



Iran's Espionage Intensification Law and the MoIS Hostile-Entities Directive

Executive Summary

Iran lost two wars in nine months. The 12-Day War of June 2025 wrecked its air defenses and exposed its nuclear sites. The Ramadan War went further. On February 28, 2026, a joint US-Israeli strike on the Beit-e Rahbari killed Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei along with the top tier of his military and intelligence command. Damage from the second war reached an estimated \$270 billion. On April 5, 2026, the Assembly of Experts handed the office of third Supreme Leader to the dead man's son, Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei.

The new regime turned its guns inward. The instrument was already on the books: the Law on Intensifying Punishment for Espionage and Cooperation with the Zionist Regime and Hostile Countries, passed by parliament on October 6, 2025 and ratified by the Guardian Council. On July 16, 2026, the Ministry of Intelligence (MoIS) issued Directive 405038/21/77 to the Attorney General. The directive names 415 hostile entities: 44 broadcast networks, 61 individuals, and 310 virtual pages. Contact with any of them now carries penalties that run from discretionary prison terms to execution with total loss of property.

Enforcement came fast. Prosecutors have charged 3,121 people. Of those, 2,406 sit in detention, and courts have issued more than 1,000 indictments. The state has executed at least 29 people as espionage "ringleaders" and sentenced at least nine political prisoners to death in Tehran and Arak. Judges have ordered the seizure of 262 properties and frozen the accounts of more than 400 diaspora journalists, actors, and athletes.

We assess the campaign as more than a wartime sweep. The law replaces proof of harm with presumption of risk. The directive erases the tolerated middle ground where journalists, teachers, and rights advocates once worked. Asset seizure doubles as revenue for a treasury drained by war. The pattern points to a durable design: ruin the opposition's finances and seal the population inside a state-run network while the succession settles.

Outlook, 12 to 36 Months

Scenario 1 — Consolidation (likely)

Mojtaba Khamenei's security state normalizes the law. Asset seizure becomes routine paperwork instead of an emergency measure. Confiscation guts the merchant class, the tech founders, and the cultural figures who once funded reform politics. The MoIS, run by a minister whose name stays secret, works without oversight. Repression follows the diaspora abroad through manipulated Interpol notices and coordinated account freezes. At home, the population lands on the National Information Network, a closed intranet under state watch.



Scenario 2 — Overstretch (roughly even chance)

The dragnet proves too wide to run. Courts choke on caseloads that stretch from Starlink owners to feminist reading circles and local environmentalists. Arbitrary seizures set off capital flight the postwar economy has no way to absorb. The IRGC Intelligence Organization and the MoIS fight over confiscated property, and the fight paralyzes them. Errors like the House of Cinema listing push neutral citizens toward open defiance.

Scenario 3 — Diaspora counter-mobilization (unlikely)

Stripping 400 famous exiles of their Iranian assets leaves them nothing left to protect. They unite. Their lobbying wins mirror-image freezes on IRGC holding companies and judicial officials abroad. Inside Iran, users move to mesh networks and smuggled satellite gear faster than the state maps them. The law becomes unenforceable at scale, and the failure humiliates the services that wrote it.

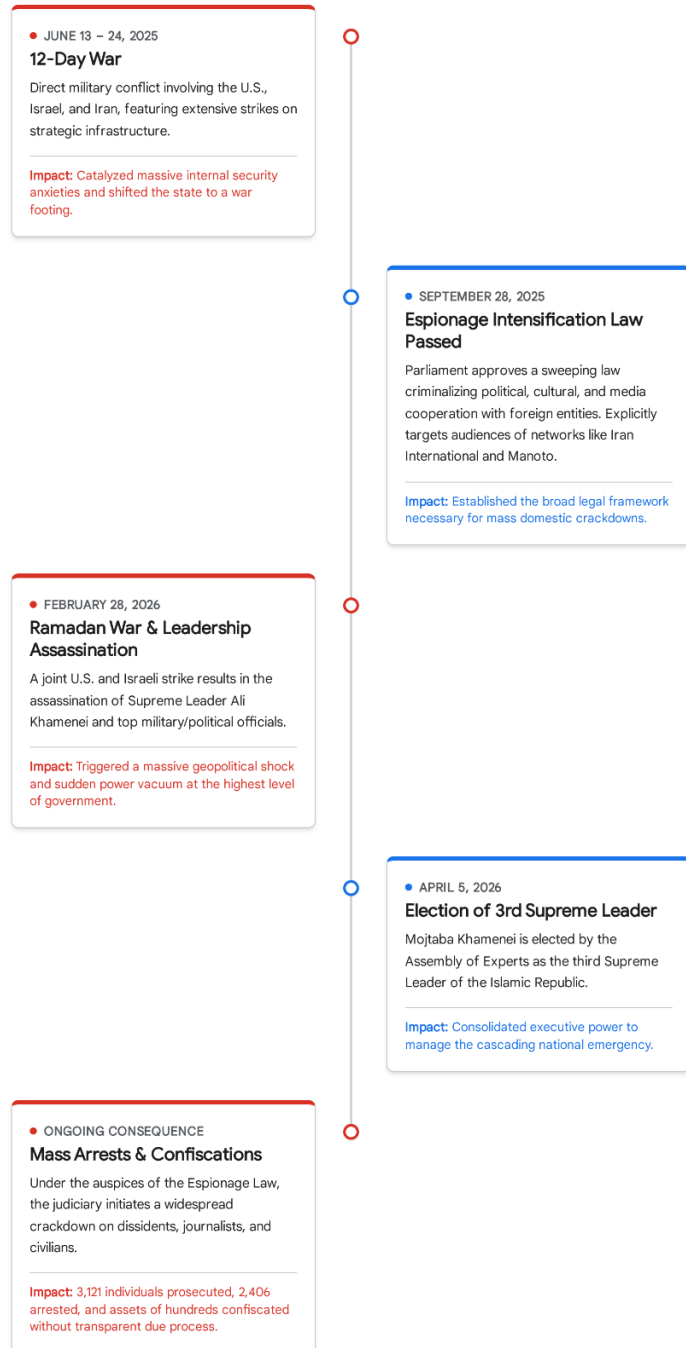
Intelligence Gaps

Three gaps limit the analysis.

First, the man running the MoIS. President Masoud Pezeshkian appointed an Acting Minister of Intelligence after the death of Ismail Khatib and classified the name to prevent another assassination. Faction, record, and ideology of the person directing the crackdown remain unknown.

Chain of Events: From Geopolitical Conflict to Internal Repression

Timeline of Macro-Geopolitical Shocks & Legislative Responses



The rapid succession of geopolitical shocks, beginning with the 12-Day War, catalyzed the passage of the Espionage Intensification Law, which was immediately weaponized following the assassination of the Supreme Leader.

Data sources: Tabnak, VOA News, Zoomit, Wikipedia (12-Day War), WikiShia (Ramadan War), MFA Gov



Second, the money. Where seized wealth goes — the treasury, IRGC holding companies, or the Setad (Execution of Imam Khomeini's Order) — remains unverified. So do the valuation rules and any appeal rights, if appeal exists in practice at all.

Third, detection. Officials say 7 percent of arrests involved banned hardware such as Starlink terminals. Whether those arrests came from electronic detection or from informants and door-kicking raids remains unknown. The answer decides how safe the remaining terminals are.

Recommendations

For international legal and human rights bodies

Treat asset confiscation as transnational repression, not domestic policy. The seizures reach journalists at BBC Persian, Iran International, and Manoto who work in Europe and North America. Reciprocal, immediate freezes on the foreign holdings of Iranian judges, MoIS officers, and IRGC commanders offer the only symmetric answer. Rights monitors should also count economic ruin as a distinct abuse and track it the way they track imprisonment. Bankrupting a dissident's family is collective punishment by ledger.

For civil society and digital-rights organizations

The directive names online schools and civic hubs — Pejvak, Afrooz, Forough — because uncontrolled learning frightens the state. Fund platforms built to survive cataloging. The MoIS maps static URLs and social handles well; rotating infrastructure, mesh networks, and peer-to-peer tools with stripped metadata raise the cost of that mapping. People inside Iran should assume Instagram and Telegram are watched and act on the assumption. Encrypted, metadata-poor channels are no longer a preference. They are survival gear.

Analysis

Chapter 1 — Two Wars and a Dead Leader

The law grew out of military failure. In June 2025 (Khordad 1404), Israeli and American aircraft — F-15s, F-35s, B-2 bombers — struck more than 100 targets inside Iran over twelve days. The strikes hit Fordow, Natanz, and Isfahan, flattened air-defense batteries, and killed IRGC commanders and nuclear scientists. Washington brokered a ceasefire on June 24, 2025. The regime came out of the war knowing two things: its airspace was open, and its ranks were penetrated.

Eight months later the penetration proved fatal. On February 28, 2026 (Esfand 9, 1404 / Ramadan 10, 1447), the opening strike of the Ramadan War — the Third Imposed War, in state media — hit the Beit-e Rahbari, the Supreme Leader's residential compound in Tehran. Ali Khamenei died there. So did the men around him: IRGC Commander Hossein Salami, Army Commander Abdolrahim Mousavi, Intelligence Minister Ismail Khatib, Ali Shamkhani, Aziz Nasirzadeh, and Mohammad Pakpour. Iran answered with Operation True Promise 4, more than 72 waves of missiles and drones — Emad, Khorramshahr, hypersonic types — aimed at Israeli



infrastructure, US regional bases, and the Fifth Fleet. The retaliation changed nothing inside the country.

Succession followed within weeks. The Assembly of Experts met in emergency session and named Seyyed Mojtaba Khamenei on April 5, 2026 (Farvardin 16, 1405). Pezeshkian installed an unnamed caretaker at the intelligence ministry. A wartime state with a dead leader, a secret spy chief, and a certainty that foreign services held a map of its inner rooms reached for the harshest tool available. Parliament had supplied it five months earlier.

Chapter 2 — The Law

Classical Iranian criminal law required proof of realized harm to national security before an espionage conviction. The new statute drops the requirement. Article 4 of the Law on Intensifying Punishment for Espionage builds a risk-based offense: the potential for harm is enough. Journalism, art, and ordinary politics fit inside the definition.

The penalty ladder has four rungs.

Offense class	Criminalized activity	Penalty
Third-degree	Political, cultural, media, or promotional activity; fabricating damage; publishing false news said to cause public fear or to act against national security.	Third-degree discretionary imprisonment; permanent ban from government and public service.
Fourth-degree	Joining illegal marches or public gatherings during declared wartime.	Fourth-degree discretionary imprisonment.
Fifth-degree	Sending video, images, or digital information to designated hostile networks, “human-media,” or virtual pages.	Fifth-degree discretionary imprisonment; permanent public-service ban.
Efsad-fel-Arz (Corruption on Earth)	Operational, security, economic, military, financial, or technological help to hostile states, direct or indirect; acts that grant legitimacy to the Zionist regime.	Mandatory execution; confiscation of all personal and real property.

Iranian legal analysts flag the procedural cuts as well: shortened appeal windows and pretrial detention with no fixed limit.

The rollout added a twist. When the law took force in November 2025, anyone who had already committed a newly criminalized act received 15 days to surrender. Silence added two to five years to the base charge. The window produced no evidence. Its product was fear, and fear moves through an opposition network faster than any informer.

Chapter 3 — Anatomy of the Directive

Directive 405038/21/77 reached the Attorney General on July 16, 2026 (Tir 25, 1405). Its three annexes read as a census of everything the state fears.



A. Hostile networks: 44 names

Selected networks	Category	State concern
Israel Networks 12, 13, 14; Pars TV; Radio Payam	Foreign state broadcasters	Direct messaging from the main adversary.
BBC Persian; Iran International; Voice of America; Radio Farda	Major diaspora and Western outlets	Reach past the state media monopoly; protest coordination.
Ronahi; Sterk TV; Komala TV; Aryan TV	Kurdish regional channels	Separatism and cross-border mobilization.
Gunaz TV; Az TV; Az Star TV	Azerbaijani and Turkic channels	Pan-Turkic sentiment in the northwest.
Dowlat al-Ahwaz	Ahwazi Arab channels	Unrest in oil-rich Khuzestan; Gulf influence.
Mohabbat; Nejat; Sat Seven	Christian evangelical channels	Religious conversion treated as a security threat.
Manoto; Radio Zamaneh; Halgheh TV; Kalemeh	General opposition and cultural outlets	Secular lifestyles; alternative politics.

Ethnic and regional broadcasters take up a striking share of the list. Kurdish, Azerbaijani, and Ahwazi channels sit beside BBC Persian. Borderland separatism frightens a weakened center more than Western editorials do, and criminalizing the audience cuts the line between minorities at home and their kin abroad.

B. Hostile human agents: 61 names

The MoIS coined a term for them: “human-media” (انسان رسانه‌ها) — people whose follower counts give them the reach of a broadcaster.

Category	Named individuals	Rationale
Israeli and geopolitical communicators	Hananya Naftali, Emily Schrader, Yoseph Haddad, Edy Cohen, Eli David, Yossi Melman	Persian-language messaging aimed straight at the Iranian public.
Opposition leadership	Reza Pahlavi, Shirin Ebadi, Masoumeh (Masih) Alinejad, Hassan Shariatmadari	Figures able to unite rival opposition currents.
Cultural and sports icons	Ali Karimi, Zahra Amir Ebrahimi, Ashkan Khatibi	Fame that converts to mobilization overnight.
Journalists and whistleblowers	Maziar Bahari, Hossein Razzagh, Hamed Esmaeilion, Mehdi Nasiri, Ali Javanmardi, Amin Sabeti	Independent reporting lines into the country.
Feminist and rights advocates	Shaghayegh Norouzi, Ghoncheh Ghavami, Rezvan Moghaddam, Fereshteh Ghazi	Leaders of the most persistent protest demographic.



Placing footballer Ali Karimi on the same list as Israeli government communicators says something plain. The state treats popularity as a weapon in waiting.

C. Hostile virtual pages: 310 names

The longest annex maps civil society, not spycraft. Alongside the expected political sites — the PMOI, the National Council of Resistance of Iran, the Restart Movement of Seyyed Mohammad

Anatomy of the Target List: Sectors Criminalized by the MoIS



The MoIS directive targets a vast array of civil society sectors. Engaging with entities in any of these blocks now carries severe penalties under the Espionage Intensification Law.

Data sources: [Zoomit](#), [National Laws and Regulations Portal of Iran](#)

Hosseini — the list names:

- Rights and feminist groups: HarassWatch, Everyday Feminism, Stop Honor Killings, the Gender and Development Network. Gender-equality advocacy now sits, by decree, on the espionage ledger.

- Online schools: Pejvak, Afrooz, Parto, Forough, and the Herat Online School — the workaround families built after physical classrooms fell under full ideological control. Unsanctioned

learning is now a listed offense.

- Think tanks and NGOs: Freedom House, the National Endowment for Democracy, PEN America, the International Republican Institute, and the National Union for Democracy in Iran. An Iranian academic who joins a PEN panel now risks a capital charge.

Chapter 4 — Courts and Confiscation



The judiciary built the plumbing before the flood: 2,014 new “Peace Court” branches nationwide, sized to process security and economic cases at speed. Judiciary Spokesperson Asghar Jahangir gave a breakdown of the 3,121 prosecutions.

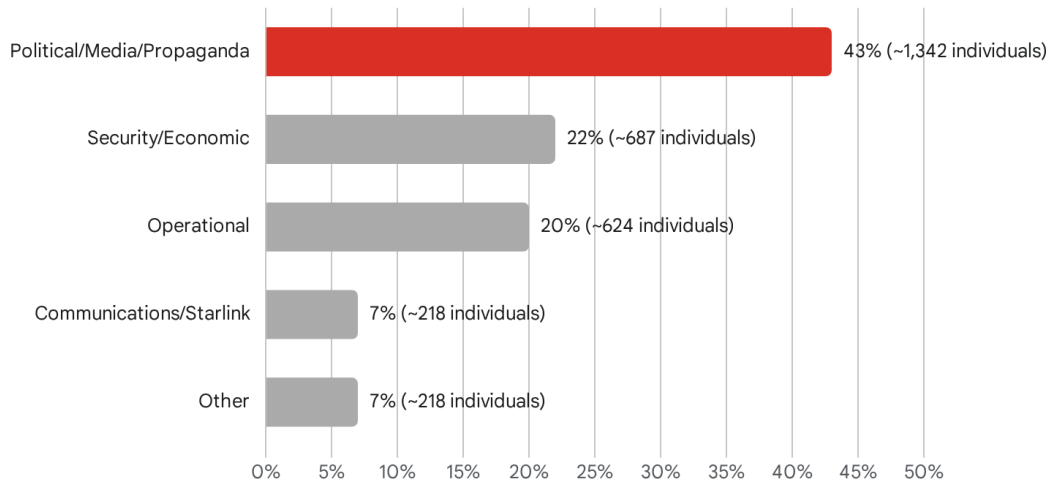
Charge category	Share	People	Core accusation
Political, cultural, media, propaganda	43%	~1,342	Activity favoring the enemy; contact with hostile networks.
Security, economic, military, financial	22%	~686	Financial irregularities; suspected economic sabotage.
Operational action for the Zionist regime	20%	~624	Sabotage, intelligence gathering, physical operations.
Banned communications hardware (e.g., Starlink)	7%	~218	Owning or using gear that bypasses state internet controls.
Collaboration and assistance	~7%	~218	Logistical or indirect support to hostile entities.
Total	100%	3,121	2,406 in detention; 1,000+ indictments issued.

Read the first row again. Nearly half the accused face charges for speech, culture, or media contact, not sabotage. Officials have warned that photographing war damage counts as “giving coordinates” to the enemy — a capital act.



Weaponization of the Law: Breakdown of the 3,121 Arrests

Percentage of Arrests by Charge Category



Official judiciary statistics reveal that nearly half of all arrests under the new espionage law are for media, cultural, and propaganda activities, while only 20% are tied to operational actions.

Data sources: [VOA News](#), [IRNA](#)

Asset confiscation as strategy

Article 1 mandates total confiscation for operational cooperation, and judges have run with it: 262 properties seized, plus vehicles, bank accounts, and digital assets, concentrated in Tehran, Gilan, Alborz, and Mazandaran. West Azerbaijan authorities moved against the assets of 129 people. Semnan, Markazi, South Khorasan, and Golestan followed. Named diaspora targets include 63 staff of Iran International, 25 people tied to Manoto, and figures across the US, Sweden, the Netherlands, Georgia, and the UK — journalists Pouria Zeraati, Fardad Farahzad, and Mazdak Mirzaei; actors and athletes Hamid Farrokhnezhad, Ashkan Khatibi, Masoud Shojaei, and Mohammad Sadeghi.

The logic runs on three tracks.

1. **Pressure by proxy.** The state has no reach over an exile in London — but full reach over the exile's mother in Rasht. Every frozen family account forces a choice between activism abroad and kin at home.
2. **Revenue.** War repairs cost money. Seized wealth from the diaspora and the domestic upper-middle class flows off the books to the treasury, the judiciary, and IRGC business conglomerates.



3. **Conditioning.** The law offers a “path of return”: distance yourself from hostile networks before indictment, and the assets come back. State media ran the case of national footballer Zahra Ghanbari as the template — accounts frozen over alleged opposition contacts, then released after her public retreat. A court that trades property for obedience has stopped judging and started training.

Chapter 5 — The Executions

Capital punishment scaled with the law. Officials admit to executing at least 29 people as “ringleaders of espionage, terrorism, and armed riots,” including three alleged Mossad agents in West Azerbaijan during the fighting.

The elastic reaches further. Human-rights reporting counts at least nine political prisoners sentenced to death in Tehran and Arak under espionage articles. In Branch 15 of the Tehran Revolutionary Court, Judge Abolqasem Salavati sentenced Mehdi Nazer to death and his fiancée, Mahnaz Chardouli, to ten years under Articles 3, 4, 7, and 8. The charge sheet cited Molotov attacks on mosques and “illegal gatherings” — accusations the defense disputes. Five men arrested during protests in Mahalat — Erfan Khalili, Ali-Akbar Mahlouji, Hesam Issaei, Hossein Shokouhi, and Abolqasem Kazem Aslani — drew death sentences for Moharebeh, enmity against God. The espionage frame does the work the evidence no longer has to.

Chapter 6 — The House of Cinema Error

Row 107 of the virtual-pages annex lists the House of Cinema (Khaneh Cinema), the legal, functioning guild of Iranian filmmakers. The guild answered in public. The MoIS had flagged a fake Instagram account — one letter off from the guild’s real name — and the guild demanded correction from the ministry and the Attorney General for the damage to thousands of members’ reputations.

One wrong letter put a lawful guild on a death-penalty list. The error exposes the method behind the directive: automated scraping, thin human review, and a preference for breadth over accuracy.

Chapter 7 — Downstream Effects

Bureaucratic fear. A secret intelligence minister tells its own story: the apparatus assumes it is still penetrated. Purges follow that assumption. Officials now weigh whether a routine call with a foreign counterpart reads as sabotage under definitions written to stay vague. Government slows to the pace of self-protection.

The end of the tolerated middle. Before 2025, much of Iranian civil society lived in space that was neither legal nor punished — journalists, environmentalists, academics with careful foreign ties. The 415-entity list closes that space by name. A citizen keeps foreign contacts and risks execution, or cuts them and goes silent. No third option remains.

The closed network. Starlink arrests and platform surveillance point one direction: full rollout of the National Information Network, a domestic intranet the IRGC and MoIS monitor end to end. The global internet becomes contraband. What resistance remains migrates to the dark web — smaller, harder to find, and harder to help.



Bottom Line

The law and the directive form one design, not a crisis response. Harm-based justice gave way to risk-based prosecution. The tolerated middle of Iranian life gave way to a list with 415 names on it. A state that executes photographers for “giving coordinates” and seizes a footballer’s savings over an Instagram follow no longer separates dissent from espionage. That distinction died with the old leadership on February 28, 2026. The new leadership shows no intent to revive it.

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