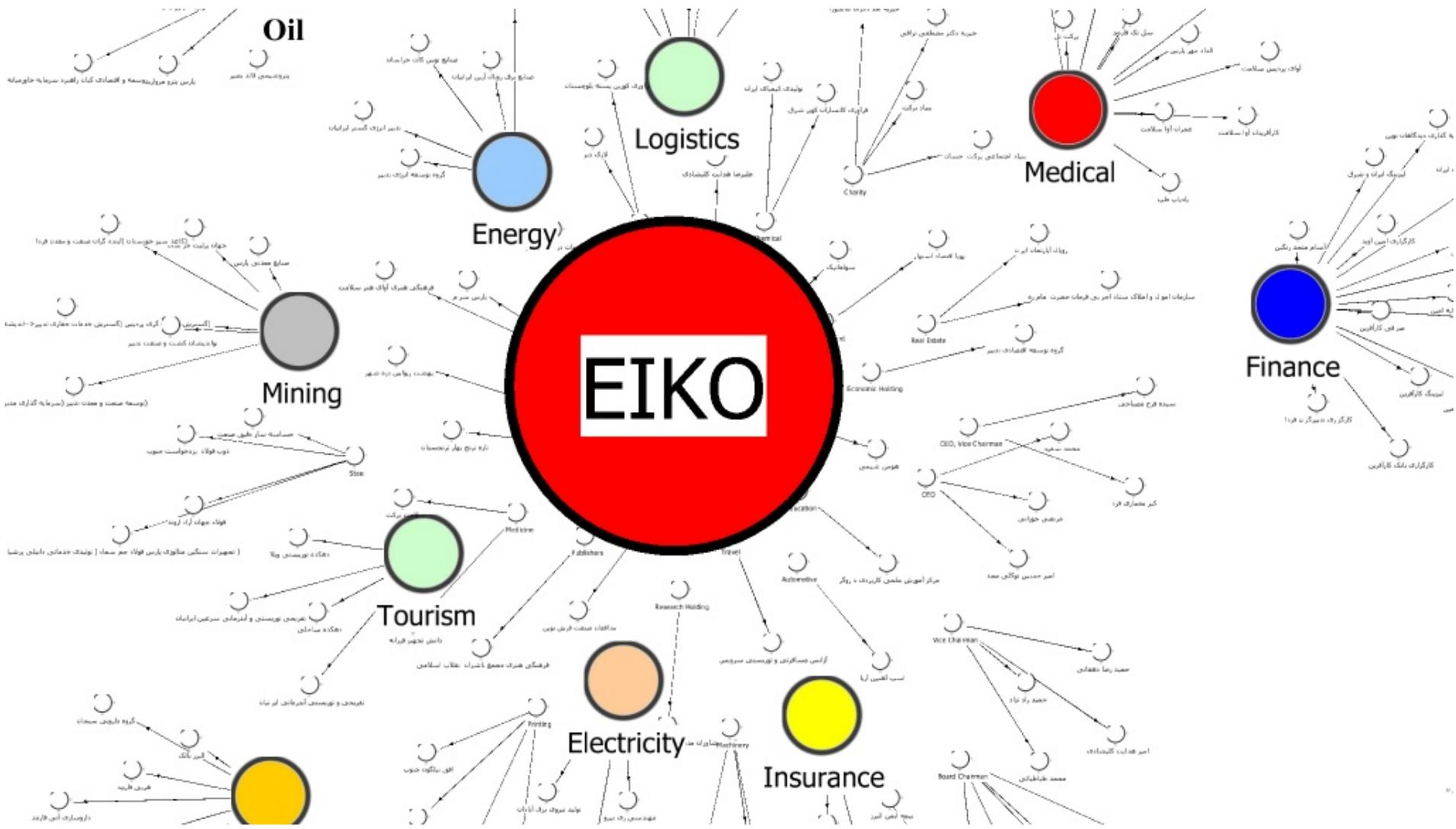


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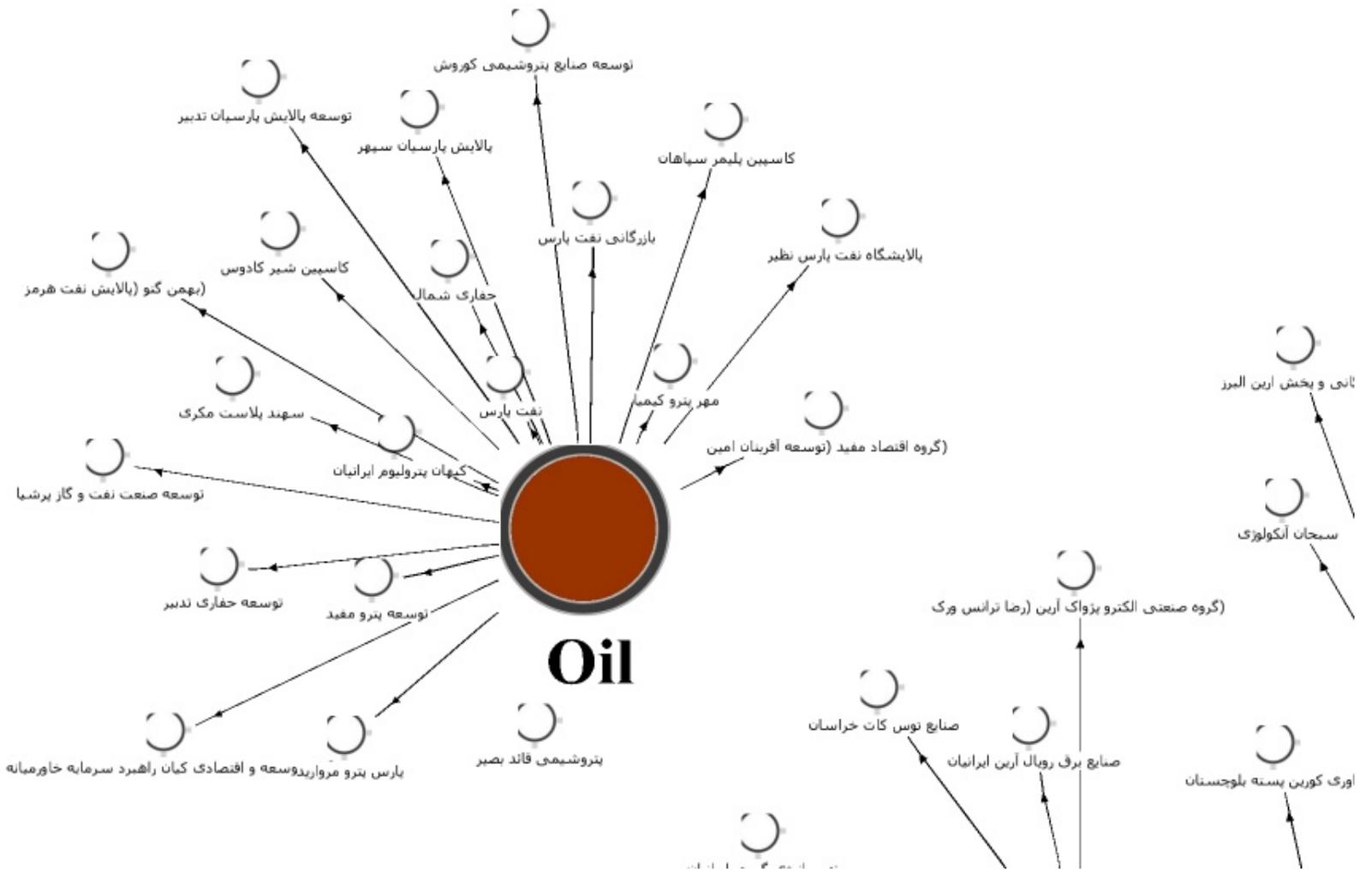
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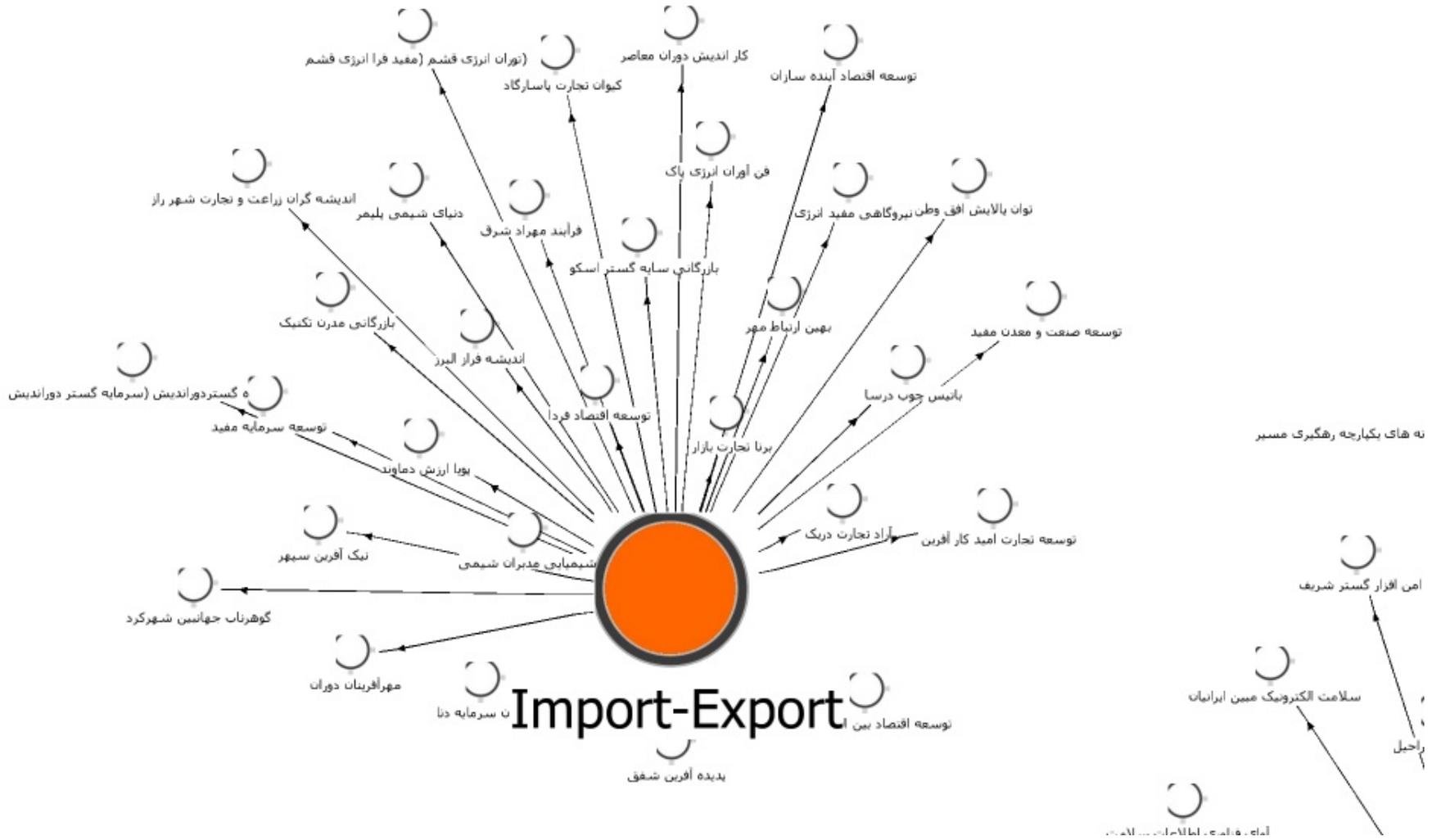
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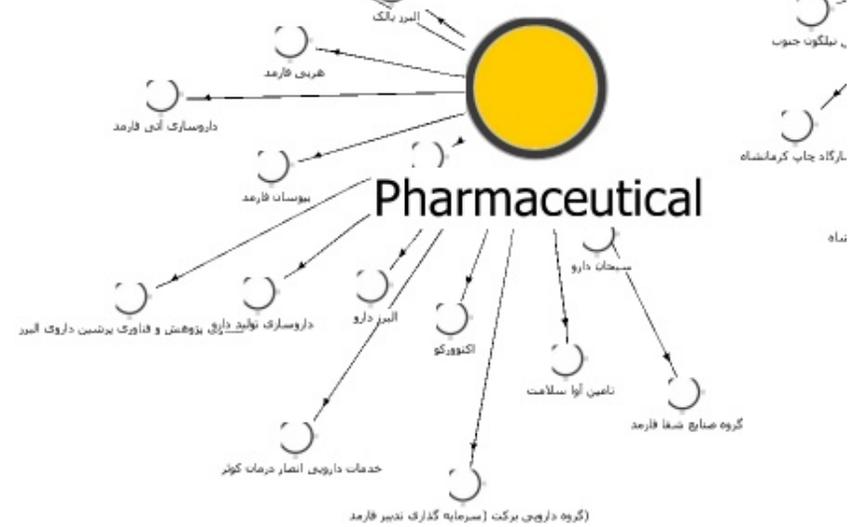
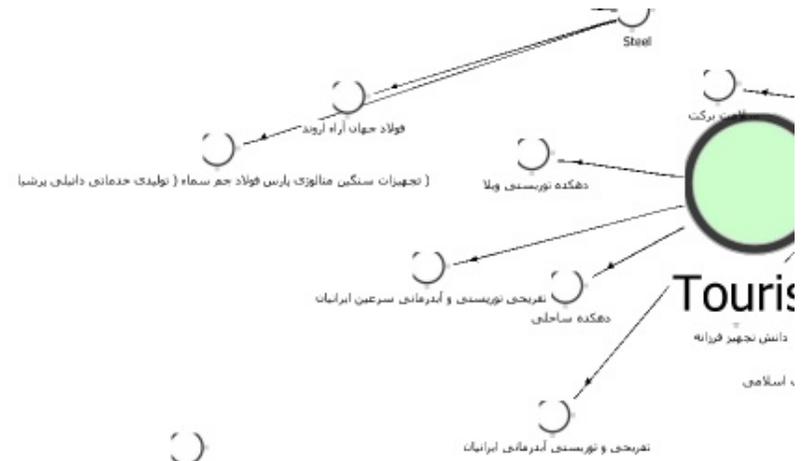


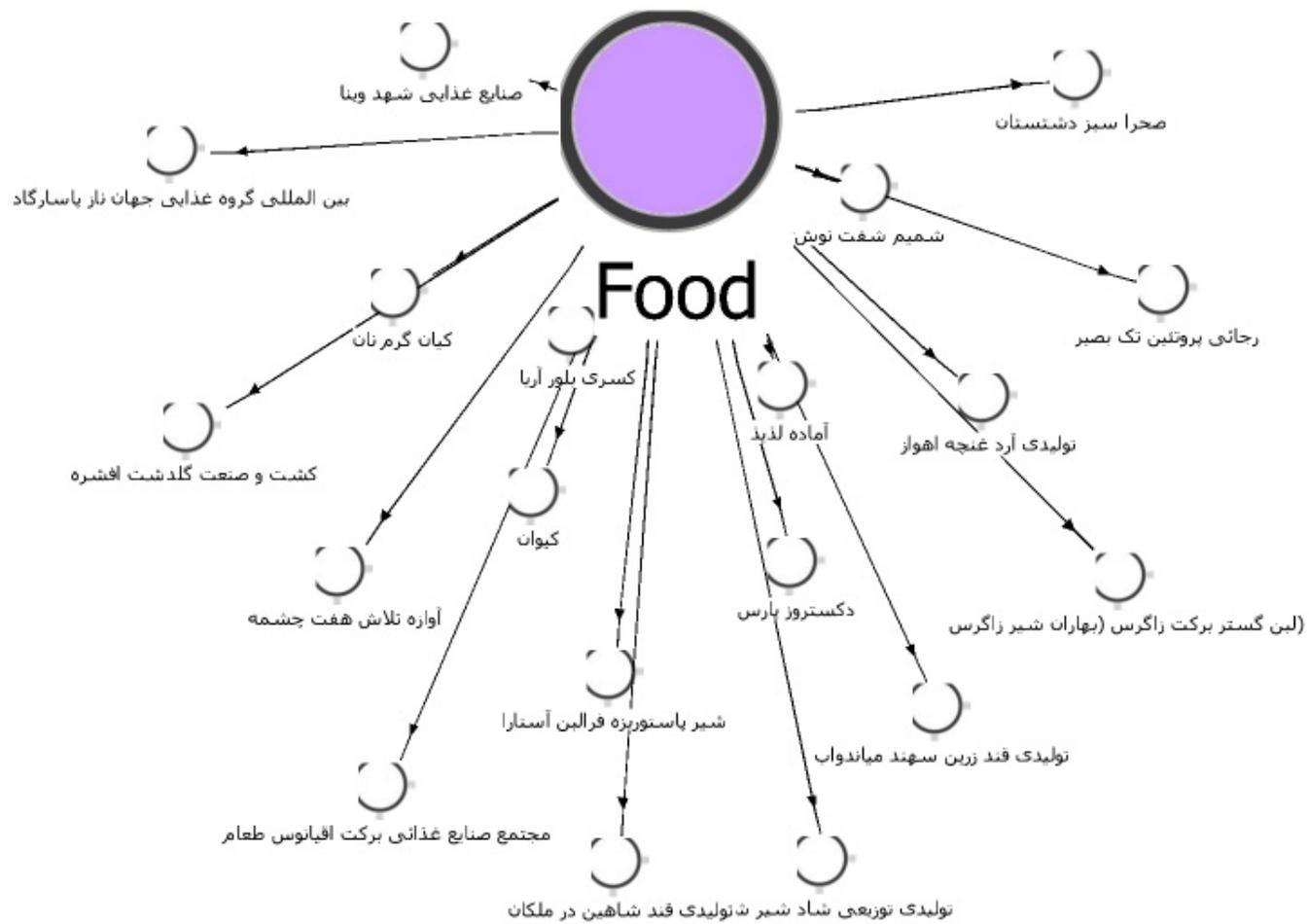
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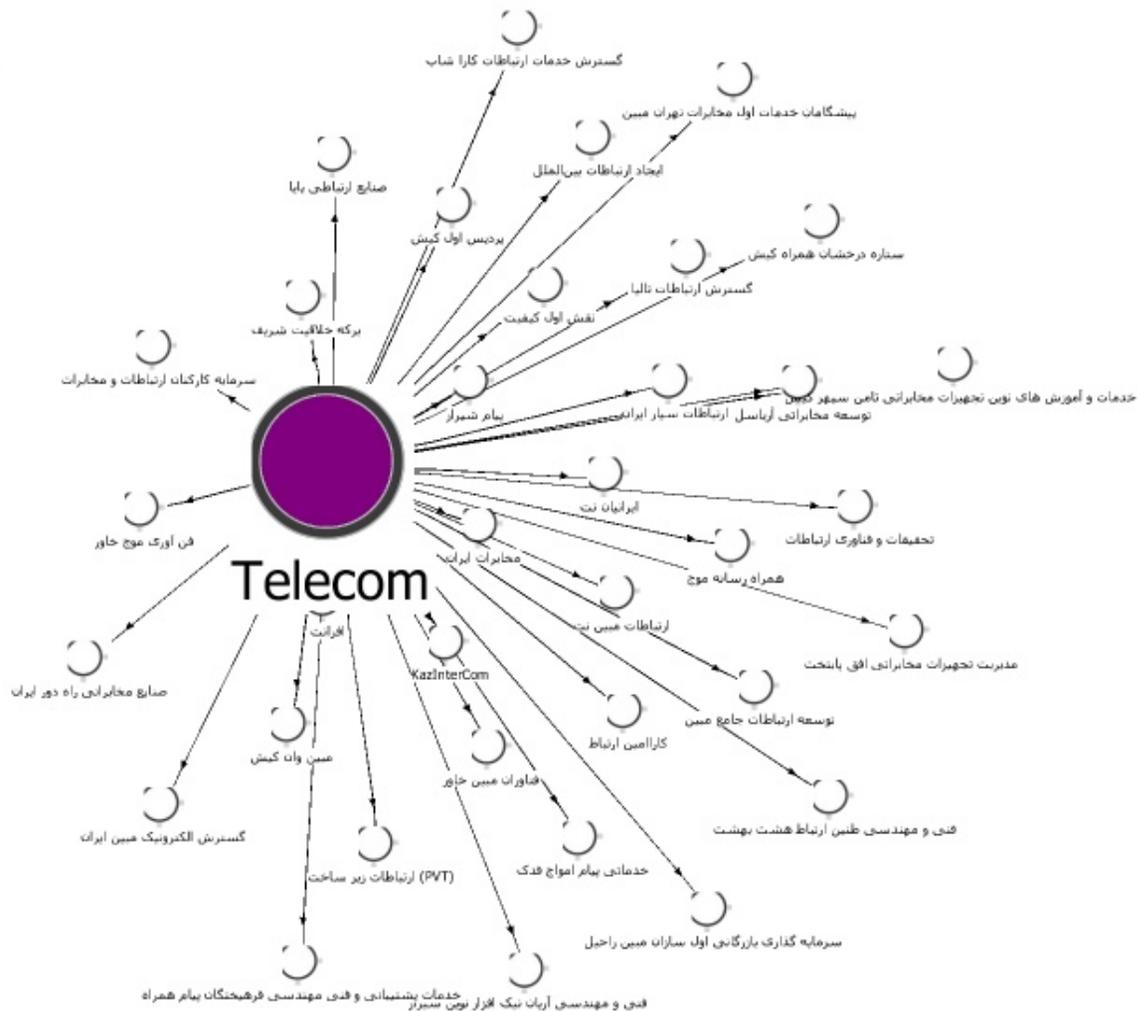
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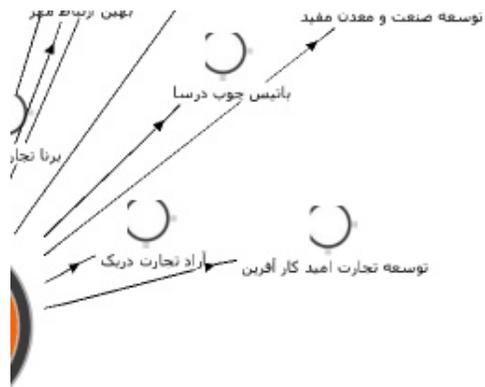
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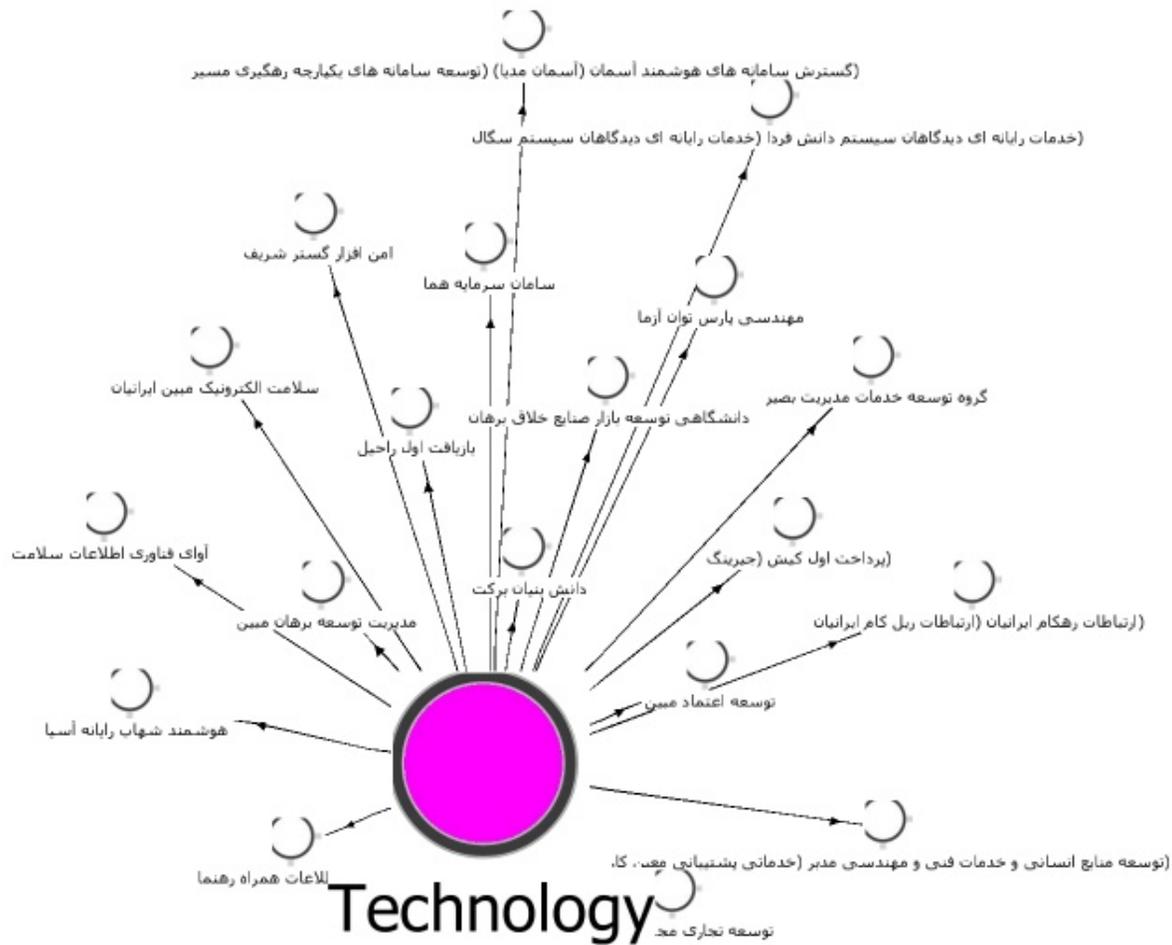


بررسی صورتجلسه





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توسعه اقتصاد بین المللی



رنگ ایرانیان

به مرکزی

مسار



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BTS



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The Khamenei Empire

Doublethink continues to identify members of the Khamenei family and how they influence the country's economy and policies.

Here's what we found so far.

Control of
the Media

Political
Influence

Control of the Media

Members of Khamenei's extended family own or control the country's major newspapers, media outlets and institutions responsible for online and print censorship, including:

- Hamshahri
- Jam-e Jam
- Iran Newspaper
- Tehran Times
- Mehr News Agency
- Fararu Website
- Khorasan Newspaper
- Khorasan Press House
- FAMP (Clean Cyberspace Association)

Control of the Media

Khamenei's family members control major book publishing houses, including:

- Daftar Nashr Farhang Eslami
- Souroush Publishing House
- Hermes Publishers
- Motahari Scientific and Cultural Bonyad

Control of the Media

Khamenei's family members control major film production companies, including:

- Avini Cultural and Artistic Institute
- Farabi Cinematic Institute

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS AND POLITICAL POWER

Khamenei's extended family members (both blood relatives and relatives by marriage) hold top positions in government, including:

- The position of Attorney General.
- Positions on the Expediency Council, a Supreme Leader appointed government body that acts as an extended arm of the Supreme Leader.
- Controlling seats in Jamiat Imam Sadeq, a large conglomerate of businesses that owns Imam Sadeq University, where budding government officials, ideologues and IRGC Commanders are educated.
- Positions in the Assembly of Experts and Majlis (until recently.)

**Mahdavi Kani &
Baqeri Kani Families**

Kharazi Family

Haddad-Adel Family

**Khatami & Khomeini
Families**

**Children, Siblings
and Other Relatives**

Family of Khamenei's Wife

Doublethink uncovered that individuals involved in a 2016 land-sale scandal were all relatives of Khamenei, including his own sons. This discovery is significant because it shows how a land sale proceeded despite its illegality.

The scandal involved the entity, Daftar Nashr, which owned land as part of an Islamic endowment (Waqf).

Waqf is the Islamic law equivalent of an irrevocable trust, involving assets earmarked for religious purposes and therefore prohibited from sale.

Daftar Nashr (illegally) sold this land. The buyer was the Majlis Housing Co-op.

The Tehran Municipality issued a construction permit for luxury apartment complexes (despite legal prohibitions, Islamic and environmental, for such developments).

Both Daftar Nashr and the Majlis Housing Co-op are controlled by SL Khamenei's relatives.

**Mahdavi Kani &
Baqeri Kani Families**

Kharazi Family

Haddad-Adel Family

**Khatami & Khomeini
Families**

**Children, Siblings
and Other Relatives**

Family of Khamenei's Wife

Mahdavi Kani & Baqeri Kani

The Kani clan holds a lot of power in the Islamic Republic. Among its most recognized is patriarch and cleric Mohammad Baqer Baqeri Kani.

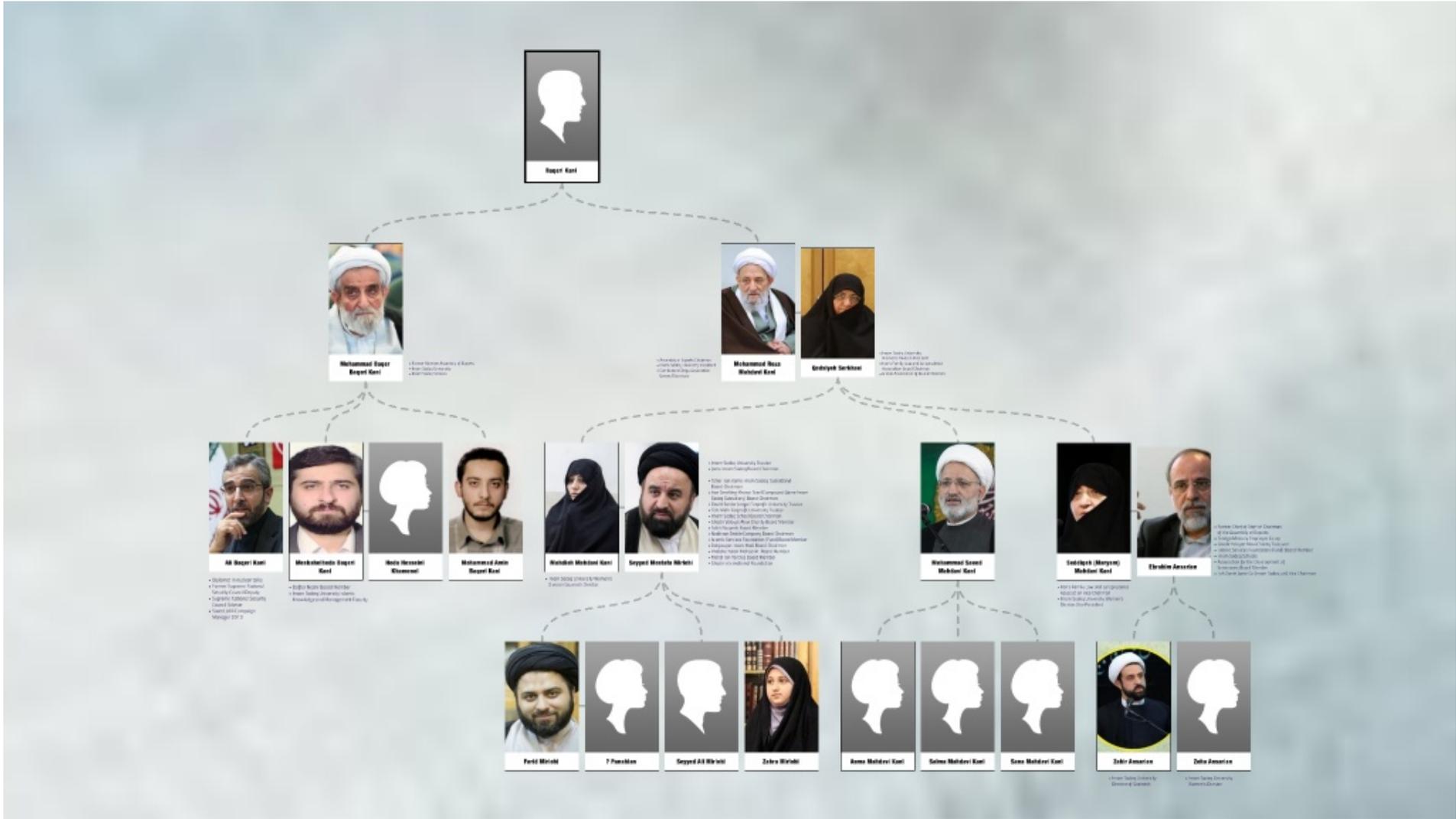
His eldest son, Mesbaholhoda, is married to Khamane'i's daughter, Hoda.

Baqeri Kani's younger brother, the late Mohammad Reza Mahdavi Kani, headed the Assembly of Experts, which oversees the Office of the Supreme Leader. He appointed his son-in-law Ebrahim Ansarian to the prestigious position of Chief of Staff. He also oversaw Imam Sadeq University (the "Harvard" of Iran), and during his tenure there he appointed his wife, Qodsiyeh Sorkhaei, as head of Women's Division of Imam Sadeq. Sorkhaei still holds this position today.

In effect, before his death, Mahdavi Kani appointed all of his adult relatives to positions of influence inside Imam Sadeq, including his daughters, sons-in-law and grandchildren.

After Mahdavi Kani's death, his brother Baqeri Kani took over the position as president of Imam Sadeq.







**Mohammad Baqer
Baqeri Kani**

- Former Member Assembly of Experts
- Imam Sadeq University
- Imam Sadeq Schools



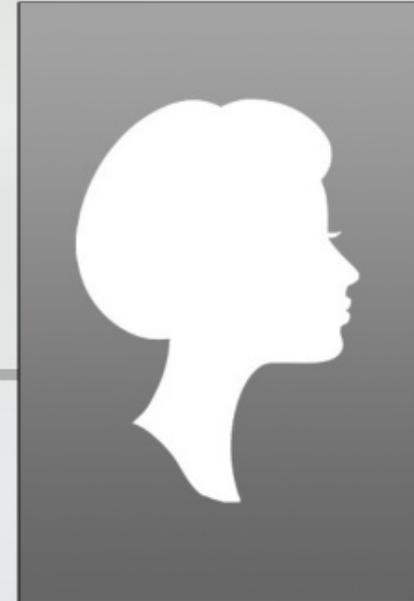
Ali Baqeri Kani

- Diplomat in nuclear talks
- Former Supreme National Security Council Deputy
- Supreme National Security Council Adviser
- Saeed Jalili Campaign Manager 2013



Mesbaholhoda Baqeri Kani

- Daftar Nashr Board Member
- Imam Sadeq University Islamic Knowledge and Management Faculty



Hoda Hosseini Khamenei



**Moh:
Ba**



**Mohammad Reza
Mahdavi Kani**

- Assembly of Experts Chairman
- Imam Sadeq University President
- Combatant Clergy Association
General Secretary



Qodsiyeh Sorkhaei

- Imam Sadeq University
Women's Division President
- Iran's Family Law and Jurisprudence
Association Board Chairman
- Global Association of Muslim Women



Mahdiah Mahdavi Kani

- Imam Sadeq University Women's Division Gozinesh Director



Seyyed Mostafa Mirlohi

- Imam Sadeq University Trustee
- Jame Imam Sadeq Board Chairman
- Taher Iran (Jame Imam Sadeq Subsidiary) Board Chairman
- Iron Smelting Khazar Steel Compound (Jame Imam Sadeq Subsidiary) Board Chairman
- Rasht Sardar Jangal Forprofit University Trustee
- Tolo Mehr Forprofit University Trustee
- Imam Sadeq School Board Chairman
- Ghadir Velayat Alavi Charity Board Member
- Sobh Rouyesh Board Member
- Nakhiran Textile Company Board Chairman
- Islamic Services Foundation (Fund) Board Member
- Rahjouyan Imam Hadi Board Chairman
- Andishe Yaran Mohsenin Board Member
- Mehdi Jan Textiles Board Member
- Ghadir International Foundation



**Seddiqeh (Maryam)
Mahdavi Kani**

- Iran's Family Law and Jurisprudence Association Vice Chairman
- Imam Sadeq University Women's Division Vice President



Ebrahim Ansarian

- Former Chief of Staff of Chairman of the Assembly of Experts
- Foreign Ministry Employee Co-op
- Ghadir Velayat Alavi Charity Treasurer
- Islamic Services Foundation (Fund) Board Member
- Imam Sadeq Schools
- Association for the Development of Seminaries Board Member
- Loh Zarrin Jame Co (Imam Sadeq uni) Vice Chairman



Mahdavi Kani



Zahir Ansarian

- Imam Sadeq University
Director of Gozinesh



Zoha Ansarian

- Imam Sadeq University
Women's Division

Kharazi Family



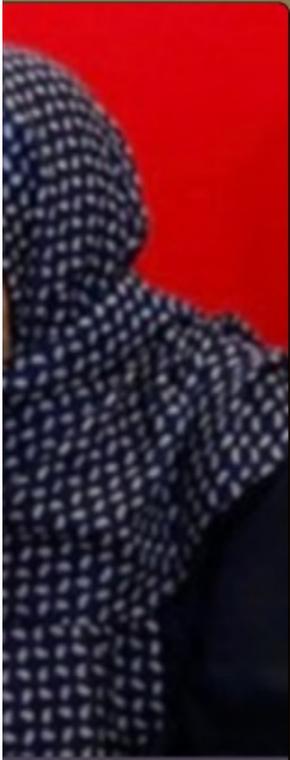
Khamenei's son Massoud married into the Kharazi family. Massoud's father-in-law Mohsen Kharrazi was a member of the Assembly of Experts and the Society of Seminary Teachers of Qom before his death.

Massoud's brothers-in-law Mohammad Baqer Kharrazi serves as the Secretary-General of Hezbollah, a hardline movement with considerable clout in Iran.

Massoud's other brother-in-law Mohammad Sadeq Kharrazi served in many high-ranking capacities including Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister and UN envoy. Sadeq owns the Hermes Publishing House and the for-profit Hafez Shiraz University, among other institutions.

Mohsen Kharrazi's younger brother Kamal served as President Khatami's Foreign Minister and as Iran's UN envoy. Since 2006, Kamal has headed the Strategic Foreign Policy Council of Iran, a position granted by appointment from Khamenei.





sgari Kharrazi



Susan Kharrazi



Massoud Hosseini
Khamenei



**Seyyed Mohsen
Kharrazi**

- Member of the Assembly of Experts
- Member of Society of Seminary Teachers of Qom



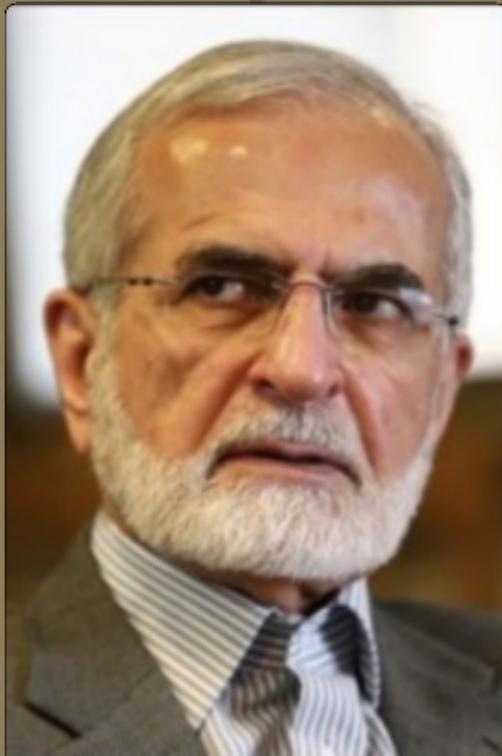
Seyyed Mehdi Kharrazi



**Seyyed Mohammad
Baqer Kharrazi**

- Secretary-General of Hezbollah, (a hardline movement with considerable clout in Iran)

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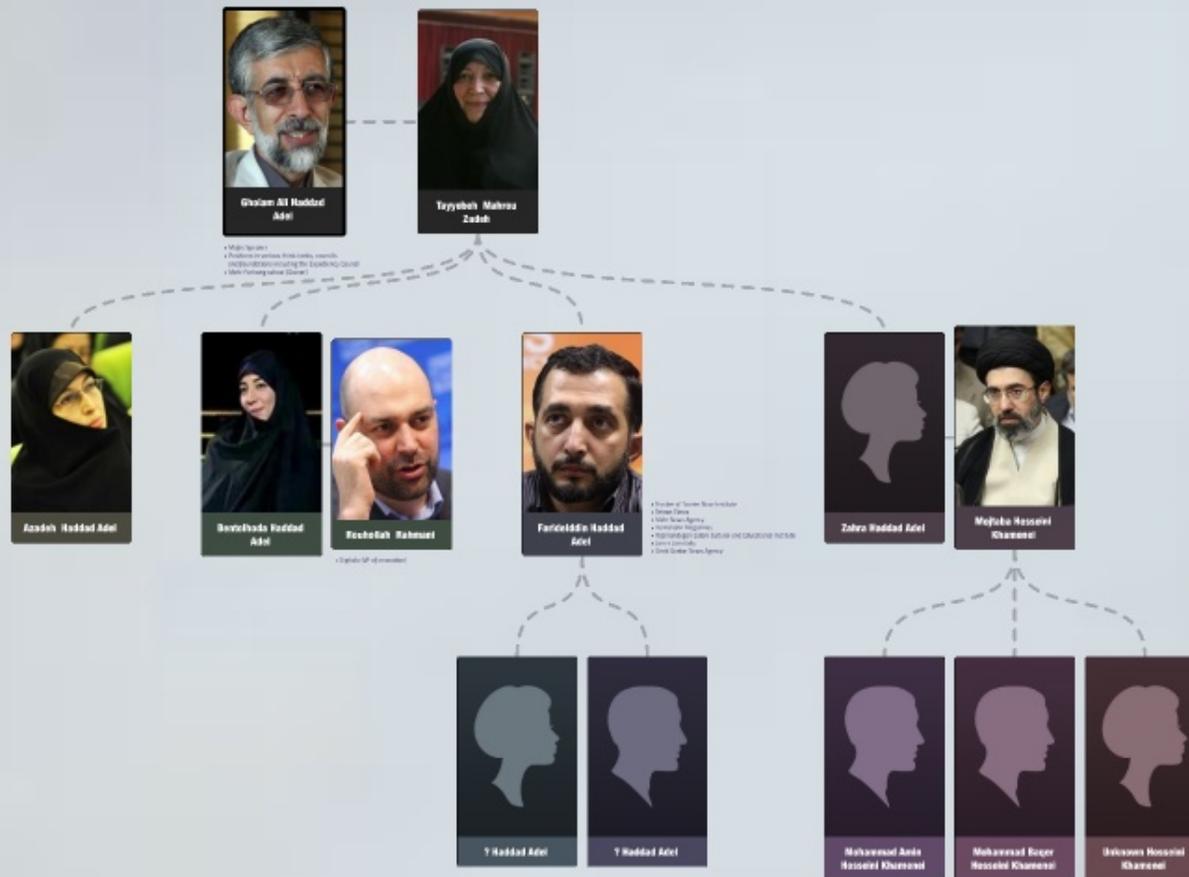
**Seyyed Ali Naqi (Kamal)
Kharrazi**

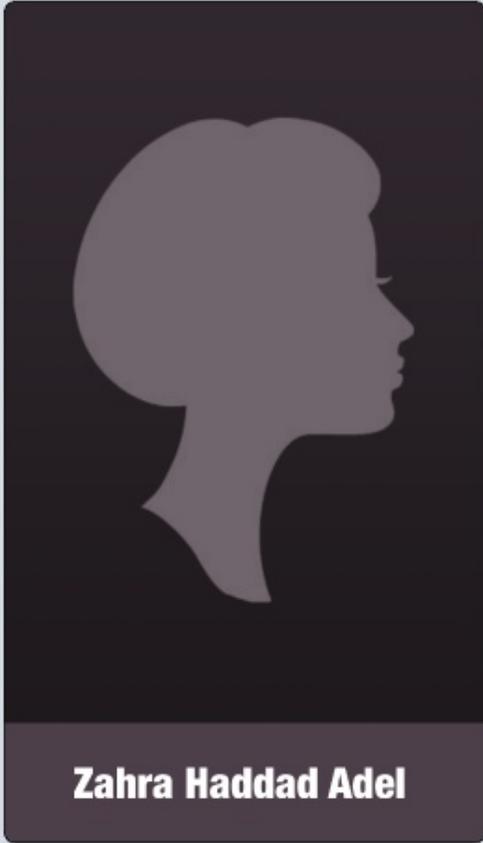
- Iran's Deputy Foreign Minister
- Former UN envoy
- Hermes Publishing House (owner)
- Hafez Shiraz University (owner)

Haddad-Adel Family



Khamenei's son Mojtaba married into the Haddad-Adel family. His father-in-law, Gholam-Ali Haddad-Adel, served as Majlis speaker and currently holds positions in various think-tanks, councils and foundations including the Expediency Council. He owns Mehr Farhang school, one of the most expensive in Iran with a 26 million toman tuition. His son Faridelddin is a trustee of Tasnim Nour Institute, along with Meysam Khamenei. Faridelddin is on the board of Tehran Times daily, Mehr News Agency, Jame Jam daily, National Retirement Fund-owned Omid Gostar News Agency, which was closed down before it even began work, Hamshahri Magazines as well as the Basij-owned Razmandegan Eslam Cultural and Educational Institute. Hadad's other son-in-law Rouhollah Rezaei is the nephew of IRGC Commander and former Hostage taker Mohsen Vezvayi. After a stint in the Ministry of Communications & Technology, Rezaei resigned due to a scandal. He then joined Digikala, Iran's version of Amazon, as VP of Innovation.







**Gholam Ali Haddad
Adel**

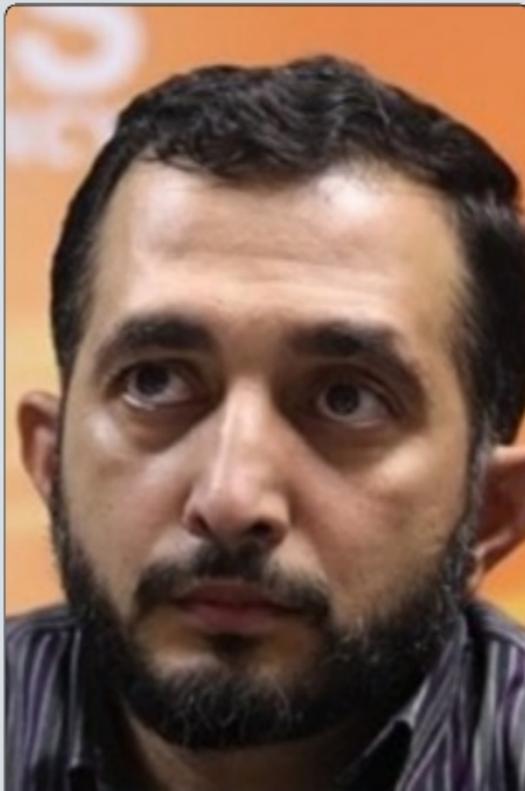


**Tayyebah Mahrou
Zadeh**

- Majlis Speaker
- Positions in various think-tanks, councils and foundations including the Expediency Council
- Mehr Farhang school (Owner)



ani



**Faridelddin Haddad
Adel**

- Trustee of Tasnim Nour Institute
- Tehran Times
- Mehr News Agency
- Hamshahri Magazines
- Razmandegan Eslam Cultural and Educational Institute
- Jam-e Jam daily
- Omid Gostar News Agency

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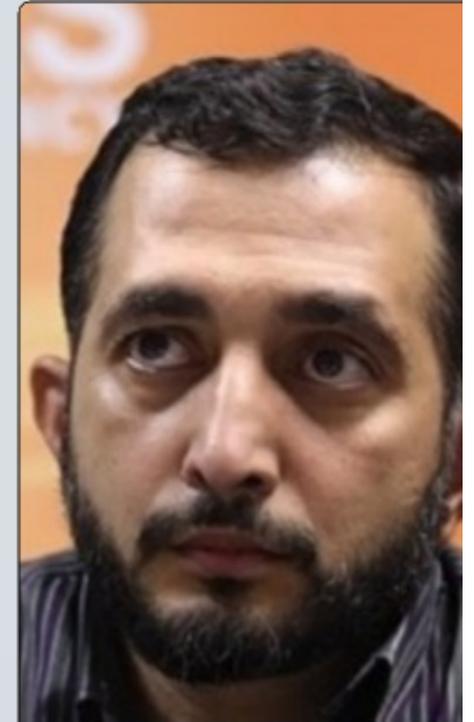


**Bentolhoda Haddad
Adel**



Rouhollah Rahmani

▪ Digikala (VP of innovation)

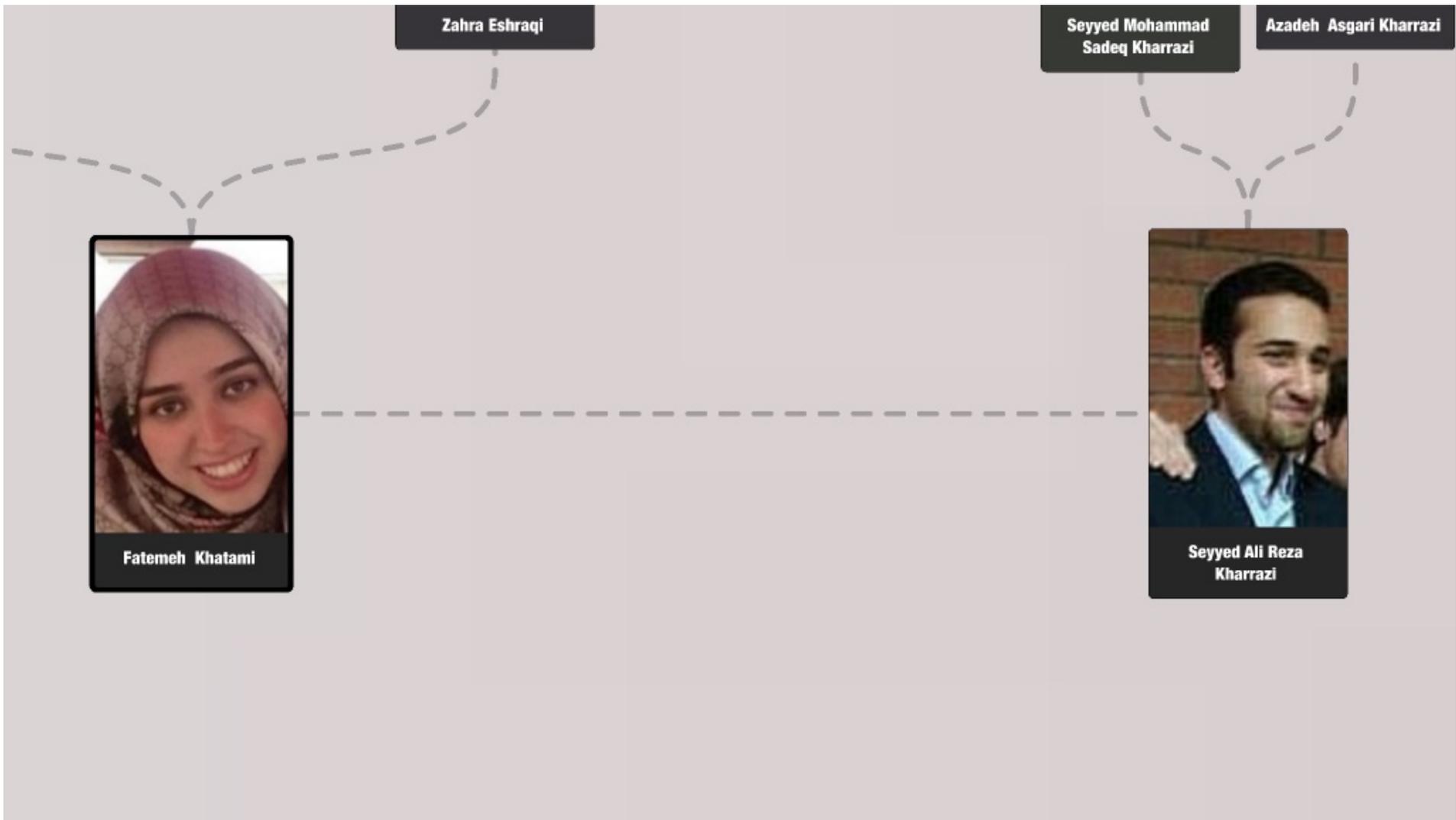


**Farideiddin Haddad
Adel**



Khatami & Khomeini Families

Mohammad Sadeq Kharrazi's son Ali Reza married into the Khatami family. Fatemeh Khatami, former president Khatami's niece, is Rouhollah Khomeini's great-granddaughter. Her mother is Zahra Eshraqi. Fatemeh's cousin Zahra Rouhani (Nafiseh Eshraqi's daughter) is married to former president Hashemi Rafsanjani's grandson and Mohsen Hashemi's son Emad. Fatemeh's other cousin Hoda Tabatabaei, Khomeini's granddaughter and Leyli Broujerdi's offspring, is married to IRGC Commander Mohsen Rezaei's son Ali. Rezaei is credited with having created the IRGC Sepah Cooperatives Foundation (BTS) He owns Tabnak News, and is the secretary of the Expediency Council where his son Ali had been appointed as deputy for PR and International affairs before resigning in 2019 to run for a seat in Majlis, Iran's lower house.

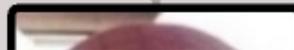


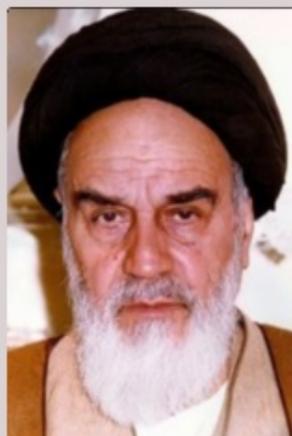


**Mohammad Reza
Khatami**

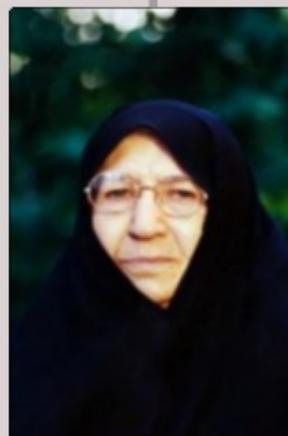


Zahra Eshraqi

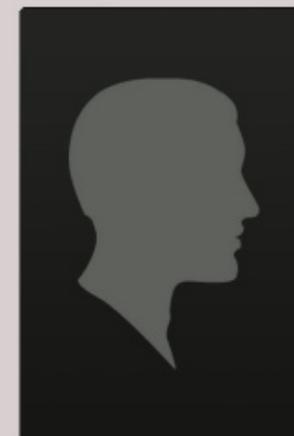




Rouhollah Khomeini



**Khadijeh Saqaffi
Tehrani**



Mehdi Kharrazi

Children, Siblings and Other Relatives

FINANCE

Khamenei's youngest brother, Mohammad Hassan, sits on the board of various oil and gas, petrochemical, cement and construction companies. These companies are affiliated with some of the country's major institutions like Bank Melli, Bank Saderat, Eghtesad Novin Bank, National Retirement Fund, BM, EIKO and Tehran Municipality.

CHARITIES AND FOR-PROFITS

Khamenei's older brother Mohammad, along with Mohammad's adult children, own the Sadra Philosophy Foundation, which owns cold storage facilities and transportation companies but also operates as a charity. Khamenei's other brother Hadi, along with Hadi's adult children, have a research center and own the Hayat No Newspaper before it shut down.



Children, Siblings and Other Relatives

OIL & GAS

Sadeq's brother, Vahid Vaez Zadeh Khorasani, is involved in Bonyad Shahid construction companies as well as a Tamin oil & gas company. Vahid's son-in-law Mohammad Jafar Montazeri is the Attorney General of Iran.

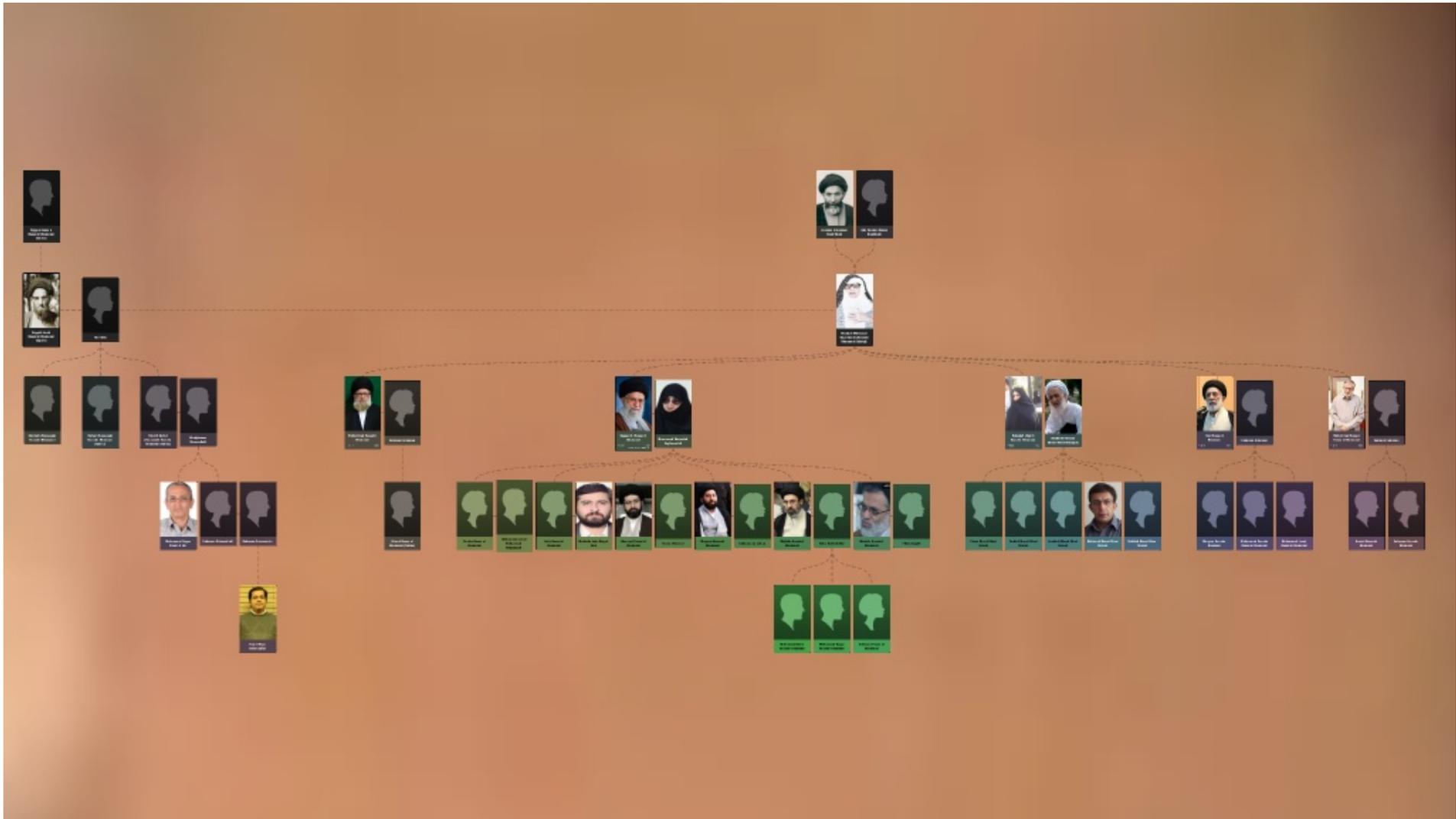


Children, Siblings and Other Relatives

CENSORSHIP

Khamenei's many nieces and nephews hold positions on the boards of charities, construction companies as well as institutions created to enforce internet censorship and promote the agenda of the Supreme Leader. Khamenei's late uncle Mohammad Vaez Zadeh Khorasani—the husband of a maternal aunt—served as a trustee of the AQR-owned Razavi University. Khamenei's cousin Sadeq Vaez Zadeh Kharasani holds major positions including that of Secretary-General of Iran's International Relations Council, a seat on the board of aluminum and copper companies and membership in the Supreme Council of the Cultural Revolution. The latter is tasked with ensuring Iran's culture and education remain "100 percent Islamic" and, in such capacity, curtails "outside cultural influences and ideologies." Decisions made by SCRC can only be overruled by the Supreme Leader.

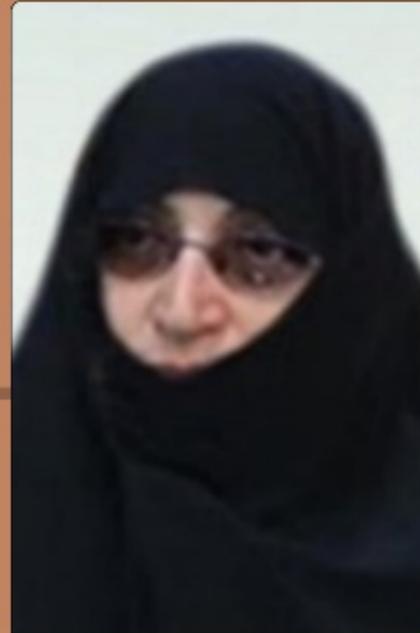






**Seyyed Ali Hosseini
Khamenei**

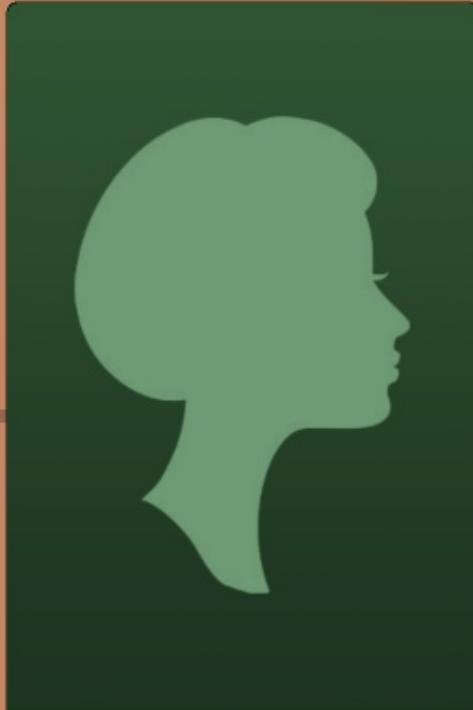
☆ Birth 1939
Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi, Iran



**Mansooreh Khojasteh
Bagherzadeh**



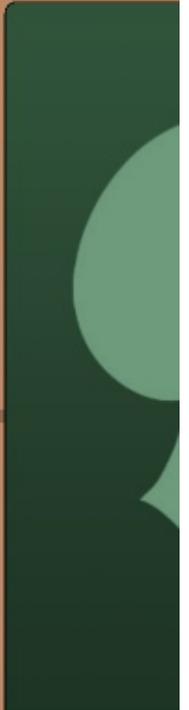
**Mojtaba Hosseini
Khamenei**



Zahra Haddad Adel



**Mostafa Hosseini
Khamenei**



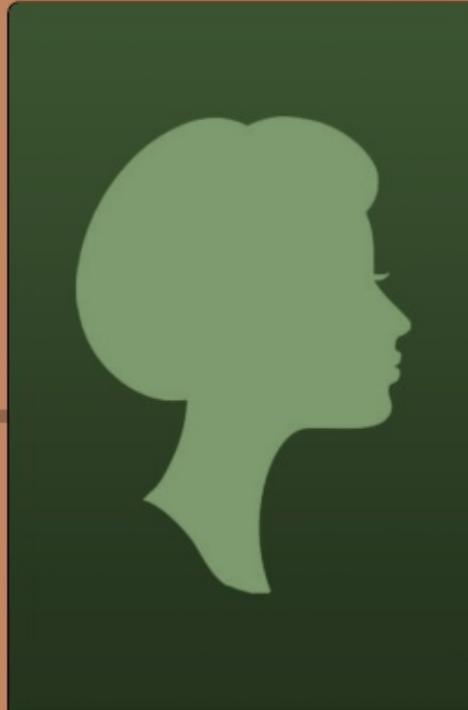
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Baqeri



**Massoud Hosseini
Khamenei**



Susan Kharrazi



**Meysam Hosseini
Khamenei**



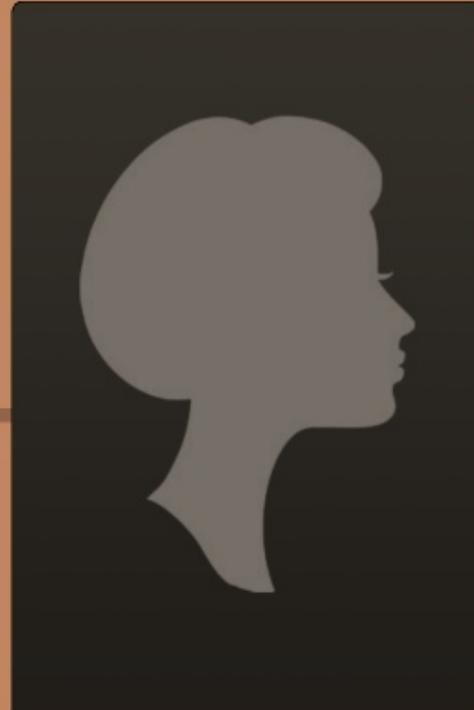
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**Mohammad Hosseini
Khamenei**

☆ Birth

1935



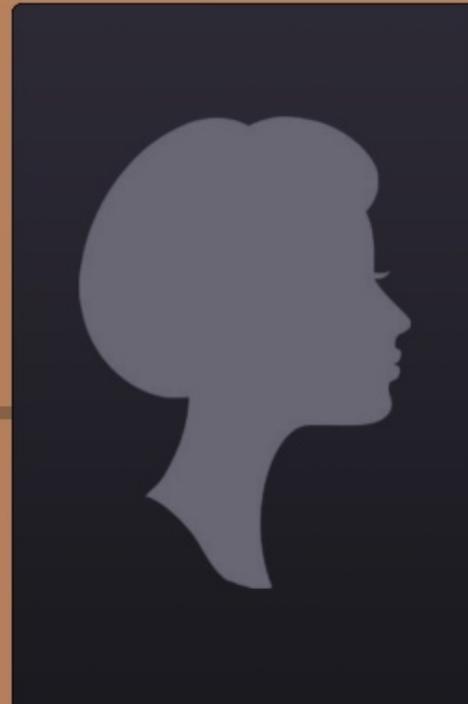
Unknown Unknown



**Hadi Hosseini
Khamenei**

☆ Birth

1947



Unknown Unknown



**Mohammad Hassan
Hosseini Khamenei**

☆ Birth

1950



Hakimeh Unknown

The Family of the Supreme Leader's Wife



The family members of Khamenei's wife, Mansoureh Khojasteh Bagherzadeh, have also benefited from nepotism. Khamenei's brother-in-law Hassan Khojasteh Baqerzadeh has ties to the Islamic Republic of Iran Broadcasting and its IRIB-linked companies, such as Soroush Publishing House and Farabi Cinematic Foundation.

Hassan's son Komeil manages Khamenei's website and sits on the board of the Research and Clarification of Islamic Revolution Dialogue Institute, which promotes revolution propaganda. Khamenei's other brother-in-law Mohammad is on the board of companies connected to Iran's Red Crescent organization. Mohammad's children own a series of companies in food production, construction, urban development and waste management. His wife's nephew Mohammad Saeed Ahadian is in charge of the Khorasan Cultural and Artistic Institution, which prints Khorasan Daily, a major newspaper. Ahadian also sits on the board of the Khorasan Province Press House, which oversees all media in its province.





**Mansooreh Khojasteh
Bagherzadeh**



**Seyyed Ali Hosseini
Khamenei**

☆ Birth 1939
Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi, Iran



**Mohammad Khojasteh
Bagherzadeh**



**Hassan Khojasteh
Bagherzadeh**



**Komail Khojasteh
Bagherzadeh**



**Boshra Hosseini
Khamenei**



**Mohammad Javad
Mohammadi
Golpayegani**



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The Khamenei Report

Summer 2019

Spiritual Leader or
Business Tycoon?

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Conclusion



CONCLUSION

The majority of Iran's economic sectors fall under the control of bonyads, which operate behind a veil of secrecy under the guise of "charity." Bonyads are also exempt from taxes and public oversight. Only Khamenei has access to bonyads' extensive capital in his capacity as the country's spiritual leader. Khamenei's exclusive and opaque role is, in and of itself, a major barrier to Iran's economic well-being.

Doublethink investigation reveals the extensive network of Khamenei's familial control over the country's major economic sectors. The result is a dizzying family tree of Khamenei's blood and marriage relatives and the powerful positions they hold. This family tree provides names, family relations and titles of positions of power, revealing the extent to which nepotism breeds financial malfeasance.

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