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## Constitutional Underpinnings

Iran's constitution provides broad guidance on the characteristics sought in candidates for the position of supreme leader. [Article 5](#) stipulates that the ideal individual be: "just, pious, knowledgeable about his era, courageous, a capable and efficient administrator..." [Article 109](#) elaborates that the individual should have "[s]cholarship, as required for performing the functions of religious leader in different fields; required justice and piety in leading the Islamic community; and right political and social perspicacity, prudence, courage, administrative facilities, and adequate capability for leadership." It's this conglomerate of religious, administrative, and political qualities that will prove pivotal in determining the right figure for the job.

When the supreme leader dies or is incapacitated, the Assembly of Experts is constitutionally [charged](#) with selecting his successor. It's possible that in the interim, Iran will form a leadership council comprised of officials like the head of the Assembly of Experts, the judiciary, and potentially even the presidency while the key stakeholders in succession—like the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps (IRGC) and the Shiite clergy—build consensus.

The Iranian people elect members—88 Islamic jurists—to the Assembly of Experts every eight years and it [has](#) a leadership board and six subcommittees. There is a subcommittee within the Assembly which oversees the work of the supreme leader—but its actual authority to provide oversight remains in [question](#) given the singular power of the supreme leadership in Iran.

## Precedent

In 1989, when the last succession process took place, the Islamic Republic found itself in a challenging situation. Ruhollah Khomeini had spent much of his decade in power with a designated successor—Hussein-Ali Montazeri. It was Montazeri who had the requisite clerical standing—grand ayatollah—to be considered the rightful heir to the Khomeini legacy. But Montazeri had a series of disagreements with Khomeini over politics and policy, resulting in Khomeini questioning even his religious credentials. Because of this rupture, when Khomeini died in 1989, Iran was without an heir apparent.

The first choice among many in the Assembly of Experts was Seyyed Mohammad Reza Golpayegani, a grand ayatollah and one of the most revered senior Shiite clerics in Iran. But Golpayegani fell short of the necessary support from the Experts. The Islamic Republic even briefly considered forming a leadership council comprised of figures like then-President Ali Khamenei, the head of the Assembly of Experts Ayatollah Ali Meshkini, and the head of the judiciary Abdul-Karim Mousavi Ardebili. Finally, then-Speaker of Parliament Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani put his finger on the scale in favor of Ali Khamenei as Khomeini's successor.

Many in the clerical establishment felt Khamenei would be a placeholder appointment. A [video](#) of the Assembly of Experts recently resurfaced, which indicates that Khamenei was only supposed to be supreme leader temporarily—for one year—due in part to his inferior religious credentials as a hojatolislam, rather than as an ayatollah. As Khamenei himself [admitted](#) in 1989, "based on the constitution, I am not qualified for the job and from a religious point of view, many of you will not

accept my words as those of a leader.” Khamenei [became](#) the permanent officeholder after the passage of constitutional [amendments](#) that reduced the religious qualifications required to assume the supreme leadership.

As of January 2019, according to Iranian media [reports](#), the Assembly Experts has formed a committee to vet candidates for the next supreme leadership. [Only](#) current Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei has access to the dossiers compiled by the committee.

## Candidates

This resource is divided into first, second, and third tier candidacies for the supreme leadership. UANI has decided to designate individuals as first tier contenders because they have all commanded—or are slated to command—at least one branch of government in Iran; all hold an equivalent or higher religious rank as compared to Ali Khamenei at the time he ascended to the supreme leadership; and have experience in electoral politics. UANI defines second tier aspirants as those who lack wide-ranging administrative experience but whom, by virtue of familial connections, public profile, or membership or leadership within state organs, may eventually enter the decision-making equation. UANI defines third tier candidates as dark horses—those clerics with a more limited public profile, no significant record of administrative experience, but who command consideration by virtue of ties to the current supreme leader or a position within Iran’s religious hierarchy. Candidates who are older than the current supreme leader—like longtime Chairman of the Guardian Council Ayatollah Ahmad Jannati, Ayatollah Ebrahim Amini, and former head of the judiciary Ayatollah Mohammad Yazdi—have not been included given the uncertainty of their longevity and the likelihood that the Islamic Republic will want its third supreme leader to serve for at least a decade, as did Ruhollah Khomeini from 1979-89.

### First Tier Candidates

*Ebrahim Raisi*



Conservative cleric Ebrahim Raisi, born in 1960, has largely avoided the limelight in his decades-long career as a government official, although in recent years there has been a concerted campaign to boost his public profile. Like Supreme Leader Khamenei, Raisi hails from the city of Mashhad, and his extensive political and familial connections to Khamenei and his inner circle are the key to

understanding his rise to prominence. Many analysts judge that Khamenei is grooming Raisi as his designated successor.

Raisi first encountered Khamenei as a young seminarian in the holy city of Qom at the time of the 1979 Islamic Revolution. Raisi was among 70 students selected for a crash course in governance, where Khamenei was one of his teachers. Raisi began his career as a prosecutor at age 20 and although he lacked a brilliant legal mind, he rose through the ranks of the judiciary by demonstrating loyalty to Iran's revolutionary principles and a [willingness to sentence dissidents and political prisoners to death](#). Most notably, in 1988, he was a member of a four-man panel that sentenced thousands of dissidents and leftists to death. Raisi went on to become deputy chief of the judiciary under Sadegh Larijani and then attorney-general from 2014-16. Attorney-general is an important post in the Islamic Republic—multiple former intelligence ministers have held the post after serving at the helm of the intelligence ministry.

Raisi is married to the daughter of Ayatollah Alam al-Hoda, a reactionary cleric also from Mashhad who has been a key Khamenei ally since he became supreme leader. Raisi also counts Khamenei's son, [Mojtaba](#), as a prominent backer. These family connections have cemented Khamenei's trust in Raisi and boosted him throughout his career, particularly in the last year.

In March of 2016, Supreme Leader Khamenei tapped Raisi to head Astan Quds Razavi, Iran's largest charity and the overseer of the Imam Reza Shrine, one of the holiest sites in Shiite Islam and a large source of revenue for the regime. Raisi's appointment offers him the opportunity to court powerful backers, and build a patronage network of his own.

In 2017, Raisi emerged as a presidential candidate, challenging incumbent President Hassan Rouhani. While Raisi lost the race, his entry into electoral politics gave him an opportunity to build a public, electoral brand—an important qualification, constitutionally, in the selection of a supreme leader. Raisi shares Khamenei's mistrust of the West, favors a confrontational posture, is a populist rhetorically, and promotes efforts to build a resistance economy in Iran. For instance, on April 26, 2017, he [stated](#), "[t]oday Americans are afraid of the word 'Iran.' ...This is the solution. The solution is not backing down. We must force them to retreat." Raisi struck an economic populist tone throughout the campaign, calling for the amelioration of growing income inequality, pledging to increase cash subsidies to poor Iranians, and railing against corruption which he attributes to Rouhani's presidency. Also indicative of the effort to elevate his profile, Raisi was Khamenei's [choice](#) to head Iran's judiciary, succeeding Sadegh Larijani. Notably, some reformists, in addition to Raisi's more conservative supporters, [cheered](#) his appointment because they hope Raisi will initiate institutional reforms to make the judiciary more efficient and less corrupt, given the scandals that have swirled around former Chief Justice Sadegh Larijani. Since taking office, Raisi has increased his profile—spearheading an anti-corruption campaign which has ensnared top regime officials, including an aide to the former chief justice. [Speculation](#) has mounted that Raisi has launched this campaign, in part, to eliminate Larijani from contention as a potential candidate for the supreme leadership. The U.S. Treasury Department [sanctioned](#) him in November 2019 as a member of the supreme leader's inner circle.

Religiously, while Raisi is a [hojatolislam](#), Khamenei held that rank before he ascended to the supreme leadership. But the Iranian press is already giving him a promotion to ayatollah, following the [precedents](#) set by Mahmoud Hashemi Shahroudi and Sadegh Larijani after they assumed the helm of the judiciary. Politically, even though Raisi doesn't hold elective office, his previous campaign against Rouhani heightened public awareness of his brand of conservatism. Even though Rouhani [won](#) more than 23 million votes, Raisi still [garnered](#) 15.8 million votes in the election. Coupled with his large

patronage network at Astan Quds Razavi, Raisi has the political constituency and financial largess that other candidates lack. Additionally, the IRGC's support for Raisi during his election campaign is an indication of their potential receptiveness to his candidacy for the supreme leadership. Administratively, his management of Iran's largest foundation and control of the judiciary are all significant positions which will bolster his stock.

*Sadeq Amoli Larijani*



Sadeq Larijani, who was born in 1960 in Iraq, is a member of the Larijani dynasty—his father was a grand ayatollah, his brother Ali has served as speaker of the parliament, and his other brother, Mohammad-Javad, is a longtime diplomat for the Islamic Republic and has served as secretary-general of Iran's High Council for Human Rights. His father-in-law, Grand Ayatollah Hossein Vahid Khorasani, according to one [account](#), opposed Ali Khamenei's elevation as a source of emulation, and once even told Khamenei, "[y]ou be the sultan, but leave marja'iyat to others." Many consider the remark as questioning Khamenei's religious credentials as supreme leader. Ironically, like Khamenei's ascension from president to supreme leader, Larijani himself [started](#) his tenure as head of the judiciary as a hojatolislam before Iranian news outlets suddenly began referring to him as an ayatollah [later](#) in his tenure. Most importantly, Larijani's decade as head of the judiciary has provided a platform for wide-ranging administrative experience. There are even [rumors](#) that Larijani may be a candidate to succeed Ahmad Jannati as head of the Guardian Council given that Jannati is a nonagenarian.

Electorally, Larijani has proven his mettle after winning a seat on the Assembly of Experts in 1999. Khamenei has also given him a seat on the Guardian Council, which vets candidates for state elections. Likewise, in a nod to Larijani's continued status as a favorite son of the Islamic Republic, the supreme leader named him in 2019 as the new chairman of the Expediency Council, which is tasked with resolving disputes between parliament and the Guardian Council. In this new role, Larijani has found himself on the frontlines of an internal power struggle between the Rouhani government and unelected power centers over Iran's satisfaction of the Financial Action Task Force's action plan.

In addition to his solid resume, Larijani fits well within the Islamic Republic's prevailing governing ideology. He once [stated](#), "[w]e support a society which is based on the spirit of Islam and religious faith, in which Islamic and religious values are propagated, in which every Koranic injunction and the teachings of the Prophet of Islam and the Imams are implemented. It will be a society in which the

feeling of servitude to God Almighty will be manifest everywhere, and in which people will not demand their rights from God but are conscious of their obligations to God (Jahanpour).”

Nevertheless, Larijani’s career hasn’t been without controversy. Then-President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad [accused](#) the Larijani family of monetizing their positions of trust in the government. For example, in 2013, Ahmadinejad showed a [video](#) to lawmakers depicting Fazel Larijani, another brother of Sadegh, soliciting a bribe from a member of Ahmadinejad’s administration in exchange for convincing Ali Larijani, then-speaker of the parliament, to support a pet project. Sadegh Larijani has also feuded with President Hassan Rouhani. There has been speculation in Tehran that Larijani maintains illicit bank [accounts](#) totaling \$77 million. Some members of parliament even [accused](#) Larijani of depositing bail funds into his personal bank accounts, with [one](#) claiming Larijani held 63 such accounts. Since he stepped down from the judiciary, Larijani has been a focus of his successor Ebrahim Raisi’s anti-corruption probe, with his former top deputy, Akbar Tabari, being [implicated](#).

Separately, in 2018, Sadegh Larijani was [sanctioned](#) by the U.S. Treasury Department under Executive Order 13553 for human rights abuses. [According](#) to the U.S. government, “[a]s head of Iran’s [j]udiciary, Sadegh Amoli Larijani has administrative oversight over the carrying out of sentences in contravention of Iran’s international obligations, including the execution of individuals who were juveniles at the time of their crime and the torture or cruel, inhumane, and degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners in Iran, including amputations.” Lastly, during the populist unrest which continues to sweep across Iran, protesters have at times focused their ire on Larijani [personally](#).

The allegations of corruption have left a black mark on Larijani’s stock as a candidate for the supreme leadership. Additionally, given Ali Larijani’s interest in running for the presidency of Iran in 2021, some power centers in Tehran may [object](#) to a potential dynastic dynamic, particularly because of Ruhollah Khomeini’s [wish](#) that his family not enter politics. But in terms of pure resume, the weight of Larijani’s management experience makes him impossible to ignore as a top contender.

*Hassan Rouhani*





Although President Rouhani hails from the pragmatic wing of Iranian conservative politics, he is a loyal regime insider committed to upholding Iran's revolutionary Islamist ideology. Rouhani has held numerous top positions in Iran's political, security, and clerical echelons during his decades-long career, including stints as president, secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council under two different presidents, and lead nuclear negotiator with the European Union (EU) from 2003-05. He is a sitting member of Iran's Expediency Council—dedicated to resolving disputes between parliament and the Guardian Council—and the Assembly of Experts. While Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei retains sole authority over virtually all Iranian foreign policy and nuclear decisions, President Rouhani has been a reliable soldier in defending and implementing the supreme leader's dictates. Rouhani infamously [boasted](#) in his 2011 memoir that he had succeeded as Iran's chief negotiator in covertly advancing Iran's enrichment efforts under the cover of negotiations with the EU from 2003-05.

While in office, [Rouhani](#) has denigrated the [United States](#) and [Israel](#), praised [Hezbollah](#) and other terrorist proxies, and [backed](#) Iran's regional adventurism. However, compared with Iranian hardliners, Rouhani has pursued a tactically pragmatic approach, at times favoring expanding civil liberties domestically and economic and diplomatic engagement with the West in order for Iran to maintain its image internationally, while preserving its regime and spreading the Islamic Revolution.

Rouhani's principal achievement in office was the nuclear deal his administration reached with the P5+1 countries in July 2015, which granted Iran sanctions relief and a windfall of more than \$100 billion in exchange for accepting temporary constraints on its nuclear program. However, in the aftermath of the U.S. withdrawal from the accord, the president is under a great deal of pressure from hardline elements in the regime. With the rial rapidly losing value against the dollar, inflation soaring, unemployment rising, and protests enveloping Iran, Rouhani's political standing has eroded. In fact, there have been repeated [rumors](#) of Rouhani's resignation. However, there is also speculation that Rouhani could increase his influence after the death of former IRGC-QF Commander Qassem Soleimani and the accidental downing of the Ukrainian jetliner in early 2020.

Religiously, Rouhani is in a similar position to other contenders for the supreme leadership—like Ali Khamenei in 1989, he holds the rank of *hojatolislam*. Administratively, Rouhani is also qualified—he served two terms as president in addition to his collection of sensitive national security positions like secretary of the Supreme National Security Council. But politically, his toxic standing among hardliners, members of the IRGC, and many reformists—because of a lack of progress in easing social restrictions and the economic freefall—will hamper his ability to unite various factions in support of his candidacy. Nevertheless, if faced with a choice among Rouhani, Raisi, and Larijani, reformists would likely flock to Rouhani.

## Second Tier Candidates

### *Mojtaba Khamenei*



Mojtaba Khamenei, born in 1969, is the second oldest child of current Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei. His wife is the daughter of former Speaker of Parliament Gholam-ali Haddad-Adel. Some analysts [argue](#) Mojtaba does not even hold the rank of *hojatolislam*—though [reports](#) indicate he was taught by leading conservative ayatollahs including Mohammad Taghi Mezbah Yazdi and the late Mahmoud Hashemi Shahroudi. Some accounts [describe](#) him as a “gatekeeper” for his father—similar to the role Ahmad Khomeini played for his father Ruhollah Khomeini. These same reports consider Mojtaba second-only to Mohammad Golpayegani, the head of the Office of the Supreme Leader, according to [leaked](#) U.S. State Department cables. The U.S. government [confirmed](#) his importance within the Office of the Supreme Leader in November 2019, when he was sanctioned. [According](#) to the U.S. Treasury Department, “[t]he Supreme Leader has delegated a part of his leadership responsibilities to Mojtaba Khamenei, who worked closely with the commander of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps-Qods Force (IRGC-QF) and also the Basij Resistance Force (Basij) to advance his father’s destabilizing regional ambitions and oppressive domestic objectives.”

While occupying no official position in the Islamic Republic, officials have often portrayed him as an enigmatic [kingmaker](#) in Iranian electoral politics, interfering in both the 2005 and 2009 elections. Mehdi Karroubi, a former speaker of the Iranian parliament and then a candidate for president, [alleged](#) that Mojtaba had provided crucial backing to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005 after initially backing Mohammad Bagher Qalibaf, causing Ahmadinejad’s rise in the first round of balloting. In [2009](#), reports claimed Mojtaba [engineered](#) Ahmadinejad’s victory and even [instructed](#) the Basij to aggressively clamp down on Green Movement demonstrators. In 2009, the British government [froze](#) a bank account [rumored](#) to belong to Mojtaba containing \$1.6 billion, allegedly used to buy equipment for the Basij.

Despite the familial ties to Ayatollah Khamenei, Mojtaba will likely encounter religious, political, and administrative obstacles to becoming supreme leader. Opponents will seize on reports that he does not even hold the rank of *hojatolislam* in Iran. Politically, Mojtaba doesn’t have a natural constituency that

other players—like Rouhani and Raisi—have going into the succession process. This will make it difficult for Mojtaba to argue he has the “capability for leadership.” But Mojtaba’s support within the IRGC could figure in his favor, especially if Raisi or Larijani left the scene. Administratively, while Mojtaba has experience working in the shadow of his father, learning at his feet, and being second-in-command in the Office of the Supreme Leader, he lacks experience overseeing one branch of government. Even more challenging, Mojtaba is not an official member of a stage organ like the Guardian Council, Assembly of Experts, or the Expediency Council to compensate for his administrative shortcomings.

#### *Hassan Khomeini*



Hassan Khomeini, born in 1972, is the grandson of the founder of the Islamic Revolution and first supreme leader of Iran, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. Hassan is the son of Ahmad Khomeini, who effectively served as chief of staff to his father during the nascent years of the Islamic Republic. Following Ayatollah Khomeini’s death in 1989, Ahmad found himself sidelined. The Assembly of Experts had passed him over as a candidate for the supreme leadership—[reports](#) indicate Ahmad had wanted to succeed his father as supreme leader or at least be a member of a leadership council. In the years after his father’s death, Ahmad went on to become custodian of Ruhollah Khomeini’s shrine and the supreme leader’s [representative](#) to the Supreme National Security Council.

After Ahmad died in 1995 from a heart attack, Hassan assumed control as custodian of Ruhollah Khomeini’s mausoleum. Iranian media [reports](#) indicate Hassan holds the rank of hojatolislam. Yet in 2016, when Hassan announced his candidacy for a seat on the Assembly of Experts, the Guardian Council [barred](#) him from running because his religious credentials could not be established due to his failure to participate in an examination. Some reports [speculate](#) his disqualification was due to his reformist leanings. At the time, Hassan [wrote](#) on Instagram “All my support from top clerics has been ignored, as have been my religious publications.” In recent years, hardliners have also criticized Hassan Khomeini’s family for their [extravagant](#) lifestyle during a time of economic turmoil.

Religiously, while Iranian media technically refer to Hassan as a hojatolislam, the same rank that Ali Khamenei held before he ascended to the supreme leadership, the fact that the Guardian Council wouldn’t even bless his candidacy for a seat on the Assembly of Experts will hamper his candidacy for an even higher office. Politically, the Khomeini family has not had a part in daily governance of the Islamic



Republic in decades. However, Ruhollah Khomeini remains an enduring symbol as the founding father of the Islamic Republic. His family name, coupled with his standing among reformists, may make Hassan a topic of debate and discussion during a succession process. But opponents to his candidacy may point to Ruhollah Khomeini's remarks from 1980 in which he [said](#) "I will that those who are related to me not enter political currents... I do order you based on Shariah not to enter political games."

Administratively, Hassan Khomeini hasn't overseen a branch of government or even served as a member of a state organ. This deficit stands in contrast to candidates like Mojtaba Khamenei, who serves as a trusted advisor to his father, and even Hassan's father Ahmad, who served as aide-de-camp to Ruhollah Khomeini immediately prior to the 1989 succession. Thus, beyond symbolism, which is important, Hassan Khomeini lacks the confidence of many in the clerical establishment in addition to state management experience.

*Ahmad Khatami*



The cleric Ahmad Khatami was born in 1960. Khatami's rise began in 1999 after winning a seat on Iran's Assembly of Experts, and continued when Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei appointed him as Tehran's substitute Friday Prayer Leader in [2005](#). It's from this religious platform that Khatami built his brand—one of fire, fury, and fight.

Early on in his tenure as a Friday Prayer leader in 2006, his remarks in reaction to the Pope giving a speech in Germany that many found offensive to Muslims drew international attention. Khatami [said](#) "[t]he pope should fall on his knees in front of a senior Muslim cleric and try to understand Islam so he would never again say such absurd remarks." At the same time, Khatami has used the tenets of Christianity as a means to attack America. Recently, he [remarked](#), "I send my blessings to the Christians throughout the world, and I say to them: protect the honor of Christ. Unfortunately, the arrogant leaders who consider themselves Christians – and Trump says he hasn't read anything but the New Testament all his life – bring disgrace upon this great prophet [Jesus]. [The Christians say:] Tell us what to do. [The Christians should] renounce America in a loud voice, and, like the [Iranian] people, they should say: "Death to America!"

Khatami has also engaged in bombastic international taunts. He routinely threatens Israel, recently [warning](#) "[t]he holy system of the Islamic Republic will step up its missile capabilities day by day so that

Israel, this occupying regime, will become sleepless and the nightmare will constantly haunt it that if it does anything foolish, we will raze Tel Aviv and Haifa to the ground.” Khatami also brags about Iran’s nuclear prowess even under the auspices of the nuclear deal. In February 2019, Khatami [claimed](#) Iran “has the formula for building a nuclear bomb.”

The cleric has also [cautioned](#) the Iranian public about the dangers of Westoxification in Iran: “[T]oday they talk about legalizing alcoholic drinks, tomorrow they will say freedom of hijab, and the day after they will say we should have a referendum on the Islamic aspect of the regime. Know that you will take these dreams to your grave.” It’s this formula of using his clerical platform for headline-grabbing, hair-raising, shock value commentary that has endeared him to hardliners in the Iranian regime’s establishment.

In 2016, Khatami [won](#) a leadership role on Iran’s Assembly of Experts as secretary of its board of directors. Such a promotion could put Khatami in a key role to influence the process when the supreme leader dies and the succession process begins.

Religiously, Khatami’s rank as a *hojatolislam* wouldn’t disqualify him from consideration. Some Iranian news accounts even [rank](#) him as an *ayatollah*. Politically, Khatami’s voluminous record of public pronouncements on all kinds of matters of state leave behind a paper trail with supporters and detractors alike. However, like Mojtaba Khamenei and Hassan Khomeini, his lack of administrative experience with major institutions of state will hamper his candidacy.

*Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei*



Gholam Hossein Mohseni Ejei, born in 1956, is a [hojatolislam](#), although some [reports](#) refer to him as an *ayatollah*. Ejei has made his career in Iran’s judiciary and intelligence apparatuses—he served as a minister of intelligence under President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, attorney-general, and now as first deputy chief of and spokesman for the judiciary.

Significantly, Ahmadinejad [fired](#) Ejei as minister of intelligence due to his perceived closeness with the supreme leader after a [disagreement](#) over Ahmadinejad's choice for first vice president, Esfandiar Rahim Mashaei. Many leading clerics also consider Mashaei as questioning of and undermining their role in Iran. However, the judiciary, an organ under the complete control of Ayatollah Khamenei, quickly took Ejei under its wing.

The U.S. government [sanctioned](#) Ejei in 2010 for his role in suppressing unrest during the Green Movement of 2009. [According](#) to the U.S. Treasury Department, "Mohseni-Ejei has confirmed that he authorized confrontations with protesters and their arrests during his tenure as Minister of Intelligence. As a result, protesters were detained without formal charges brought against them and during this detention detainees were subject to beatings, solitary confinement, and a denial of due process rights at the hands of intelligence officers under the direction of Mohseni-Ejei. In addition, political figures were coerced into making false confessions under unbearable interrogations, which included torture, abuse, blackmail, and the threatening of family members."

Religiously, Ejei has the requisite religious qualification, given he is a hojatolislam. Politically, Ejei has developed a public following given his high profile appointments within the Islamic Republic. Additionally, Ahmadinejad removing him from his post as intelligence minister may be attractive to many in the clerical establishment, given their distrust of the former president. Administratively, Ejei hasn't overseen an entire branch of government, but his security and judicial credentials certainly put him into contention—particularly his experience within the intelligence ministry. Apart from his role as a cabinet minister, Ejei's path to power is similar to that of Ebrahim Raisi—holding both the positions of attorney-general and deputy chief of the judiciary. However, Raisi has a greater political profile and constituency given his role at the helm of the judiciary, his presidential candidacy, and his patronage network.

### Third Tier Candidates

*Seyyed Mohammad-Ali Al-e Hashem*



Unlike many other candidates for the supreme leadership, Hojatolislam Mohammad-Ali Al-e Hashem is not widely known outside Iran. However, his stock in the Islamic Republic has been rising ever since the Iranian media [seized](#) on his popularity as a Friday Prayer Leader in Tabriz. Many admirers see him as an

[accessible](#) member of the mullahcracy—riding buses, taxis, and having lunch with university students, to cite a few examples.

Beyond his role as Friday Prayer Leader, Hashem is regarded as a loyal enforcer of Ayatollah Khamenei's policies. In 2009, Khamenei [appointed](#) him head of the Iranian Army's Political Ideology Section. Khamenei has hedged in his support for the nuclear deal, privately providing his blessing, while publicly proclaiming his lack of trust in the West. Hashem has adhered closely to Khamenei's line, [warning](#) after the nuclear accord: "Today, the enemies have extensively plotted against the Islamic Republic so that they can influence and affect the country after the final agreement." Hashem has also bragged about Iran's leading role in the Middle East, [arguing](#) "[t]oday, the Islamic Republic of Iran is a decision-maker in the regional developments."

Religiously, Hashem holds a similar clerical ranking—hojatolislam—as Khamenei did when he was named supreme leader. Politically, Hashem has a growing following given his fawning coverage in Iranian media. But he has never been a candidate for office, so outside Tabriz, his "capability for leadership" remains in question. Administratively, Hashem is trusted by Ayatollah Khamenei given his appointment as an ideological enforcer in Iran's Army. However, Hashem is at a disadvantage because he has neither been the head of a branch of government nor has he been a member of state organs like the Assembly of Experts or the Guardian Council. But his dark horse candidacy, lack of an extensive public record, and lack of political baggage could serve him well in the elevation process.

*Mohammad-Reza Modarresi Yazdi*



Mohammad-Reza Modarresi Yazdi, born in 1955, holds the rank of [hojatolislam](#), although some Iranian media [reports](#) refer to him as an ayatollah. Modarresi Yazdi has quickly become a favorite of current Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, with Khamenei appointing and reappointing him to the Guardian Council. He lost the [election](#) for membership in the Assembly of Experts in 2016.

Recently, before Ebrahim Raisi became chief justice, media [reports](#) indicated Modarresi Yazdi was on the short list to succeed Sadegh Larijani as judiciary chief. He's been critical of clerics even supporting reformists in Tehran's political life, [speaking](#) out against Grand Ayatollah Yousef Sanei for his support of Mir Hossein Mousavi during the Green Movement unrest of 2009.

Religiously, Modarresi Yazdi holds the requisite clerical ranking for the supreme leadership. Politically, he's wounded because of his loss in the 2016 Assembly of Experts elections. However, administratively, the fact that Modarresi Yazdi's candidacy was floated for the next chief justice of Iran, coupled with his longevity on the Guardian Council, makes him worthy of discussion for the post.