

Mass Murderer



Ebrahim Raisi

**Perpetrator of Genocide and
Crime against Humanity**

Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Council of Resistance of Iran

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Introduction: A mass murderer for president, why?

Iran is on the brink of a seminal transformation in this year's presidential "election." The regime's Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei, took a major step this week to push through his preferred candidate for the presidency, Ebrahim Raisi, current head of the judiciary.

Through his own appointed Guardian Council, Khamenei "disqualified" all those who could be Raisi's rivals. They include Ali Larijani, the 12-year-old head of the regime's parliament, Khamenei's current personal advisor, as well as his special representative on special foreign missions, including in relations with China. Eshaq Jahangiri, who has held top government positions since the beginning of the regime and has been the first vice president of Hassan Rouhani for eight years was also disqualified.

Therefore, Khamenei has decidedly chosen to raise Raisi to the presidency and sacrifice those closest to him, ending the reformist-hardliner show, and embarrassing those in the West who for decades have advocated appeasement based on this false narrative. The sham election is now a one-man show.

Ebrahim Raisi, current Judiciary Chief, subservient disciple to Ruhollah Khomeini, the only serious contender among 592 registered candidates, was qualified to run by the Guardian Council. The Iranian people know Raisi as the "Henchman of the 1988 massacre." He was a key perpetrator of the murder of over 30,000 political prisoners in 1988. He has no academic or religious credentials even within the murderous theocracy. In short, Raisi earned his credentials in the regime as a stone hearted killer who rose up the ranks of ignorant thugs, with a proven 40-year track record for execution and repression.

Even by the regime's own standards, this year's election is radically different than those in years past. It comes after three major nationwide uprisings that shook the regime during the past three years in 2018, 2019 and 2020. Today, more than ever, the regime continues to confront an explosive society on the verge of uprising. Despite a global pandemic, protests are held daily by virtually every social sector. Regime officials and media warn of the pending downfall of their regime almost every day.

To make matters worse, the economy is completely bankrupt. The regime is isolated regionally and internationally. Infighting is escalating dramatically, reaching an explosive state.

With the regime at its weakest point in history, Khamenei felt he had no

choice but to consolidate power. So, his coterie in the 12-member Guardian Council axed even a loyal insider like Ali Larijani: the Parliament Speaker for 12 years, Secretary for the Supreme National Security Council, Head of the state-run radio and TV, Minister of Culture, and a general in the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC).

Why would Khamenei purge one of his closest cronies? He simply had no choice. Owing to the extraordinary crises the regime is facing, Khamenei was stuck between a rock and a hard place. He had no choice but to purge all rival factions to maintain stability of the ruling clique.

To silence disgruntled rival factions, Khamenei fueled the conflict in Gaza. The Gaza war was commanded from a joint operational headquarters in Beirut, under direct command of the Quds Force, with the participation of Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad. In the eleven-day conflict, IRGC Brig. Gen. Qaani travelled to Beirut twice. All of Hamas and Hezbollah's weaponry is supplied by Khamenei's regime.

But even this hollow show of force will not provide a way out of the deadly impasse Khamenei is facing. The reasons are, again, simple. The regime's suppressive measures have all failed. The organized opposition has continued to flourish in the form of Resistance Units across the country. Nationwide calls for the boycott of the sham election have also gained momentum.

Officials and state media are sounding the alarm. Every single day, they are warning about the growing appeal of the main opposition Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), especially among the youth.

Even the regime's former firebrand president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, said recently that he is "seeing a flood that will sweep away all of you." He has explicitly sounded the alarm of the coming revolution.

Ebrahim Raisi's background

Seyed Ebrahim Rais-al-Sadati, known as Ebrahim Raisi, was born in the city of Mashhad, Khorasan Razavi province, Iran, in 1959.

An overview of his background and involvement in the regime's suppressive apparatus proves that he is a key figure with vast experience in crimes against the regime's opponents and, in particular, against the MEK.

He was only 18 years old when the 1979 revolution took place. He was quickly assigned to various judicial positions. A look at Ebrahim Raisi's record over the past four decades reveals his true character to some extent.



.Figure1: Ebrahim Raisi in an IRGC uniform

- 1979: Trained under the supervision of Mohammad Hosseini Beheshti, Raisi was one of 70 clerical students selected to participate in courses on governance and policy in Khomeini's new political order.
- 1980: Raisi was deployed to Masjed-e-Soleiman, to suppress growing discontent and protests against the regime by the people.
- 1980: At age 20, Raisi became the district attorney of the city of Karaj. After a few months, he was promoted to become the prosecutor of Karaj.
- 1982: Raisi was appointed as the prosecutor of Hamedan while retaining his position in Karaj. He served in both positions from 1980 to 1983. In this period, mass executions of opposition forces, especially the Mojahedin-e Khalq (MEK/PMOI), were carried out with Raisi serving a pivotal role in these two provinces to suppress opposition movements.
- 1985: He was appointed as deputy prosecutor-general and then prosecutor-general of Tehran. Raisi oversaw the "Grouplets Division" of Tehran's prosecutor's office. The role of this division was to root out the MEK and other opposition forces.
- 1988: In the summer and autumn of 1988, he was a member of the Death Commission in Evin and Gohardasht prisons. In the death commission, although Morteza Eshraqi was the prosecutor and his deputy was Raisi, but according to eye-witness reports and extensive investigations that have taken place, Raisi actually played the prosecutor's role. He served as Khomeini's fixer and received special missions from him to carry out purges in other provinces, including Lorestan, Kermanshah and Semnan. Khomeini had given Raisi, and mullah Hossein Ali Nayyeri, head of the Tehran Death Commission,

full authority and they were not obliged to obey any administrative or governmental restrictions or orders.

- 1989: After Khomeini's death, Raisi was appointed as Tehran Prosecutor by order of Mohammad Yazdi, the head of the Judiciary, and held this position for five years from 1989 to 1994.
- 1994 to 2004: Raisi was the head of the General Inspector's Organization for ten years.
- 1997: Raisi became a member of the central council of the Society of Militant Clergy.
- 1999: Raisi became a member of the Special Committee to Investigate the University of Tehran Events.
- 2004 to 2014: Raisi was the first deputy of the Judiciary for ten years.
- 2006: Membership in the Assembly of Experts as a representative of South Khorasan Province. In 2008, he was elected as a member of the Presidium of the Assembly of Experts. In 2011, his membership was extended for another five years.
- 2011: Appointed as a member of the Board of Trustees of the Executive Headquarters of the Imam's Order for 10 years by Khamenei
- 2014 to end of 2015: He was appointed as the country's Attorney General.
- 2012: Raisi was appointed by Khamenei as the Attorney General of the Special Clerical Court, as position he still holds.
- 2016: After the death of the Mullah Abbas Vaez Tabasi , Khamenei appointed Raisi the head of Astan Quds Razavi, which oversees a multibillion-dollar religious foundation that manages donations to the Iman Reza Shrine in the city of Mashhad.
- 2017: Raisi participated in the presidential election as a candidate of Khamenei's faction and lost to Hassan Rouhani.
- August 2017: Khamenei appointed him as a member of the Expediency Council.
- March 2019: Khamenei appointed Ebrahim Raisi as the head of the Judiciary, a position he still holds. He has not resigned from this position even during his candidacy for the June 1400 presidential election.

A quick and objective look at the positions and scores of other responsibilities that he has held in the regime's suppressive judicial apparatus over the years makes it clear that Ebrahim Raisi has earned the full trust of Khamenei because of his extensive participation in crimes and killings of the MEK, especially during the massacre of political prisoners in 1988. It is on this basis that the supreme leader of the regime has entrusted him with dozens of top regime positions in political, judicial, and economic fields.

Ebrahim Raisi

Mass-murderer & Khamenei's Candidate

- 1979: Interrogator at Masjed Soleyman Prosecutor's Office
- 1980: Prosecutor of Karaj
- 1980-1984: Prosecutor General of Karaj
- 1980-1984: Prosecutor General of Hamedan
- 1984-1988: Central Deputy Prosecutor
- 1988: Member of Death Commission of 1988 Massacre
- 1989-1994: Tehran Prosecutor
- 1994-2004: Head of Office of the Inspector General
- 2004-2014: Deputy Judiciary Chief
- 2014-2015: Prosecutor General of Special Court for the Clergy
- Chairman of the Supervisory Council for Television & Radio (Seda va Sima)
- Attorney General
- 2016-2019: Head of Astan-e Quds Razavi foundation
- 2019-2021: Iran's Judiciary Chief

"The greatest crime committed under the Islamic Republic, for which history will condemn us, has been committed by you. Your names will in the future be etched in the annals of history as criminals."

- Montazeri to 1988 Massacre death commission

#MyVoteRegimeChange

Ebrahim Raisi's role in the 1988 massacre

Ebrahim Raisi was a member of the infamous Death Commission in Tehran in 1988. Along with mullah Hossein Ali Nayyeri, the Sharia judge; Morteza Eshraqi, Tehran Prosecutor; mullah Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi, Deputy Minister of Intelligence; and several other criminal mullahs such as Ali Mobasher, Mohammad Moghesiye, Ismail Shushtari, and Ali Razini, Raisi proceeded to direct and supervise the summary execution of thousands of members and supporters of the MEK in Evin and Gohardasht prisons after a two or three minute hearing based on a direct order from Khomeini.

They were members of the Central Committee of the "Death Commissions," which oversaw the 1988 massacre. Khomeini commissioned this committee to execute all political



prisoners who remained steadfast in their positions. The prisoners appeared in front of the Death Committee, and their hanging sentenced were issued in minutes.

This great crime, both in legal and political-jurisprudential logic, is a crime against humanity in the larger context of the premediated plan to exterminate anyone affiliated to the Mojahedin-e Khalq and is a clear instance of genocide. The world's major human rights organizations, such as Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the International Federation for Human Rights, non-governmental organizations, as well as several official bodies such as the Canadian Parliament and international lawyers, have stated that they believe the crimes committed in the massacre of political prisoners in 1988 are a clear example of crimes against humanity. According to this description, the member states of the United Nations, and especially the countries that have signed the Treaty of Rome, are obliged to use their resources to put Ebrahim Raisi on trial as one of the main perpetrators of this great crime and bring him to justice.

During a conversation that Ayatollah Montazeri had with members of the Death Commission in the summer of 1988, the recording of which was made public in 2016, he strongly criticized the executions and told Raisi and three others, "In my opinion, the biggest crime of the Islamic Republic and one that history will condemn us for, has been perpetrated at your hands and it will register your name as criminals, no doubt about it." The audiotape reveals that Mr. Montazeri was directly addressing Raisi at points during this recorded meeting.

On the same day, August 15, 1988, when Mr. Montazeri met with members of the Death Commission at his home in Qom, he wrote a letter to them, in which he penned a summary of the issues raised during the same meeting. This letter was addressed to all four main members of the Death Committee (Nayyeri, Eshraqi, Pour-Mohammadi, Raisi)

The 1988 Massacre of the Mojahedin-e Khalq (MEK)

All documents, evidence, and proofs indicate that the clerical regime and Khomeini himself had decided from the outset to annihilate the Mojahedin-e Khalq (MEK) organization in its entirety.

The events that unfolded in Iran's prisons in the summer of 1988, however, are incomparable to other crimes of this regime. Khomeini issued a fatwa at the end of the Iran-Iraq war, ordering that all those affiliated to the MEK in prisons should be executed.

According to the fatwa, a death commission was established in Tehran and all those suspected of any affiliation to the MEK were quickly put before the death commission. Similar procedures were carried out in other prisons in Tehran and in other cities.

A massive wave of killings swept across the country's prisons. According to Ayatollah Montazeri, who was Khomeini's appointed successor and the regime's second figure at the time, "several thousand people were executed within a few days".

In a 1989 report, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions in the UN Commission on Human Rights said, "On August 14, 15 and 16, 1988, the bodies of 860 people were transferred from Evin [prison] to Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery (Annex Number3). It should be noted that the number mentioned in this report is limited to only three days and only to Behesht-e Zahra Cemetery. It is well known that most of those executed in this period were transferred to mass graves in Khavaran cemetery and so the number reported to have been transferred to another cemetery indicated the extend of the executions.

Those who were executed, had not received death sentences in previous trials, even though before a kangaroo court of a few minutes. They had either been sentenced and were serving their prison term or had finished their prison terms and were held beyond those terms, or had not been sentenced yet. Some had been released after the end of their prison term but rearrested during the massacre and then executed. Following Mrs. Maryam

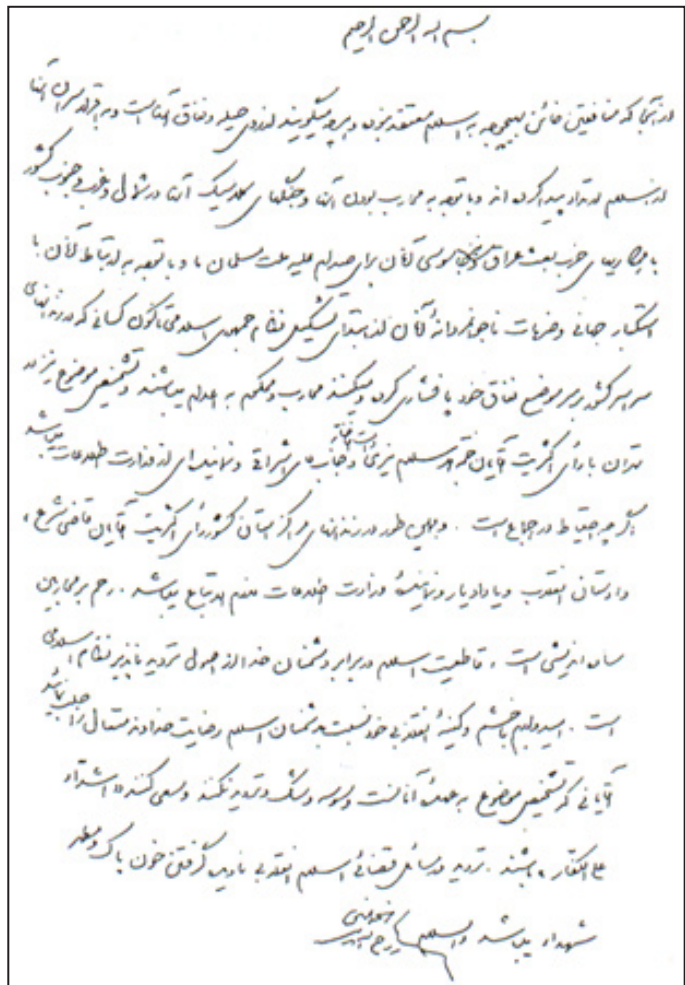


Figure 2 Text of Khomeini's fatwa on the killing of MEK prisoners

Rajavi’s call in 2016 for a campaign seeking justice for the victims of the 1988 massacre of political prisoners, a widescale investigation was conducted in Iran that led to the discovery of 59 mass graves and identification of 87 death commissions in various cities throughout Iran, and the names of over 100 members of these death commissions.

Over the years, the Iranian regime has tried to justify the massacre as the regime’s response to an operation of the National Liberation Army of Iran, and some Iran analysts have repeated this analysis. Amnesty International published one of the most well-documented reports on the 1988 massacre in December 2018 and refuted the linkage between the NLA’s Operation Eternal Light and the massacre of political prisoners. Amnesty, based on all evidence and documents, showed that the massacre was pre-planned, and that the coinciding of these two events created this misconception.

All those who were in prison at the time and survived this great massacre, have borne witness to the fact that plans for this great massacre, and even the start of preparations, began much sooner than a military operation by the opposition against the Iranian regime.

With the massacre of political prisoners under way, a wave of fear and protest began within the regime. The most prominent protests by the regime’s second in command at the time were Khomeini’s successor, Ayatollah Hussein-Ali Montazeri. He strongly objected to this in three short letters, two of which were addressed to Khomeini and one to the members of the Death Commission in Tehran.

Some of the religious scholars who acted as Sharia religious judges were horrified by Khomeini’s fatwa and tried to limit it. They wrote letters to the head of the Judiciary, Moussavi-Ardebili.

As a result of these letters Ahmad, Khomeini’s son, wrote a note to his father and confided the concerns to him. However, Khomeini responded in a few short sentences, and removed any doubts that his intention was the execution of all the MEK, and this goal must be met.

On the other hand, most of the regime’s leaders then who are now still at the helm, expressed their clear support for the massacre in various forms.

Khamenei, the regime’s current supreme leader, who was president at the time of the massacre, said during Friday prayers, “Now as for the executed and mass executions in Iran...



Do you think we should give them sweets? If their relationship with that organization is clear, what should we do? He is sentenced to death and we will execute him. We're not kidding on this issue." (Iranian state radio, December 6, 1988).

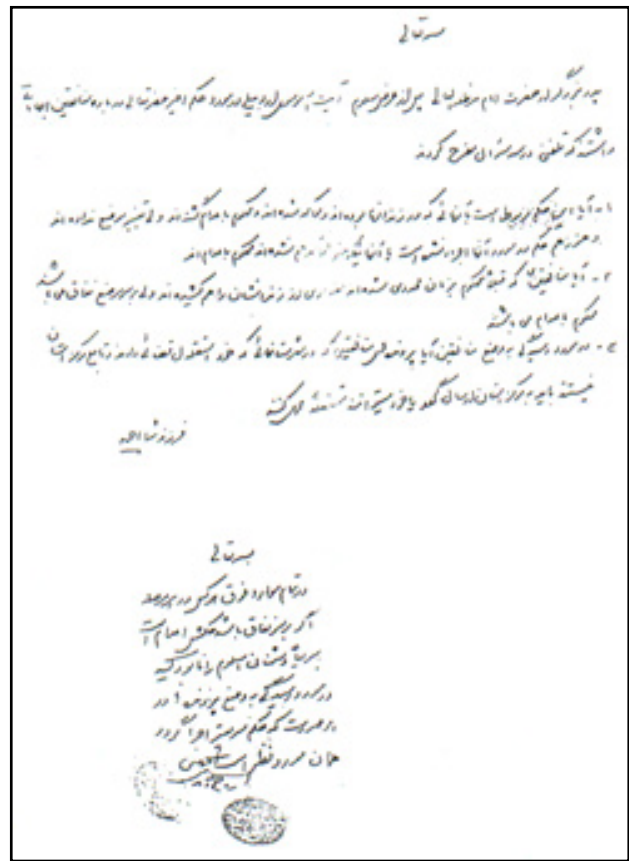
On the other hand, Montazeri's protests to the crime led Khomeini to remove Montazeri — someone who he had invested in for 10 years to become his successor — and months later removed him from his post and forced him into isolation.

Ebrahim Raisi, along with his other criminal colleagues, was a loyal servant to Khomeini's order, who, while insisting that "mercy for the enemy is naïve", had asked the death commission to "seek the satisfaction of God the Almighty" by showing "their revolutionary anger and hatred towards the enemies of Islam".

Raisi, 28 years-old at the time, rolled up his sleeves as one of the four members of the Death Commission, and assumed a key role in the bloodbath. Some survivors of that massacre have recounted that they witnessed Raisi in the corridors and torture-interrogation rooms of prison in casual attire, leaving his clerical robes aside, and dealing with the implementation of the executions.

During the previous election cycle, Hassan Rouhani referred to Raisi as someone who "during the past 38 years, has only known executions and prisons."

Raisi has repeatedly confessed and expressed pride and boasted about his involvement in committing this crime. He has defended the massacre and even insisted he be praised for it. He said on December 9, 2018, "The champion of fighting hypocrisy [derogatory regime vernacular for the MEK] in this country is Imam Khomeini. All those who have faced off against hypocrisy in this country should be encouraged."





BLOOD-SOAKED SECRETS

WHY IRAN'S 1988 PRISON MASSACRES ARE ONGOING
CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY



Figure 3: After 30 years of investigation and dozens of statements since 1988 regarding the massacre of political prisoners, Amnesty International finally published its detailed report on the 30th anniversary of the crime in more than 200 pages in December 2018



Figure 4: Exhibition commemorating the martyrs of the 1988 Massacre in Washington, D.C., in front of Congress



Figure 5: Exhibition commemorating the martyrs of the 1988 Massacre in Washington, D.C., in front of the White House



Figure 6: Exhibition commemorating the martyrs of the 1988 Massacre in Paris- Invalid Square



Figure7: Exhibition commemorating the martyrs of the 1988 Massacre in Geneva – United Nations Square



Figure 8: Cover of a report by JVMI on mass graves showing the location of .mass graves on the Map of Iran



Figure 9: Raisi meeting with Khamenei after the 1988 massacre

Parts of the testimony of the witnesses to the 1988 massacre against the mullahs:

Many survivors of the massacre of political prisoners have seen Raisi in the death commission, especially in Evin and Gohardasht prisons. According to these testimonies, he was focused on the ever more execution of the Mojahedin (MEK). Prior to Tehran, Raisi had been involved in the execution of MEK supporters and members, and other dissidents in Karaj, Hamedan, and other cities.

Here are just testimonies from just three former political prisoners about Raisi:

Excerpts of testimony of Farideh Goodarzi , former political prisoner in Hamedan prison

“This show is not an election; it is a selection. Undoubtedly, the vast majority of Iranians will boycott it. Here I want to talk about one of the candidates whom I met and whose crimes I witnessed. I mean the head henchman, Ebrahim Raisi.

I was arrested in 1983 in the city of Hamedan in connection with supporting the Mojahedin. I was nine months pregnant at the time of my arrest and just a week before giving birth. They took me to the torture chamber in that situation and tortured me by whipping with a cable. One of the people who was present at the time was Ebrahim Raisi, whom of course I did not know at the time, but I heard my cellmates say that this person was the prosecutor of the Hamedan court.

I need to emphasize here that in 1982, Ebrahim Raisi, who was not more than 21 years old, and not very literate, especially religious literacy, was also the prosecutor of Karaj and Hamedan courts, where many political prisoners who were mostly supporters of the MEK (PMOI) were sentenced to death and hanged on orders signed by this individual. I will mention the names of some of these martyrs whom I knew closely:

Fakhri Gholami, Mina Abdoli, Mahnaz Sahrakar (Mahnaz was a 16 or 17-year-old girl who was raped by IRGC before her execution), Behjat Sadoughian, Ali Ataei, Ahad Raisi, Behzad Afsahi, Hashem Salehi and many other supporters of the organization. Another point that I must emphasize is that hanging was used in Hamedan prison, from 1982, when Raisi became the chief prosecutor, because they believed that a prisoner would suffer more in this way.

Let me also explain about my child that I raised my son in solitary confinement for about six and a half months with minimum facilities and in the most difficult conditions possible, like many other children who were in solitary confinement with their mothers.

Excerpts of testimony of Reza Shemirani

At 2:00 PM on August 28, 1988, one of the guards came to the solitary confinement cell of the dormitory building and took me to the prosecution building of Evin Prison to meet the Death Commission. There I saw a large number of female and male prisoners, many of whom I knew. Everyone was sitting blindfolded on the floor, and some were standing in line

to go to the room where the death commission was convened. Mortazavi, the then head of Evin Prison, was there in plainclothes. He seemed very active and happy, going up to the prisoners he already knew from Gohardasht Prison and vengefully mocking them.

After 2 hours, it was my turn and when they called my name, I was taken to the death commission's room by a guard. There were four people sitting in this room. There were two tables in the room that were placed in a T-shape. I recognized Mullah Nayyeri, who was sitting in the middle as a Sharia judge. To his right sat a man in plainclothes whom I did not know, and he was Eshraqi, the prosecutor of the Islamic Revolution at the time. To the left of Nayyeri was a man in a clerical cloak and a white turban, whom I did not know either, and he was Mullah Pour-Mohammadi. There was another person sitting next to Pour-Mohammadi in plainclothes, whom I did not know at the time, but he was very active and played a very serious role in inciting Mullah Nayyeri. At that time, I thought he was one of the Ministry of Intelligence agents, but later, when I saw his photo, I realized that he was the executioner Mullah Raisi [Ebrahim Raisi].

Nayyeri asked my name and details and how many years I had been in prison and what I was charged with. I said I had been arrested for supporting the organization [MEK]. He asked me which organization and I said, you know the organization. At this moment, Mullah Raisi interrupted the conversation and addressed Nayyeri and said, "Haj Agha, ask him which ward he comes from." Nayyeri asked that same question, and I said, "Evin prison," as I did not want to give him a clear answer. In fact, a year before the massacre, I was interrogated and tortured because of the organization formed in the prison ward, and Raisi knew this well, and for this reason, by asking this question, he was trying to get my death sentence from Nayyeri. Raisi who saw that I was avoiding answering grew angry and said to Nayyeri, "Haj Agha, this is one of the stubborn hypocrites. If you allow me, I will take him out and give him a piece of paper to write all the information about the hypocritical organization in prison." Nayyeri, who was in a hurry to issue a death sentence for the prisoners and did not have time to argue, accepted very quickly and Raisi took me with him and placed me on the chair and facing the wall a little further from the court door and asked for a chart of the prison organization and to put it on paper. They had not been able to get information out of me for a year. Raisi wanted to use this opportunity and force me to cooperate. A few minutes passed. An elderly guard entered the big hall of the courthouse and said that anyone who had gone to the Imam's amnesty board should get up and come, but those who were told they would to be transferred to Gohardasht prison should sit down. I took this opportunity and got up and went with a number of others toward a direction that they took us to solitary confinement in the dormitory building.

Excerpts of testimony of Massoud Aboui

I was in Evin, Ghezelhesar, and Gohardasht prisons and in prisons in other cities from 1981 to 1989, and in fact, during the massacre of 1988 in Evin prison, I witnessed the crimes of this criminal cleric, Ebrahim Raisi. I was summoned to the death commission on August 8 [1988]. I witnessed the members of the death committee as follows:

There were two tables along the right. At the front, which was one step higher than the

right, Mullah Nayyeri was seated. To his right was another cleric, most likely Mostafa Pour-Mohammadi.

On the right, there were several people standing and moving about, including Mojtaba Halvaei, Seyyed Majid and other IRGC guards, and after the standing persons, there were the seated; Zamani (representative of the Ministry of Intelligence in Evin Prison) whose real name was Moussa Vaezi. Next to him sat mullah Raisi. Mullah Raisi was sitting there in a relatively long white shirt and a relatively long black beard without a cloak and turban and was acting deputy prosecutor in charge of the massacre. My case was handed over to Zamani, then to Raisi, and then to Eshraqi. Nayyeri started saying without knowing my case that it was clear from your mustache that you were a hypocrite [derogatory regime vernacular for MEK]. I said I have been in solitary confinement for a long time and my beard is long and that is because I did not have the means to shave. Pour-Mohammadi asked me a question about my background, and my answer was not favorable to him. Suddenly, he shouted in a fit of rage “you damn hypocrite are playing with us”. I was arguing with him when Raisi, along with Zamani and I think someone else from the directors of the prison, were reading my file and first said why don’t you have mercy on your father, why don’t you have mercy on your mother... He suddenly stopped and as if he had made a great discovery, told Nayyeri in a loud voice: Ooooh Haj Agha, his family is also hypocrite. With this statement, he wanted to eliminate Nayyeri’s doubts if there were any in his intention to sentence me to death. Eshraqi then asked about my level of education, and since I knew that they were very sensitive about [university] students, and I guessed that he had not read my file, I said I had a [high school] diploma. The case file was handed over and reached Nayyeri. He began to read it. And suddenly he asked what did you say about your education? Realizing that he had read the file, I said confidently, “Student.” He had thought that he had found a contradiction in my statement to Eshraqi with the case file and wanted to use it but failed with this answer. The death commission did not reach a decision on my case that day (it seemed to me that they had stopped at some technicality and could not render the case quickly).

I had heard about Ebrahim Raisi here and there, as someone who was on the death commission as a deputy prosecutor. Later, in talking to my cellmates in prison, as well as seeing him on the regime’s television, I became more convinced that it was him. But I came to complete certainty when, after my release from prison in 1990, I went to Evin Prison once, but again, I saw him in the same shape and image. With a white shirt and black beard and without cloak and turban...

Ebrahim Raisi's role in suppression and his crimes against the people

Over the past 40 years, Ebrahim Raisi has played a decisive role in suppressing the Iranian people's uprisings and issuing criminal rulings. Some cases follow:

Perpetrator of Khomeini's murderous whims

After the massacre of political prisoners in 1988, Ebrahim Raisi, along with Hossein-Ali Nayyeri, gained Khomeini's full confidence carrying out his criminal decisions and qualified as his special candidates for implementing further crimes. The documents published in Khomeini's book, "Sahifeh Noor", show the extent of the later crimes committed by these super criminals.

In this way, they were able to gain Khomeini's full confidence in his bloodletting. The two then became Khomeini's "emissaries of execution". The following documents from volumes 17 and 21 of "Sahifeh Noor", a collection of speeches, edicts, and letters by Khomeini, show the role of Hossain-Ali Nayyeri and Ebrahim Raisi in implementing Khomeini's bloody will.

*In the name of the Exalted,
Mr. Hojjatoleslam Nayyeri –
May you continue to excel
Since I have received
numerous reports about
the weakness of the
judiciary, and the noble
and committed people of
Iran expect more serious
treatment of various issues,
you and Mr. Raisi will be
given a judicial mandate
to deal with reports
from Semnan, Sirjan,
Islamabad and Doroud
cities, and regardless of the
administrative maze, execute what God's command is in the mentioned cases with accuracy and
speed... Peace be upon you.*

Dated January 1, 1989

Ruhollah al-Musawi al-Khomeini



Two weeks after the edict, Khomeini ordered Nayyeri and Raisi to speed up the brutal sentences.

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Benevolent

Since the country's top judicial authorities have no sensitivity to the above shocking issues, Mr. Nayyeri and Raisi are instructed to act in the mentioned cases, as they so distinguish, in the context of dear Islam. It is surprising that such incidents occur in the Islamic system, and the implementation of God's rulings is postponed with coolness, and other tasks are preferred to the judicial work.

January 13, 1989

Ruhollah al-Musawi al- Khomeini



Khomeini also instructed his Supreme Judicial Council to put all that is required and necessary at the disposal of these two criminals to execute their skills they had gained in the massacre of political prisoners in other cases as well, as soon as possible! It should be noted that this edict was issued five months before Khomeini's death.

In the name of the Exalted, Supreme Judicial Council of the Islamic Republic of Iran

In all the cases that have with great surprise remained inactive in that Council so far, and the implementation of God's rulings has been so delayed, put at the disposal of Hojjati al-Islam gentlemen Nayyeri and Raisi, so that they can execute the ruling of God as soon as possible, and delay is not permissible. I also urge Mr. Nayyeri and Mr. Raisi to fully observe the religious Sharia aspects. Peace be upon you.

21 January, 1989

Ruhollah al-Musawi al- Khomeini



These harsh rulings would have naturally shaken Khomeini's Judiciary and sowed doubt into those like Mousavi-Ardebili, the head of the Judiciary at the time. This caused Nayyeri and Raisi to pen a question to Khomeini on January 22, 1989, about the limits of their powers to reinforce their position and to obtain a wider license to kill:

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Benevolent

To the presence of the Exalted Leader, Great Leader of the Revolution and Founder of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Imam Khomeini – May your shadow be extended

With gratitude to the Eternal, that we have been subjected to the grace of the dear and honorable Imam to take a step in the implementation of divine commandments and hudud [punishments], it is requested that you convey your blessed opinion about your Excellency's order of January 21, 1989, whether it is dedicated to the implementation of divine hudud [punishments] or includes sentences issued about the qesas [retribution] of the soul [death sentences]?

January 22, 1989

Seyed Ebrahim Raisi - Hossein Ali Nayyeri

Khomeini's answer is:

In the name of the Exalted,

Mr. Hojjati al-Islam Nayyeri and Raisi

What I have instructed you to do with the cases that have remained in the Supreme Judicial Council after the investigation concerns hudud and qesas while preserving sharia aspects.

January 22, 1989

These rulings and their intended purpose need no further interpretation.

Reason for Raisi's promotion

As can be seen in Khomeini's rulings addressed to Nayyeri and Raisi, the pair, having passed the test of massacring the Mujahedin-e Khalq (MEK), have become Khomeini's emissaries in all cases throughout the country, unreservedly carrying out Khomeini's demands for repression and execution, without any deference to the regime's own administrative norms.

As we said, during the massacre of Mojahedin-e Khalq in the summer of 1988, dozens of death commissions were formed throughout Iran, the most famous and active of which in Tehran sent thousands of MEK affiliated prisoners to their death. Members of Tehran's death commission, in addition to the permanent four, included others, such as Ali Mobasheri and Esmaeil Shushtari, Ali Razini, and Mohammad Moghiseh. But it was Ebrahim Raisi who gained special status and the greatest trust of Khomeini and then Khamenei, to the point that he has been handed the highest positions of government. The presidency is currently awaiting him. These high stations are the result of his performance in massacring people affiliated to the MEK, as well as his absolute loyalty and subservience to Khamenei. Even Hossein Ali Nayyeri, who was the head of Tehran's death commission, has been gradually pushed away from power. But Raisi who is Khamenei's pupil and subservient to him, seems to be Khamenei's main candidate to be his successor in addition to all the positions he has so far gained.

Repressive role of Ebrahim Raisi against the Iranian people's uprisings

Ebrahim Raisi has participated in various committees to suppress the Iranian people's uprisings. During the student uprising of 1999, he was a member of the Special Committee to Investigate the Events of the University Heights in Tehran that resulted from attacks that killed and injured Tehran University students.

During the 2009 uprising, Ebrahim Raisi was again at the crime scene, being one of three members on a committee formed by Mahmood Hashemi Shahroudi, the former head of the Judiciary, to determine convictions for the detainees. After the Judiciary head changed, two members of the committee also changed, but Raisi remained as a member of the new committee. Raisi raised the specter of death sentences for the 2009 detainees when in an interview with state television he accused them of moharebeh (waging war on God) and said:

"The crime that was carried out yesterday in particular, we think, has a special characteristic. That is the depriving of people of their security with stones and sticks and knives. Attacking mourners [regime supporters in a religious ceremony], which could also be an example of moharebeh [waging war on God]. Moharebeh comes from the word harb [Arabic for war]. Al-Moharebeh is a jurisprudential term attributed to one who stands against God and His Messenger [Prophet Mohammed] and against God's will and

His Messenger's will. To be in a war with God and His Messenger. War against the Islamic system [the regime], which is based on religious rulings and dos and don'ts. Anyone who stands against the Islamic system... and in our terminology, draws a sword, anyone who deprives the public of security, disrupts public security, must of course have a weapon. It is with a weapon. We have it in law and in jurisprudence that a weapon is not just a sword. It is not just a firearm. No. It can be a cold weapon [i.e. knives, sticks, stones]. Sometimes it is a dagger, sometimes a knife. The jurisprudential terminology also mentions that it is sometimes wood, sometimes stone... In other words, with something like that you saw on Ashura day. Some people attacked with stones, clubs, daggers, or swords... So moharebeh is used for those who deprive the public of security and intimidate people... What happened on Ashura could be instances of moharebeh and called moharebeh. However, moharebeh could be an organization sometimes. An organization becomes a warring organization like the Hypocrites [derogatory term used by regime for the MEK]. In the case of the Hypocrites anyone who helped the Hypocrite Organization in any way, under any circumstances, since this is an organized movement it is termed as moharebeh. (State TV – December 31,2009).

Khamenei appointed Raisi as the Judiciary chief in March 2019. Since then he has directed the execution of 251 people in 2019, and 267 people in 2020. Dozens more have been hanged in 2021, including a number of Baluchi and Kurdish and Arab dissidents in Iran. Navid Afkari, a national wrestling champion, who had been arrested during the December 2017 uprising, was among those hanged on Raisi's orders.

Anti-human rulings and savagery to shore up repression

Ebrahim Raisi advocates medieval rulings such as amputation and dismemberment of victims to create an atmosphere of terror in society. As first deputy of the judiciary in 2010, he told the regime's police chiefs, "Hand amputation sentences are one of our great honors."

In a report published at the same time as Raisi was appointed head of the Judiciary, Amnesty International says that in the past 20 years (i.e. the years in which Raisi held the highest positions in the judiciary), 264 people in Iran have been sentenced to hand amputations, of which 129 have been recorded and approved.

The report, published on the organization's website on December 4, 2020, says that the sentence for amputation of six others in Iran is likely to be carried out soon. The report says Iranian authorities have openly launched a torture machine against the Iranian people to mutilate their organs and psychologically torture them, and reports have reached Amnesty International that a special, guillotine-like device was brought to Oromia prison to amputate fingers, and there is a risk of "immediate implementation" of the sentence for amputating the hands of six people accused of theft. Amnesty added that it had received information over the past week indicating that the possibility of amputation of the hands of Hadi Rostami, Mehdi Sharafian, Mehdi Shahivand, Kasra Karami, and two brothers named Shahab and Mehrdad Teymouri, will be carried out in Oromia prison soon.

Ebrahim Raisi and the export of reactionary regime ideology and terrorism

Ebrahim Raisi has also played an important role in the export of the Iranian regime's reactionary ideology and terrorism. He has close relations with IRGC commanders. He was supported and visited by IRGC commanders during the previous round of presidential elections in 2017. In addition to Mohammad Ali Azizi, the commander-in-chief of the IRGC at the time, Maj. General Qasem Soleimani, commander of the Quds Force, and Brigadier General Hossein Naqdi participated in such meetings.

Raisi has misused his positions in the regime to steal and loot the Iranian people's wealth. By exploiting his regime positions, he plundered the property of the Iranian people in the service of warmongering and terrorism, especially to the benefit of the IRGC Quds Force. He enjoyed close ties to Qasem Soleimani, commander of the IRGC Quds Force. At Qasem Soleimani's funeral, Ebrahim Raisi appeared alongside Ali Khamenei, shedding tears for Soleimani.



Figure 10: IRGC commanders meeting with Mullah Ebrahim Raisi in Astan Quds Razavi

Raisi was a member of the Board of Trustees of the Executive Headquarters of the Imam's Order for 10 years. On March 8, 2016, Raisi was appointed a trustee of the Astan Quds Razavi by Khamenei's decree. The Executive Headquarters of the Imam's Order and Astan Quds Razavi are among the largest financial holdings in Iran that are under Khamenei's control.

After his appointment to the Astan Quds Razavi, one of the economic powerhouses of the regime, he bestows the wealth of the Iranian people to terrorist proxies of the IRGC-QF to export terrorism and kill the people of Iraq and Syria.

He met with Lebanese Hezbollah Secretary General Sayyed Hassan Nasrallah in Beirut in his role of leading the Astan Quds Razavi and as a member of the Expediency Council. Ebrahim Raisi has also travelled to Syria and met with the Bashar Assad regime's authorities.

One of the militias of the Quds Force is the Iraqi Haraqat al-Nujaba, which met with

Ebrahim Raisi on September 5, 2016, and enjoyed the resources of Astan-e Quds for terrorist purposes.



Figure 11: Qasem Soleimani and Ebrahim Raisi meeting in Astan Quds Razavi



Figure 12: Ali Khamenei and Ebrahim Raisi crying at the funeral of notorious IRGCF Quds Force Commander, Qasem Soleimani

Figure 13: Ebrahim Raisi meeting with Hassan Nasrallah (Hezbollah) in Lebanon



Figure 14: Akram al-Kaabi, head of the Iraqi paramilitary group "Harakat al-Nujaba", affiliated with the IRGC-QF, with Ebrahim Raisi on September 5, 2016



In May 2017, Ebrahim Raisi, chairman of Astan Quds Razavi and presidential candidate, announced and visited the construction site of 36 apartment units in the Baqer-Abad neighborhood of southern Tehran for the families of Afghan mercenaries in the service of the Quds Force, called Fatemiyoun, who were killed in the Syrian war. Raisi launched this propaganda show after increased dissatisfaction among the families of thousands of Afghans killed in the Syrian conflict and the catastrophic situation these families face.



International reaction to Ebrahim Raisi

Amnesty International

Amnesty International in its extensive report on the 1988 Massacre in December 2018:

Ebrahim Raisi, who was the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the Tehran “death commission”, was the prosecutor general of Tehran between 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014 and the country’s prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016. He ran for the presidency in 2017. In a lecture on 1 May 2018, referring to media reports about his role in the 1988 mass killings, he did not dispute his presence in the meeting with Hossein Ali Montazeri, but noted that “during the period [in question], I was not the head of the court... The head of the court issues sentences whereas the prosecutor represents the people”. At the same time, using the word “confrontation” in apparent reference to the mass killings, he regarded them as “one of the proud achievements of the system” and praised Rouhollah Khomeini as a “national hero”.

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... Ebrahim Raisi, who participated in the Tehran death commission, was quoted in a state media outlet in May 2018 saying that this was analogous to the situation of “several thousand drug traffickers today whose sentences have been finalized but a decision has not yet been made to have them carried out.”

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..., Hossein Ali Montazeri, ... two letters, dated 31 July and 4 August 1988, were addressed to Rouhollah Khomeini and the third letter, dated 15 August 1988, was addressed to Shari’a judge Hossein Ali Nayyeri, the prosecutor general of Tehran, Morteza Eshraghi, the prosecutor general of Tehran, Ebrahim Raisi, the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran, and a representative of the ministry of intelligence, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi.

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The revelation of Rouhollah Khomeini’s fatwa confirmed the testimonies of survivors about the composition of the committees (the “death commissions”) and that they had been instructed to be ruthless in their approach. The fatwa ordered that in each province, a three-man committee be established, comprising a Shari’a judge, the prosecutor general or their assistant prosecutor, and a representative from the ministry of intelligence. It specifically ordered that the committee for Tehran should include Hossein Ali Nayyeri as the designated Shari’a judge and Morteza Eshraghi as the prosecutor general. On occasions, it is reported that his deputy

prosecutor Ebrahim Raisi replaced him on the “death commission”:

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The most famous meeting is one he held with members of the Tehran “death commission” who dealt with prisoners held in Evin and Gohardasht prisons. In his memoirs, Hossein Ali Montazeri identifies the men as Shari’a judge Hossein Ali Nayyeri; the prosecutor general of Tehran, Morteza Eshraghi; the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran, Ebrahim Raisi; and the representative of the ministry of intelligence, Mostafa Pour Mohammadi. Hossein Ali Montazeri writes that he summoned the men and urged them to halt the executions to at least show their respect for the religious month of Moharram.

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... The first two men, Hossein Ali Nayyeri and Morteza Eshraghi, who were named in the fatwa as being entrusted with implementing the decree in Tehran, had never challenged Hossein Ali Montazeri’s account. The third man, Ebrahim Raisi, had kept silent. Ebrahim Raisi also broke his silence and publicly defended the mass killings albeit in a coded language. ... using the word “confrontation” in apparent reference to the mass killings, he regarded them as “one of the proud achievements of the system” and praised Rouhollah Khomeini as a “national hero”.

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Ebrahim Raisi © Mizan

“Imam is a national hero of the struggle against *nefaq* ... One of the proud achievements of the system is its record of confrontation with the current of *nefaq*. This must be considered as one of the achievements of the country.

One of my achievements is that I have struggled throughout my life against corruption, *nefaq*, robbery, fraud and evil and I will continue to do so.”

Ebrahim Raisi, deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the “death commission” in Tehran, the prosecutor general of Tehran from 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014, the country’s prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016, and member of the Assembly of Experts since 2006³³⁸

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10.4 SUSPECTS IN POSITION OF POWER

For the last 30 years, many of those alleged to have been involved in the 1988 enforced disappearances and extrajudicial executions have held positions of power in Iran. The Shari'a judges, prosecutors general and assistant prosecutors, and ministry of intelligence representatives who participated in the "death commissions" have held and in some cases continue to hold senior positions in the judiciary or the government, including the following individuals identified in this report:

- o Alireza Avaei. .. is currently the minister of justice.⁴¹¹
- o Hossein Ali Nayyeri... He was subsequently appointed as the head of the Supreme Disciplinary Court for Judges, a position which he holds today.
- o Ebrahim Raisi. He was the deputy prosecutor general of Tehran in 1988 and a member of the Tehran "death commission". He was later the prosecutor general of Tehran between 1989 and 1994, the first deputy head of the judiciary from 2004 to 2014 and the country's prosecutor general from 2014 to 2016.
- o Mostafa Pour Mohammadi:... He was later the minister of justice between 2013 and 2017....

In 2010, a leading British and international jurist, Sir Geoffrey Robertson, published a detailed report entitled "The Massacre of Political Prisoners in Iran, 1988", in which he mentions the special role of Ebrahim Raisi in the Death Commission:

The Tehran "Death Committee" of Nayyeri, Eshraqi (sometimes replaced by his Deputy, Ebrahim Raisi) and an intelligence official (usually Pourmohammadi) went into immediate operation in both Evin and Gohardasht prisons. There is evidence that its decisions were sometimes taken by majority, with the

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Ayatollah Montazeri then hit upon a religious reason for halting – or at least suspending – the first wave of executions. On 13 August 1988 he summoned the Tehran Death Committee in person: Judge Nayyeri, Prosecutor Eshraqi (and his deputy Ebrahim Raisi) and the powerful man from the intelligence ministry, Mr Pourmohammadi, and told them it was untraditional to spill blood in the calendar month of Moharram, which was about to

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judge at the time and currently Deputy Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. He was identified as presiding over Death Committees in Tehran prisons by many survivors permitted to take their blindfolds off when attending the committee, because he had presided over their earlier cases or was well-known from television appearances. He admitted to Montazeri on 13 August that he had already executed 750 prisoners in Tehran. Also named in the *fatwa* is **Morteza Eshraqi**, the Tehran Prosecutor and now a judge on the country's Supreme Court.¹⁸⁵ He was identified by many survivors as he had been involved in their initial prosecutions. Another prosecutor who took his place on occasion was his deputy, **Ebrahim Raisi**, who went on to become the Head of the General Inspection Organisation and is now the Deputy Head of the Judiciary.¹⁸⁶ The Intelligence Ministry Representative on the Tehran committee and Deputy to the Minister of Intelligence was **Mostafa Pourmohammadi**¹⁸⁷ who in 2005 was appointed as Minister of the Interior.¹⁸⁸ He is currently the Head of the General Inspection Organisation. **Ali Mobasheri** is another religious judge alleged to have substituted for Nayeri on occasion at Evin prison: he is President of the Revolutionary Courts in Tehran. **Esmail Shushtari**, who became Minister of Justice in 1989, is another alleged to have played an important role, as head of the State Prisons Organisation, in co-ordinating the implementation of the *fatwa*.¹⁸⁹ So too must **Mohammadi Gilani**, the outspoken Ayatollah who headed the Guardian Council and supervised Tehran's religious judges. In 2009, he was awarded the Medal of Justice by President Ahmadinejad for his service to justice in Iran.

Ebrahim Raisi named in Sanctions Lists

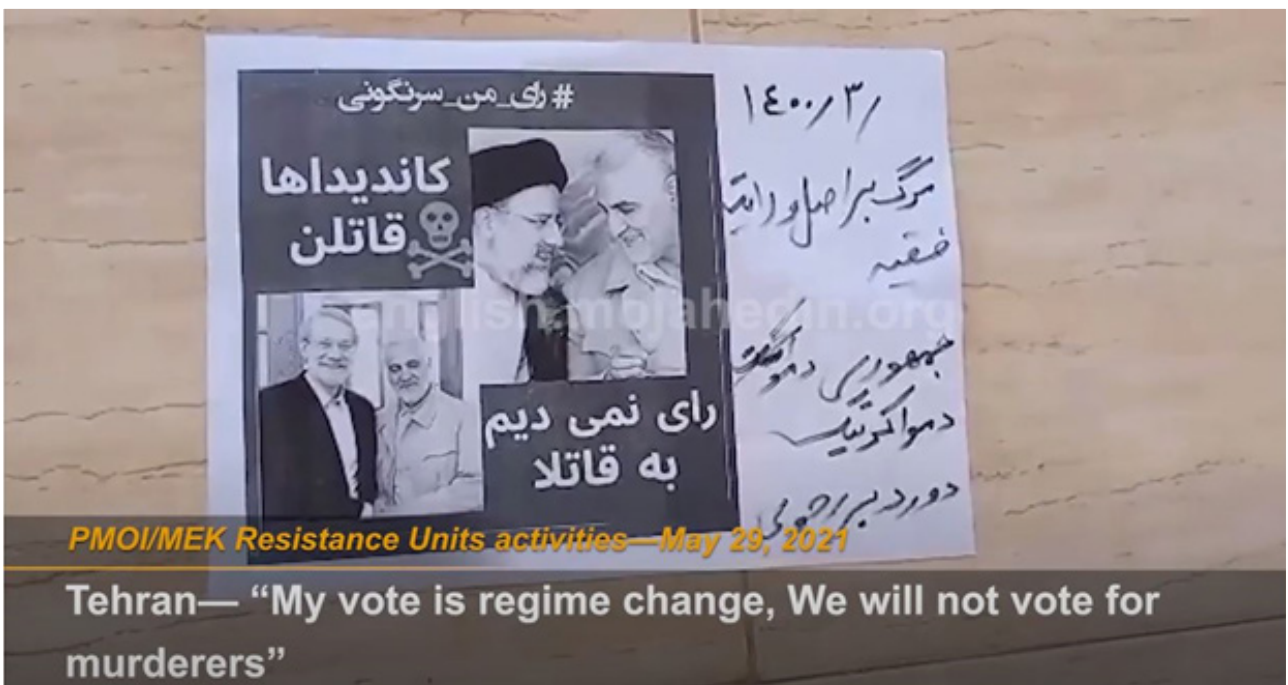
In March 2011, Ebrahim Raisi, was listed among 80 officials of the regime that were sanctioned by the European Union for “human rights violations and accusations related to torture and killing of dissidents” in Iran, among them members of the regime’s police and paramilitary forces, prison officials, prosecutors, judges and other officials. He is also infamous in international organizations as one of the most notorious judiciary officials of the regime.

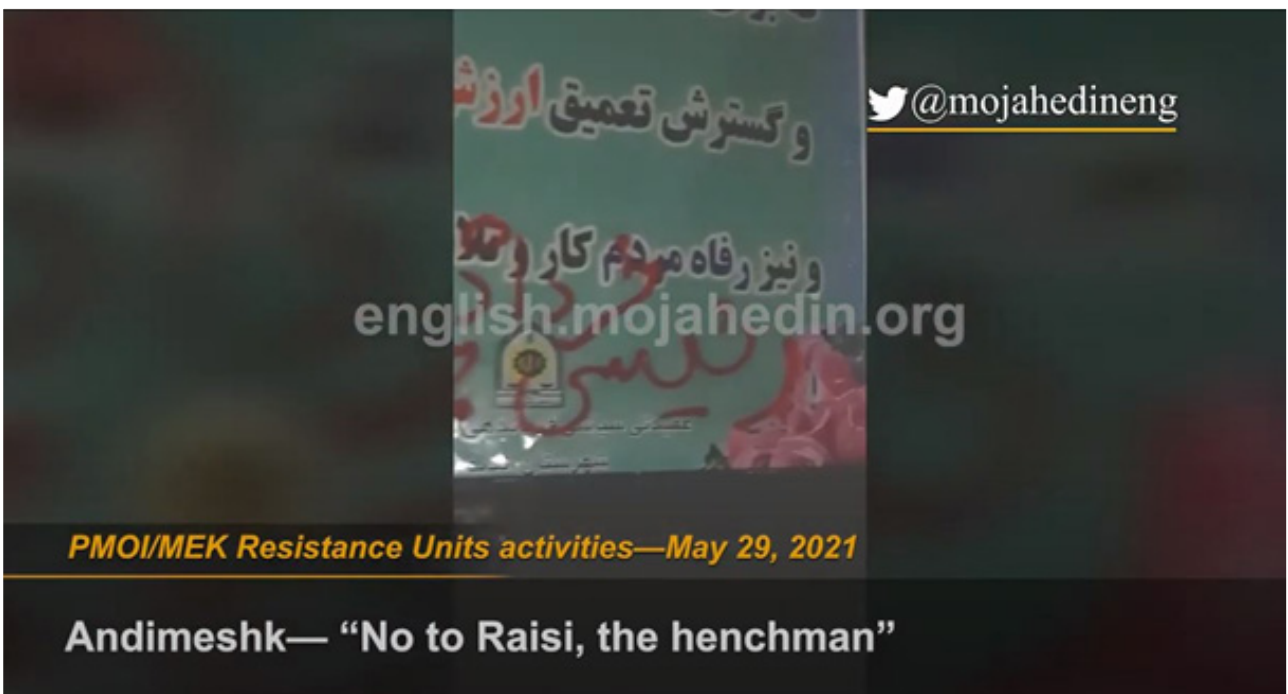
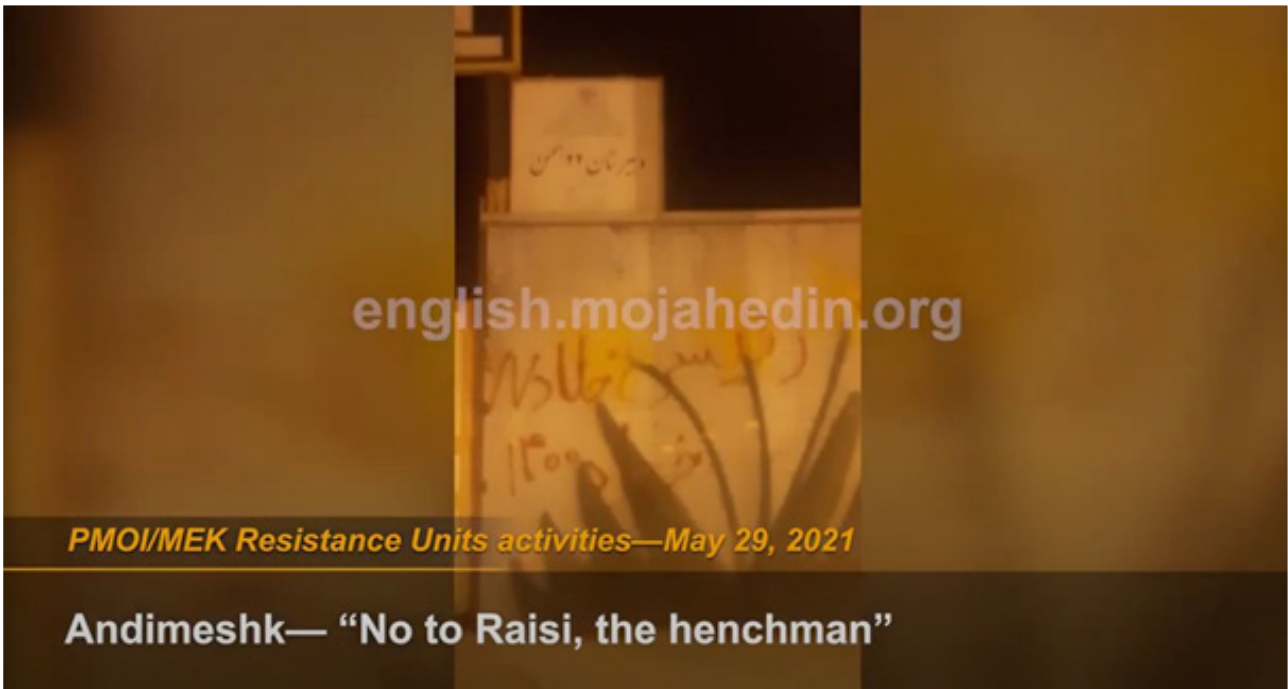
In 2019, the U.S. Treasury Department named Ebrahim Raisi on its sanctions list as close to Khomeini. Describing Raisi’s listing it reads, “Ebrahim Raisi: The Head of the Judiciary of the Islamic Republic and one of Ayatollah Khamenei’s favorite figures. Prior to presiding over the judiciary, he was appointed by Ayatollah Khamenei to the authority of Astan Quds Razavi. Prior to that, Raisi held the high positions in the judiciary for nearly three decades. Ebrahim Raisi’s name is tied to human rights violations in the judiciary, particularly to his membership in the judicial board of the 1988 executions, known as the Death Commission, and with his presence in the judiciary, judicial procedures criticized by human rights activists, including callous punishments, illegal detentions, torture and ill-treatment, continued as in the past.”

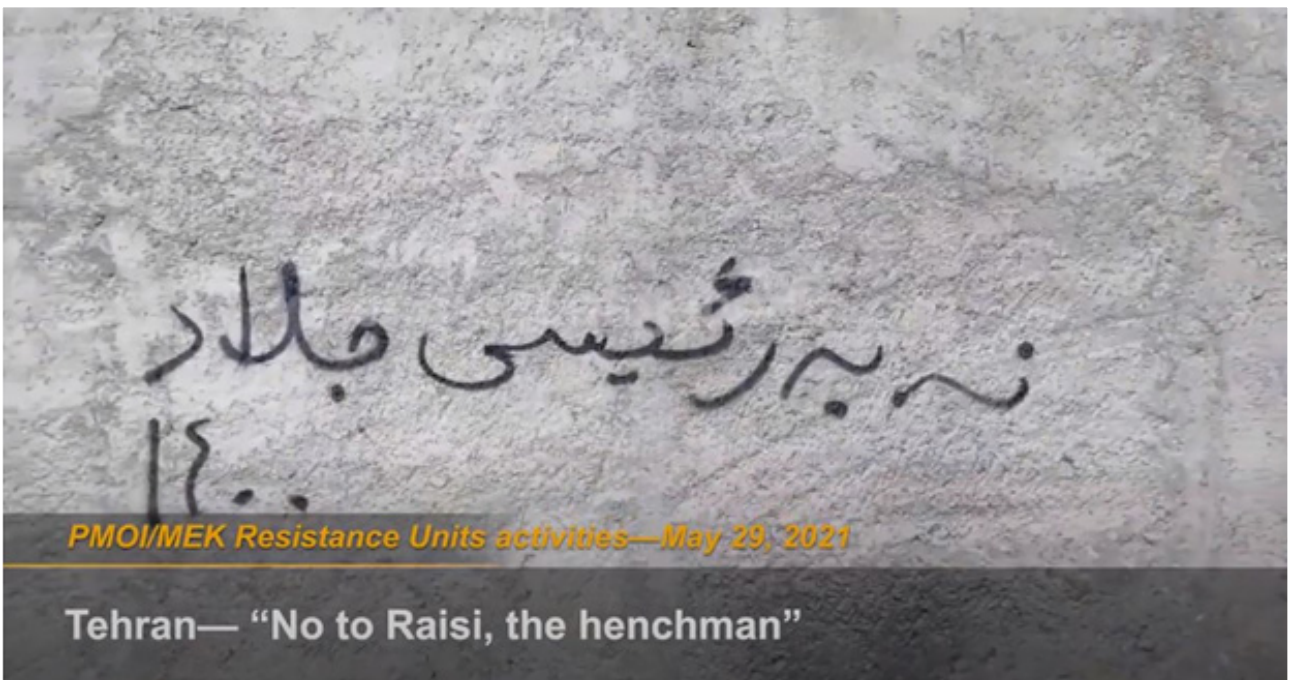
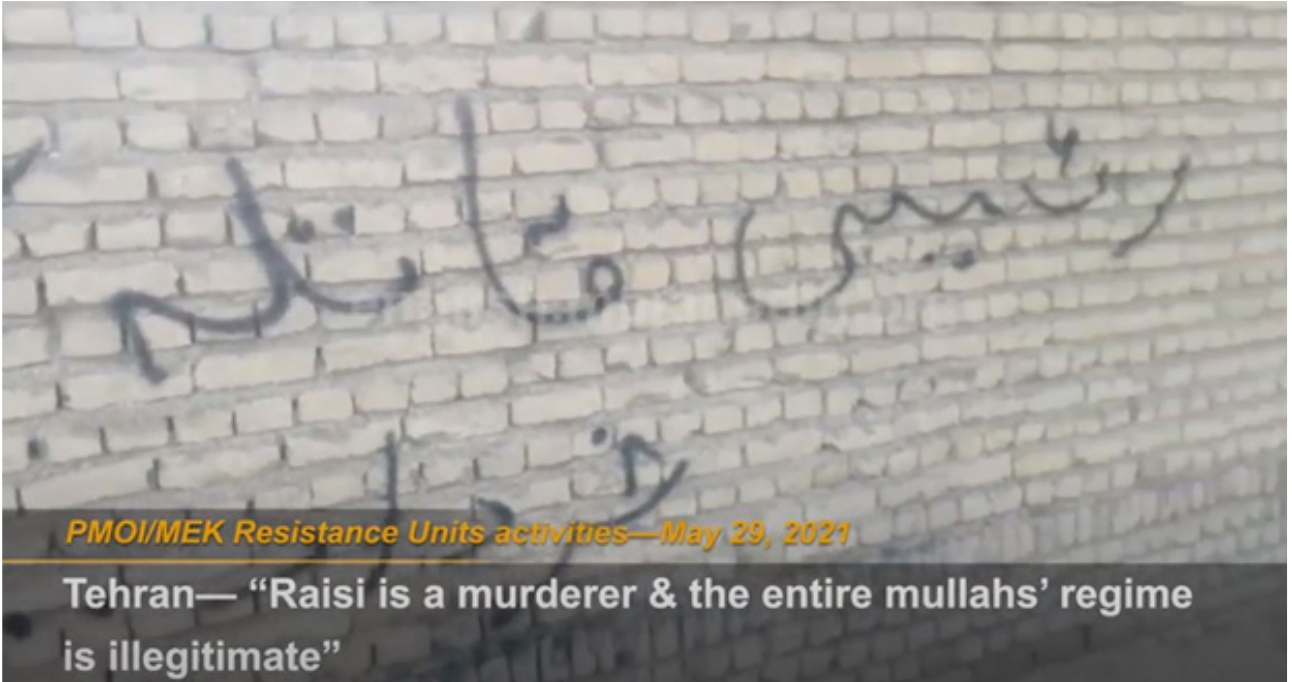
Iranian people’s position on the election and Ebrahim Raisi

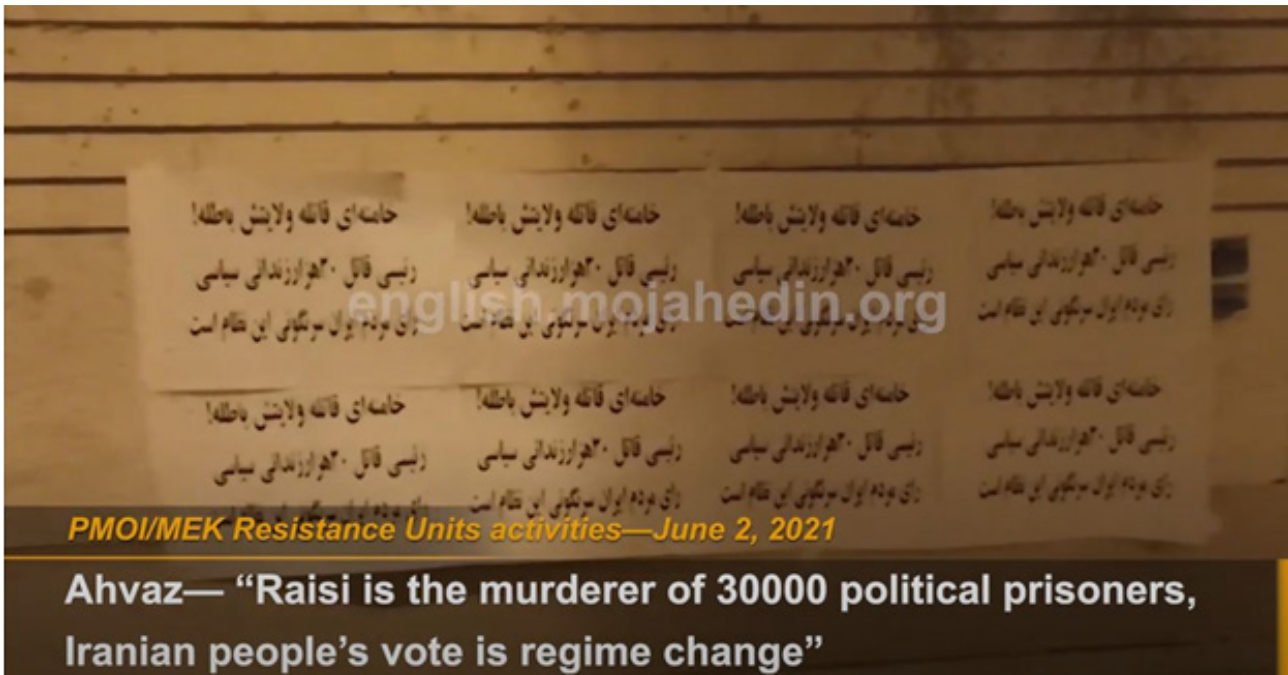
The position of the overwhelming majority of the Iranian people about the theocratic dictatorship’s sham election has been a nationwide boycott. In this election cycle, Khamenei has all but appointed Mullah Ebrahim Raisi as his regime’s next president.

Resistance Units and sympathizers of the Mojahedin-e Khalq (MEK) organization have given voice to the people’s will to boycott the sham election throughout Iran and to their loathing for Raisi himself as an executioner and murderer. Thousands of instances of wall graffiti featuring slogans against the regime and Raisi can be seen in the streets of different cities. Below you can see some of these activities that have been carried out with the risk of arrest and torture:









Conclusion

The Iranian regime, surrounded by insoluble domestic and international crises, an Iranian public that is on the verge of uprising, and a crushing economic crisis, can only fall back to its well-known instruments of power in repression and export of crises. Ebrahim Raisi is fully indicative of this policy.

As such, appeasing this regime, never a solution, is no longer even feasible, because it will only facilitate repression and mass murder in Iran, aid the regime in obtaining nuclear weapons, and fan the flames of regional conflict.

A western policy of appeasement has lost any real basis in Iranian politics and society, and the time has come for the West to end this policy and adopt a firm approach. In particular, the international community must:

1. Echo the Iranian people's rallying cry and condemn this election as illegitimate, neither free, nor fair.
2. End the culture of impunity for the mass murderers who rule Iran, including Raisi.
3. Bring to justice the leaders of the regime who have committed crimes against humanity for four decades.
4. Stand on the right side of history and with the Iranian people in their struggle to overthrow the regime and attain freedom and establish a democratic, secular and non-nuclear republic in Iran.

Annexes - Members of the Death Commissions in the 1988 massacre

MASSACRE DE 1988

LES MEMBRES DES « COMMISSIONS DE LA MORT » À TRAVERS L'IRAN ET LEURS COMMANDITAIRES



l'auteur du Fatwa

LES PRINCIPAUX CONSEILLER DE KHOMEINY



Ali Khamenei
Mohsen Fakhrizadeh
Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani

CONSEIL SUPRÊME JUDICIAIRE



MINISTÈRE DU RENSEIGNEMENT




« COMMISSION DE LA MORT » À TÉHÉRAN



COMMISSIONS DE LA MORT DANS LES PROVINCES D'AZERBAÏDJAN DE L'EST ET DE L'OUEST



PROVINCE DE KHOUZESTAN



PROVINCE DE KHORASSAN



PROVINCE DE MAZANDARAN




PROVINCE DE KERMANSHAH



PROVINCE DE GUILAN



PROVINCE DE LORESTAN



PROVINCE DE HAMEDAN



PROVINCE DE ZANJIAN



PROVINCE DE FARS



AUTRES PROVINCES



- 1 Mohammad Hosseini Beheshti – a cleric and politician who was known as the second person in the Khomeini regime’s political hierarchy after the 1979 revolution.
- 2 Grouplets is a derogatory term used by the regime to refer to opposition groups.
- 3 Abbas Vaez Tabasi was an influential cleric in the Khomeini regime who oversaw one of Iran’s vast conglomerates and served on the Astan Quds Razavi board from 1979 until his death in 2016.
- 4 Dar TV website – 27 April 2017 Audio file of Ayatollah Montazeri’s meeting with death commission on August 15, 1988 + Text -YouTube
- 5 Dar Sahne Majlis va Shoraha website - 07 April 2017 - <https://www.darsahn.org/1396/01/17/profile-khobregan-ebrahimreaisi/>
- 6 Montazeri’s letter addressed to members of the “death Commission” “To Mr. Nayyeri, [religious judge], Mr. Eshraqi, [prosecutor], Mr. Raisi, [deputy prosecutor], and Mr. Pourmohammadi, [Intelligence Ministry representative]

Date: August 15, 1988

In the Name of God, the Most High,

1. I have received more blows from the Monafeqin [Mojahedin] than all of you, both in prison and outside. My son was martyred by them. If it was a question of revenge, I should pursue it more than you. But I seek the expediency and interests of the revolution, Islam, the Supreme Leader, and the Islamic state. I am worried about the judgment that posterity and history will pass upon us.

2. Such massacres without trial, particularly when the victims are prisoners and those in captivity, will definitely benefit them in the long run. The world will condemn us and they will be further encouraged to wage armed struggle. It is wrong to confront ideas and ideologies with killings.

3. Look at the behavior of Prophet [Mohammad] and how he treated his enemies after the conquest of Mecca and the Battle of Hawazen. The Prophet showed mercy and amnesty and was given the title of “the Mercy of both worlds” by the Almighty. Look how Imam Ali treated his enemies after defeating them in the Battle of Jamal.

4. Many of these people who are holding fast to their beliefs are doing so in reaction to the way they have been treated by interrogators and prison wardens, otherwise they might have been flexible.

5. To argue that if we released these prisoners, they would rejoin the Monafeqin [Mojahedin] is not sufficient to characterize them as Mohareb (waging war on God) and of having mutinied against God. Imam Ali did not punish Ibn Moljem (his assassin), before he actually carried out the crime, even though he said beforehand that he (Ibn Moljem) is my killer....

6. The beliefs of a person, per se, are not sufficient grounds to declare him as someone who is waging war on God or rebelling against A Damning Document 29 the Almighty. Even if it is supposed that the [Mojahedin] leaders are renegades, their supporters cannot be given the same verdict.

7. Judgment must be made in an environment free of emotions. The social environment now is not conducive to justice due to sloganeering and propaganda. We are upset with the Monafeqin’s crime in the west, but are taking it out on prisoners and former prisoners. Executing people who have not carried out any new activities will cast doubt on previous judges and all previous judgments. According to which standard do you execute a prisoner whom you have previously given a lesser sentence?

At present, prison visits and telephone calls have been cut off, but how will you answer the families tomorrow?

8. I, more than anybody, care about the prestige of His Eminence the Imam as the Supreme Leader. I do not know how things are being presented to him. Should we say that all that we were studying in Islamic jurisprudence about taking caution when dealing with people’s blood and properties were wrong?

9. I have met with a number of just and pious judges who were dismayed and complained about the way the decree is being implemented. They said there is too much extremism and cited numerous cases of people being executed without any reason.

10. In conclusion, the People’s Mojahedin are not individuals; they are an ideology, and a world outlook. They have a logic. It takes right logic to answer wrong logic. You cannot rectify wrong with killings; you only spread it. Hossein-Ali Montazeri”

7 Text of Khomeini’s fatwa was as follows: “In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful,

“As the treacherous Monafeqin [Mojahedin] do not believe in Islam and what they say is out of deception and hypocrisy, and as their leaders have confessed that they have become renegades, and as they are waging war on God, and as they are engaging in classical warfare in the western, the northern and the southern fronts, and as they are collaborating with the Baathist Party of Iraq and spying for Saddam against our Muslim nation, and as they are tied to the World Arrogance, and in light of their cowardly blows to the Islamic Republic since its inception, it is decreed that those who are in prisons throughout the country and remain steadfast in their support for the Monafeqin (Hypocrites) [Mojahedin (MEK)], are waging war on God and are condemned to execution.

“The task of implementing the decree in Tehran is entrusted to Hojjatol-Islam Nayyeri, the religious judge, Mr. Eshraqi, the Tehran prosecutor, and a representative of the Intelligence Ministry. Even though a unanimous decision is better, the view of a majority of

the three must prevail. In prisons in the provinces, the views of a majority of a trio consisting of the religious judge, the revolutionary prosecutor, and the Intelligence Ministry representative must be obeyed. It is naive to show mercy to those who wage war on God. The decisive way in which Islam treats the enemies of God is among the unquestionable tenets of the Islamic regime. I hope that with your revolutionary rage and vengeance toward the enemies of Islam, you would achieve the satisfaction of the Almighty God. Those who are making the decisions must not hesitate, nor show any doubt or be concerned with details.

They must try to be 'most ferocious against infidels.' To have doubts about the judicial matters of revolutionary Islam is to ignore the pure blood of martyrs. Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini."

8 From Montazeri's letter to Khomeini's - 31 July 1988

9 Text of Ahmad Khomeini's letter to his father Ruhollah Khomeini and Khomeini's response - August 1988"

"My Pre-eminent Father, His Eminence the Imam,

With greetings, [Chief Justice] Ayatollah Moussavi Ardebili has telephoned to raise three ambiguities about Your Eminence's recent decree on the Monafeqin [Mojahedin]:

1. Does the decree apply to those who have been in prison, who have already been tried and sentenced to death, but have not changed their stance and the verdict has not yet been carried out, or are those who have not yet been tried are also condemned to death?

2. Those Monafeqin [Mojahedin] prisoners who have received limited jail terms, and who have already served part of their terms, but continue to hold fast to their stance in support of the Monafeqin[Mojahedin], are they also condemned to death?

3. In reviewing the status of the Monafeqin [Mojahedin] prisoners, is it necessary to refer the cases of Monafeqin [Mojahedin] prisoners in counties that have an independent judicial organ to the provincial center, or can the county's judicial authorities act autonomously? Your son, Ahmad'

Underneath the letter, the Imam's reply was written:

"In the name of God, the Most High,

In all the above cases, if the person at any stage or at any time maintains his [or her] support for the Monafeqin [Mojahedin], the sentence is execution. Annihilate the enemies of Islam immediately. As regards the cases, use whichever criterion that speeds up the implementation of the verdict. Ruhollah Moussavi Khomeini"

10 ISNA News Agency - 8 May 2017

11 Mashregh News Website - 1 May 2018

12 Hambastegi Meli Website -September 14, 2019- Commemoration of martyrs of the 1988 massacre in front of the U.S. Congress (hambastegimeli.com)

13 Mojahed website - 31 October 2019 - Reuters News Agency: Pictures of martyrs of the People's Mujahedeen in the 1988 massacre in Paris (mojahedin.org)

14 Mojahed website - September 30, 2017 - Demonstrations and exhibitions of the 1988 massacre in Geneva's Nacion Square coincide with the Human Rights Council (mojahedin.org)

15 The 1988 Massacre in Iran - October 2017

16 Ms. Farideh Goodarzi is a torture victim of Raisi at a time when he was prosecutor of city of Hamedan. She talks about her experience 5 years before the massacre of political prisoners in 1988.

17 Reza Shemirani, a resident and citizen of Switzerland, is a known and famous political prisoner who had been imprisoned for more than ten years and was in Tehran dreaded Evin prison during the massacre of political prisoners in 1988.

18 Masoud Aboui talks about a specific experience that Raisi, even two years before the massacre, had control over released prisoners.

19 State TV - December 31, 2009.

20 Aftab News - October 26, 2010 - Raisi: Hand amputation sentence is one of our great honors (aftabnews.ir)

21 Radio Farda website - December 4, 2020- <https://www.radiofarda.com/a/30982487.html>

22 Mehr News - January 28, 2018

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24 Amnesty International's detailed report december 2018- <https://www.amnesty.org/download/Documents/MDE1394212018ENGLISH.PDF>-

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A mass murderer for president, why?

Iran is on the brink of a seminal transformation in this year's presidential "election." The regime's Supreme Leader, Ali Khamenei, took a major step this week to push through his preferred candidate for the presidency, Ebrahim Raisi, current head of the judiciary.

Through his own appointed Guardian Council, Khamenei "disqualified" all those who could be Raisi's rivals.

Therefore, Khamenei has decidedly chosen to raise Raisi to the presidency and sacrifice those closest to him, ending the reformist-hardliner show, and embarrassing those in the West who for decades have advocated appeasement based on this false narrative.

The Iranian people know Raisi as the "Henchman of the 1988 massacre." He was a key perpetrator of the murder of over 30,000 political prisoners in 1988.